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**Behind closed doors** 

## **Economic elite talk** doom and gloom

By Milt Neidenberg

Red is the color of the day. Not an upsurge of workers carrying the red banner of communism. Not yet. But a trail of red ink representing trillions of dollars in global debt.

This was the dominant issue discussed at the World Economic Forum in mid-January. Amid plush scenic surroundings in the mountain town of Davos, Switzerland, the blame game focused on whether a global debt-fueled recovery driven by the United States is sustainable, and how long it can run.

Since the forum was set up in 1970, it has grown to a member-based institution of 1,000 of the foremost corporations worldwide. Its main concern has always been to develop a strategy for European financial and corporate inter-

Rarely did they criticize U.S. policies. In 2002 they went so far as to change the venue of their annual meeting to New York to show solidarity with Wall Street and Washington after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center.

U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft, patron of the Patriot Act, and Vice President Dick Cheney attended this year's WEF, hoping to capitalize on these sentiments. In a major address before prime ministers, CEOs and central bankers among others, Cheney-the architect of empire building and pre-emptive wars of conquest—tried to sell the so-called war on terrorism.

In an out-of-character conciliatory tone, he tried to cajole his fellow predators into joining with the United States. "We must meet the dangers together ... working cooperatively," said Cheney. (New York Times, Jan. 25)

The strategy failed.

Many were suspicious of his motives. George Soros, a multi-billionaire opponent of the Bush global strategy who profits immensely by speculating in buying and selling companies in the global market, commented on the speech, "There is a big gap between the words of the Bush administration and its actions."

Sir Howard Stringer, chairperson of the Sony Corp. of America, summed up the attitude of many of the European robber barons: "The combination of the Internet and globalization has led to an era of hyper-competition. ... Nobody has time to worry about international terrorism." (New York Times, Jan. 25)

When Stringer says hyper-competition, he's making a call to the European bourgeoisie to resist U.S. hegemony.

The debate at the WEF was focused on the damage U.S. policies have done to the global economy. Since the dollar has plummeted 20 to 30 percent to an all-time low against the euro, the central bankers have worried over how much lower the

dollar could go before it enters a crash mode.

Laura Tyson, chairperson of the Council of Economic Advisors under President Bill Clinton and now dean of the London Business School, heated up the bickering: "We can bash the U.S. government for its unsustainable economic policies ... But it's the [U.S.] economy that is pulling the world economy along, and I don't see where else this would come from." (Wall Street Journal, Jan. 22)

The government and high-finance tycoons at the WEF heard more questions than answers.

Will ballooning deficits prevent foreign banks and institutions from buying U.S. debt, which is now approaching the fantastic sum of \$8 trillion?

Will these huge deficits and imbalances, due partly to the falling dollar, unwind uncontrollably, ending in the crash of the dollar? How will this affect the U.S. balance of trade with the European predators? Will hyper-competition lead to recriminations and breaks in the imperialist camp?

"What concerns me is this excess liquidity," warns William Rhodes, a senior vice president at Citigroup and first vice-chairperson of the Institute of International Finance, which represents more than 300 of the world's biggest banks and financial institutions. (Wall Street Journal, Jan. 23)

Continued on page 4

### **Solidarity action for California workers**



In San Francisco Bay Area, workers on Jan. 24 discourage shoppers at Safeway in solidarity with their union brothers and sisters in battle with three giant supermarket chains. See page 5

WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

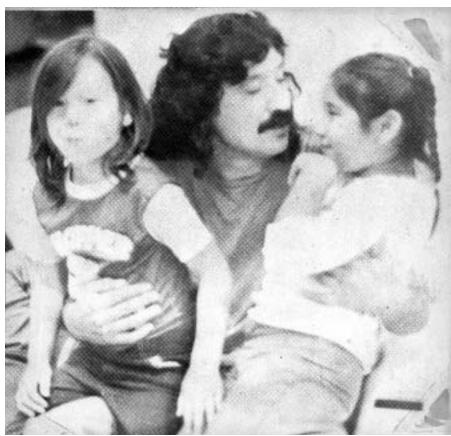
#### A message from Leonard Peltier

## 'Oppose the genocidal policies that face us all'

On June 26, 1975, two FBI agents were killed in a shootout at Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, most likely in their own cross-

Leonard Peltier and other members of the American Indian Movement had been invited by residents to come to the reservation to provide security. FBI agents and SWAT teams encircled the reservation and reportedly unleashed a firefight that also claimed the life of a Native man, Joe Stuntz Killsright.

Peltier's supporters point out that at the moment the FBI laid siege to Pine Ridge, the corrupt tribal government was signing away 133,000 acres of Lakota land to the U.S. governmentwhich then leased it to transnational energy companies such as Shell, Kerr McGee and Exxon for exploitation. AIM was an obstacle to the transnational energy companies that wanted to exploit the known uranium deposits on the land there.



Leonard Peltier seen here before his long, unjust incarceration for defending his people from the occupying power.

Tens of millions of people, here and around the world, have signed petitions, marched, rallied and protested to demand Peltier's freedom. The courts and FBI officials now admit they have no idea who killed the agents. Yet Native political prisoner Leonard Peltier is still behind bars, convicted in their deaths, serving two consecutive life sentences.

The following are excerpts from Peltier's message to the movement, issued in conjunction with the Feb. 6 anniversary of his incarceration:

Jan. 23, 2004

#### Hau Kola, Hello my friends, my relatives:

You can never imagine the heartfelt comfort it brings to know you're not forgotten in prison. This is my 28th year, and I've seen others come and go and return again. I can't help but feel a great sorrow for many of these young men who keep coming back for one reason or another, most of which are alcohol-related offenses. So much has changed since I came here and yet, in many ways, it's still the same.

The government, under the pretext of security and progress, liberated us from our land, resources, culture, dignity and future. They violated every treaty they ever made with us. I use the word "liberated" loosely and sarcastically, in the same vein that I view their use of the words "collateral damage" when they kill innocent men, women, and children.

They describe people defending their homeland as terrorists, savages and hostiles, and accuse us of being aggressors. We have never fought a battle or war that was not on our own land; we never fired the first shot ... ever. My words reach out to the non-Indian: Look now before it's far too late-see what is being done to others in your name and see what destruction you sanction when you say nothing. Your own treaty, the one between yourselves and the government, is being violated daily; this treaty is commonly known as the Constitution.

With us, they started a little at a time, encroaching on our rights until we had none at all. It will be the same for the Constitution; this is not conjecture, but fact. We are not embattled with the color of man, but with the weakness of man, a mindset that lusts for power and wealth at the expense of life.

Men of all colors, cultures and religions must stand together to oppose the genocidal policies that face us all as the corporate world seeks to enslave all, and pit one nation against another.

If you avoid breaking laws and do what you're told and ignore the poor, the oppressed and the downtroddenyou probably won't be bothered. If you try to right what is wrong, however, you will surely meet great opposition and run the risk of imprisonment or death.

I am a Sun Dancer. I took a vow for my people. I chose to seek the Creator's will and to follow it to the best of my ability. I WILL NOT STAND DOWN FROM THAT VOW. I will continue to speak, write and organize until Grandfather himself quiets my life. If I can do this in prison, I have no doubt you can do much better from where you stand.

I encourage you to do your best, be kind to one another, seek harmony and balance with all natural life, enjoy what freedom you have left, and most of all, never, never give up.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse, Leonard Peltier Mitakuye Oyasin

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#### LOS ANGELES

#### **Every Friday**

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#### **NEW YORK**

Fri., Feb. 6 Workers World Party meeting: Teresa Gutierrez will report on the "Third Hemispheric Conference Against FTAA" recently held in Havana, Cuba, where she was a panelist in the "FTAA and Migrants" workshop. 7 p.m. (Dinner at 6:30) At 55 W. 17th St., 5th fl., Manhattar For info (212) 627-2994

#### **Every Friday**

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#### SAN FRANCISCO

#### Sat., Jan. 31

Jackie Kiernan memorial. Please join in a celebration of Jackie rades and friends. Sponsored by Workers World Party. 2 p.m. At Building, 3543 18th St. For info (415) 826-4828.

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#### Race and class claim another victim

## **Brooklyn cops kill Timothy Stansbury**

By Deirdre Griswold New York

Racism and class exploitation have come together once again to rob another African American family of their beloved young son.

A New York cop shot and killed Timothy Stansbury Jr., 19, early in the morning of Jan. 24 as he opened the door to the roof of his building in Brooklyn's Louis Armstrong housing project. Stansbury was on his way to a birthday party with two friends. He was used to crossing the roof to get to the adjoining building because the front-door intercoms to let people in seldom work, according to neighbors.

Officer Richard S. Neri Jr. shot the unarmed teenager in the chest before Stansbury even got through the door, said witnesses.

Neri and another cop had been patrolling the roof; Neri admits to having his gun drawn before the shooting and says he fired it because he was startled when the door opened, according to an account in the Jan. 26 Newsday. The two police officers are white.

Trying to quell the storm of community protest that followed, Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly the next day admitted that the shooting was "apparently unjustified." He announced that he would convene a panel to review the tactics police use while patrolling apartment buildings' roofs and staircases.

For City Councilmember Charles Barron of Brooklyn, that wasn't nearly enough. "People should be indicted, convicted and sent to jail," he said. Barron compared this shooting to that of Amadou Diallo, an immigrant worker from Guinea killed in a hail of police bullets in the vestibule of his Bronx apartment building in February 1999. The four plainclothes cops said they mistook his wallet for a gun. After many protests and sit-ins, the city paid a settlement of \$3 million to Diallo's parents, but refused to admit any wrongdoing. The police walked.

The day after Stansbury was gunned down, tenants of the Louis Armstrong Houses marched to their local police precinct carrying signs that read "Black does not equal criminal" and "This is homeland terrorism."

"We want justice now!" they shouted.

Timothy Stansbury was described by his relatives as quiet and a "good kid" who was working at McDonald's and had just received his high school equivalency diploma. His goal was to attend community college and start a family with his sweetheart, Patrice Hyppolite, who had lost their baby to a miscarriage just two weeks earlier. "His heart was broken when we lost the baby," she told a reporter through her own tears.

