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WORKERS WORLD 50¢

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MUNDO OBRERO 50¢

Imperialismo: Conquista, Racismo, Explotación, Ayer, Hoy y Mañana 16

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No war for empire

War deeply rooted in profit system

By Fred Goldstein

Global political tensions are rising daily. Washington is relentlessly pushing forward with its military buildup for unprovoked aggression against Iraq despite growing opposition everywhere to U.S. war plans. The entire world feels the military and political pressure of the Pentagon's rapid timetable as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld orders 62,000 more troops to the Gulf, with the aim of reaching a force of 150,000 by February.

Governments everywhere are being squeezed between the pressure from the U.S. military juggernaut above and popular opposition below. It is becoming absolutely clear that the anti-war movement will have to broaden and deepen its resistance to this military mobilization in order to tip the balance and keep the Pentagon from bringing death and

destruction to the Iraqi people.

As the Bush administration runs into more and more political opposition, the opportunity for decisive intervention to stop the war increases.

The anti-war movement in the U.S. is growing faster than anyone can count. Thirty thousand people turned out in Los Angeles to protest the war on Jan. 11. Countless local demonstrations are taking place around the country. Two hundred thousand people demonstrated in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on Oct. 26.

And a massive turnout is expected in both cities for the international day of protest on Jan. 18. At least 19 cities in Europe, Asia and Latin America are scheduled to demonstrate on that day.

In the wake of the half-a-million-strong demonstration in Florence last fall and with the European movement gearing up for a massive anti-war turnout on Feb. 15, even Tony Blair, Washington's staunchest ally, backtracked on his unequivocal support for an early invasion—but only momentarily.

The Bush administration has been warning that Jan. 27, the date for the United Nations weapons inspectors to give their so-called "progress report" to the Security Council, is going to be the moment for Washington to declare Iraq in "material breach" and set the stage for war.

Mass pressure shakes imperialist allies

The first sign of a rift in the Anglo-U.S. imperialist alliance was directly caused by the heat from below. Mass opposition pushed close to 100 members of the Labor

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ANSWER coalition builds bridge to world

By Deirdre Griswold

Despite efforts by those in power to pooh-pooh their significance, mass demonstrations have often played the decisive role in changing U.S. history.

This writer remembers being in a huge demonstration that ringed the White House during the Vietnam War. The press reported that President Richard Nixon wasn't paying any attention. He was watching the football game, they said, to show his contempt for the "kids" and "bums" attacking his policies.

Many years later, long after the U.S. was forced to end its aggression in Southeast Asia, Nixon chief of staff and convicted Watergate criminal H.R. Haldeman revealed that the president had indeed been watching the protest, peeking through the blinds at the protesters. What

he saw did not encourage him. He began drafting a speech, writing a note to himself at the top of his yellow pad: "Don't get rattled—don't waver—don't react."

Today the Bush administration pretends that its plans for a horrendous military assault on Iraq have the support of all but a small "fringe" of people in this country. Indeed, most of the highly monopolized mass media cooperate in this falsehood.

Proving just the opposite, however, are the anti-war demonstrations that have been growing ever larger over the past year and a half. They are making visible in the most irrefutable way the sentiment that otherwise would be deemed non-existent by the political establishment.

The main force behind these demonstrations has been the ANSWER coalition,

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What is our basic view? We're for socialism. We think that ownership of the tremendous productive wealth built up by hundreds of millions of workers can't remain in the hands of a privileged few.

The capitalist profit system is unplanned and irrational. It's wrecking the world. Improved technology brings layoffs and poverty, not comfort and lighter work. Booms lead to busts.

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workers, not just as pawns in a capitalist political game but as collective owners of the social wealth.

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We don't fit Fox News's caricatures of us. We're independent Marxists who respect the struggles for self-determination and progress of oppressed nations. We try to understand their problems in a world dominated by Western imperialism. We don't jump on the bandwagon when Third World leaders are demonized. Our goal is solidarity of all the workers and oppressed against this criminal imperialist system.

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Sat., Jan. 18
 No war on Iraq. Joint action with march in Washington, D.C. Gather 11 a.m. at Market Street and Embarcadero (Embarcadero MUNI/BART). March to Civic Center. 1 p.m. rally for info (415) 821-6545 or on the Web internationalANSWER.org

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sat., Jan. 18
 National March on Washington, D.C. No war on Iraq. Assemble 11 a.m. at the West Side of the Capitol Building. Become a volunteer. Endorse. Help get the word out. Bring people to D.C. Send a donation to the mobilization. For info on the Web internationalANSWER.org or phone (202) 544-3389 in D.C. or (212) 633-6646 in NYC.

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As Illinois governor empties death row

Activists vow to end legal lynching

By Gloria Rubac

Aaron Patterson celebrated his first full day of freedom after 13 years by speaking to an anti-war rally in Chicago on Jan. 11.

