

It's not just the crooks on Wall Street Bush can't fix a crooked system

Market plunge, falling profits reflect capitalist rot

By Deirdre Griswold

Enron. Global Crossing. Arthur Andersen. Tyco. WorldCom. The carcasses are piling up. And now Qwest is under criminal investigation.

Corporate America is on the edge of panic. Small investors are either flattened or looking for security somewhere else. Layoffs are mounting.

ON THE MOVE AGAINST RACISM

- **TENNESSEE:** Black farmers sit-in for justice
- **TEXAS:** James Byrd Jr.'s son vs. death row
- **HARLEM, N.Y.:** Rally slams rent hikes
- *Plus:* Safiya Bukhari speaks

SEE CENTERFOLD

TARGET: IRAQ

U.S. plans to invade Iraq are already under way. Why is Bush targeting a country already devastated by war and sanctions? How can anti-war forces stop a new attack? **8**

UNION POWER ON THE DOCKS

In 1934, West Coast longshore workers fought back and won new rights. Today, as shipping bosses and the government line up against the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, its militant history holds important lessons. **4**

PENTAGON IMMUNITY?

Horror is growing over U.S. war crimes in Afghanistan and other countries. But Washington wants a "get out of jail free" card from the new UN war crimes court. **9**

RECLAIMING WOMEN'S HISTORY

There's more to the French Revolution than Marie Antoinette. **11**

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WORKERS WORLD NEWSPAPER

55 W. 17 St. NY, NY 10011 (212) 627-2994

So George W. Bush went to Wall Street on July 9 to talk tough about getting rid of the bad apples. It was supposed to allay everyone's fears. Except it didn't work. The market fell another 178 points as he was talking.

The man who until a few days ago was the fervent champion of these capitalists—and is no stranger to insider trading himself—just slapped a few wrists.

It's a strange period. All the big business types who were telling the government to get off their backs are now calling on it to save them—from themselves.

We need tougher laws, they say. More regulation. Corporate criminals should be punished. And they're complaining that Bush's talk wasn't tough enough.

How their tune has changed!

When they flocked to Washington

Even before Bush was sworn in as president, they were flocking to Washington full of ideas on how to make bigger profits. An article by Jim McTague in Barron's Online of Jan. 8, 2001, gave a vivid picture of the transition period: "The capital is filling up with pin-striped, Chamber of Commerce types, attracted by what promises to be the most pro-business, anti-regulatory administration since Ronald Reagan reigned. ...

"[Bush] has packed CEOs and industry lobbyists on transition teams that are advising his new Cabinet secretaries and agency heads on pressing policy issues and new hires. The advisory team for nominee Gale Norton's Department of Interior is jammed with representatives of energy, mining and paper companies."

Kenneth Lay, at that time CEO of Enron, was "a member of the team advising Sen. Spencer Abraham, Bush's nominee for Energy Secretary."

Now Lay and former WorldCom CEO Bernard J. Ebbers have appeared hand and glove before congressional committees looking into criminal behavior by the executives of these huge corporations. They have pleaded the Fifth Amendment rather than admit the gory details of how they shredded papers that would show how ingeniously they cooked the books to give the impression that their companies were making lots of money when they weren't.

Politicians from both sides of the aisle, who used to lick their boots while pocketing their campaign contributions and chanting the mantra of the nineties—"Privatize! Privatize!"—are now jeering at these fallen angels. These political opportunists are playing to all those millions of investors—many of them workers with no control over their pension funds—whose life savings are going up in smoke.

Just a few years ago these same corporate executives were soaring like eagles. Their system was so triumphant

Wall Street fiddles while jobs burn **5**

that they proudly emblazoned the word "capitalist" on their mastheads.

Not just crooks but a crooked system

What has brought the titans of Wall Street so low?

Didn't they know that they'd get caught sooner or later? What made them so reckless?

The Greek chorus of media experts is having a field day bemoaning lack of moral fiber and honesty. But digging out personal failings is just running away from the real problem. Sure, these guys are crooks, but why did the biggest crooks get to the top? Why not the "straight shooters"?

There's a gorilla in the room that nobody in the bourgeois world wants to talk about. These frantic CEOs broke the rules to cover up falling profits. So the next question is, why were profits falling?

If Karl Marx were around today, he'd be shaking his head in disgust and saying, "Read my book."

Marx isn't popular with the Wall Street crowd because he showed in his monumental work "Capital" that crisis is built into the capitalist system.

It arises out of a basic contradiction: the economic structure increasingly depends on a high degree of social integration—often millions of workers are involved somewhere along the line in the production of a single product—but ownership of this vast productive network is in the hands of a shrinking class of super-rich exploiters.

Continued on page 5

Mumia's supporters mark 20 years of death row injustice



WW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Philadelphia's elite gave war criminal Colin Powell a medal July 4. But in the streets, supporters of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal gave out their own Liberation Awards to some deserving anti-racist activists. They marched under a broiling sun to demand freedom for Abu-Jamal 20 years after his unjust death sentence was handed down. See page 3.

ILWU solidarity with LGBT

Bill Hackwell's excellent article on the current struggle of the International Longshore & Warehouse Union (ILWU) in the July 11 Workers World sparked a memory of what was an early, and perhaps the first, act of solidarity by a U.S. labor organization with the lesbian, gay, bi and trans movement.

In 1971 police harassment of gay bar patrons in San Francisco was common. One night in January of that year, the cops raided the Stud, at that time a movement-oriented bar on Folsom Street. Many in the bar stood their ground, refusing to be intimidated. Others fled, fearing arrest and exposure.

One young man rushed to his car, parked in the next-door alley opening onto Folsom. As he pulled out, a cop jumped in front of his car and fired two shots at the approaching car. The bullets broke the fleeing patron's leg in two places. He was arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon (his car!).

The San Francisco Gay Liberation Front called a mass meeting to organize assistance for the young man. It was decided to hold a fundraiser to help with his legal and medical expenses. But where to hold it? The ILWU union hall was made available to us with no hesitation after we explained our purpose.

The union officials who unlocked the hall for us and helped us set up were warm and friendly; not a hint of homophobia among these progressive workers. They stayed to watch the same-sex dancing and listened to our speeches of indignation and rage against the police with obvious sympathy.

Long live the unity of workers and oppressed people! Victory to the Pacific Coast longshore workers!

Bob McCubbin



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

U.S. war against the Cherokee Nation

During the July 4 hoopla and chauvinist onslaught, no official holiday programs will tell the truth that most of the fighting in 1776 targeted the Tsalagi (Cherokee) Nation for control of Virginia, North and South Carolina.

The Carolina governor declared war against the Cherokees in 1759; in 1760 a campaign by the British destroyed their Lower Towns. And although they had lost most of Kentucky in 1775 to England, the Cherokees sided with the British. As Wilma Mankiller, former principal chief of the Western Cherokee Nation, explained: "Our

leaders could see that the colonies wanted to expand, and England wanted to contain the colonists."

Cherokees joined the British assault on Charleston in June 1776. "The Charlestonians managed to repulse the attack, and from then, the American

Revolution—at least from the Cherokee perspective—was a furious struggle between the Americans and our tribe." The colonialists agreed that South Carolina would destroy the Lower Towns, both Carolinas the Middle and Valley Towns, and Virginia the Overhill Towns.

Gen. Griffith Rutherford led North Carolina's attack and destroyed 36 Cherokee towns and cornfields on the Oconaluftee and Tuckasegee rivers, the upper Little Tennessee River, and the

Hiwassee River to the junction of the Valley River and below. Colonel Andrew Williamson of the South Carolina militia attacked the Lower Towns with over 1,000 troops, burned the towns and destroyed the corn.

Rutherford and Williamson then combined armies to attack and scorch the Middle Towns, leaving nothing. Following this, Colonel Christian marched the Virginians on the Overhill Towns. Mankiller says, "The only English assistance seemed to come from the white traders living among our people (raising mixed-blood families). ... In less than a year, more than 50 Cherokee towns had been attacked and devastated. Crops and supplies were destroyed."

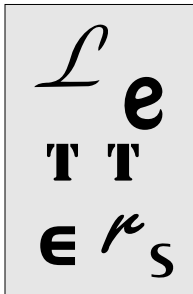
Virtually every Cherokee town was razed. Hundreds were killed or died of starvation and exposure, others imprisoned, some sold into slavery. Those who escaped were destitute in the mountains. The Americans spread the word that the Cherokees were driven into the woods to perish, as a threat to the Creeks. In 1777, the Cherokee leaders signed treaties ceding all remaining land in South Carolina and other Cherokee lands.

Mankiller states, "not all of our people went along with those early treaties." The colonists officially made peace with the British with the 1782 Treaty of Paris, but militant Cherokees known as Chickamaugans, joined by some Creeks and Shawnees, continued to fight until 1794.

Before long the new U.S. government broke the treaties, as North Carolina and Georgia settlers coveted the remaining Cherokee lands for plantation holdings and gold in the Smoky Mountains. The situation culminated in the genocidal 1830 removal called the Trail of Tears.

Someday the people's struggle will overthrow the U.S. heritage of domestic and international genocide and exploitation, and create new holidays based on justice and peace.

Stephanie Hedgecoke



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WW CALENDAR

BALTIMORE

Sat., July 27
"Labor for Reparations." Rally sponsored by Labor for Reparations including Dr. Kwame Oabayomi; Sally Davies, President AFSCME District Council 92; Eric Easton, Vice President, National Action Network; All Peoples Congress, ANSWER. 3 p.m. At Unity United Methodist Church, 1433 Edmondson Ave. For info (410) 235-7040 or apcbaltimore@pipeline.com.

CHICAGO

Fri., July 12
In Bridgeview, Ill.: Eyewitness Palestine. Featuring Richard Becker, International Action Center; Mahmud Ahmad, Free Palestine Alliance; and new video "Palestine Fights for Freedom." 7 p.m. At the Al Aqsa School, 7361 W. 92 St., Bridgeview. For info (773) 878-0166 or email billbeth@rcnchicago.com.

LOS ANGELES

Sat., July 20
Forum: 50 years of U.S. war crimes and the Korean people's struggle for peace and reunification. Sponsored by the International Action Center and One Korea-L.A. Forum. Featured speakers: Yoomi Jeong, Deputy Secretary General of Korea

Truth Commission, and Deirdre Griswold, jurist in the Korea International War Crimes Tribunal. 4 p.m. At Loyola Law School, Student Lounge. For info (213) 487-2368 or iacenterla@action-mail.org.

SAN FRANCISCO

Sun., Aug. 4
Workers World Party honors Jackie Kiernan, Hilda Roberts, Ricardo Leon, Zvetana Zaneva, and Petko Zaneva, long-time activists in the struggle. The celebration will be held in the spirit of the Cuban Revolution to commemorate July 26 and raise funds for the campaign to free the five Cuban imprisoned in the United States. 2 p.m. At the Women's Building, 3543 18th St. For info (415) 826-4828.

WINDSOR, CANADA

Fri.-Sun., July 26-28
Cuba Labor Conference. With leaders of the Cuban Workers Federation (CTC), featuring Pedro Ross Leal, CTC General Secretary. Includes update on the situation in Cuba, role of Cuba's unions in Cuba's recovery. Sponsored jointly by U.S.-Canada labor unions. To register contact: U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange at phone/fax: (313) 561-8330 or laborexchange@aol.com

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20 years after racist sentencing

Protesters say 'Free Mumia now!'

By Betsey Piette
Philadelphia

Hundreds of protesters marched and rallied in Center City July 4 demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal on the 20th anniversary of his death sentence. Braving the extremely high heat, the demonstration marched from the starting rally at City Hall down Market Street to a closing rally at the Liberty Bell, where earlier in the day U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell had been awarded Philadelphia's annual Liberty Medal.

At the opening rally, Pam Africa from International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal welcomed the demonstrators, a number of whom traveled from as far away as Chicago and San Francisco.