The very next day, another incident in Brooklyn confirmed community charges that racial profiling causes police to treat people of color very differently than whites. Kevin Tester, 38, was arrested in Bensonhurst "without incident" after police said he fired three shots in a subway station at officers responding to a 911 call from a passenger who had seen a man with a gun. Instead of drawing their own guns and blazing away, the police took cover, called for backup and then talked Tester, who is white, into giving up his gun.

But the police are merely enforcing a two-tiered society, which still denies African Americans and other oppressed peoples basic political, economic and social rights.

In the powerful United States Senate, there is not one Black senator even though, according to the 2000 census, 37 million African Americans live in this country. In the current race for the Democratic presidential nomination, Black candidates Al Sharpton and Carol Moseley Braun, although well received by audiences during the debates, have been trivialized or ignored by the media pundits.

"The Black Population in the United States, 2002," a report prepared by the U.S. Census Bureau, confirms what everyone should know already: that African Americans are mainly hired into lowerpaying service jobs—like Stansbury's job at McDonald's—and that the poverty rate among Black men and women is about three times that of whites. And this after the gains made by the civil-rights and affirmative-action struggles.

Timothy Stansbury lived in public housing because his family couldn't afford New York's sky-high rents. Residents of the "projects" have become accustomed to broken elevators and intercoms, locked playgrounds and long waits for repairs. Many of these older high-rise buildings are pressure cookers for the social tensions caused by poverty and racism. So the police are constantly being called in, and they go with an attitude.

What is being done about this? Many of the billionaires of this country can trace their family fortunes back to the days when cotton and other crops enriched the slave-owning class. Are they heeding the call for reparations today and using their influence in government so that every person can have a decent place to live and these squalid buildings can be torn down?

Of course, that's not how capitalist politics works. In fact, the New York Housing Authority reports that its budget, which comes from federal as well as local funds, is being cut, not just this year but for the indefinite future. It's because the rich have demanded huge tax cuts, and because they want to expand their empire around the world, requiring costly wars.

But the city is doing something for a few well-off tenants. Through the Department of Housing Preservation and Development, it is renovating a group of buildings in Harlem, near Central Park, to create "Brownstone Lane Luxury Condominiums." These two- and three-bedroom homes, some priced as high as \$785,000, will have a concierge, underground parking garage, fitness center, video intercom, high-speed internet access and "a common landscaped garden."

Undoubtedly some African American professionals will get to live there, but this renovation is part of a much larger gentrification of south Harlem that is pushing out poorer tenants while attracting well-off whites to an area of Manhattan just a short subway ride away from midtown and Wall Street jobs.

Oh yes, and another thing. The city has reserved 5 percent of these condos for "uniformed police officers of the New York City Police Department."

Like the officer who gunned down Timothy Stansbury on the roof of his Brooklyn project building? □

#### **Boston meeting**

## Solidarity with Marine war resister

By Phebe Eckfeldt Cambridge, Mass.

"Support the Right to Refuse to Fight. Free War Resister Stephen Eagle Funk." This was the focus of a community forum co-sponsored by the Women's Fight Back Network and Boston ANSWER on Jan. 24.

Stephen Funk is a 21-year-old gay Filipino in the U.S. Marines. He took a heroic stand against the most powerful military force in the world when he refused to fight in Iraq. He was court-martialed and is serving a six-month sentence in a military brig.

Funk is due to be released Feb. 4. He is the first known member of the U.S. armed services to be jailed for refusing to serve in Iraq.

The meeting's featured speaker was Gloria Pacis, Funk's mother and an anti-war activist and artist. Dustin Langley, a Navy veteran and lead organizer for the Support Network for an Armed Forces Union, also spoke.

Pacis gave a chronological account of her son's transformation from a young person looking for his way in life into a GI resister and anti-war activist. The story of her parallel journey as a mother supporting him every step of the way, and the emotional and political challenges she faced, was moving and uplifting.

"Yes, I am very proud of my son," said Pacis. "What he did took a lot of courage. But I wish he wasn't the exception to the



Gloria Pacis and Dustin Langley front and center at solidarity meeting in Boston Jan. 24.

WW PHOTO: ELIZABETH DORAN

rule but the average thing. ...

"To moms everywhere: We don't want military recruiters in our schools. We send our children to school to become independent thinkers, not to get their minds sucked out of them.

"What can people do to help? They can learn the lesson of what Stephen went through. Be selfish. Define who you are. If this happened more there wouldn't be armies of people standing behind George Bush. History is written by ordinary people."

Langley spoke of SNAFU's increasingly

successful efforts to educate and organize young people to resist the military, to counter the lies of military recruiters and to help GIs get out.

Langley told the audience that 90 percent of people join the military for job training. But what they get is military training for military jobs.

Only 6 percent of women and 12 percent of men use their military training in civilian jobs. Military recruiters promise \$50,000 for college, but the maximum anyone gets is \$34,200, or about \$4,000 per semester.

SNAFU receives emails every day from GIs who want to resist, Langley reported. The group's website gets 500 hits a day with many visitors asking how to get out of the military. SNAFU was able to help secure 15 discharges within six months, he said.

"The time is ripe now," said Langley. "We need to go out and reach the youth and let them know there are alternatives to the military, that they can get out if they are already in. We can support U.S. soldiers in Iraq by continuing to demand: Bring the troops home now!"

## Economic elite talk doom and gloom

Continued from page 1

Rhodes and others are afraid that too many dollars are flooding the global markets, destabilizing the emerging markets of Asia and Latin America.

U.S. banks and other financial institutions have begun to shift billions of dollars into stocks and bonds of emerging markets in search of higher returns than those in the United States. The fear is that there is an "emerging market bubble" that could lead to another 1997 Asian collapse or a default of the Argentine type.

This type of lending leads to voracious, out-of-control speculation. When this occurs during a growing crisis, dollars invested in stocks and bonds and other forms of promissory notes can depreciate at a catastrophic rate. No one can predict when the process might lead to a crash that could have a far-reaching effect on the global economy, because this capital is linked by thousands of threads to the web of the banking and monetary systems and the production and circulation of commodities.

#### IMF criticizes its master

Recently an International Monetary Fund report warned that rising U.S. budget deficits and ballooning trade imbalances are running up a foreign debt of such proportions that it threatens the financial stability of the global economy.

The report concluded that U.S. "net financial obligations to the rest of the world could be equal to 40 percent of its total economy within a few years," reported the Jan. 8 New York Times. 8. The newspaper called this "an unprecedented level of external debt for a large industrial country that could play havoc with the value of the dollar and international

exchange rates."

The IMF has rightly been accused of being an agency for the U.S. government, its largest shareholder. For it to attack U.S. policies is unprecedented, although it has often leveled similar criticisms at underdeveloped countries when it ordered them to stop spending and borrowing. It is an embarrassment to the Bush administration and to the chair of the Federal Reserve Bank, Alan Greenspan, who is the master manipulator of U.S. monetary policies.

The IMF wouldn't be pushing the panic button unless it perceived a growing opposition and division within the U.S. ruling class.

Criticism is coming from both Democrats and Republicans associated with Wall Street power houses and corporate America. They include Robert Rubin, former secretary of the treasury and a partner in the global Wall Street dynasty Goldman Sachs; Allan Sinai, formerly with Lehman Brothers; and Paul O'Neill, Bush's former secretary of the treasury and once chairperson of ALCOA, the giant aluminum corporation.

In a paper presented to a large group of bourgeois academicians and Wall Street economists and analysts at a recent meeting of the American Economic Association, Rubin and Sinai called the Bush administration's fiscal and financial disarray a potential for catastrophe. (New York Times, Jan. 6)

One of their conclusions was that the federal budget is on an unsustainable path and that the "scale of the nation's projected budgetary imbalance is now so large that the risks of severe adverse consequences must be taken seriously, although it is impossible to predict when such consequences may occur." (New

York Times, Jan. 8)

The factional debate is heating up. The Bush administration is in an attack mode against these forces, calling them alarmists. Some on the extreme right within the Bush faction have accused the opposition of being traitors during a wartime crisis and have called for a patriotic front against them.

How deep these divisions go remains to be seen. At the present time, they have yet to emerge in the electoral arena, where the Democratic candidates are vying for the presidential nomination.

A retreat from Iraq without securing the spoils of an imperialist war, a currency

crash that could drive interest rates sky high leading to another recession, or a nationwide upsurge of the working class and the oppressed nationalities against the scourge of unemployment and poverty—any one would bring the factional divisions within the ruling class into the open. Such unpredictable, unforeseen catastrophic events are all within the realm of the possible.

The potential for an upsurge of the working class and oppressed nationalities is rising. The consequences would be global. It could set a course for a revolutionary process to challenge the whole archaic, destructive capitalist system.



Leilani Dowell, Peace and Freedom congressional candidate for 8th district, at protest of AIDS funding cuts.

# Firing of HIV+ acrobat protested

By Joe Delaplaine Orange County, Calif.

Dozens of people protested and passed out leaflets in front of Cirque du Soleil's performance of "Varekai" in Orange County, Calif., on Jan. 22. The protesters included members of the International Action Center from four major cities.

Cirque employers had hired and trained acrobat Matthew Cusick, but fired him after he voluntarily disclosed his HIV status to his bosses last year. Cirque's decision violated the Americans with Disabilities Act. With the help of Lambda Legal Defense, Cusick has filed an employment discrimination lawsuit against Cirque du Soleil. Lambda, along with an ad-hoc group of lesbian, gay, bi, trans and straight, and HIV/AIDS activists, organized this as well as other demonstrations across the country.

There will be protests wherever Cirque performs, including upcoming actions in Atlanta and New York.

There has never been a case of an athlete transmitting HIV during performance or competition. Last month, three high-profile Olympic athletes denounced Cirque's discriminatory practices. One of them, figure skater Rudy Galindo, was one of the first major U.S. athletes to continue competing on the world stage after disclosing his HIV status.