Patterson is one of four men released from Illinois's death row by outgoing Gov. George Ryan. One day after pardoning Patterson, Madison Hobley, Stanley Howard and Leroy Orange—all of whom had been on death row at least 12 years—the governor commuted to life or less the sentences of the remaining 167 death row inmates in the state.

The four pardoned men had all been convicted on the strength of confessions extracted under torture. Police Commander Jon Burge, who was fired from the Chicago Police Department in 1993, had instructed his cops to use beatings, electric shock and suffocation to get confessions.

Hobley, who had been in prison for 16 years, said he plans to go back to work and “frame my first paycheck to show I'm part of society.” He also said he hopes the officers who tortured him would be investigated and charged.

Calls from all over the world

This was the largest commutation of death row sentences in the history of the United States. Ryan acted after being besieged with pleas from all over the world to end the barbaric system of state-administered death. The most recent had been a call from South Africa as the governor was in a deli eating a corned beef sandwich.

“Yesterday, I went to Manny's Deli for lunch, and I got a call from none other than Nelson Mandela,” Ryan told a large rally the next day at Northwestern University in Chicago, where he condemned the system of capital punishment as fundamentally flawed and unfair.

In his speech at the university, which was televised live, Ryan recounted the details of the police torture, the abuses of power by police and prosecutors, the use of all-white juries, and the failure of the court system to provide justice even after the truth about these horrors came out.

He said that politicians are quick to be tough on crime and call for executions. “It wins votes. But when it comes to admitting that we have a problem, most run for cover. Prosecutors across our state continue to deny that our death penalty system is broken—not one of the reforms proposed by my Capital Punishment Commission has been adopted. So when will the system be fixed?”

The U.S. Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976. Three years ago Ryan declared a moratorium on executions in Illinois, after it came to light that in a period when the state had exonerated 13 people—largely because of DNA evidence—it had executed 12 others.

This Republican governor was the chair of George W. Bush's 2000 Illinois election committee. He was part of the legislature in 1977 that approved the rewriting of the death penalty laws. So why has he now broken so dramatically with his party and political colleagues?

Ryan's action did not occur in a vacuum. Over the last decade, worldwide attention has been focused on the death penalty. Activists and attorneys, as well as those on death row, have exposed its inherent flaws. The movement against state killings has been slowly building. And the racism that puts so many people of color on death rows in the U.S. has been condemned around the world.

In Texas, where George W. Bush came to be known as “Governor Death,” the executions of Shaka Sankofa and Karla Faye Tucker brought more people into the abolition movement. Tucker was the first woman to be executed in the U.S. since 1984. Sankofa's innocence and revolutionary politics brought thousands into the streets condemning his racist execution.

The threat that Pennsylvania may execute Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal has galvanized revolutionary youth, death penalty activists and progressives around the world.

Praise from most, outrage from prosecutors

Death penalty opponents around the world were jubilant, but prosecutors and right-wing politicians vowed to reverse Ryan's move.

In Ryan's home state, where Illinois University Law Professor Francis Boyle is leading a campaign to have him nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, his action was praised by Lawrence Marshall, director of the Center on Wrongful Convictions at Northwestern University.

Njeri Shakur of the Texas Death Penalty Abolition Movement said, “This is wonderful. I am so happy for the prisoners and their families. This is a good day for abolitionists.”

“Governor Ryan has fired a shot that will be heard around the world and I think it will hasten the end of capital punishment,” said Stephen B. Bright, director of the Southern Center for Human Rights.

Barry Scheck, co-founder of the Innocence Project at Cardozo Law School in New York, said, “Wiping the slate clean

is a logical extension of all that Governor Ryan has learned about how flawed and corrupt” is the capital punishment system in Illinois.

‘Justice in America is about money’

Workers World spoke to Nanon Williams on Texas' death row. Williams was arrested in 1992 at the age of 17 for capital murder, despite much evidence of his innocence. Ten years later, Williams says, “I have grown from a 17-year-old kid into a man on death row and I realize justice will be found when I can afford it. Justice in America is not about evidence, it is about how much money you have.

“Governor Ryan used his power to give the people of Illinois a moral victory. But other politicians, like former Texas governor George Bush and the current governor, Rick Perry, scapegoat those too poor to defend themselves. To find justice should not be like winning the lottery.”

The executive director of the Texas Defenders Service, Jim Marcus, says what Ryan did “needs to happen here in Texas as well. Texas has a much worse system than Illinois.”

But Illinois governor-elect Rod Blagojevich, a Democrat endorsed by the Fraternal Order of Police, said, “This is a big mistake.” And Cook County State's Attorney Richard Devine says he will review the legal options for undoing Ryan's move.

Before this, Ryan was never considered to be even liberal. Now he has incurred the anger of his former colleagues for doing what any honest person should have done: He sought to change a horrible injustice.