The demonstration stopped for a brief street rally at 12th and Market streets, outside a hotel where Powell was speaking at a \$150-per-plate luncheon. Monica Moorehead of Millions for Mumia and the International Action Center addressed the gathering to explain why Powell was not

deserving of this award. As she exposed Powell's murderous military career, people walking by on the streets stopped to listen and some even joined the march.

Rally organizers decided to challenge the hypocrisy of Powell receiving an award that recognized "an individual ...who had demonstrated leadership and vision in the pursuit of liberty of conscience; or freedom from oppression, ignorance, or deprivation" by awarding their own "Liberation Awards" to individuals truly deserving of the honor.

Linda Richardson of Philadelphia's Black United Fund was recognized for her courage in standing up to public pressure and major cuts in donor support to her organization when she would not back down in providing technical assistance to ICFMMAJ.

BUF has had to temporarily close its office and lay off staff, seriously jeopardizing their ability to provide support to Philadelphia's African American community, but Richardson explained that the group was determined to stand its ground and would fight to reopen. The rally ap-

Pam Africa presents Liberation Award to 96-year-old activist Louise Franklin-Ramirez.

WW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

pealed for donations to be sent to the Black United Fund, 2227 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, PA 19132.

A Liberation Award was also represented to

Lynne Stewart, New York political activist and lawyer indicted by U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft for allegedly breaking "special administrative measures" in representing her client, Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman.

Special recognition was given to 96-year-old civil rights and anti-war activist Louise Franklin-Ramirez. She was arrested three years ago at a demonstration for Abu-Jamal.

Susan Abulhawa, a local Palestinian activist, was awarded the final Liberation Award for devoting her energies to raising awareness of the struggle of the people of Palestine against occupation and for liber-



ation of their land. Abulhawa, who traveled to Palestine in April and brought back eyewitness accounts of the massacres at the Jenin refugee camp, dedicated her award to the children of Palestine.

The closing rally was addressed by Sam Jordan of ICFMMAJ, who gave an update on Abu-Jamal's legal case; Native activist Jason Corwin; Yoomi Jeong from the Korea Truth Commission; Teresa Gutierrez, New York coordinator of the National Committee to Free the Five Cuban Political Prisoners Held in the United States; Clark Kissinger from Refuse & Resist!; and a representative from the Millions for Reparations Committee.

Detained Palestinian activist stands strong

By Workers World Boston bureau

JAOU DAT ABOU AZZA, the young Palestinian activist in Immigration and Naturalization Service custody, still faces government abuse as support for his case continues to grow in Boston and around the country.

Abouazza was organizing for a pro-Palestinian protest at the Boston "Israel Day" festival when police picked him up May 30 on the pretext of minor traffic violations. Based on leaflets found in his car for the June 9 protest, he was denied bail and detained.

At his June 27 immigration court hearing, over 100 people turned out in support. The judge ordered a voluntary exit to Canada, Abouazza's country of citizenship, but denied bond and gave the government 30 days to appeal the ruling.

Since then, Sheriff Hodgson has continued to bar two of his attorneys, including the executive director of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, from the jail. In addition, two members of the Jaoudat Abouazza Defense Committee have been barred from the jail. Jaoudat's primary care physician and dentist have been denied access to examine him.

In response to requests by his primary care physician, Dr. Lana Habash, for records and information, the jail has provided incomplete and contradictory records, and the supervising doctor has refused to speak with her.

On the morning of June 9 the jailers extracted four teeth from Abouazza without his consent, leaving one broken tooth in his mouth. He was left bleeding and unable to chew. Abouazza was forcibly removed from his cell and held in a chair by guards during the procedure. Afterward, no pain medication or antibiotics were provided.

Members of the Jaoudat Abouazza Defense Committee who visited him that evening saw the bleeding wounds. On June 11, two of his lawyers also

were able to see the wounds.

The jail maintains that only one tooth was extracted in response to complaints of pain and bleeding. But Abouazza says there was no prior pain or bleeding, he had never complained of it to any of his supporters or friends, and the dental examination he received when first detained showed no outstanding problems.

Abouazza has also experienced beatings and arbitrary solitary confinement and lockdowns in retaliation for his refusal to sign forms or speak to the FBI without a translator and lawyer present.

In response to a letter from Dr. Habash, Amnesty International sent a letter to the INS demanding an investigation.

As a result of the continued support for Abouazza—including over 100 letters of support addressed to the INS director in Boston and commissioner in Washington—the INS announced in early July it would not appeal the judge's order allowing Abouazza to leave the country voluntarily. Supporters are hopeful that he may be returned to Canada soon.

However, Abouazza still faces many other legal challenges from the government. For example, the Middlesex County District Court listed Abouazza in default because he missed a court appearance for the traffic violations. A warrant was then issued for his arrest. But he missed the court appearance because the INS had him in custody and refused to allow him to attend, despite a court order.

The Jaoudat Abouazza Defense Committee says the anti-war, anti-repression movement must keep up the pressure on the INS, jail authorities and the district attorney to drop all the charges and release Abouazza immediately, and continue to fight to bring those responsible for government misconduct in his case to justice.

For more information, call the Jaoudat Abouazza Defense Committee at (617) 522-6626.

Health care crisis hits Los Angeles

By Adrian Garcia
Los Angeles

If there was ever any doubt that the Bush administration's "war on terrorism" would simultaneously become a war against the working people of this country, last May's proposed budgets cuts in education and, most recently, the proposed health care cuts in Los Angeles serve as undeniable proof of the capitalist bosses' attempts to undermine the livelihood of the working class.

"Billions of dollars were found to fight terrorism. Billions of dollars were found to save airlines," commented Mandy Johnson, a representative for community clinics, in a June 27 article in the Los Angeles Times. Johnson was responding to the Los Angeles County Supervisors' vote to close 11 of 18 clinics, crop 5,000 jobs and terminate inpatient services at one prominent hospital.

The supervisors callously disregarded the concerns of 1,000 people who showed up at a public hearing with the purpose of persuading them to preserve the health-care system.

Los Angeles' health care system serves 800,000 people every year. Most are impoverished people, including many people of color and immigrants, with little or no health insurance.

The attack on health care services doesn't end there. The County Supervisors have warned the health department of deeper cuts in October if a \$350-million bailout from the federal government does not come through. This may lead to the elimination of emergency rooms and inpatient services at some medical facilities.

Outpatient care has also been targeted for cuts, even as Los Angeles County has been touting increased outpatient care as one of its goals for improving the health care system.

Los Angeles' working class has suffered

from health care neglect for years. Nurses have complained that their hospitals are severely understaffed, leading to numerous protests and walk-outs. Ambulance drivers have testified that they routinely transport patients in need of medical care from hospital to hospital in an effort to find an emergency room that can render assistance.

Despite these horror stories, the capitalist bosses have no qualms about sacrificing the well being of Los Angeles' impoverished communities.

And what is the reaction from Washington? Will lawmakers and the president come to the aid of the people and grant Los Angeles the \$350-million bailout that is required to stave off future cuts, as they have done for corporations and the military following the events of Sept. 11?

Think again. Instead of using funds for the needs of the working people, the Senate and the House shamelessly squander taxpayer money for the Bush administration's reactionary war drive.

On June 27 Congress approved a \$393 billion bill for military spending with virtually no opposition in either house. The "defense" bill includes an increase in salary for military personnel and the largest increase in military funding in decades, according to the New York Times.

Some \$7.4 billion of the military budget has been allocated for the development of the highly controversial missile defense system. The big business politicians prefer to grant monies to a scheme whose likelihood for success is highly improbable rather than to shore up a health care system that is in shambles and jeopardizes the lives of countless working people.

Annelle Grajeda, the general manager of Service Employees Local 660, has announced plans for a number of demonstrations and urged people to join her in a struggle against the health care cuts in Los Angeles.

As showdown brews on Western docks

Longshore legacy points way forward for labor

By Milt Neidenberg

Is a labor union that fights passionately for its members a threat to "national security"? Will it be labeled a "terrorist" organization if it is forced to strike for a just and decent contract?

These are not far-fetched questions.

In a shocking intrusion, Tom Ridge—the architect, organizer, and director of the Bush administration's Office of Homeland Security—stepped right into the middle of contract negotiations between the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), the representative of ship owners and stevedore companies on the West Coast.

He warned ILWU President James Spinoso that any disruptions following the expiration of the contract would be bad for the national interest. According to ILWU leaders, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has also been talking to Spinoso. The war-threatening Bush team has recently announced more than \$92 million in federal grants to maximize waterfront security—another form of intimidation.

The union's contract expired July 1, but the talks continue.

The issues are difficult and complex for the union. In the April issue of *The Dispatcher*, the ILWU newspaper, Spinoso outlined the problems: "Your officers and the negotiating committee are working full time to nail down an agreement that will guarantee your benefits and pensions, keep your jobs secure and

strengthen the union as the industry goes through major technological changes."

Spinoso continued: "This is the most important bargaining the Longshore Division has gone through since we negotiated the transition to containerization more than 40 years ago. How well we fare in the next few weeks will determine the future of the ILWU for years to come. ... [The PMA] is demanding many unacceptable concessions. And they are cynically using the post-Sept. 11 anxieties and fears for the security of our ports to bang at the union."

Bosses lobby for gov't intervention

The Bush administration's sinister intervention is no accident. PMA President Joseph Miniace has been lining up support since March 2001, when the ILWU refused to start negotiations more than a year before the contract expired. The PMA wanted the union to begin immediately making concessions around issues of technology designed to improve productivity.

Since then Miniace has spent most of his time lobbying Congress, administration officials, and an array of import and export companies involved in global trade.

The ILWU has countered this mounting pressure. Rank and file members have been made aware of all the issues involved in the contract talks.

The union is organizing beyond its own ranks. It has won the support of many influential labor organizations across the globe, including the International Transport Workers Federation (ITWF) Fair Practices Committee.

According to reports published in the Congressional Information Bulletin, Kees Marges, secretary of the Dockers' Section of the ITWF, is sitting in on negotiations. The report quotes Marges' major concerns regarding "how the aftermath of Sept. 11 could effect the future of all U.S. labor negotiations. ... The PMA appears to be trying to use the events of Sept. 11 and the need to improve port security as a way to force the ILWU to accept the unacceptable.

"Longshore workers and their trade unions, who have always helped lead the fight to defend workers' interests—in their own country and abroad—now have to operate in a hostile environment. ... The ILWU's battle should be our battle too. It is crucial that other trade unions, not just port workers and seafarers, support their American colleagues."

Bloody Thursday, 1934

Traditionally, port traffic slows down during the first week of July. Most longshore workers take off July 5 in honor of "Bloody Thursday."

Richard O. Boyer and Herbert Morais' book "Labor's Untold Story" gives this history of Bloody Thursday:



On July 5, 1934, in San Francisco, "The police in riot gear and gas masks opened fire with revolvers, riot guns, and hurling tear gas bombs to break up the longshore picket line and their supporters. ... Two workers were killed and hundreds were badly wounded. ...

"The employers thought they had won ... but the strikers

and their thousands of sympathizers fought back with their bare hands, and bricks and stones. ... The battle raged on throughout the day as reinforcements from other unions joined the fray. ...

"Ten days later, on July 15 ... some 106 local AFL unions, with a membership of over 125,000 workers, called a General Strike... The paralysis was effective beyond all expectations. ... To all intents and purposes industry was at a complete standstill for the next two days." The strike was led by Harry Bridges, a militant leftist born in Australia.

On July 30, 1934, the 35,000 maritime workers went back to work with significant gains—a six hour workday, 30-hour workweek, and time-and-a-half for overtime.

Most important, they won the hiring hall, ending the power of the shipping bosses to determine who would work from day to day—a vicious practice by which management would select favorites or accept bribes. Before the union victory, a longshore worker might wait around for three or four days, then have to work straight through for 24 to 36 hours.

A Web site hosted by supporters of ILWU Local 19 in Seattle explains the significance of the hiring hall, which is administered by union members elected from the rank and file.

Scenes from 1934 San Francisco general strike. Walkout was sparked by police killing of two longshore workers. Bottom: Union leader Harry Bridges confronts cops.