As advancements in HIV/AIDS drugs and treatments make it possible for increasing numbers of employees to return to work—and the cost of these treatments makes employment a necessity—it's important for all working people to defend every employee's right to a job and protest discrimination whether it's based on age, disability, sex, race, sexual identity or any other status.



PHOTO: KELLY WINE

## No cuts wanted in California AIDS funds

By Bill Hackwell San Francisco

As the reality of Draconian budget cuts proposed by California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger starts to set in, signs of a grassroots response are already appearing. Schwarzenegger's budget plan is designed to put the burden of a \$16 billion budget deficit on the backs of workers and the poor.

The made-for-TV governor is slashing the health and human-service budgets. Plans include a 10-percent increase in state university fees, cuts in MediCal and new restrictions on welfare benefits. Programs designed to meet the needs of the most vulnerable in society are being cut or eliminated altogether.

One program on the chopping block is the AIDS Drug Assistance Program. This program provides HIV medication to 24,000 low-income Californians. If Schwarzenegger gets his way, a cap on enrollment would prevent 14,400 people from joining the program and only provide the medication to those already enrolled.

The excuse is rising drug costs. AIDS

medication costs \$10,000 to \$15,000 per person per year.

On Jan. 13 it became clear that patients and AIDS/HIV advocates are not going to take this attack on life-saving treatment without a fight. Over 300 fired-up protesters filled the steps of the State Building in San Francisco for a lunchtime demonstration to say no to the cuts.

Speakers condemned the cuts, likening them to signing death warrants for people dependent on the medication. The protest was organized by Women Organized to Respond to Life Threatening Diseases and the San Francisco AIDS Foundation.

LeLani Dowell, an activist with the International ANSWER coalition who is the Peace & Freedom Party's congressional candidate for the 8th district, said: "Schwarzenegger has been living too long in the fiction of his movies, but this is real. The difference between receiving this medication [and not] is a life-and-death issue.

"Free and accessible drugs for people living with HIV and AIDS should be a top priority of any government, especially in a state as rich as California." □

# Jan. 31: DAY OF SOLIDARITY with California supermarket workers

By Dianne Mathiowetz Los Angeles

As part of a new coordinated effort by organized labor to support the supermarket workers in Southern California, a bus caravan left Los Angeles Jan. 27 headed for the home of Safeway CEO Steven Burd.

The next big step of this new strategy to cement further community and labor support is the building of a massive march and rally on Jan. 31.

The grocery workers, predominantly Black, Latina/o and Asian with a high proportion of women, have been involved in a strike and lockout in Southern California supermarkets since early October. They are fighting for their healthcare benefits, pensions and decent wages against a two-tier hiring system. These workers see that the Greedy Three supermarket chains—Vons, Albertsons and Ralphs—continue to pay their CEOs and executives millions in salaries, bonuses and stock options, as well as health benefits that provide optimum care for them and their families.

The AFL-CIO announced on Jan. 16 that it was developing a national strategy for the strike and that more than 40 national labor unions would participate. The caravan was part of this effort.

Burd, who was paid \$15 million last

year, is a key player in the supermarkets' attempt to break the United Food and Commercial Workers union in the now over three-month-long struggle. He has proclaimed his commitment to the welfare of animals, so the union is demanding that he also recognize the impact on children's lives of his refusal to provide adequate healthcare to his employees.

In addition, a community and labor solidarity organization kicked off by groups that held food and toy drives for the striking and locked-out workers, including the Community Action Project to Support Labor initiated by ANSWER-Los Angeles, has unified and become the official representative of Local 770's community outreach under the name CLASH—Community and Labor Acting to Save Healthcare.

Organizing is going full speed for the Day of Solidarity March and Rally in support of the striking and locked-out grocery workers on Saturday, Jan. 31, sponsored by the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. Unions are mobilizing throughout Southern California with thousands of longshore workers, service workers, teamsters, plumbers, electricians, healthcare providers, writers, musicians and actors planning to come by busses, vans and cars.

John Parker, a leader of ANSWER and



Religious leaders join unionists for trip to Safeway CEO's home.

WW PHOTO-BOB MORR

a CLASH organizer, explains why the coalition that has organized much of the anti-war protests of the past year has committed so much effort to supporting the grocery workers' strike. "We are against war on workers abroad, whether in Iraq or Palestine or Colombia. And we are against the war being waged on workers and poor people here in the United States. The biggest terrorist threat facing workers is the attempt by Wall Street and the big grocery chains to slash wages, eliminate healthcare and other benefits, and strip workers from any dignity on the job. This

attempted 'Wal-Martization' will impact all working people here."

Activists have distributed thousands of flyers in English, Spanish and Korean. Large bright yellow or green posters advertising the action can be seen on poles around the city.

ANSWER is organizing a Jan. 29 news conference on the steps of City Hall. They will issue a call for their constituents to come out and march in support of the grocery workers and their families, who are so determinedly fighting for healthcare and their union.

## No business as usual at Safeway

In a sign of growing community and labor support for the 70,000 striking and locked-out Southern California grocery workers, hundreds of people picketed the entrances of the large Castro District Safeway in San Francisco Jan. 24.

The main issue in the strike is health care for the workers. Safeway has proposed a 50-percent cut in company contributions to health-care benefits. That would amount to a jump in workers' premiums to \$5,000 out of an average annual wage of \$20,000.

The spirited Jan. 24 protest lasted five hours. Some 30 people took over the store, marching through the aisles with signs and banners and chanting their support for the workers. Many clerks stopped what they were doing to smile at the disruption. Outside, strike supporters blocked the doors and urged shoppers to go elsewhere.

Police eventually caught up to the protesters and detained them inside the store. They were given written citations without fines and let go one by one. It was clear that the police did not want to attempt to remove the demonstrators from the store through the hundreds of militant pickets waiting outside.

The strike began Oct. 11. It is going through a critical phase and needs continued support against the giant Safeway chain, which saw a 91-percent increase in profits in the last five years.

-Story and photo by Bill Hackwell



## Bush sneaks racist judge onto federal court

By Heather Cottin

On the day after the 75th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, President George W. Bush appointed Mississippi Judge Charles W. Pickering Sr. to the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. This court covers three of the states with the most right-wing political officeholders in the country: Mississippi, Texas and Louisiana.

Advocacy groups opposing Pickering's appointment included the NAACP, National Organization for Women, the AFL-CIO and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Pickering left the Democratic Party in 1964 when Fanny Lou Hamer and the Freedom Democrats demanded representation for Black people in Mississippi at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, N.J. Pickering opposed "one person, one vote" and in a law review article called the practice "obtrusive." After 1965, he did everything he could to prevent Mississippi's compliance with the Federal Voting Rights Act. (www.now.org)

Pickering's judicial record illustrates his right-wing politics. In his youth, he wrote law review articles supporting laws against interracial marriages in his home state of Mississippi.

Pickering opposes the Equal Rights Amendment, opposes the Roe vs. Wade decision that protects the right to abortion, and he has called for a constitutional amendment barring abortion. He voted to stop funding for family planning in Mississippi.

In 1994 Judge Pickering went to considerable lengths to reduce the sentence of a man convicted of burning a cross on the lawn of a mixed-race couple.

None of this is any obstacle to support from the Bush administration. Vice President Dick Cheney went to Mississippi no less than five times in the past year to support Pickering's appointment to the federal bench.

The method of judicial appointments was a procedure created in 1789 to deny the people the right to elect their own federal judges.

While elections under capitalism are

no guarantee that judges will answer to the people, having them appointed by the president and approved by the Senate guarantees control by the rich. The Senate, the upper house of Congress whose members have always been wealthy and with very few exceptions have been white men of property, was set up to ratify presidential appointments.

But popular opposition to such an outrageously reactionary choice as Pickering forced even the Senate to oppose his nomination. So Bush placed Pickering directly on the appeals court when the Senate was out of session. Now Pickering will serve at least until 2005.  $\square$ 

#### Black actor's letter

## Call to boycott 'Cold Mountain'

On Dec. 25, the movie "Cold Mountain" opened to rave reviews. It has received multiple Golden Globe and Academy Award nominations. Following are excerpts from an open letter that exposes the movie's historical inaccuracies from a Black actor's perspective.

am a Black man, a professional actor ... and film lover. I am therefore underemployed, under-appreciated and an afterthought in Hollywood. I am also a man who rarely sees an accurate depiction of Black people and American History in film and on television. It's something I've grown used to, but now I'M MAD AS HELL AND NOT GOING TO TAKE IT ANYMORE!

I am calling all people that truly care about honest representations of American History in Hollywood to stand up and boycott the heavily promoted film "Cold Mountain." At a cost of \$80+ million dollars and sporting a stellar cast and crew, this adaptation of Charles Frazier's acclaimed bestseller ... is being touted as the film to beat at the Academy Awards. It has generated glowing reviews for Disney, Miramax ... . It is also a sham; a slap in the face of African Americans everywhere, whose ancestors gave their lives in the Civil War, fighting for true freedom (Sorry, President Bush!) from the most heinous slavery system ... .

How could a three-hour film depicting life in the heart of Virginia and North Carolina during the Civil War use 30 seconds of Black people picking cotton as its total reality of slavery during this period? In an article in the Washington Post, the filmmakers have said that slavery and racism were simply "too raw" an emotional issue to present in their film. In other words, who would want to see a love story with the beautiful Jude Law and Nicole Kidman set in the reality of the Southern monstrosity of slavery?

The film depicts one of the more

important battle decisions in the Civil War, a battle in which the Union army trained Black soldiers to tunnel under Confederate lines, a battle in which Blacks suffered their highest rate of casualties of any Union division in the fight! This is the great battle that opens "Cold Mountain."

You tell me if you spot ANY Black actors in the film fighting ... . Shame on you, Hollywood.

The Weinstein Brothers (owners of Miramax, the distributors of "Cold Mountain") are smart ... with keen cinematic sensibilities. They should know better. I ask, could you imagine "The Pianist" or "Schindler's List" ever being made with but 30 seconds of the reality of "The Holocaust"? Of course not. A film with such a gross misrepresentation would never make it past page one of a screen-play! ...

Every year, the Academy Awards give a documentary about "The Holocaust" its award and every year Hollywood releases sumptuous, hauntingly beautiful films about "The Holocaust." And every year I go. Why? Because I love film. And I love the truth. But there must be some reciprocity somewhere. I have attempted to sell stories to Hollywood—true stories—from our history as Black people during the years of slavery. The response from Hollywood? "I saw something like that already in 'Roots.' "What an insult!

Why are we as a people always an afterthought? We must let Hollywood know that we deserve respect. How do we? By not giving them the pleasure of our dollars. Let a boycott of "Cold Mountain" begin our response to Hollywood: Tell our stories; tell the truth and we will come. And if Hollywood has a problem with that, simply say, "I'm not going, because I saw a film like that already!"

Sincerely yours,
Erik Todd Dellums

## The roots and

By Monica Moorehead

"It is well known that the black race is the most oppressed and most exploited of the human family ... that the spread of capitalism and the discovery of the New World had as an immediate result the rebirth of slavery which was, for centuries, a scourge for the Negroes and a bitter disgrace for mankind. What everyone does not perhaps know is that after 65 years of so-called emancipation, American Negroes still endure atrocious moral and material sufferings, of which the most cruel and horrible is the custom of lynching."

Excerpted from Ho Chi Minh's International Correspondence, No. 59, written in 1924

o Chi Minh, the anti-imperialist communist leader of the Vietnamese people, made this statement at the height of lynchings in the United States, mainly in the South. He spent a number of years living in the United States, which helped elevate his understanding of racist and class injustice, before returning to his beloved homeland. His observations were very illuminating, considering how cruelly the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples were treated by French colonialism and U.S. militarism before their decadeslong liberation struggle triumphed.

Has there been any real qualitative social change for African Americans in the United States since Ho Chi Minh's words were published 80 years ago? Has the legacy of horrific lynchings been tossed into the dustbin of history or is it still alive and well today?

With the rise of class society thousands of years ago, vigilante-sponsored violence along with state-orchestrated violence became commonplace. In the United States, people of color, labor organizers, Jewish immigrants, political radicals and others have certainly felt the wrath of lynchings by those who profess a white-supremacist mentality. Today for African Americans, lynchings remain a grim, painful reminder of almost three centuries of being treated as second- and third-class citizens

#### Lynchings and slavery

Some historians trace "lynch law" to Col. Charles Lynch, who, during the war of independence by the 13 colonies, was based in Virginia to deal with British colonialists. Slavery was nothing more than institutionalized lynching, since African peoples were treated as less than human or as property.

Historian John F. Callahan writes: "During slavery there were numerous public punishments of slaves, none of which were preceded by trials or any other semblance of civil or judicial processes. Justice depended solely upon the slaveholder. Executions, whippings, brand-



The Scottsboro Brothers

ings, and other forms of severe punishment, including sometimes the public separation of families, were meted out by authority or at the command of the master or his representative. Often, slaves from the plantation and, sometimes, nearby plantations were assembled and made to witness the punishment as an example of the master's absolute authority to wield the power of life and death over each and every slave." ("The Oxford Companion to African American Literature," 1997)

After the Civil War, freed slaves fought for complete liberation during the Reconstruction period. But lynchings increased dramatically when former Confederate officers and vengeful Southern planters regrouped to form the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Councils and other extralegal groups to literally terrorize Black people back into semi-slavery conditions.

With the Compromise of 1877, the federal government pulled out its troops and left the freed slaves at the mercy of these white-supremacist terrorists. As representatives of the interests of the ascendant Northern capitalist class, the government wanted to put a brake on fulfilling the same political and economic rights for Black workers in the South as those generally granted to Northern white male workers, thus keeping wages down by dividing workers along racial lines.

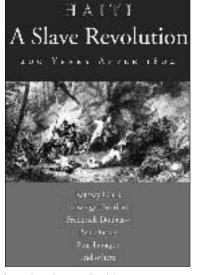
"Between 1882 (when reliable statistics were first collected) and 1968 (when the classic forms of lynching had disappeared), 4,743 persons died of lynching,

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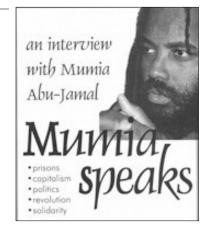
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### ACK HISTORY MON

## legacy of U.S. lynchings

3,446 of them black men and women. Mississippi (539 black victims, 42 white) led this grim parade of death, followed by Georgia (492, 39), Texas (352, 141), Louisiana (335, 56), and Alabama (299, 48). From 1882 to 1901, the annual number nationally usually exceeded 100; 1892 had a record 230 deaths (161 black, 69 white). Although lynchings declined somewhat in the 20th century, there were still 97 in 1908 (89 black, 8 white), 83 in the racially troubled postwar year of 1919 (76, 7, plus some 25 race riots), 30 in 1926 (23, 7), and 28 in 1933 (24, 4)." (Robert L. Zangrando, "The Reader's Companion to American History," 1991)

As stated above, these statistics do not take into full account the victims in the "race riots" that began in the late 1800s. These massacres of Black people increased at the end of World War I when Black soldiers, who had been relegated to segregated units overseas, returned home expecting to be treated as full citizens.

There was also the infamous Tulsa "race riot" in 1921, when white business owners instigated a massacre upon the prosperous Black community.

No white person was ever convicted of killing a Black person during these tragic episodes. This racist atmosphere was aided by the "separate but equal" law passed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 that legalized racist Jim Crow laws in the South and other sections of the United

#### Racist use of the rape charge

A recurring "excuse" for the lynchings of Black men has been the alleged rape of white women. Under slavery, while both African women and men were "owned" body and soul, the systematic rape of Black women was viewed as the "property right" of the white slavemaster. The recent revelation that the late arch-racist Strom Thurmond "fathered" a daughter during the 1920s with a Black servant reflects the persistence of semi-slavery conditions.

Sexual relations between Black men and white women were socially viewed as taboo from the days of slavery until 1967, when miscegenation laws were struck down by the Supreme Court. This important concession won in the civil-rights struggle legalized the right of Black-white heterosexual couples to marry in the South.

Just the rumor that a Black man had raped a white woman would signal that a racist lynching would not be far behind. Fourteen-year-old Emmett Till was tortured to death by racists in 1955 for sup posedly whistling at a white woman in Mississippi.

The judicial system began instituting legal lynchings. Hundreds of Black men were executed after being charged with



Marcus Dixon

raping white women. Who could ever forget the Scottsboro case in the early 1930s, where nine young Black men were accused of gang raping two white women in Alabama? The case gained worldwide attention as the Communist Party and other progressives came to the defense of these innocent Black youths.

Even though the women finally admitted under oath that no rape had occurred, most of the youths were forced to spend many years in prison until public pressure forced the U.S. government to pardon them.

There are currently two important cases that could be considered modern-day Scottsboro cases. The case of Darryl Hunt was publicized in a Jan. 5 column by Bob Herbert, an African American opinion writer for the New York Times. Herbert described how in 1984, Hunt, then 19 years old, was accused of the rape and murder of Deborah Sykes, a 25-year-old white woman in North Carolina. Forensic DNA testing had just been developed. During the original trial it proved that Hunt was innocent of the charge—but still he languished in jail for almost 20 years.

Hunt's lawyers forced a public outcry, and finally exposé articles in the Winston-Salem Journal forced the courts to release Hunt this past December on a \$250,000 bond pending a hearing in February. His lawyers are hoping that all murder charges will eventually be dropped by the prosecution. Only time will tell.

The second case has received more national attention. Marcus Dixon, 18, an academically gifted athlete, received a 10year prison sentence in Rome, Ga., after being found guilty of statutory rape, a misdemeanor, and aggravated child molestation, a felony. The judge sentenced him to 10 years in prison on the felony charge.

Dixon testified that he had had consensual sex with a classmate who was three months shy of her 16th birthday at the time. He stated that she told him her father was a racist and that she feared he would kill the two if he caught them together. (New York Times, Jan. 22)

A jury found Dixon innocent of rape, sexual battery and aggravated assault, all felonies. Five of the jurors publicly stated that they would not have convicted Dixon on the other charges had they known about the prospect of a long prison sentence.

Civil-rights forces along with defense attorneys have mounted a nationwide campaign of legal and political pressure on the Georgia Supreme Court to overturn this outrageous conviction and sentence.

#### 'Fighting for social justice'

Earl Ofari Hutchinson has assembled figures to show that the U.S. criminal justice system is still racist to the core: "According to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund ... between 1930 and 1996, more than half of all those executed have been African-Americans. When the crime (or accusation) is rape, the death penalty has almost always been exclusively reserved for blacks. Of the 453 men executed for rape since 1930, 405 have been black. Nearly all of them were executed in the South. They were arrested and convicted on the flimsiest evidence, usually no more than the word of a white woman. At the same time, not one white man received the death penalty for raping a black woman. There is no official record in any Southern state of a black man ever being executed for raping a black woman. The victims of all but 44 of the blacks executed in the South from 1930 through 1984 were white. Not much has changed over the years. A black is still 11 times more likely to get the death penalty than a white when the victim is white. At present nearly half of those currently sitting on the nation's death rows are black." (Afrocentric News 2000)

In the latter part of the 19th century, anti-lynching campaigns sprung up throughout the North and South, led for almost 50 years by the National Association of Colored Women and the NAACP. Ida B. Wells, an African American teacher,



GRAPHIC BY SAHU BARRON

journalist and suffragist, was a leading figure in this struggle. To help debunk the racist theory that lynching was justified to "protect the sanctity of white womanhood," the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching encouraged white women to join this antiracist campaign.

Today, institutionalized lynching persists in the police killings of Black youths, like the recent shooting of unarmed Timothy Stansbury in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant community. The incarceration of Black political prisoners for decades in the prison-industrial complex further illustrates how super-exploitation under capitalism, which keeps so many African Americans in poverty, continues to be maintained through state terror.