PHOTOS: ILWU

"The ILWU hiring hall ... includes the union's cherished principle of fighting against persecution and discrimination based on a person's race, religion or politics. Just as importantly, the hall has also been the center of the union's internal communication and discipline.

"On a daily basis the hall has also been a social and political center of the ILWU longshore community. Weakening the hall and diminishing control over dispatching increases employers' control over work and the workers."

Once again, advanced technology has posed the blockbuster issues of the hiring hall and job security. Jack Heyman, a San Francisco ILWU organizer, charged: "The PMA wants to computerize the hall [under its control]. ... Longshore workers died in the 1934 strike for the hiring hall. ... It dictates who controls distribution of jobs, who controls the waterfront."

President Spinoso has said repeatedly that he is prepared to discuss technological changes. But what's unacceptable is the PMA's demand for the unconditional right to use computers and robots to destroy waterfront jobs and the futures of those who are entering the industry. Isn't this what corporate America is doing to the entire labor movement?

30 for 40

The longshore workers won a shorter workweek in 1934. Now the fight is on again—and not only for them.

If there was ever an opportune time to raise the issue of a shorter workweek without loss of pay or benefits, this is it.

The fight to shorten the workweek has a rich history. At United Auto Workers conventions during the late 1940s and early 1950s, the issue was repeatedly brought to the floor. In 1953, the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution calling for a federal

law to reduce the workweek to 35 hours without a loss of take-home pay.

At conventions of the Pennsylvania Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the California CIO, the call for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay was adopted. By



March 1954, unemployment had reached a postwar high of over 4 million and many other unions joined the campaign.

Once again there is urgent need to raise the demand of 30 for 40. More than 3.1 million workers have been unemployed for at least 15 weeks, the highest level since 1993. The tragic figures are really much higher since only those who are judged to be actively looking for work are included.

The official national unemployment rate has risen to nearly 6 percent—a ridiculously understated figure since part-time workers, temporary workers and others who work minimal hours are counted as fully employed.

Black, Latino, and other oppressed nationalities suffer from much higher unemployment.

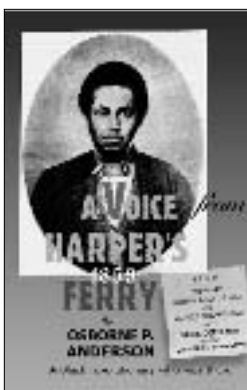
Contrast the misery of being jobless to the enjoyment of stolen billions by the corporate and banking elite.

Is a showdown in the making? For now the spotlight is on the ILWU and PMA negotiations.

This is payback time for the ILWU. This militant union has supported so many struggles of the workers and oppressed, from South Africa to the Charleston Five to Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The ILWU's tradition of struggle and sacrifice can inspire other workers to organize and mobilize for a shorter workweek with no loss of pay. It can help give a fight-back perspective to the millions of multinational workers who lost their jobs due to the rise in worker-productivity and capitalist overproduction.

Working class solidarity can break through the gridlock that the Bush administration and the PMA have imposed on the ILWU and lay the basis for an historic labor victory.



By Osborne P. Anderson, a Black revolutionary who was there. With an essay on 'The Unfinished Revolution' by Vince Copeland & new prefaces by Mumia Abu-Jamal and Monica Moorehead. 128 pp, photographs. \$18 available at www.leftbooks.com

A VOICE from
HARPER'S
FERRY 1859

Stock market Neros fiddle as workers burn

Wall Street cheers rising joblessness

By Gary Wilson

Wall Street's financiers got some good news on July 5, and the stock market soared. "The Dow Jones industrial average jumped almost 325 points, or 3.6 percent, to 9,380, its biggest one-day gain since Sept. 24," the July 6 New York Times reported.

The good news? The unemployment rate rose in June. The jobs report "played a role in the stock gains," the Times added.

Only the wealthy class could see a rise in joblessness as good news. That's because their loyalty is to their profit margin and nothing else.

Wall Street cheered because the rise in unemployment means that rather than hire those who have been laid off, companies "are trying to meet new demand by becoming more efficient," in the words of the New York Times reporter. More efficient means working harder, longer hours, often at reduced pay—that is, increasing the rate of exploitation.

The recession, which the National Bureau of Economic Research dates as offi-

cially starting in March 2001, is the result of a capitalist crisis of overproduction; the consequence is a falling rate of profit.

A recession looks different depending on who you are. If you're on Wall Street, what's important is profit margins. But if you're a worker, what's important is job security.

Unemployment is one of the worst things that can happen to a worker, so the real test of a recovery is whether or not you have a job.

When the financial press reports that there has been a "jobless recovery," it means that the recession for Wall Street may have ended, but the recession for workers has not ended.

"What has not recovered at all is employment. The economy lost 1.8 million jobs from March 2001 through April, and only 60,000 have reappeared since then, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported on Friday," the July 7 New York Times said.

None of the new jobs are in industry; all are in the government, mostly in the military.

The military and the military-industrial

complex is the only part of the economy that is expanding. Yet military production is not the same as normal commodity production. Its expansion by no means guarantees an economic recovery with full employment. In fact, its expansion may well spell a deepening of the economic crisis.

Military production is a special kind of commodity production. A commodity, in Marxist terms, must have more than an exchange value; it must also have a use value. According to Marx, a commodity is "a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another."

The process of capitalist production and exchange means that the capitalist enterprise, in order to realize a profit, must produce a useful product. If not, the process of capitalist reproduction is undermined.

The military-industrial complex does not produce anything useful to society. The U.S. is flooding the world markets with jets, guns, tanks and other sophisticated military equipment that have no use value.

Cranking up U.S. military production in

the 1930s was a stimulus to the capitalist economy that helped bring it out of the depression. Cranking it up today in a period worldwide capitalist stagnation will operate as a depressant instead.

For the working class, the most effective way to defend jobs and stop layoffs is to build anti-racist solidarity and strengthen labor unions.

Even a low rate of unemployment, however, is not enough to end the economic hardships for the working class.

In 1998-1999, the unemployment rate was low but wages were declining. That's because layoffs in the same period were at a 10-year high. What was happening was that while there were more and more layoffs, workers were finding new jobs at lower pay—often part-time or temporary jobs. Thus the jobless figures were low, but the economic hardships were not decreased to the same level.

The only sure way to protect jobs and wages is to eliminate the profit system and replace it with a system that is centered on meeting people's needs.

Bush can't fix a crooked system

Continued from page 1

Every capitalist is in business for himself. (Forgive the gender-specific pronoun, but they still are mostly men.) He must outdo his competitors in order to stay in business. In the long run, this means selling his product for less.

He can lower prices by cutting wages, but eventually this threatens to arouse the workers to class struggle and becomes counterproductive. He can also lower prices by bringing in new technology that reduces the amount of labor it takes to do the job.

This is what is behind the dynamic character of capitalism, forcing it to constantly revolutionize and expand the means of production—regardless of what that is doing to society or the planet.

A lot of workers know almost intuitively that when machines start taking over more of their work and people are laid off, the bosses have trouble finding customers—because who can afford to buy the products?

However, there are long periods when this problem seems negligible and capitalist production forges ahead. For a while in the last decade it seemed that the upper 20 percent of the population were becoming so prosperous that they would absorb whatever was for sale.

Marx on the falling rate of profit

Marx's big contribution was to show very mathematically exactly why profits fall just when capitalism seems to be in its heyday. It's a situation that has puzzled many bourgeois economists, like the Keynesians, who think increased purchasing power can fend off a crisis. But just when the economy is booming—and usually when wages have risen, meaning the workers have more purchasing power, not less—the rate of profit declines and the boom turns into bust.

The explanation for the falling rate of profit that Marx discovered is based on changes in what he called the organic composition of capital—what percentage of capital is invested in plant, equipment and materials, and what percentage is invested in labor-power.

The reason this is so important is that profits don't come from machinery or raw

materials—they come from human labor.

Exploitation of labor is at the heart of the profit system.

When the capitalists invest in new technology, and it saves them a lot of money in wages, the first bosses to do so will have an edge over their competitors. They can charge the prevailing price for their product, but will be spending less on wages than the others. So their profits go up. For a while.

Eventually, however, all the other bosses have the new technology, and competition forces down the price of the product. The rate of profit begins to fall.

Just look at digital cameras and computers. They're much cheaper than they used to be, because now a lot of companies own the machines necessary to make them. Where Canon or IBM used to make a hefty profit, they have to sell cheaper now or lose market share.

When these companies first got the labor-saving machines to make their products, they vastly expanded their sales—or, if the market wasn't there to sell more output, they laid off a lot of workers.

Either way, their capital was more and more tied up in machines—which Marx called constant capital—and less and less in wages, which he called variable capital. The organic composition of their capital had changed.

The more that production is modernized, with even robots doing the variegated work that once could be done only by peo-

ple, the more that invested capital is tied up in "dead" labor instead of living labor.

But it's the living labor that produces profits for the bosses.

Labor is the source of value

Only labor adds value to the materials being turned into commodities. Many things that are needed and desired—like air or wildflowers in the fields—have no exchange value, can't be sold, because there's no labor in them. If someone picks those flowers and brings them to market, or compresses that air for use in a lab, then labor has been added and they're worth something.

The working time we sell to a boss for wages Marx called labor power. We get paid for our labor power roughly what it takes to feed, house and reproduce a worker like us. If it cost a lot of money to acquire our skills, we expect more wages. Our labor power is more costly.

Depending on whether or not we are organized and can struggle with the boss for more, our wages will go up or down. We're also affected by supply and demand, just like any other commodity.

The price of labor power varies depending on many social factors.

But one thing is for sure. Unless we can produce more value for the boss than he is paying us in wages, he's not going to hire us.

He knows he's got to get his profits out of our hides.

What he spends on machines and materials is a fixed amount that gets passed along in the price of the product. What he spends on wages depends on the class struggle.

In a capitalist boom, all the bosses are outdoing each other to get new technology, expand their production, and reduce the amount paid in wages overall by cutting the work force—although the amount paid to each individual worker may go up slightly. Eventually this reduces the proportion of variable to fixed capital and hence the rate of profit.

As long as the market is growing, the corporations can make up for less profit per item by selling more items. But when the rush for new, more productive technology has led to general overproduction, the result is crisis: falling absolute profits, bankruptcies, layoffs, accounting scandals. It all has a snowballing effect as the layoffs further constrict the market.

It's all in Marx's "Capital." And it's what the gurus of capitalism don't want to hear. They want to think that a few heads knocked together, or a few new regulations, and they'll be back in business.

The last big stock market crash was in 1987. It didn't lead to a general crisis of U.S. capitalism for two reasons. One was a massive infusion of tens of billions of dollars into the stock market by the Federal Reserve Bank. The other was the prospect for a huge expansion into Eastern Europe and Central Asia as the Soviet Union started to buckle under the pressure of the Cold War.

However, these "emerging markets" were among the first to show symptoms of the present crisis. The bulls on Wall Street have nowhere to run anymore. Bush's effort to shore up his pals in the oil and energy industry with a growing war in the Middle East and Central Asia is not reversing the decline.

Marxism, despite its merciless analysis of capitalism's irreconcilable contradictions, is not a pessimistic science. It projects a rebirth of human society on a socialist basis. And it identifies the social force capable of organizing and leading such a millennial change: the workers, the class with the least to lose and the most to gain from giving capitalism the boot.

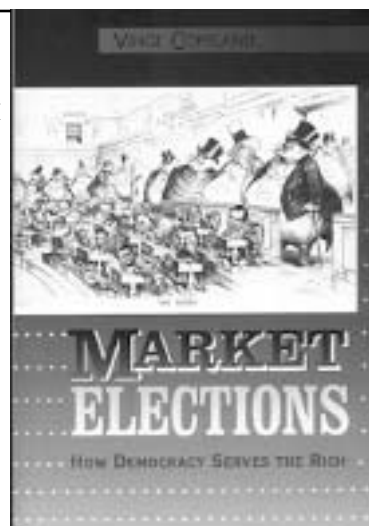
MARKET ELECTIONS: HOW DEMOCRACY SERVES THE RICH

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Mumia Abu-Jamal from death row

It's all the rage

*Fashion, though Folly's child,
and guide of fools,*

*Rules e'en the wisest,
and in learning rules.*

— George Crabbe (1754-1832)
"The Library"

One wonders, what rules the vast and impersonal machinery of the State, its punitive arm, the prison, which gobbles up millions into its bottomless maw?