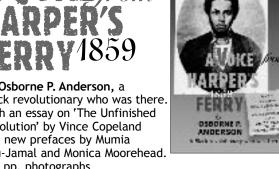
The United States is the most powerful imperialist country largely due to the national oppression of Black people and other peoples of color. African American activists, in raising the political demand for reparations and targeting U.S. corporations and banks that profited off the sweat and blood of unpaid African slaves, are recognizing this inherited, endemic super-exploitation. The righteous demand for reparations, which deserves the classwide solidarity of all working people, is a small price to pay for all the centuries of immense suffering and degradation that African Americans have had to endure and fight back against. □



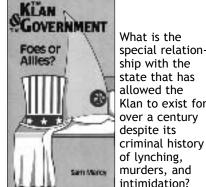
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#### Israel tries to make life unlivable

# PLO calls Feb. 23 day of protest of apartheid wall

By Richard Becker

Although largely ignored by the corporate media, Israel's harsh repression against the Palestinian population has intensified in the West Bank and Gaza in recent weeks and months.

At least nine Palestinians were killed and 10 others wounded in Israeli army attacks on Gaza City on Jan. 28. Most of those killed died defending their community against the Israeli incursion, and several were apparently executed.

Bakr Abu Saffiyeh, head of emergency services at Al-Shifa hospital in Gaza City, told AFP (French Press Agency) that five had been shot with "a single bullet to the head or the nape of the neck."

A spokesperson for the Palestinian Authority, Nabil Abu Rudeina, responded to the attack, saying, "the Israeli government must bear the responsibility for this massacre."

In response to the ongoing construction of an apartheid wall aimed at fencing in the Palestinian population in the West Bank, the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee has called a day of protest for Feb. 23.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon occasionally makes statements about "peace" for public relations. His government's objective, however, is clearly to make life unlivable for the people enduring under occupation and force as many as possible to leave.

Since Jan. 16, Israeli tanks and bulldozers have made more than 600 people homeless in the Rafah refugee camp alone. Rafah camp sits on the border between Gaza and Egypt. Israeli military operations have been particularly extensive in Rafah. Since October 2000, hundreds of Rafah residents have been killed or wounded, and more than 10,000 people have lost their homes in the extremely impoverished camp.

Peter Hansen, head of a UN agency for Palestinian refugees, condemned the Israeli policy of massive home destruction and said that it would cost \$30 million to replace the destroyed houses. The needed funds, however, do not exist and Hansen was jostled by an angry crowd of Rafah residents on a visit to the devastated camp on Jan. 24.

Israeli repression has been especially heavy in Gaza.

On Jan. 20, Israeli troops opened fire without warning on thousands of workers at the Erez crossing in northern Gaza with live ammunition, rubber-coated metal bullets and tear gas. At least 25 workers were hospitalized after the attack. The workers were lined up at the crossing for work.

A few days earlier, a young Gazan woman had killed herself and four Israeli border troops at the same crossing in a suicide bombing protesting occupation. The Jan. 20 shooting was apparently a form of collective punishment for the bombing.

On Jan. 22, Israeli troops shot and killed a 15-year-old boy while he was collecting firewood on the Gaza Strip. Mohsen Aldaur from Jebalia Camp in Gaza City and five friends were gathering wood when the troops fired on them with live ammunition.

Doctors in Gaza said that multiple gunshot wounds had killed Mohsen, and two of his friends were also shot and injured.

Israeli occupying forces made a large number of arrests and began demolishing an apartment building during another invasion of Nablus the morning of Jan. 26.

#### Arrests and demolition in Nablus

Israeli occupation forces have staged numerous raids in Nablus, the West Bank's largest city and a center of Palestinian resistance, over the past several weeks. The city of more than 150,000 people has been repeatedly isolated from the outside world, and placed under shoot-to-kill curfews.

According to the Palestine Monitor web site, at about 6 a.m. on Jan. 22 Israeli troops attacked the area around Abu Obayda Street in the western part of the city. The troops, firing live ammunition, rubber bullets and sound bombs, began house-to-house searches and arrested a large number of Palestinians.

The soldiers then surrounded a three-story apartment building with armored vehicles. Hadija Assaruyan, who lives in a neighboring building, told Palestine Monitor that she was awakened by the Israeli troops firing on the apartments and using loudspeakers to call on those inside to surrender. Bulldozers then began to demolish the building for sheltering militants. Assaruyan said she had seen no one arrested from the building.

#### 26-foot-high wall cuts East Jerusalem

In a move that shocked and angered Palestinians everywhere, on Jan. 12 Israeli construction workers began building a 26-foot-high concrete wall in East Jerusalem, an area illegally annexed by Israel following the 1967 war when it conquered and seized the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

Most media in the U.S. have reported that the wall technically separates East Jerusalem from the West Bank village of Abu Dis. In reality it cuts right through the Palestinian community. The huge wall is being built down the center of Abu Dis's main street. Most Abu Dis residents hold Jerusalem identification papers. They work, go to school and receive medical care in Jerusalem.

Where previously the nearest hospital was a few minutes away on foot, now the nearest health care facility will be 15 miles away in the West Bank.

The Jerusalem section is just one part of a wall that is projected to be about 240 miles long.

Reminiscent of the Bantustans of apartheid South Africa, the wall is intended to isolate and fence-in the Palestinian population in the West Bank, as the Palestinians are now fenced-in in Gaza.

Yazid Abu-Hliel is an Abu Dis resident. His four children will no longer be able to attend their Jerusalem school. He himself will no longer be able to continue his job as a floor polisher. As he explained: "They are putting us into prisons." □

SAN FRANCISCO, gather 11 a.m. at Dolores Park (18th St. and Dolores St.), march to Civic Center. Call 415-821-6545 or email answer@actionsf.org.

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#### **U.S.** in Iraq

# Mass resistance hinders neocolonial plans

By Fred Goldstein

The Bush administration is trying to initiate the process of transition in Iraq from an open colonial regime of occupation to a neocolonial puppet regime in time for Bush's reelection bid. Its plans are beset with growing difficulties.

U.S. casualties are on the rise again on a daily basis. There is a looming political crisis over the process of handing over governmental authority. And another credibility crisis broke out as the chief of the U.S. weapons search team, David Kay, resigned after two months, declaring that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction.

Six U.S. soldiers died in two separate attacks on Jan. 27. Three of them were killed and one critically wounded by a roadside bombing in Khaldiyah, west of Baghdad. Three others were killed and three wounded by a bomb south of Baghdad. A day earlier the U.S. headquarters had been hit with a rocket fired from across the Tigris River. There was damage but no reported casualties.

On Jan. 24, three soldiers had been killed in Khaldiyah and two in Fallujah. Meanwhile, seven Iraqi police were killed in Baghdad on the same day. The day before that, seven other Iraqi police were killed in Ramadi and two U.S. soldiers in Baquba were killed when their base was hit with mortars. The U.S. base in Kirkuk was hit with rockets two days in a row—Jan. 25 and 26. And on the 26th the Spanish garrison was attacked outside Najaf. The following day, a hotel in Karbala housing Polish troops was attacked.

The reported number of attacks per day has risen to 20. It is now clear that, after having diminished during the period of highly aggressive raids by U.S. forces just prior to and after the capture of Saddam Hussein, the armed resistance has rebounded. All Washington's hopes that it would die out have been dashed.

Washington's problems are political as well as military. Last Nov. 15, under pressure from mounting U.S. casualties, skyrocketing costs of war, world pressure to end the occupation and, above all, fear of what the growing anti-war feeling would do to Bush's election chances, Paul Bremer, head of the occupation authority, rammed through a well-publicized "agreement" with his own hand-picked Iraqi Governing Council to turn over authority to the Iraqis by June 30.

The scenario drawn up in the White House was that, by June, with the U.S. election campaign in full swing, Washington would have concocted a political process in Iraq that would leave it in charge behind the scenes but give the appearance of "sovereignty." U.S. troops and casualties would be reduced and Bush would portray himself as a wise commander-in-chief.

Thus the anti-war sentiment would be reduced at a critical time for his election campaign.

At the same time the new "sovereign" government could invite U.S. troops to stay and could legalize the corporate laws promulgated by Bremer privatizing state industry and giving multinational corporate exploiters total rights of investment, ownership and repatriation of profits.

As the June 30 deadline approaches, the chickens are coming home to roost. Bremer and Co. drew up a complicated plan of caucuses which was designed to give the appearance of a broadly representative selection process to choose a national assembly, while keeping the decisive power in the hands of the puppet Governing Council and, therefore, in the hands of the U.S. occupation.

The plan, now under pressure from all sides, was to form coordinating committees for each of the 18 provinces. These committees would each have 15 Iraqis—five from the Governing Council, five from provincial councils, and one each from the five largest cities in the province. These 15 people would select caucus members from "notables" and would vote on them. Each winner would have to get 11 votes, giving the Governing Council an effective veto on every applicant. The 18 caucuses would then pick representatives for a national assembly.

#### **Huge protests over phony 'elections'**

This transparently fraudulent arrangement, giving the stooges of the occupation control over the process, provoked universal opposition among Iraqis. The Governing Council is totally discredited among the population. The Iraqis regard it as a handful of rich exiles who are willing pawns of the U.S. occupation. There could be no political role for them if the process involved any form of mass approval, elections or other methods. Washington knows it. The council knows it.

And now even Ahmad Chalabi, a pawn of the Pentagon, is talking about elections. The latest attempt by the Governing Council members to save their positions is to expand the body to 75 or 100 members.

This self-serving colonial process has been discredited under pressure for direct elections from Shiite Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, who organized mass demonstrations of 100,000 in Baghdad, 30,000 in Basra, and thousands in Najaf and Karbala. Other Shiite forces, such as Ayatollah Moqtada Sadr—whose base is among the poor urban Shiites, mostly in Baghdad—have also demanded elections and oppose the occupation.

Bremer and Washington have taken the position that elections are impossible to hold by June 30. All manner of technical reasons are given, but the fundamental reason is that Bush, Rumsfeld, Bremer and Co. don't want anything resembling a popular election.

But the mass hatred for Washington's schemes and the occupation is so powerful that Bremer had to come to the United Nations and pressure Kofi Annan into rescuing the U.S. Annan agreed to send a UN delegation to Iraq.

Sistani will not talk to Bremer. But the ayatollah has hinted at a compromise, asking the UN to look the situation over and give a judgment or suggestions. He has called for a suspension of demonstrations until the UN delegation renders its opinion. This position may not be sustainable under mass pressure, however.

Sistani has occupied a moderate position up to now, advising his followers early on during the war and occupation not to partake in the resistance and to take a wait-and-see attitude. He always threatened that if the occupation forces were not gone after a reasonably short period of time, he would reevaluate his position.

 $Sadr, on \, the \, other \, hand, \, has \, demanded \,$ 

elections but condemned the UN as a tool of the U.S. and as the organizer of the sanctions that devastated Iraq. The struggle between these two tendencies, among others, for mass support on the basis of opposition to U.S. schemes is moving the entire process in the direction of confrontation with the occupation.

The demonstrations for elections are all accompanied by slogans such as "No to occupation" and "Down, down, USA." As far as the masses are concerned, they are demonstrating for self-determination and for an end to the occupation. That is what fuels them. In the White House, there is great fear that this will turn into a "jihad" against the occupation.

Nothing else could have brought Bremer to the UN after Washington reviled it as "irrelevant" and went ahead with the war without its approval. Bush in his State of the Union speech bragged that "We will never ask permission to defend our security." Meanwhile, arch unilateralist Vice President Dick Cheney was at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, suddenly praising the history of U.S.-European cooperation and calling for an end to rivalry.

After coming under intense pressure, Kofi Annan finally announced that he was prepared to send a delegation to Iraq to look into the feasibility of elections. Of course, Washington has pressured him to go and declare that early elections are impossible, thus fortifying the U.S. position. Bush, Bremer and Co. are also hoping that Sistani will seize on a UN judgment to seek a compromise.

Meanwhile, Annan is demanding security guarantees and has been generally dragging his feet. He is in no rush to be pushed into the unenviable role of savior for a failed U.S. colonial political strategy.

The UN has an ignominious history of doing the bidding of the U.S. and Western imperialism in Iraq. It backed the Gulf War of 1991 and imposed 12 years of sanctions, which killed up to 1.5 million Iraqis, the majority of them children and the elderly. Annan made his announcement in Paris and undoubtedly got the approval of the French and German imperialists, who are hoping that, if he can establish a significant role for the UN in Iraq, it will open the door in the future to their own role, politically and economically. If he fails, he takes the heat.

The truth of the matter is that no process can bring about self-determination for Iraq as long as it is occupied. The presence on Iraqi soil of colonial troops and an Occupation Authority with all its puppets cannot produce self-determination for the Iraqi people—whether the process has the UN stamp on it or not.

The Iraqi people must be free to work out their own fate, including what political processes to adopt, relations between the Kurds and the Arabs, relations between the Shiites and the Sunnis, relations between secularism and religion, and all other problems—whether by struggle, by negotiation or both. But all this must be accomplished free of any and all imperialist intervention.

#### Recolonization by invasion: new problem for imperialism

The growing guerrilla resistance and political crisis surrounding the demand for elections points to the fundamental The presence of U.S. colonial troops on Iraqi soil and the presence of the Occupation Authority and all its puppets cannot produce self-determination for the Iraqi people—whether the process has the UN stamp on it or not.

dilemma of the Bush administration and U.S. imperialism in Iraq. The invasion to recolonize Iraq is a new development in the history of imperialism. It is an attempt to destroy the independence of a people who have already carried out a great anti-imperialist revolution—the revolution of 1958 in which they drove out the British imperialists after 40 years of colonization and struggle.

Furthermore, it is an attempt to enslave a people who have undergone over three decades of development and modernization and who have attained a high level of education, including scientific and technological expertise. Above all, they have been trained in the use of arms and military organization and have weapons available all over the country. And, finally, the Iraqis are a proud people fiercely dedicated to national independence with a deep hatred of colonial occupation.

The destruction of the regime of Saddam Hussein and the Baathist Party by military means enabled the U.S. to destroy the institutions built up by the revolution during more than 35 years of independence. But it did not consummate a thoroughgoing internal counter-revolution, of the type that took place in Iran in 1953, when the CIA brought the Shah back to the throne and destroyed the Tudeh party and all progressive mass organizations; or in Indonesia in 1965, when the CIA working through the military killed over a million communists and progressives; or in Chile in 1973, when the CIA helped Pinochet and his butchers murder tens of thousands of organizers of the mass movement.

In all these historic counter-revolutions, the imperialists operated from undercover and by subversion, working with internal, reactionary bourgeois forces to crush all mass organization and destroy all means of resistance of the people.

In Iraq, because of the nature of the Iraqi Revolution and what it achieved for the masses, there was no such counter-revolutionary internal base for the CIA and Pentagon to work with. They tried for 12 years to overthrow the regime by sanctions, economic strangulation, repeated bombing of the so-called no-fly zones and by financing plotters and guerrilla forces. But they were unable to break the morale of the masses and they were unable to find internal forces of reaction strong enough to bring imperialism back.

So they invaded, and now they are the hated occupiers. They said they came to liberate Iraq. Now they have the double problem that a multifaceted armed guerrilla resistance is sapping the morale of U.S. troops, who are suffering greater

## workers world

### **Powell in Moscow**

ust when it seems that the Bush administration has climbed to the peak of imperial arrogance, it finds a way to show the world it can huff and puff that extra mile.

In a strategy that Machiavelli would have approved, the White House sent Secretary of State Colin Powell to Moscow to play hard cop at the same time that Vice President Dick Cheney was doing his best to charm an assemblage of those who like to think of themselves as the globe's movers and shakers at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

It appears that neither one worked very well.

Powell's task was certainly a formidable one. He was sent to lecture President Vladimir Putin on the usual subjects for which the U.S. claims to present such a stirring role model for the world: peace and human rights.

Powell chided the Russians about the war in Chechnya while pressing to set up more U.S. bases in the territories of the former Soviet Union. His performance as peace advocate must have sounded a bit odd. Just one year ago, he was in front of the world on behalf of another mission dictated by the White House. With charts and sexed-up aerial photos, Powell was explaining to the United Nations how Iraq's weapons of mass destruction made it necessary for the U.S. to go to war and destroy its government.

Now, a campaign of "shock and awe" and a bloody ongoing occupation later, everyone knows it was all lies and not one weapon of mass destruction has been found—except the ones that the U.S. dropped on Iraq.

Which doesn't make Powell's job easy—and maybe that's the way the White House likes to play it, using him as the point man for the dirtiest jobs.

The other part of his mission was equally laughable. He had to tell Putin about how concerned the U.S. is over the arrest of Mihail Khodorkovsky, the head of Yukos Oil, as if he didn't know that already. Most Russians are aware that Khodorkovsky, besides paying no

taxes on the billions his company was raking in from the exploitation of Russia's natural resources, was also in talks with Exxon Mobil to cut them in on the deal in exchange for a \$20 billion investment by the U.S. oil giant.

When the Russian government arrested Khodorkovsky in October, Putin's popularity went way up in the polls. The head of Yukos typifies what is hated by the masses in Russia today: the new class of millionaires and billionaires who have amassed their wealth through the now-legal theft of what was the people's property in the days of the USSR.

But Khodorkovsky is popular in other circles—and not just among Russia's nouveau riche. He counts among his "friends"—do the superrich really believe they have friends?—such luminaries as George Bush the Elder and other good old boys from the Carlyle Group, Henry Kissinger, Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham and former senator Bill Bradley. He is well known in the plush offices of the American Enterprise Institute and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (Wall Street Journal, Oct. 31, 2003)

After Khodorkovsky's arrest, a "senior administration official" called Moscow to complain. Yukos sent a representative to meet with an official of the National Security Council. The U.S. Embassy registered complaints. And now comes Powell. This administration makes no secret of the fact that where oil is concerned, it will put on a full-court press.

With all that has happened, can there be anyone left who really believes that the vicious Cold War waged by the U.S. ruling class against the Soviet Union for half a century, and the hot wars that accompanied it in service of the "domino theory," were about "freedom and democracy"? With all the advantages of two centuries of development behind them, the U.S. capitalists prevailed. But their system is now showing its rapacious character more clearly than ever as U.S. capital forces its way around the globe, from Korea to the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, and the oil-rich Caspian Sea.  $\square$ 

# 명학의 통일을 기원하는 비 변화 당한 유민는 비 내 민준이는

PHOTO: MINJOK.CO.

### Celebration of Asian New Year

On Jan. 24 in Los Angeles, Korean progressive groups and supporters celebrated the lunar New Year by proclaiming 2004 the "Year of Peace and Reunification."

Participating organizations included the Korean-American National Coordinating Council, Minjok-Tongshin Daily Web News, One Korea L.A. Forum, Mindullae, Pan Korean Unification Alliance, U.S. Supporting Chapter for the Democratic Labor Party, Korean Immigrant Workers Advocate, International Action Center, Bus Riders Union and many more.

Preston Wood, co-coordinator of the Los Angeles IAC, said: "We stand in solidarity with the worldwide movement for reunification in Korea. And as a U.S. anti-war and anti-racist organization, we call for U.S. troops out of Korea, Iraq, Palestine and everywhere."

-John Beacham

## Mass resistance hinders neocolonial plans

Continued from page 9

casualties and breaking down under stress to a degree that is alarming the Pentagon. And the masses still have the freedom of action on the streets to come out in tens and hundreds of thousands against the occupation.

Washington's goal is to make a transition from an outright colonial regime to a neo-colonial, comprador regime, the same way the British did in 1932. But there is no way that the Occupation Authority can dominate the political process and achieve a stable neo-colonial regime, given the rising tide of national resistance.

The U.S. imperialists are trying to construct a puppet government before having built up a puppet administration or state apparatus to a level anywhere close to adequate for the defense of the counter-revolutionary order they are trying to establish. Their prospects are highly doubtful.

Bush wants to draw down U.S. forces in Iraq, in the same way and for the same political reasons that Nixon "Vietnamized" the ground war in Vietnam by pulling out U.S. troops. But the occupation forces are the bulk of the state.