Is it reason? Is it revenge? It is surely, one supposes, one of these factors.

Is it the result of learned studies by the deepest scholars in the land, who have pierced the dark veil of penology, and gleaned the keys to the hidden kingdom?

About a decade ago, the media joined with politicians to promote its answer to youth offenders: boot camps. The pitiless trend took off like wildfire all across the country, and tens of thousands of youths found themselves subjected to all of the trappings of military discipline: reveille, marches, officers barking in the faces of boys, and orders for push-ups when a rule was breached.

As it gained in media and political popularity, this writer wrote words critiquing the trend. To him, it seemed little more than a kind of legalized child abuse against the poor.

Now, at least one state has acknowledged that its boot camp idea was a bust. According to the Boston Globe, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is closing its first boot camp at Bridgewater. The unit, which cost some \$7.5 million to open some 10 years ago, was found to not have reduced recidivism among youths, nor opened up prison space. In short, it failed. It will be recycled into a drug and alcohol addiction treatment center.

It doesn't take a rocket scientist to see that the very idea was ridiculous in the first place. A first-year psychology student could've demonstrated that the trappings and structure of boot camp applied to youthful offenders makes very little sense, for it ignores the fundamental purposes of boot camp, as well as the crucial factor of human motivation.

Boot camp works because young men are conditioned and motivated to become part of something greater than themselves, for which they are reinforced and rewarded in their home communities. When's the last time you've seen a guy wearing a sweatshirt emblazoned with the name of the prison he was caged in?

In military boot camp, men are encouraged to develop loyalty to their unit; in correctional boot camp, young men are discouraged from unit loyalties (for prison officials fear unity).

Finally, after a decade, boot camp is an idea whose time has passed.

TEXAS

Lynching victim's son takes on death penalty

By Gloria Rubac
Houston

"My name is Ross Byrd and the reason we're out here tonight in Huntsville is we're trying to abolish the death penalty," explained the young man whose father had been dragged to his death behind a pickup truck by three white racists in the most horrific hate crime of recent history.

James Byrd Jr.'s lynching in Jasper, Texas, on June 7, 1998, shocked the world. Two of the three men who murdered him were sentenced to death and the third received a life sentence. At the time, Byrd's children wanted all three to be executed. Today they all oppose the death penalty.

"Recently I heard that one of the men who killed my daddy had exhausted his appeals and could die at any time and I started thinking. I thought to myself that he should not be executed but spend the rest of his life in prison. I was raised to believe that thou shalt not kill and this includes the government. If they execute my daddy's killers, then they're doing the same thing as my father's killers—committing murder," Ross Byrd explained.

"My father was killed in a racially motivated crime that really hit the whole world. But if you look at the big picture, there's more African Americans being killed on death row than anybody. What I'm doing is trying to make a change. I know how the death penalty is used. It's really time to end it," he said.

The movement to abolish the death penalty has gathered momentum during

WW PHOTO:
GLORIA RUBAC

Death
penalty foes
hold vigil
July 3-4
outside
death
chamber in
Huntsville,
Texas.
From left:
William
Butler,
Dick Gregory,
Ricky Jason,
Ross Byrd,
Njeri Shakur,
Sharon
Burney,
Dorothy
Miller-El.



the past month. The U.S. Supreme Court made two favorable decisions. One, *Atkins vs. Virginia*, declared that the execution of mentally disabled people is unconstitutional. The second, *Ring vs. Arizona*, said that only juries and not judges could give a sentence of death. This ruling put into question the sentences of almost 300 people on death row around the country who had been sentenced by judges. Then on July 1 a New York federal judge declared the federal death penalty unconstitutional.

In Texas Ross Byrd took a historic stand against the death penalty, speaking as a victim. Activists are using his announcement to add more fuel to the fire of abolition.

On July 3, in a soft but firm voice, Ross Byrd told a hushed room filled with over

100 media representatives and community members in Houston that he was opposed to the death penalty and did not want to have his father's killers executed by the state of Texas.

At the press conference in Houston's SHAPE Community Center, Byrd was joined by comedian and civil rights activist Dick Gregory and Martin Luther King III, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The three men then went to Huntsville, where they held a 24-hour fast and prayer vigil. Anti-death penalty activists joined them in the vigil.

When asked how he felt being outside a death house that had seen 274 executions since 1982, Byrd responded, "About this place, you can sit and look at it and tell that it's been around and there's been a whole lot of injustice here. I've never even been inside of a prison, so to be here is really an eerie feeling. To tell you the truth, I get bad vibes just looking at the place."

Martin Luther King III flew in from Atlanta to join Byrd. "A remarkable thing happened today with young Mr. Byrd coming in and saying he did not want to see Texas execute any of the men who killed his father in the most heinous way, he did not want to have blood on his hands," said King.

"As a victim of injustice, what he did today let him stand head and shoulders above a whole lot of people in this nation. He stands head and shoulders above the justices on the Supreme Court. They rationalize state sanctioned killings or what is really state sanctioned terrorism," King continued.

"We in this nation owe a lot of apologies to a lot of people, first to the Native Americans and to women. Also to African Americans, to those with disabilities, to gays and lesbians. We have a lot to atone for. But I hope that Byrd's stand today says to this nation celebrating Independence Day that we have to be part of this history of abolishing the death penalty.

"The task is an uphill battle but we know that as long as there are women and men standing up for good against injustice, standing up for righteousness, that good will ultimately prevail," said King.

With activists holding signs as they faced the Huntsville death house, Byrd picked up one with a photograph of Mumia Abu-Jamal. He said he hoped that Abu-Jamal would eventually be freed because he was an innocent man.

Byrd planned to return to Huntsville on July 10 to protest the scheduled execution of Latino prisoner Jose Briseno.

Harlem rally slams rent hikes

By Sue Davis
New York

"Stop budget cuts! Jobs for all! Defend civil liberties! Stop the war!" All these chants and more ricocheted through the plaza of the Adam Clayton Powell State Office Building in Harlem on June 29 as several hundred demonstrators rallied to protest gentrification and displacement.

Initiated by the Harlem Tenants Council, the rally was a citywide protest that included Harlem tenants, activists and civic leaders coalescing as the Harlem Coalition to Fight Gentrification. It was timed to coincide with the new rent hikes set by the Rent Guideline Board.

Speaker after speaker denounced the displacement of longtime tenants and small local businesses because of escalating residential and commercial rents, illegal evictions, landlord harassment and social service budget cuts.

Protesters started marching at 1 p.m. from two locations: 116th St. and Lexington Ave. in East Harlem and at Broadway and Tienmann Place at 124th St. in West Harlem. Marching and chanting to the beat of drums, the two feeder marches converged on the Adam Clayton Powell State Office Building for the rally.

HTC organizer Nellie Bailey denounced the rent hikes set on June 27. "This coalition is tapping into on-the-ground frustrations of over 60 percent of Harlem residents living below the federal poverty level

as well as moderate-income renters, including young Black professionals," she said. "All are unable to pay \$2,000 for a one-bedroom apartment. New rent hikes will only exacerbate the crisis."

The board had voted to raise the rates for rent-stabilized apartments by 2 percent for a one-year renewal and 4 percent for a two-year renewal. All leases subject to renewal from this coming October through next May will be affected.

"We're ushering in a new chapter of resistance activism in Harlem," said Bailey. "We have to be in the streets to fight for our rights."

In addition to raising issues like a moratorium on evictions, rollbacks in rent, no rent hikes and stiffer fines and jail sentences for negligent landlords, Bailey linked up the issues of grassroots organizing against government policies that disproportionately affect communities of color with the need to defend civil liberties.

"We denounce the new statutes that allow the FBI and CIA to spy on domestic religious and community groups. We do not want to become unwarranted targets of government repression," she said.

Other speakers included State Senator David Paterson, City Council member Charles Barron, writer Mamadou Chinyelu, Monica Santana of the Latino Workers Center, labor activist Jim Houghton and award-winning poet Louis Reyes Rivera.

FREE
MUMIA
ABU-JAMAL

Sit-in at USDA office

Black farmers demand justice

By Monica Moorehead

According to the 1920 U.S. census, there were over 925,000 Black farmers who controlled over 15 million acres, mainly based in the southern Black Belt.

Today, the number of Black farmers has tragically decreased to between 15,000 and 18,000. They control less than a million acres collectively and are losing an estimated 1,000 acres daily.

These numbers just begin to tell the tale of the plight of those remaining Black farmers and their will to survive total extinction by any means necessary.

This will to survive was reflected in a heroic sit-in from July 1-4 at the U.S. Department of Agriculture regional office in Brownsville, Tenn. An estimated 300 Black farmers took part in this sit-in. They traveled from 16 states by car, train and pickup truck to show solidarity with five of their brother farmers who filed loans that were never processed.

These loans are necessary in order to be able to purchase land, fertilizer and seed to plant and harvest crops that can be sold to agribusinesses. If the farmers are lucky enough to produce a successful crop, they usually can pay off their loans at the end of the harvest season from their gross income.

These five Black farmers—Coach Perkins, James Hood, Barton Nelson, Earnest Campbell and Gerald Pettaway—submitted loan applications in Fayette County. But their applications were sent to Haywood County, where they sat gathering dust for more than a month.

The five farmers were unable to produce any crops and, as a consequence, they face the prospect of thousands of dollars of debt,

foreclosure on their homes and loss of their land.

The 300 Black farmers who took part in the sit-in know all too well that they could easily face the same situation.

There has been less than adequate attention paid by the big business press to this development and the issue in general.

The Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association organized the sit-in. One of the demands of the protestors was to have the five farmers meet with Agriculture Secretary Ann M. Veneman in Washington, D.C., to discuss and resolve their grievances. There has not been any response from the Bush administration to this request. The farmers called for Veneman to be removed from office.

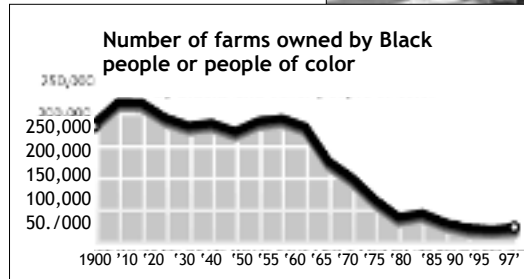
BFAA spokesperson Tom Burrell stated: "We're at the point right now where we're all but extinct. This is the last stand of Black farmers. If we don't get a victory in the next six months, it's curtains for the Black farmer. This is all part of a conspiracy to get rid of us... We are willing to stay in this building until we get what's necessary." The bank foreclosed Burrell's farm in 1981.

Lawsuit by 25,000 Black farmers

There are many examples that justify this righteous defiance.

For example, in 1997, six Black farmers initiated a class action lawsuit against the USDA, charging its regional offices with racism in denying Black farmers equal access to federal loans, disaster relief payments and other programs mandated under the law for low-income farmers.

Once the original lawsuit was filed, another 25,000 Black farmers became plaintiffs in the lawsuit, *Pigford vs. Glickman*.



Dan Glickman was the secretary of agriculture during the Clinton administration. Black farmers went to Glickman's office twice to demand a meeting with him. They were arrested both times.

This is not the first time that Black farmers have brought charges before the USDA. In fact, so many Black farmers had filed claims against the USDA for racial discrimination that in 1983, then-President Ronald Reagan shut down the agency. When it was reopened in 1996, there were thousands upon thousands of grievances sitting in its office.

In 1999, the USDA settled the 1997 class action suit out of court by awarding the plaintiffs \$450-\$600 million in damages. This came out to \$50,000 or less for each plaintiff—a drop in the bucket when you consider that a new tractor costs \$125,000, a new planter \$40,000 and a new cotton picker \$20,000.