One ugly option would be for Washington to foment religious strife and civil war in the country. But the Iraqis may resist such schemes. Furthermore, this would destroy U.S. plans to impose the political stability they need to pave the way for economic plunder.

The Pentagon, the White House and the CIA all excluded the anti-colonial people of Iraq from their imperial calculations. Now they are confronted by the mass struggle in both its armed aspect and its mass mobilization aspect. While different forms of struggle, they are both aimed at getting rid of the occupation.

The edicts promulgated by Bremer and ratified by the Iraqi Governing Council exist primarily on paper. They are counter-revolutionary decrees, but to actually implement them and subjugate Iraq in practice to the oil companies, the giant banks and the multinational corporations, Bush and the Pentagon must first face the spreading resistance.

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#### **Interview with Gloria La Riva**

# Iraq, Mumbai impact on World Social Forum

Workers World Managing Editor John Catalinotto interviewed Gloria La Riva, the U.S. coordinator of the National Committee to Free the Cuban Five and a leader of the anti-war movement on the West Coast, about the World Social Forum that took place Jan. 16-21 in Mumbai, India.

Workers World: You attended the fourth World Social Forum, the first held outside of Porto Alegre, Brazil. As an active participant, what was your impression of this event?

Gloria La Riva: The WSF was held in the NESCO exhibition grounds, located in the north of Mumbai. It was in a very large field, encompassed by a wall, sort of like a fairgrounds. To house 1,200 workshops, exhibition halls, rallies and meetings was a considerable feat, given the very limited resources of the country.

The WSF workshops ranged from a few dozen to several thousand participants. One of the biggest was the Women's Court on U.S. War Crimes, where Ramsey Clark and I were invited to speak. I spoke at workshops about the five Cuban political prisoners in the U.S. known as the Cuban Five. I also represented the ANSWER coalition at some important meetings of anti-war groups.

From my limited observations, it appeared the vast majority of the more than 100,000 people attending were Indian, as well as a smaller number from other South Asian countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal, etc., and additional thousands of people from Europe, the U.S., Latin America, Africa, Australia, and everywhere else in the world. There were 130-150 countries represented.

Many meetings were held in the dozens of tent-like structures, made of burlap, drywall and burlap or dirt floors. The larger events, like the Women's Court or Tribunal that Ramsey Clark and I participated in, were in warehouse-like structures that held about 4,000 people.

The political leadership of the WSF is mainly from the social-democratic parties, Non-Governmental Organizations—not from communist or anti-imperialist organizations. Some people criticized the WSF sharply for receiving funds from the Ford Foundation, the Soros Foundation and other such institutions, which certainly colors the outlook of the organizers. Nevertheless the WSF attracts many people involved in struggle, and I believe the majority of those who attended are conscious anti-imperialists.

There was also a Mumbai Resistance event across the street from the WSF, which took positions in its final statement openly in solidarity with, for example, the resistance in Iraq. A few thousand people took part. Some speakers, like Arundhati Roy, spoke at both the WSF and the MR. She called on people to resist the U.S. occupation of Iraq in talks at both forums.

The opening WSF event was an outdoor rally of 100,000, a very rousing affair, with a few key speakers and music. Some of the key speakers were Arundhati Roy, India, Shabana Azmi of India, Shirin Ebadi, the Nobel peace prize winner from Iran, and Mustafa Barghouti of Palestine.

#### What was the impact of its being held in India?

One of the most important aspects of the venue was raising the consciousness of the progressive movement from around the world of the struggles of the Indian masses, so that more solidarity can be built among the people. Driving through just a few streets from the hotel to the WSF, we could see the desperate economic situation of so many people. There are families living in rudimentary sheds, tents, and people just living on the dirt, with nothing, nothing but rags, not even a blanket to sit on, not even a doorway to sleep in. It drives home the urgent need for revolution. One gets a better understanding of the statistics we hear about worldwide poverty, the 800 million who go to bed hungry. Here in India, as in other similarly oppressed countries, many people literally starve to death.

In the WSF there were many, many events every day around the basic themes: anti-war, anti-globalization, including workers' union struggles, against privatization, women's, anti-racist, especially about the Dalit—formerly known by that negative term "untouchables," lesbian/gay/bi/trans, peasant movements, fair trade, environmental, cultural. Indian unions like the railway workers' union, the bank workers' union fighting privatization of India's banks, the militant workers at General Electric who have been locked out for six months—they were also a prominent part of the events.

Many struggles in India are over the most basic issues, of women's fight against oppression and domestic violence like dowry killings, beatings, etc., and of the Dalits' struggle against centuries of oppression because of the caste system. There were many Dalit organizations that came in caravans from throughout the country. For that issue alone and the strengthening of their cause, the WSF was worth holding in India, as well as publicizing the overall struggle of the Indian masses.

There was a lot of respect and acknowledgement of the Dalit struggle by all the participants in the forum, from within India and the foreigners.

India is in the grips of massive privatization and a drastic lowering of workers' and peasants' living conditions. Given the growing takeover by U.S. capital of their industries, it is clear that the fate of the U.S. workers is bound up with the fate of the Indian masses.

#### Can you describe some of the forums you took part in?

The Women's Tribunal had 2,000 people attending when it started at 10 a.m., and it lasted almost 12 hours with many people staying for hours. This event was consistently anti-imperialist, encompassing struggles of Palestine, Iraq, Puerto Rico, Korea featuring two representatives from North Korea, two speakers from Cuba and me on the Cuban Five, Philippines, Hawaiian struggle, former U.S. Rep. Cynthia McKinney on oppression of the African American community in the U.S., anti-globalization, Ireland, Kensington Welfare Rights Organization, Vietnam and 30 other speakers.

Hundreds of Indian people attended, making the court probably the most mixed crowd of Indians and foreigners besides the outdoor rallies. Ramsey Clark, who spoke at the beginning and conclusion and was head juror, was a featured speaker, along with former United Nations official Denis Halliday, Fatima Meer, and others. Clark gave a great opening talk on the need to stand up against U.S. aggression everywhere.

Among the events in solidarity with



PHOTO: BELGIUM INDY MEDIA

Gloria La Riva, second from left, supports the Cuban Five at World Social Forum.

Cuba was a workshop held by the Socialist Cuba Initiative, a group from Belgium. Many of the almost 400 people at it were South Asian, as well as from several European countries, and Latin America. I spoke there on the Cuban 5 along with a representative of the Workers Party of Belgium and two Cuban representatives, who spoke about advances of the Cuban revolution. Workshop participants then held a march on the WSF grounds in solidarity with Cuba.

On the second-to-last day, there was a mass meeting on Cuba sponsored by some of the Indian Marxist organizations. They organized it off the grounds, featuring the Cuban delegation, with 1,200 people applauding a rousing call of solidarity for Cuba and the Cuban 5.

Every day, there were mini- and medium-sized rallies and marches held by many groups. Different groups would gather and march through the grounds, often running into each other and merging.

Ramsey Clark, Denis Halliday and I also spoke at an Economic Sanctions workshop organized by the Cuban Institute of Philosophy. Winnie Mandela spoke briefly at that workshop. And she reminisced with Ramsey Clark about a meeting they had 34 years ago when she was under house arrest in apartheid-ruled South Africa.

Clark also spoke at an Arab workshop, which was chaired by Rania Masri. There were also a Palestinian speaker and a Syrian woman speaking there. Clark said that it is imperative to get rid of Bush, but he emphasized that people should not expect anything from the Democrats, either. He said they are part of the problem, that it is the system and the plutocracy of the U.S. that engenders war. He said at the economics sanctions workshop that from his observations, socialism is a more humane and rational system than capitalism.

Denis Halliday spoke at the same events as Clark. He gave a militant talk calling for an end to the occupation.

## What happened in the anti-war discussions? Did the WSF support the call for March 20 actions?

There was an "Anti-War Assembly," which held all-day events to discuss the various points of the U.S. war on Iraq and related issues. The demonstration this upcoming March 20 was a major focus, and in the final statement of the WSF this date was supported as an international day of action. There was also talk of the

International Tribunal on Iraq.

I attended the main one that was discussing the program for March 20, and the Declaration of the Anti-War Assembly. I spoke there on Jan. 19, during the all-day assembly. Throughout the day, there were about 200 to 300 people attending. Most of those at the meeting were from Europe, and from North and South America, as well as Japan and south Korea.

Speaking for ANSWER's position and demands on March 20, I called strongly for the anti-war movement to make Palestine a central theme and for an unconditional end to the occupation, and I let them know that many Arab, Muslim and Palestinian groups in the United States and around the world are supporting the call.

Palestinian revolutionary Leila Khaled, who also attended the Women's Court, gave a very inspiring and moving talk on the need for the anti-war movement to defend Palestine, including the right of return.

In the end, the organizers said that the main demand is troops out of Iraq, and that it would be up to national groups to make up their own demands. They avoided taking an international position that would clarify the issue but left it to the national groups. The declaration of the anti-war assembly has reference to Palestine.

One notable thing was that my delegate identification card said ANSWER—the Act Now to Stop War and End Racism coalition—and it received very supportive feedback from many people, especially the people from the United States. Virtually every U.S. person recognized ANSWER and made positive remarks, and asked for literature

Many of the crowds rallying elsewhere at the WSF, the Palestinians and other Arabs, the Indian workers shouting against U.S. war in Iraq outside, and other Marxist and Third World forces, who were expressing clear anti-imperialist positions at these rallies, unfortunately were not represented in the anti-war assembly.

The debate on these issues internationally confirmed that the struggle to sharpen the political debate, to rally the anti-imperialist forces worldwide, to unconditionally oppose the U.S. occupation and defend the Palestinians' full right to self-determination is more important than ever. The same debate going on within the U.S. anti-war movement is going on worldwide as seen in the WSF. □

# Luchas en cumbre de Monterrey frustran planes del ALCA

Por Berta Joubert-Ceci

Entre protestas restringidas por el gobierno y una presencia fuerte de la policía, La Cumbre de las Américas se llevó a cabo el 12 y 13 de enero en Monterrey, México. Muchos grupos que protestaban habían firmado una declaración calificando al Presidente de los Estados Unidos George W. Bush, como "persona non grata".