Knowing the tremendous resources it takes to maintain a productive farm, the six original plaintiffs had demanded \$3 billion in damages from the USDA. They attempted to legally challenge the court's final decree along with hundreds of other farmers. But the courts would not budge.

Most of the farmers decided to take the money but were not informed by their at-



Tom Burrell, a Covington, Tenn., farmer and a member of the Black Farmers & Agriculturalists Association, speaks to a crowd outside a USDA office in Brownsville, Tenn., July 1 as part of a protest. More than 300 Black farmers protesting discrimination in federal crop loans staged a sit-in.

torneys that only 40 percent of them would receive any monetary restitution.

It is the legacy of slavery that has created a genocidal U.S. policy against southern Black farmers. And it is the injustice that they continue to face in the racist courts and from an insensitive capitalist government that has forced them to take direct action in Tennessee to show that they have the right to make a decent living from the land that their ancestors once tilled and made fertile as slave labor.

'Justice for Jalil'

JULY 18-26

The Albany Chapter of the Jericho Movement is organizing a march from Auburn to Albany, N.Y., to demand the release of New Afrikan prisoner of war Jalil Muntaqim (Anthony Bottom) of the New York 3, and to bring attention to Gov. George Pataki's parole policies.

According to the Jericho Movement, "Jalil Muntaqim is a former Black Panther and Black Liberation Army member, wrongfully convicted—along with co-defendants Albert (Nuh) Washington and Herman Bell—for the killing of two New York City police officers in 1971. Since his imprisonment, Jalil has been active in amnesty campaigns for political prisoners and prisoners of war in the international arena, and in organizing prisoner campaigns within New York State facilities."

The Jericho Movement encourages activists to join the walk for a day, the entire journey (171 miles), or just a few hours in Albany at the conclusion, which is taking place just a few days before Jalil's appearance before the Parole Board on July 30. For further information, contact the Albany Jericho Committee at jericho@sunstillrising.com, (518) 436-0929, or www.thejerichomovement.com

The Mid-Hudson National People's Campaign is organizing carpools to bring people to Albany for the march and rally on the last day, July 26. Contact jacdon@earthlink.net or (845) 255-5779 for information.

—Reprinted from the Mid-Hudson Activist Newsletter/Action Calendar

State repression & the Black struggle

Cops waged 'psychological warfare' on Panthers

By Imani Henry

Safiya Bukhari is a former political prisoner who was a member of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army. She is currently the international director of the Jericho Movement, which has dedicated itself to the liberation of all political prisoners inside the United States. In part two of this interview, Bukhari began to trace her experiences as a revolutionary facing government repression.



Interview with Safiya Bukhari —PART 3

In the Harlem chapter, there were undercover agents, and if it wasn't for my sister who worked as a communications person at the police department, I would not have known so many people in the Harlem chapter were police officers. Come to find out that some of them were gold shield-carrying detectives.

Psychological warfare was more insidious than just spreading disinformation. They learned to push peoples' buttons. It went as far as destroying people's ability to trust each other. For example putting hallucinogens in people's food so you would be scared to eat because it could lead to finding out something from someone's past and exposing it to the community.

IH: When did you join the Black Liberation Army and what was that experience like?

SB: In 1970, we were about so much work around political prisoners. We had the Black Panther Party in prison and the BLA in prison and they were being given life sentences. And we knew we needed to start an offshoot

to deal with the issue by getting the parents involved and community support around it. So we started the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

At the same time, loads of us were being subpoenaed by the grand jury to testify against Panthers. I was given immunity from prosecution so I couldn't take the Fifth Amendment. So I had to make a decision whether to go to the grand jury and take the fifth and face federal contempt charges or not show up and face regular contempt charges. If I went to court and pleaded the fifth, I could be facing five years in prison for every question I refused to answer. So finally I made the decision not to go to the grand jury and I went underground in the BLA.

To go underground is very difficult. Whatever made you unique as a person, you have to change all of that and become somebody totally different. You are out of contact with your family.

IH: How long were you underground?

SB: Beginning April 1973 and I was captured on January 17, 1975.

Next—Part 4.

Mobilize to stop U.S. invasion

Plans revealed for new war in Iraq

By Sarah Sloan

The U.S. is planning all-out war against Iraq in the coming year, according to a top secret Pentagon document that was leaked to the media in early July.

The document, prepared by the U.S. Central Command based in Florida, describes a three-pronged attack on Iraq including an air assault, land invasion and sea-based offensive.

This invasion model has been said to include approximately 250,000 U.S. troops, and possibly an equal number of British troops. It calls for the invasion to take place at the end of 2002 or beginning of 2003.

The July 5 New York Times gave front page coverage to the leaked Central Command document. The Times wrote that it "indicates an advanced state of planning in the military even though President Bush continues to state in public and to his allies that he has no fine-grain war plan on his desk for the invasion of Iraq."

U.S. plans for a war in Iraq are not new. For the past 10 months, a section of the Bush administration has favored an attack on Iraq. Earlier leaks hinted at similar war plans.

In a July 8 news conference, Bush said: "It's the stated policy of this government to have regime change [in Iraq]. And it hasn't changed. ... I recognize there's speculation out there but people shouldn't speculate about the desire of the [U.S.] government to have a regime change."

This war would be a brazen act of lawless aggression on the part of the United States. Even by threatening Iraq, the U.S. is clearly in violation of the United Nations Charter and thus in violation of international laws to which the U.S. is a signatory.

U.S. lawlessness

Article 2 of the UN Charter requires all countries to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered," and states that they must "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state ..."

Article 51 of the Charter is the only article permitting the use of force by individual countries, and that is strictly for self-defense.

The U.S. is not acting in self-defense. Iraq is not threatening the U.S., or for that matter any other country.

In 1991 George Bush senior used Iraq's invasion of Kuwait as the pretext for the Gulf War. Here there is not even a pretext.

Although the U.S. is clearly in violation of the UN Charter and international law, it would be the height of naiveté to believe that the UN will stop this war. It functions more or less as a puppet of the U.S. because of Washington's ability to use economic and military coercion to dominate the UN and other international bodies.

To stop the war requires a mobilization of the poor and working people of the world against U.S. imperialist aggression and domination.

The invasion plans aren't just talk. Recent reports indicate military preparations are already taking place for a new war against Iraq.

A June 27 report in the Turkish newspaper Yeni Safak, quoting sources in the Turkish Foreign Ministry, stated that the U.S. sent 7,000 troops to the Incirlik airbase in the last two weeks of June and that



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

This photo, taken in 1996, shows the remains of the Basrah Technical High School. It was destroyed by U.S. bombs during the 1991 Gulf War.

it planned to increase the number of troops to 25,000 in the next month.

A July 7 report from Amman, Jordan, in The Observer of London reported on the arrival of U.S. military advisors and preparations to use a base in Jordan for war in Iraq. A June 29 report in As-Safir from Beirut, Lebanon, also stated that U.S. troops had entered Jordan, as well as northern Iraq.

The Jordanian government, which rules over a country that has a majority of Palestinian people and where pro-Iraq sentiment is strong, officially denies the presence of U.S. forces in the country.

Iraq is on the top of Bush's target list for his undefined, unending war against a faceless, nameless enemy. But Iraq had nothing to do with the Sept. 11 attack. Endless searching by the CIA turned up nothing.

By taking the war to Iraq, Bush inadvertently reveals that the so-called war on terrorism is not about "protecting Americans" but is just an extension of unstated but real preexisting imperialist strategies and objectives in the oil-rich Middle East.

Weapons inspection shell game

Negotiations between Iraq and the United Nations for the return of weapons inspectors have broken down. According to Saad Qassem Hammadi, a representative of the Iraqi government, the outcome of the talks "weren't a surprise for us because U.S. pressure on the UN delegation was known in advance."

The U.S. was trying to "block the legitimate demands of Iraq being met as a prelude to an escalation against the country as part of the American plot," Hammadi said. (Agence France Presse, July 6)

The justification used by both the Clinton and Bush administrations for attacks on Iraq—including the continuation of sanctions and new bombings—has been Iraq's alleged interference with the UN weapons inspection regime.

The July 8 New York Times repeated the much propagated lie that "weapons inspections [were] suspended after [Iraqi President Saddam] Hussein drove inspectors from Baghdad in 1998."

The truth is that between 1991 and 1998 the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) carried out 9,000 weapons inspections throughout Iraq. From Dec. 16-19, 1998, the U.S. and Britain carried out "Operation Desert Fox," the heaviest bombing of Iraq since the 1991 Gulf War. It was in anticipation of this U.S./British bombing action that the UN ordered all of its personnel to leave Iraq.

After this bombing, Iraq refused to allow the weapons inspectors to return. Iraq had long asserted that the weapons inspections were really spy operations, infested with U.S. agents lining up targets for future bombings. The U.S. always flatly rebuffed these claims as the "wild machinations" of President Hussein.

But then former marine Scott Ritter, who had headed an UNSCOM team, revealed that in fact he had been carrying out spy operations for the CIA.

Ritter also stated, "Iraq had been disarmed" since as early as 1997. (Arms Control Today, June 2000) In addition, International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors declared in 1998 that Iraq did not possess nuclear weapons technology.

Iraq's right to self-defense

Now, four years after the last weapons inspectors left Iraq, U.S. military planners don't know if Iraq has been able to rebuild any weapons. But if Iraq is attacked by the U.S., it has the right to defend itself from that aggression using whatever means are available.

Iraq is being threatened by the only military superpower in the world—a country slated to have an annual military budget of \$500,000,000,000 by the year 2007. The U.S. will soon spend

more on the military than all the other countries of the world combined. It has more weapons of mass destruction than the rest of the world combined.

Washington has used nuclear weapons against the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, and carried out devastating bombings of Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, Yugoslavia and Afghanistan. It has bombed or invaded many other countries, including Libya, Somalia, Grenada and Panama, to name just a few.

As Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, "The greatest purveyor of violence on the planet is the U.S. government."

The oppressed countries and peoples that are targets of the U.S. drive to dominate the world have a right to defend themselves.

ANSWER—the Act Now to Stop War & End Racism coalition—is organizing against a new U.S. war in Iraq. Readers are urged to join ANSWER and help build a movement among youths and working people, labor unionists, students, peace activists, civil rights groups, community organizations, soldiers and more. It is only the united action of the people that can stop this mobilization by the U.S. government.

For information on future activities or to learn more about ANSWER, visit the Web site www.internationalanswer.org.

Is Pentagon strategy

By John Catalinotto

Since the U.S. attack that killed at least 48 Afghan civilians and wounded 117 others July 1, two more events in Kabul have reflected the unraveling of U.S. strategy in Afghanistan.

On July 3, the first anti-U.S. protest took place in Kabul, the Afghan capital, since the occupation. Some 200 people, many of them women wearing traditional garb, marched through the streets, halting traffic, to ask the U.S. to stop killing civilians.

On July 6, Vice President and Public Works Minister Haji Abdul Qadir was assassinated by gunfire in broad daylight in downtown Kabul. Qadir was the only high official in the Afghan government besides President Mohammad Karzai who is from the Pashtun part of the population. Karzai has already asked for help from the occupation forces to track down Qadir's killers.

Both events are signs of growing instability in already unstable Afghanistan.

They have weakened the Karzai government—a U.S. puppet regime—and aroused growing anger against the U.S. role in the country.

They have also sparked a discussion among U.S. "Afghanistan experts" over Washington's policies in the region that recalls the discussion that took place when the U.S. began bombing last October in an attempt to overthrow Taliban rule. At that time analysts and journalists raised the specter of an Afghanistan "quagmire" similar to the problems the USSR faced when its military attempted to support a pro-socialist regime in Kabul from 1980 to 1989.

But the Taliban ran an unpopular regime and was dependent on support from Pakistan. Once that country deserted them, the Taliban quickly collapsed before a U.S.-backed onslaught by other reactionary Afghan forces led by the Northern Alliance. It looked like an easy U.S. victory.

But that was only the first phase. Since that time the U.S. has been unable to es-

Behind Rumsfeld's demand for immunity

Horror mounts over U.S. war crimes

By Deirdre Griswold

It was May 23, and the troops were lined up at Fort Bragg, N.C., for the annual 82nd Airborne Division Review. The commander of the base, Lt. Gen. Dan K. McNeill, wasn't there for the ceremony; he had just left to take over command of the 7,000 U.S. troops in Afghanistan.

The pep talk was being given by retired Gen. Carl W. Stiner.

"We are now engaged in a different kind of war against the forces of evil and darkness, against an enemy which does not stand and fight on a linear battlefield, which does not abide by any treaties or protocols pertaining to war, an enemy that has no conscience and which intentionally and deliberately targets innocent civilians," Stiner warned.

A little over a month later, some of the soldiers who had heard Stiner's words were already in Afghanistan. General McNeill was now running the U.S. operation there.

Some may even have been among the U.S. forces that entered the village of Kakrak at first light on July 1 to assess the damage done the night before.

"As the soldiers neared the center of the cluster of mud-walled farmhouses, they found a horrifying scene," wrote Carlotta Gall of the New York Times from Kakrak, describing what she called a "slaughter of innocents."

"Women and children lay dead and wounded in and around one big house where they had been gathered for an engagement party, torn apart by cannon fire from the American attack plane, an AC-130 gunship. Survivors said they were gathering up the bodies, picking up limbs and body parts from the streets and adjoining orchard, and carrying the wounded to the village mosque, when the soldiers arrived." (New York Times, July 8)

It was a nightmarish scene that sickened even these well-trained soldiers. All they had been told to hate—"an enemy which does not stand and fight on a linear battlefield, which does not abide by any treaties or protocols pertaining to war, an enemy that has no conscience and which intentionally and deliberately targets innocent civilians"—had been there the night before. Three other villages in the area had also been hit.

Except it was not the Taliban or Al Qaeda that had done it.

It was U.S. warplanes.

These U.S. troops could have echoed the words of Pogo: "We have met the enemy, and he is us."

U.S. attack planes had screamed through the night skies over four Afghan villages in Oruzgan Province. In Kakrak alone, they left nearly 50 people dead and more than 100 injured.

The truth could not be suppressed for long, although the Pentagon tried. First it denied the casualties. Then it claimed its planes had been fired upon. But there were too many witnesses saying that was a lie. So the brass are now claiming they got "faulty intelligence"—from an Afghan source, of course.

Sophisticated intelligence and communication network

Shortly after McNeill arrived in Afghanistan, the military had invited the press in to see the sophisticated intelligence and communication network that the 18th Airborne Corps had set up under his command. In a new tent city at Bagram Air Base, highly trained soldiers sat hunched over computers that were all hooked into a central, secure Web site.

Said the Associated Press on May 30, "Commanders in the field send information up through the Web site, and orders flow back down to them. Generals at Central Command in Tampa, Florida, which runs the U.S. military in the Middle East and Central Asia, can also log on."

McNeill's arrival in Afghanistan had put "the man responsible for the war into the field," with greater intelligence and communication abilities, Col. Roger King had told the press corps.

They know enough to be guilty

When they're not covering up for their crimes, the Pentagon brass are eager to tell us that their wonderful technology lets them know everything that's happening in Afghanistan.

They knew these villages were being bombed, just as they've known of all the other bombings and strafings that have left thousands of Afghans dead—most of them noncombatants.

They know how powerful their weapons are—they constantly brag of it. They know

that a mud-walled village doesn't stand a chance against guns that shoot thousands of rounds a minute and bombs made to flatten modern buildings.

McNeill has a long military history, with tours of duty in Vietnam, Korea, Italy, Saudi Arabia/Iraq, and numerous state-side posts. He has been in Operations Just Cause, Desert Shield/Desert Storm, and Uphold Democracy.

Such noble names. But they can't hide the truth. These wars have been nothing but the slaughter of Third World peoples in the pursuit of empire. The generals understand this very well. When they "retire," they go to work for the same corporations that grow fat and sleek from war profits and the domination of the world's resources.

Rumsfeld wants immunity

No wonder, then, that hundreds of millions of people around the world are outraged by the Bush administration's arrogant demand that its personnel be given full immunity from war crimes charges before it will participate in any international "peacekeeping" operations.

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld announced the administration's position on July 2, kicking up a notch the orgy of flag-waving orchestrated since 9/11.

The administration is not so worried about what could happen to individual soldiers. Its real concern is that an International Criminal Court "could prosecute police officers or civilian officials involved in formulating peacekeeping policies and American combat operations," wrote the New York Times the next day.

More and more, people in oppressed nations around the world are standing up against U.S. military occupations and invasions. In south Korea, the movement against U.S. bases has reached a fever pitch, fueled in part by the courage of elderly survivors of war crimes committed by U.S. troops during the Korean War.

The world now sees that Israel's crimes against the Palestinian people are totally underwritten by the U.S. government, which subsidizes Tel Aviv's brutal occupation force on Palestinian land.

Rumsfeld's statement is directed at the United Nations court now being set up in The Hague. It is not an independent body representing the workers and oppressed. The imperialist countries will dominate it,

As politicians prepare to put more youths into uniform, they are unwittingly setting them up for a painful political education on the nature of imperialism

as they do the UN itself. Nevertheless, Washington is guilty of so many war crimes—against Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola, Congo, Panama, Cuba, Iraq, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and many others—that it fears anybody it cannot fully control.

What the Bush administration wants is total extraterritoriality. That was the word invented by the colonialists in the 19th century to describe their open violation of the sovereignty of those countries that they plundered and pillaged. Britain, for example, would not allow China to try any of its nationals accused of crimes there, even murder. If they faced prosecution at all, it had to be in a British court, which of course was stacked against the Chinese.

The U.S. has extended that concept. It is not only refusing to recognize other countries' jurisdiction over personnel it has imposed there, but it arrogates to itself the right to pluck people from other countries and drag them to U.S. territory, where it can do anything it wants to them.

The new demands of the Bush administration are bound to further inflame the people of countries like south Korea, where Rumsfeld wants to redraw the current Status of Forces Agreements to give U.S. troops immunity.

Meanwhile, most people in the U.S. are unaware of how hated the rulers of this country have become around the world. Ironically, as the servants of corporate capitalism prepare to put more working-class youths into uniform and send them overseas, they are unwittingly setting them up for a painful political education on the predatory nature of imperialism. That's what happened during the Vietnam War, and it radicalized an entire generation.

for Afghanistan unraveling?

establish a stable government in Kabul that can run the country. It has also failed to capture the leaders of either the Taliban or of Al Qaeda, which was supposed to be the object of U.S. aggression against Afghanistan.

In the meantime U.S. bombings—much of them conducted from high altitude—have killed close to 4,000 Afghan civilians along with four Canadian soldiers hit by error.

Kabul protest a warning

The Kabul protest was a relatively mild warning to Washington. "We condemn terrorism," an organizer said outside the UN compound. "We are not against the Americans, but it doesn't mean they should drop bombs on residents, happy ceremonies and sanctuaries instead of military targets. The U.S. should get through to its officers that this kind of incident could destroy relations and the trust between the two nations."

Others were not so friendly. Jan Mohammed Khan, the governor of Oruzgan province, where the civilians were killed, demanded that the U.S. military hand over the "spies" who had provided the information that led to the air attack on the village of Kakrak.

"If Americans don't stop killing civilians, there will be a holy war against them in my province. ... This has to stop, or people will fight Americans just like they did Russians [in the 1980s]." Khan was himself appointed by the U.S.-backed regime in Kabul.

Descriptions of the U.S.-caused terror show why this sentiment is growing.

A farmer, Abdul Bari, while comforting his heavily bandaged 6-year-old nephew Ghulam, told the media: "Fifteen people from my home are dead. My wife, my brother, everyone is dead. We don't know why the Americans hate us."

What makes the U.S. actions even more galling is the public attitude of the Penta-

gon. First U.S. officials denied a massacre took place. Then they said they had no evidence that so many people were killed. And they said that ground fire from the village was threatening U.S. forces in the area.

Finally they admitted that U.S. fire killed civilians but said that an Afghan had misinformed them as to who was in the area.

The combination of the growing mass anger and the failure of the central government to gel has reawakened critiques of U.S. policy. A July 7 Washington Post article reports some of the misgivings of U.S. military and foreign policy experts.

Think tanks debate policy

Robert Templer, Asia program director for the International Crisis Group, said: "There are extraordinary levels of discontent among the Pashtuns. It's hard to see a long-lasting peace based upon the political arrangements that exist in Kabul at the moment." Qadir's assassination won't

help those relations.

Templer has suggested the U.S. government stop chasing Al Qaeda and Taliban forces and instead help solve other problems. "I don't think the Taliban and Al Qaeda will be much of a problem in the future, but everyone else [in Afghanistan] might be," he said.

Another voice was Milton Bearden, a former CIA station chief in Pakistan who helped organize reactionary forces against the progressive Afghan government of 1978-1992 and the Soviet Union. Bearden said the Bush administration should stop bombing. "We're at a point where we have to decide what we're up to there."

The United States could still lose the war in Afghanistan, Bearden warned, "if the Pashtuns decide that we're the enemy, or an occupying force."

What Bearden didn't say was that the U.S. is indeed an occupying power. And if U.S. troops keep killing Afghan civilians, more and more of the population will begin to consider them enemies.



The terror of oppression

Hesham Mohamed Hadayet lived and labored in the United States for 10 years. The 41-year-old Egyptian immigrant worked as a limousine driver. Like other people of color who drive limousines and taxis, he had to put up with the galling bigotry of the elite on a daily basis. He carried two registered guns, because his job could also be dangerous.

Hadayet, his wife, Hala Mohammed Sadeq El-Awadly, and their two sons lived happily in Irvine, Calif.—until 9/11 happened and Bush's war drive kicked into high gear. Then the anti-Arab racism, the threats and curses were too much to bear. "We became very cautious, and sometimes scared," El-Awadly said. "Every Muslim became a suspect."

Hadayet had been harassed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. In 1996 he was denied residency—for no apparent reason—and deportation proceedings started. Only his wife's lucky draw in a green card lottery allowed him to stay.

Hadayet started his own modest limousine service. But now, with thousands of Arab and Muslim men being racially profiled by the federal government, with hundreds being rounded up and disappearing into the labyrinth of the U.S. "justice" system, Hadayet lived in fear. Any day the oppressive atmosphere of Bush's USA could cost him his livelihood, his home, his freedom.

In June, his wife and children returned to Cairo to care for a sick relative. But he had to stay here to make a living, to support his family.

One of his customers was giving him a problem. The Israeli airline El Al, based out of Los Angeles International Airport, was late paying for his services.

Like dozens of other workers and small business people every year, Hadayet snapped. The oppression was too much to bear.

Fearful for his future, isolated and alone on his birthday, with his family on the other side of the world, Hesham Mohammad Hadayet walked into the terminal at Los Angeles International Airport, walked to the El Al ticket booth, and opened fire.

When it was over, three people, including Hadayet, were dead, and three others wounded.

Because the shooter was an Arab man, a Muslim; because he'd opened fire at the Israeli airline counter; and because George W. Bush and John Ashcroft had ratcheted up their "terrorism" wolf-cries for the July 4 holiday, the media jumped

to the conclusion that Hadayet must be a terrorist.

But there was no proof. Even the FBI admits that now—though it still refuses to rule out "terrorism" or "hate crime" as a motive.

Hadayet belonged to no organizations. He didn't even attend his local mosque. His life was his family and limousine service.

Did Hadayet target El Al for reasons other than business? No one knows for sure. But the airline is a symbol of the U.S.-backed Israeli settler regime and the terror it wreaks on the Palestinian people and the rest of the Middle East.

Surely every worker has sympathy for those who died or were wounded in Hadayet's attack. But we don't need to look for Al Qaeda or some other foreign bogeyman to find the source of his pain and rage.