Los medios de comunicación de los EE.UU., con raras excepciones, se referían a la reunión como la "Cumbre de las Américas". Pero fuera de los EE.UU., particularmente en América Latina, se referían a la reunión como la Cumbre "Extraordinaria" de las Américas, puesto que no formaba parte de las reuniones ya programadas. Fue una reunión impuesta por los Estados Unidos.

Históricamente, los EE.UU. han pedido estas cumbres por medio de la Organización de Estados Americanos para "discutir temas comunes políticos, sociales y económicos entre todos los jefes de estado de la región". Todos, excepto el de Cuba, debido a que desde los años 1960 Cuba ha sido excluida de la OEA por veto permanente de los EE.UU.

En 1994, cuando la Cumbre de las Américas se reunió por primera vez en Miami, el resultado fue lo que se refirió como el "Consenso de Washington". En ese tiempo, los gobiernos al sur del Río Bravo eran partidarios de los EE.UU. y del "mercado libre", encabezado por derechistas al estilo de Sánchez de Lozada de Bolivia, Fujimori del Perú, Ménem de Argentina y Samper de Colombia. Esa cumbre anunció el Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas, ALCA.

El ALCA comienza oficialmente en el 2005 pero el proceso "neoliberal" ya comenzó en la región. Para poder recibir préstamos de los bancos internacionales controlados por el imperialismo, estos países tienen que abrir sus mercados al capital financiero de los EE.UU. y privatizar las empresas nacionales más rentables. Tienen que abrir sus fronteras y eliminar los impuestos a las importaciones de productos de los Estados Unidos. A la misma vez tienen que bajar o eliminar por completo cualquier subvención para los cultivos o para las industrias nacionales propias. También tienen que bajar o eliminar los presupuestos para los programas sociales como por ejemplo los del cuidado de la salud, viviendas, educación, etc.

#### Pobreza se duplica en la región

No es sorprendente entonces que esta política haya resultado en una devastación terrible de la región y en una intensificación de la miseria. En la cumbre, el presidente de Venezuela, Hugo Chávez se refirió al ALCA como un modelo para la desigualdad, no para la integración, que ha duplicado la cifra de pobres de 110 millones a 227 millones de personas.

Este agudo deterioro del nivel básico de vida, la imposibilidad del pueblo de alimentar y proporcionar un techo a sus familias y tener acceso a la educación y al cuidado de la salud, ha causado un incremento en la conciencia política. Las masas han identificado su miseria con el

neoliberalismo, el ALCA y el capitalismo. El aumento de la resistencia al capitalismo, aunque no sea así expresado es evidente en sus acciones y consignas.

Movilizaciones en contra del neoliberalismo y su símbolo más visible, el ALCA, han sido organizadas en casi todos los países de la región. Estas van acompañadas por un sentimiento anti-estadounidense muy apropiado.

Esta situación es muy diferente a la del 1994. Las movilizaciones de las masas ha cambiado el balance de fuerzas contra aquellos que automáticamente apoyaban todos los pedidos de los EE.UU., incluso los que querían mantener las bases de la marina de guerra de los EE.UU. en Vieques, Puerto Rico, en contra de la voluntad del pueblo. Las acciones del pueblo ha resultado en la elección de jefes de estado quienes están prestando más atención a las necesidades de las masas que a los deseos de los EE.UU. Estos nuevos jefes de gobierno, con algunas excepciones, están muy conscientes de que el pueblo los puede sacar si aceptan pasivamente las demandas de los EE.UU. Un buen ejemplo de eso fue la destitución del presidente pro-estadounidense de Bolivia, Sánchez de Lozada, el octubre pasado por multitudinarias y militantes protestas y huelgas por parte del pueblo indígena y otros.

Hace un año en Ecuador, Lucio Gutiérrez fue elegido por voto popular basado en una plataforma política muy progresista. Ahora se ha alineado con los EE.UU. en contra de las masas. Por eso ahora el pueblo está intentando derrocarlo también para lo cual ya hay varias acciones pendientes para las próximas semanas.

Se han elegido gobiernos populares en Argentina, Brasil, Guatemala y Paraguay, y las fuerzas de la Revolución Bolivariana siguen creciendo en Venezuela. En Uruguay, el Frente Amplio tiene buenas probabilidades de ganar las elecciones generales en octubre del 2004. Hasta en Colombia, donde el gobierno derechista alineado con los EE.UU., implicado en el asesinato de líderes sindicales y de otros activistas progresistas, las masas derrotaron un referendo terriblemente anti popular promovido por el Presidente Álvaro Uribe. El día siguiente, un candidato izquierdista fue elegido como alcalde de Bogotá, el segundo puesto en importancia del país.

También hay una oposición tremenda en América Latina a la guerra de los EE.UU. contra Irak. El reconocimiento creciente de que el terrorismo verdadero se origina en los Estados Unidos está acompañado por un aumento en la aceptación, amistad y cooperación con Cuba.

Este cambio en el espectro político ha hecho que la administración de Bush esté pensando, y con razón, que la meta de formalizar el ALCA en el año 2005 está en riesgo. Estaban esperando que las discusiones para lograr ese objetivo concluirían este año. Esta es la razón por la que esta cumbre "extraordinaria" fue programada.

#### Chávez: 'ALCA es un cadáver'

Bush y la clase dominante no obtuvieron lo que buscaban. La declaración final mencionó vagamente la continuación de discusiones en el espíritu de la reunión ministerial de Miami de 2003, donde la insistencia de los EE.UU. por seguir con sus subvenciones para sus productos agrícolas casi paró las negociaciones del ALCA. Como dijo Chávez, "El ALCA es un cadáver".

La otra cuestión principal impulsada por Wáshington fue la exclusión de las negociaciones de "gobiernos corruptos". La oposición a esto fue igualmente vigorosa, dado que los EE.UU. no definió claramente lo que quería decir por "corrupción". Esto fue visto como una táctica para excluir cualquier gobierno que EE.UU. considere problemático.

El resultado más importante de la cumbre fue el desarrollo de dos polos: por un lado, los Estados Unidos, Canadá, y México con otros pocos; y por el otro lado, por primera vez en la historia, un bloque de países opuestos a la política neoliberal de los EE.UU. en la región. Cuba, que ha resistido el imperialismo por 45 años, es por supuesto parte de este bloque, a pesar de que no pertenece a la OEA. Este bloque también incluye a Venezuela, Brasil, Argentina, Paraguay y la mayoría de los países miembros del grupo CARICOM del Caribe.

Desesperado por rechazar el creciente prestigio y respeto que se tiene para Cuba y Venezuela en la región por su postura sobre la dignidad y la soberanía, los Estados Unidos montó un ataque contra los dos países antes y durante la cumbre. El Subsecretario estadounidense de Asuntos Hemisféricos, Roger Noriega, la Consejera sobre la Seguridad Nacional, Condoleezza Rice, el Secretario de Estado, Colin Powell y el Presidente Bush, todos produjeron un "blitzkrieg" verbal contra los dos países, acusándoles de ser antidemocráticos y desestabilizadores de la región. Bush acusó al Presidente de Argentina, Néstor Kirchner, de ser amigo de Fidel Castro, a lo cual respondió Kirchner que la Argentina es un país soberano y no el traspatio de los Estados Unidos.

Demostraron una arrogancia parecida con Brasil. Pero el ataque más feroz fue en contra de Chávez, a quien le cortaron el micrófono durante su intervención en la cumbre. Chávez fue el jefe de estado más opuesto al ALCA y a la cumbre en general. Después de que Bush habló criticando a Cuba, Chávez habló en defensa de la isla. Él mencionó la Misión Robinson, en la cual 100.000 maestros cubanos han llevado alfabetismo a un millón de venezolanos, y la Misión Barrio Adentro, en la cual 10.000 profesionales del cuidado de la salud han ayudado a los más pobres de Venezuela en los vecindarios más desesperados.

Con la meta deliberada de dividir para dominar, Bush celebró una conferencia de prensa antes de la cumbre con el presidente mexicano, Vicente Fox, anunciando, entre otras cosas, que México iba a estar involucrado en el referendo revocatorio venezolano. México va a dar \$10.000 a una organización observadora de la OEA durante el referendo. Pero es muy posible que no se va a dar tal referendo, porque la constitución de Venezuela declara que no se puede celebrar un referendo sin el número necesario de firmas válidas, algo que tiene que determinar el Consejo Nacional Electoral.

¿Qué es lo que vuelve tan desesperados a los gobernantes de los Estados Unidos? Sus sueños de hegemonía sobre el hemisferio y el control de sus recursos se están desvaneciendo. América del Sur es una región rica en metales preciosos, tierras fértiles, petróleo, gas natural y un enorme grado de biodiversidad. La zona amazónica que incluye partes de Venezuela y Brazil, se refiere con frecuencia como los pulmones del mundo. La reserva de agua subterránea Guaraní, cubre un área más grande que el territorio de España, Francia y Portugal combinados y se encuentra debajo de Brasil, Argentina, Paraguay y Uruguay.

El mercado común de los países del cono sur, MERCOSUR, que abarca a Brasil, Argentina, Paraguay y Uruguay, está planeando incluir a Venezuela, que queda en el norte. Los países de Latinoamérica y del Caribe están formando asociaciones económicas para desafiar a los EE.UU., asestando un gran golpe a los planes de Wall Street para la región.

Para asegurar su dominación de la región, los Estados Unidos está militarizando rápidamente al hemisferio. Pero actualmente hay un lema popular que dice, "Alerta imperialista, alerta que camina, la espada de Bolívar por América Latina".

Millones de latinoamerican@s también han sido forzad@s a emigrar a los Estados Unidos en búsqueda de trabajos, a pesar de las tremendas riquezas de la región. Est@s hij@s de Bolívar trabajan en los restaurantes de Nueva York, en los valles de California, y en los cultivos de hongos de Pennsylvania. Traen consigo el espíritu de lucha y la conciencia de pertenecer a la clase trabajadora, sin ilusión del "sueño americano". □

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