Look here instead.

Look at the arrogance of the Bush administration, which lectures the rest of the world on fighting terrorism while it drops bombs on civilians in Kakrak, Afghanistan, and other villages.

Look at the FBI and INS, raiding homes and businesses, racially profiling Arab, Muslim and South Asian people, detaining them without charges or trial in flagrant violation of the bourgeoisie's own Constitution.

Look at the police in Inglewood, Calif., who dragged 16-year-old Black youth Donovan Jackson from a car by the chain around his neck, slapped on handcuffs and beat him on the trunk of a police cruiser. Only thanks to a passing tourist with a video camera do we know what happened to Jackson. But the same thing—and worse—happens daily in cities large and small.

Look at the excruciating racism of the New York State Court of Appeals, which ruled in a 3-1 decision that the state doesn't have to give as much money to New York City schools, where most of the students are youths of color, as it does to predominately white upstate schools, because "an eighth or ninth grade education is constitutionally sufficient" for city youths. And preparing them for only the lowest-paying jobs is "acceptable by law."

This oppression—bigotry and racism, hunger and want, desperation and hopelessness—constitutes terrorism on a massive scale.

Let's give hope to the many people who feel near the breaking point by building a movement against the terrorist system of capitalism and its racist standard-bearers.

Milosevic show trial in disarray

By John Catalinotto

The case against former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic continues to collapse. Prosecutors from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague announced July 6 that they were dropping many of the charges against President Milosevic, claiming there was lack of time to make their case.

Milosevic faces war-crimes charges before this pro-NATO court, including charges of genocide for alleged massacres during the civil war in Bosnia. Since Feb. 12 he has been ably defending himself, confronting and exposing witnesses' lies during cross-examination.

The case was originally set to be a show trial condemning Milosevic before history and the world. The ex-president has so successfully turned it around into an exposure of NATO aggression that the pro-imperialist media has virtually stopped publicizing the trial. Only the monopoly on power and propaganda can bring the ICTY a guilty verdict.

The latest group of witnesses has included officials of the imperialist camp that waged war against Yugoslavia. In June former U.S. Ambassador William Walker and top German General Klaus Naumann appeared. On July 2, Austrian and European Union minister Wolfgang Petritsch testified against Milosevic. In the eyes of those who were in solidarity with Yugoslavia against NATO's war, these three were among the real war criminals.

Petritsch was the West European representative who presented the demands of the meetings held in Rambouillet, France, to the Yugoslav government on March 22, 1999. Milosevic made clear in his cross-examination that these demands were an ultimatum that he was forced to refuse. The U.S. and NATO launched the bombing of Yugoslavia on March 24 after Petritsch reported the refusal.

In court on July 2, Petritsch stated that Milosevic had willfully decided to turn down the Rambouillet accord and was thus responsible for the war. He said it was no ultimatum.

Yet in 1999 as the Rambouillet talks were underway, Petritsch openly described how NATO was squeezing Belgrade. "Eighty percent of our demands will just be rushed through. Two things are definitely forbidden [for the Yugoslav delegation]: press contacts and leaving before a conclusion.

They all remain interned in a conclave. In the end it is going to be tough and the final result will probably be dictated by us. But I guarantee one thing: By the end of April either the Kosovo conflict will be formally resolved, or NATO will bomb [Yugoslavia]." (Der Spiegel, Feb. 8, 1999)

The final demands included the little-publicized Appendix B, Section 8: "NATO personnel shall enjoy, together with their vehicles, aircraft, and equipment, free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia including associated airspace and territorial waters. This shall include, but not be limited to, the right of bivouac, maneuver, billet and utilization of any areas or facilities as required for support, training and operations."

One can easily see why Milosevic called this an ultimatum, as he could hardly be expected to agree to the occupation of his entire country. Former State Department Yugoslavia desk officer George Kenney made it even clearer when he wrote in the June 14, 1999, issue of The Nation that a senior State Department official bragged that the U.S. "deliberately set the bar higher than the Serbs could accept."

As Petritsch well knows, that U.S. strategy, and not Milosevic's actions, is what made the war inevitable.

In December 1999 a "popular tribunal" of anti-war forces in Vienna, Austria, found Petritsch himself guilty of war crimes for the role he played in preparing the aggression on Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration has in its own arrogant way admitted U.S. war crimes by insisting in early July that U.S. "peacekeepers" in Bosnia will leave if the U.S. troops are not exempt from any future war-crimes charges. West European countries backing a new international court had to make concessions to the U.S. on this issue. U.S. and other NATO forces have been occupying Bosnia since 1996.

A detailed account of the Rambouillet ultimatum and of Petritsch's role can be found in the book, "Hidden Agenda: U.S./NATO Takeover of Yugoslavia," published by the International Action Center this year. Also in this book is a description of William Walker's role.

In "Liar's Poker," also published in English this year by the IAC, Belgian journalist Michel Collon describes Gen. Naumann's role in building up the German military.

So. African municipal

By Gery Armsby

One hundred thousand angry municipal workers in South Africa have been striking for a living wage and against economic apartheid since July 2. Strong solidarity with the strike, now in its second week, is building across other sectors of the South African working class.

The fight for a higher minimum wage and the right to collectively bargain for wages involves more than 220,000 employees of municipal government, represented by the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU). The strike is the first nationwide municipal workers strike in seven years.

Striking workers held large marches and rallies in dozens of cities and towns and engaged in varied, militant tactics to sup-

port and defend their strike demands. Blocking busy intersections, marching through neighborhoods and communities were means the workers employed to defend their depots from scabs, explain their demands to the people and dispel distortions and lies promoted in the big business media about the strike.

Due to protections won by a strong union movement in South Africa, employers cannot legally retaliate against striking workers with disciplinary actions or dismissals. And the union negotiated an agreement ensuring that essential services are carried out for the duration of the strike so that the community would not suffer.

But that didn't stop the bosses from retaliating. At least 40 strikers in Durban and

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Reclaiming history

Women of the French Revolution

By Beth Semmer

When asked to name women participants in the French Revolution, most people in the United States would probably give one of two answers. Many would not even name a woman who helped to make the revolution but instead might recall Marie Antoinette, the queen of France, wife of Louis XVI and famous for her alleged “let them eat cake” statement.

Others, however, might recall a woman who wasn't even real. Madame Defarge was a character created by Charles Dickens in his novel “A Tale of Two Cities.” This novel is a popularization of revisionist history of the French Revolution.

The novel develops sympathy for the Ancien Regime by telling a story of unfair treatment of some “kind” members of the French aristocracy at the hands of the “rabble” during the French Revolution, much as Margaret Mitchell's “Gone With the Wind” tries to create sympathy for the slaveocracy.

Madame Defarge is the bloodthirsty female image of revolutionary Paris that Dickens created. She knits while heads roll and cackles for more executions.

In reality, more than 200 years ago, the women of revolutionary Paris were demanding legal equality in marriage; educational opportunities for girls, including vocational training; public instruction, licensing, and support for midwives; guarantees for women's rights to employment; an end to the exclusion of women from certain professions; and even the right to bear arms.

They were in the forefront of the very important struggles over the price and distribution of bread that pushed the French Revolution in directions that no capitalist revolution had gone before.

Women were active participants in the storming of the Bastille. Women led the March to Versailles that resulted in Louis' return to Paris. Poor women participated in the August 10, 1792, defeat of the Swiss Guard at the Tuileries Palace that resulted in the formation of the Commune and the imprisonment and later execution of Louis XVI.

Different classes, different demands

Different types of women participated in the French Revolution. Some were educated and made social, economic, and political demands that were radical even at a time of unlimited enthusiasm for reform.

One of these women literally took the title of her treatise on women's rights from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen issued by the National Assembly after the nobility and the upper clergy had surrendered their feudal privileges.

They had been forced to relinquish their privileges after the conquest of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, by Parisian artisans and working people, as well as by peasant uprisings in the countryside during August that demanded freedom from feudal obligations.

Olympe de Gouge said that the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen did not apply to women and drafted her own Declaration of the Rights of Women and Citizen.

Manon Roland was the wife of a civil servant and an active participant in the debates of the French Revolution. She and her husband Jean represented the propertied interests of the bourgeoisie and were leaders of the Girondins. The Girondins were the more conservative faction and the Montagnards (mountain) were the more left faction of the revolutionary Jacobin forces. Robespierre and Danton led the Montagnards. The Girondins wanted bourgeois power but feared and despised the masses.

Theroigne de Mericourt was also a member of the Girondins but is perhaps best remembered for her participation in the Women's March on Versailles in October 1789. She had been at the forefront of the 12-mile march in the rain to confront Louis XVI. She was a colorful figure and the image of her riding a horse, wearing men's clothing with pistols shoved into the waistband of her trousers and waving a sword became popularized on cards sold in Parisian markets.

Etta Palm D'Aelders was a Dutch feminist who proposed a network of women's clubs to administer welfare programs in Paris and throughout France. This was one of several attempts to form women's clubs that were unsuccessful among bourgeois women.

Charlotte Corday came from a noble family but was also a supporter of the Girondins. She hated Jean-Paul Marat, whose “Ami du Peuple” (“Friend of the People”) was the most popular newspaper with the poor of Paris. Marat, one of the most radical Jacobins, had demanded the execution of Louis XVI and incited the Parisian masses to hate the Girondins for their equivocation to Royalist forces.

Marat spent much of his days writing

Women of Paris marched to royal enclave of Versailles on Oct. 5, 1789, to demand lower prices for bread.



and soaking in a bath of medicinal herbs because of a skin disease he had caught while hiding from his enemies in the sewers of Paris. On July 13, 1793, Charlotte Corday stabbed Jean-Paul Marat to death in his bathtub.

Femme sans-culottes

Poor women—workers, market women and the wives of the sans-culottes—also played an important role in the revolution.

Sans-culottes was originally a term of contempt to describe the pants of the peasants and the Parisian poor who could not afford the fancy knee breeches worn by the aristocracy. The most radical sectors of the revolution later embraced the term to describe themselves.

The demands of these women—the femme sans-culottes—were less about bourgeois equality and more about supplying the Parisian populace with subsistence. Women were the ones who stood in bread lines and congregated in the streets and markets, and their behavior was volatile in times of shortages or increases in the price of bread.

These women used different tactics than the men to exert their influence. They shouted and stamped their feet in the spectator gallery of the national legislature. They took merchandise from shopkeepers and grocers and distributed them at a “just price” and returned the proceeds to the merchants.

They also circulated seditious petitions, made insulting remarks to local and national magistrates and participated in food riots and popular insurrections.

In 1793 the femme sans-culottes formed the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, the first political interest group for common women in Western history. Claire Lacombe, an actor, and Pauline Leon, a chocolate maker, founded the organization.

Led by Lacombe and Leon, these women broke with the Montagnards in July 1793 and moved closer to the Enrages—the most extreme representatives on the left for the

interest of the sans-culottes. Even though the authorities tolerated the Society for barely half a year, it was an historically important institution representing the organized political influence of the most downtrodden women.

Lasting influence

The revolutionary government came to an abrupt end in July 1794. The incoming Thermidorians disbanded or transformed the institutional bases of women's political power and limited their influence as citizens. The drive for reform of the legal and social condition of women had ended.

Even though the revolutionary influence of the women of Paris was not to last, it was not forgotten. To later generations of Parisian revolutionary women, the women of the 18th century revolution were important for more than their symbolic inspiration.

The Society of Revolutionary Republican Women became the prototype of political clubs for women that flourished in the revolution of 1848. The two presidents, Lacombe and Leon, were extolled for their attacks on the bourgeoisie and for championing the interests of working women.

Louise Michel, a leader of the Paris Commune of 1871, the first working-class government in history, drew inspiration from the women of the Commune of 1792.

The women of 1789 Paris inspired the women fighting for liberation from France in Algeria and Vietnam in the 1950s and 1960s. Revolutionary women of Cuba formed the Federation of Cuban Women, just as the femme sans-culottes formed the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women.

Even today the women of Argentina and Venezuela use the same boisterous tactics when they bang their pots and pans to fight against a coup from the right or demand an end to austerity measures by the International Monetary Fund.

workers strike for living wage

hundreds nationwide were arrested June 5. Several were reportedly beaten or sustained serious injury during arrest. Lawyers have encountered great difficulty in trying to meet with jailed strikers.

SAMWU has remained steadfast in its demands, which include a pay increase of 10 percent and a 300 rand (\$30) increase in the minimum wage from R1,900 to R2,200 per month, applicable for next year for all employees within the sectors represented by SAMWU.

The municipal workers rejected a June 20 counter-offer by the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) for an across-the-board 7-percent increase and no improvement to the current minimum wage of R1,900 and a condition that would bind the union to that agreement for three years. Many workers viewed

SALGA's proposal as a refusal to negotiate with the union until 2005.

Economic apartheid

Studies show that the minimum living wage for the average South African worker is approximately R2,400 per month, or about \$240 U.S.

Managers of municipal operations take home monthly salaries more than 40 times higher than what the lowest-compensated workers are paid. Union members have characterized this and other conditions as economic apartheid.

In defending the disparities between labor and management, SALGA argued that most municipal workers in rural areas are paid “more than other workers in the local market.”

However, rural unemployment levels

are approaching 80 percent. According to a SAMWU statement, in this context, a monthly salary of R20—just \$2 U.S.—would be more than what the average worker can earn.

Dale Forbes, a union negotiator said, “This is insulting in the current economic context. Inflation is at 9.2 percent and food prices have rocketed 14 percent in the last year.

“Every worker is struggling to make ends meet. ... SALGA has not taken its cue from central government that granted public servants a 9-percent increase. We regard SALGA's position as an attack on workers and a refutation of electoral promises of improving the lot of municipal workers.”

SAMWU called on management to “move away from its intransigent stance and negotiate in good faith.” Negotiations

between SAMWU and SALGA resumed July 6. However, the bosses did not budge on the issue of an increase in the minimum wage and were only willing to increase other wages by 8 percent.

As the strike continued on July 8, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) urged SALGA to meet the municipal workers' demands or face the likelihood of the strike broadening to other sectors where unions strongly support the SAMWU demand for a living wage.

COSATU and several large national unions, such as the Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, also threatened to open up a campaign of exposing the apartheid-like disparity between municipal workers and management if the workers' demands are not met.

Indemnización por la esclavitud y libertad para los presos políticos

Por Monica Moorehead
Nueva York

Dos importantes conferencias de prensa acá han ayudado a enfocar la atención en cuestiones afectando la búsqueda del movimiento de los norteamericanos negros por la justicia social.

El primero se llevó a cabo el 17 de junio cuando activistas negros y oficiales elegidos se juntaron frente al palacio municipal llamando por indemnizaciones. La conferencia de prensa se enfocó en tres resoluciones en el nivel local, estatal y nacional que llaman por el establecimiento de comisiones para examinar el impacto político y económico del comercio transatlántico de esclavos africanos sobre la población africano americano de hoy.

El comercio en esclavos africanos enriqueció inmensamente a la economía capitalista de los Estados Unidos, ayudando a propulsarlo a su posición como el país imperialista dominante del mundo. Por lo menos 4 millones de personas africanas fueron brutalmente explotadas por no haber sido pagado ni un solo centavo por todas las riquezas grandes que ellos crearon.

Viola Plummer
PVN PHOTO: SUE HARRIS

Todos que hicieron presentaciones en la rueda de prensa hablaron de las injusticias racistas que la comunidad africano americano sigue sufriendo en los Estados Unidos, incluso la encarcelación de los jóvenes, la brutalidad policial, el sistema de la educación, la salud, y las viviendas inadecuadas y mucho más —todos enraizados en el legado de la esclavitud.

Los participantes incluyeron al Representante en el Congreso John Conyers de Michigan, que fue el arquitecto del primer proyecto de ley sobre las indemnizaciones presentado al Congreso en 1989; Roger Green, miembro de la Asamblea Estatal de Nueva York quien habló sobre la legislación llamando por una comisión al nivel estatal para determinar el impacto de la esclavitud en la Ciudad de Nueva York desde 1625 hasta 1827.

El Concejal Municipal Bill Perkins habló sobre un proyecto de ley local sobre indemnizaciones conocido como “La Resolución de la Reina Madre Moore por las Indemnizaciones.” Moore era una activista africana-americana muy apreciada por



más de 60 años que demandó indemnizaciones hasta que falleció.

Otros participantes fueron el Rev. Herbert Daughtry y Al Sharpton. El abogado Roger Wareham habló sobre la demanda histórica que ha sido presentado en las cortes de Nueva York y Nueva Jersey demandando que corporaciones particulares que beneficiaron del comercio en esclavos paguen indemnizaciones. Viola Plummer, una líder del Movimiento 12 de Diciembre, habló sobre el mitin en Washington D.C. pidiendo indemnizaciones que va a tomar lugar el 17 de agosto.

El 26 de junio, también frente al palacio municipal, el concejal y activista social de

muchos años, Charles Barron, demandó la liberación de todos los presos políticos. Barron llamó la atención especialmente a los casos de prisioneros políticos Jalil Munagim y Robert Seth Hayes, los dos pueden recibir la libertad condicional este mes. Los ex presos políticos Safiya Bukhari y Herman Ferguson del Movimiento Jericó y la ex líder del Partido Pantera Negra Kathleen Cleaver se juntaron con Barron en la conferencia de prensa.

Barron introdujo la primera legislación en la historia de la Ciudad de Nueva York llamando la atención a los presos políticos encarcelados por razón de los ataques racistas del Cointelpro del FBI.

Una parte de la declaración de Barron dijo, “Estoy presentando una legislación que condena la criminalización de la actividad política y la expresión como método de control política, y los abusos de parte de agentes del gobierno de los Estados Unidos, incluso las agencias de hacer cumplir con la ley establecidas para sofocar a las creencias políticas. ... Hay un precedente por el apoyo de la causa por los demás presos políticos. ¿Porqué no pueden hacer lo mismo por los presos políticos negros.

Trabajadores de muelles luchan por mantener el sindicato

Por Bill Hackwell
Oakland, California

Una gran lucha se está preparando entre los obreros de Pacific Coast Longshore respaldados por sindicatos de todas partes del mundo y un consorcio de compañías de transportación marítima respaldados por la administración Bush. El punto principal son los cambios en la tecnología auspiciados por la gerencia que eliminaría algunos empleos. Los riesgos son grandísimos. El año pasado \$260 mil millones en carga pasaron por los puertos del occidente.

Aún antes del final de contrato el 1 de julio, la zar de “seguridad por la patria” de Bush hizo una llamada por teléfono al presidente del sindicato Internacional Longshore & Warehouse Union para presionar a los trabajadores a que no comenzaran una huelga.

El 27 de junio, a solo día de la expiración del contrato, cientos de trabajadores sostuvieron una mitin aquí en el cuarto puerto más grande de los Estados Unidos. La grúas que levantan los contenedores de los barcos formaron un escenario mientras los líderes sindicales de las industrias de transportación y marítima, tanto nacional como internacional, hablaron sobre su apoyo para los 10.500 miembros del ILWU.

Las negociaciones entre el sindicato que representa a los obreros de 29 puertos junto con la West Coast y la Asociación Marítima del Pacífico (AMP) ha llegado a un alto.

Los patrones de las compañías transportadoras han exigido que los trabajadores regresen algunos beneficios y acepten un congelamiento de sus salarios. Mientras que esto son los puntos inmedi-

atos en las negociaciones, el punto real es el de sacar a los sindicatos de todas las zonas portuarias de los Estados Unidos.

La AMP, junto con un consorcio de compañías llamada la Coalición de Puertos de la Costa Occidental, está procurando nuevas tecnologías que sacaría al trabajo de oficinista del lugar y los mandaría a pequeños puertos en otras partes del mundo, en áreas donde los sindicatos son más pequeños y por ende más débiles y donde se permite la labor no sindicalizada. Esto abriría las puertas para que otras funciones portuarias sufrieran las mismas situación, enfrentado a un desafío a la mano de obra organizada.

A los magnates de la industria de la transportación no les gustaría nada menos que debilitar al ILWU. La coalición representa a algunas de las corporaciones más grandes del país, incluyendo a WalMart, The Gap, Nummi Auto, Nike y otros. La única razón por la cual ellos han financiado esta coalición es la de romper los sindicatos. La coalición está formulando planes de eventualidad en caso de que haya una huelga, para mantener los puertos abiertos y enviar los productos de otra manera.

El otro componente del lado de los empresarios es la administración Bush, la cual ha advertido a los trabajadores que no deben ejecutar una huelga. Tom Ridge llamó al presidente de sindicato ILWU, Jim Spinosa para decirle que este no es “un buen momento para una huelga.”

Los trabajadores no muestran señas algunas de estar intimidados por las tácticas de la clase gobernante. El mitin reunió a una fuerte colección de partidarios y quienes pusieron muy claro de que apo-

yarían al ILWU y que honrarían a la huelga si se diera.

El discurso de Spinosa respondió a la presión sobre la seguridad nacional: “Nosotros exigimos una verdadera seguridad nacional, la seguridad de nuestros empleos y de nuestros cuidados de salud. Nosotros exigimos una parte de la riqueza que producimos todos los días.”

El presidente de los Teamsters, James Hoffa, dijo que 1.4 millones de sus miembros que guían camiones de los puertos honrarían y se unirían a las líneas de protestas organizadas por los trabajadores portuarios.

Ken Riley, presidente del sindicato Internacional Longshoremen's Association Local 1422 en Charleston, Carolina del Sur, dijo que los trabajadores de la costa oriental apoyarían la huelga del ILWU. Riley saben lo que es la solidaridad sindical. Cinco miembros de su sindicato fueron atacados por los policías: después oficiales estatales trataron de imponerles cargos de fechorías. Los sindicatos en todo el mundo respondieron y su caso salió victorioso.

El apoyo por sindicatos internacionales está llegando, incluyendo la Federación Internacional de Trabajadores del Transporte y el Consejo Internacional de Trabajadores de Puertos. El ILWU en Vancouver, Canadá, ha dichos que cerraría ese puerto si hay una huelga. El Presidente Wilson Borja Días de la Federación Nacional de Trabajadores de Servicios Estatales en Colombia dijo que su sindicato apoyaría al ILWU, a pesar de la represión que los sindicalistas enfrentan en Colombia.

London Rankin, presidente del sindicato de Pilotos del Canal de Panamá, recibió un

gran aplauso cuando el dijo que ni un piloto ayudaría a navegar a ningún barco por el canal y que este se cerraría se hubiera una huelga. Muchos sindicalistas llegaron de industrias no relacionadas a la transportación marítima por la larga historia de militancia del ILWU y de su firme apoyo por la lucha de los obreros. Los Consejos de la Central Labor de Alameda, San Mateo y San Francisco estuvieron allí, al igual que la Local 790 del sindicato de Trabajadores de Servicio del capítulo de Rapid Transit del Area de la Bahía, la Unión de los Navegantes, la Unión de Trabajadores de la Prese de San Francisco y muchos otros.

La historia militante y progresista del ILWU data desde la huelga general de 1934 en San Francisco, la cual comenzó después de que los trabajadores portuarios Howard Sperry y Nick Bordoise perdieran sus vidas y 109 otros compañeros resultaran herido por un ataque policial en los muelles. Desde entonces el ILWU ha representado al ala más progresista del movimiento laboral de la Costa Occidental.

El gremio se rehusó a descargar un barco proveniente de Sur Africa durante la lucha para terminar con el apartheid. En abril de 1999, el ILWU cerró sus principales puertos en la Costa Occidental por un día en apoyo al prisionero político Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Gloria LaRiva, presidenta del Sector Tipográfico del Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Prensa, dijo a la multitud que todos los gremios e individuos progresistas deben mantenerse firme en solidaridad con el ILWU. “Después de todo el apoyo que nos ha dado, es hora de reciprocarnos,” dijo ella.