Racist history of death penalty

The death penalty has a long and racist history in this country. In the South, where 80 percent of executions take place, the death penalty is a “legal” outgrowth of the racist lynchings of the 1800s. Until the early 1900s, there was rarely an execution of a white person. Even today, African Americans make up 43 percent of those on death row, but only 12 percent of the population. The majority now awaiting execution are people of color. In the states of the old Confederacy, racists support capital punishment as passionately as they once supported slavery.

The death penalty in the U.S. was abolished de facto during the 1960s as the civil rights and revolutionary Black liberation struggles took center stage. Very few executions took place in that period, even though capital punishment was still on the books.

In 1972 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the death penalty was arbitrary and racially biased. It said that states had to rewrite their laws to make them fair. By the end of the 1970s, most states had rewritten the laws, which were then approved by the courts. The death penalty was resurrected—as racist and biased as ever.

Race is still the factor that most determines whether a person will receive a death sentence. When a white person is murdered, the chances of the killer receiving death are much greater than when the victim is Black.

But the other common factor is economic status. With few exceptions, those on death row are poor. Ninety percent could not afford an attorney when they

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‘We need a war at home, not in Iraq’

By Beth Semmer
Chicago

To great applause, Aaron Patterson told more than 2,000 anti-war demonstrators in Federal Plaza here, “I don't know why the U.S. wants to declare war on Saddam Hussein when we need a war here at home against Dick Devine and Richard Daley.”

It was Jan. 11 and Patterson hadn't slept since his release from death row the day before. He is one of four prisoners pardoned by Illinois Gov. George Ryan after their confessions were shown to be based on brutal torture—including beatings, electric shock and suffocation—by the Chicago police.

Patterson was referring to the Cook County state's attorney and the current mayor of Chicago, who used to hold that post. Both Devine and Daley have relentlessly fought efforts to investigate charges of wrongful convictions and police torture under their watches.

More than 60 anti-war, international solidarity, religious, grassroots and community groups had organized and endorsed the demonstration.

When the march set off from Federal Plaza, accompanied by drums and chanting, it filled State Street and Michigan Avenue in the heart of downtown Chicago, getting a positive response from the public.

Aaron Patterson speaks at anti-war rally the day after his release from death row.

The Chicago demonstration was a building action for the national Jan. 18 mobilizations in Washington and San Francisco called by the International ANSWER coalition.

During the rally Chicago ANSWER sold enough tickets to fill an entire bus for Jan. 18. Just for people to take off their gloves in the bone-chilling cold was an ordeal, but organizers collected more than \$1,100 above expenses to help buy tickets for individuals who couldn't afford the trip to Washington.

The Rev. Paul Jakes, Jr., a mayoral candidate and long-time activist who recently helped form an anti-war committee of 100 churches and faith-based organizations, declared, “The people of Chicago do not support a war, and we will fight to stop it.”

Other rally speakers represented struggles for national liberation in Palestine, Colombia, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. They reminded the anti-war protesters of the U.S. role in oppressing



PHOTO: CHRIS GEOVANIS, HAMMERHARD MEDIAWORKS

people around the world.

Monica Roundtree from Chicago ANSWER, whose father served time in the stockade for struggling against the Vietnam War and racism, emphasized, “The best way to protect the GIs is to bring them home. Let's stop this war before it starts.” □

In the spirit of Eugene Debs

Labor organizes against the war

By Milt Neidenberg
Retired Teamster

A few weeks after the World Trade Center tragedy, a small group of anti-war labor activists stated, "We believe that George Bush's war is not the answer to the tragic events of Sept. 11."

Their remarks were part of a comprehensive statement issued on Sept. 27, 2001, that marked the formation of New York City Labor Against the War.

Led by President Brenda Stokely of District Council 1707, American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, and Michael Letwin of United Automobile Workers Local 2325, NYC-LAW was born out of difficult circumstances.

Since then, labor committees like NYCLAW have been formed in more than 10 cities.

As the Bush administration prepares to invade Iraq, the anti-war labor movement has shown impressive growth. As of December 2002, eight statewide labor federations had passed anti-war resolutions, among them Service Employees International Union-Wisconsin, the Washington State Labor Federation, and the California State Labor Federation, representing 2 million workers. Eleven citywide central labor councils from San Francisco to Seattle, Duluth to Philadelphia and cities in the mid-Hudson area of New York State have joined the movement.

They represent the sentiments of many unionized workers throughout the country. And the movement continues to grow.

Most significant has been the response of more than 50 local unions, including

Local 705 in Chicago—the second-largest Teamster union and the largest truck driver and warehouse local in the country. The statement, which began, "Whereas we value the lives of our brothers and sisters more than Bush's control of Middle East oil profits," was approved 399 to one.

Secretary-Treasurer Gerard Zero described the union's rank and file: "The members of Local 705 are the bedrock of the Teamsters. They are truck drivers in the freight, cartage and package delivery industry, heavy equipment operators in rail yards and municipal governments, and loaders and unloaders. They are blue-collar, working-class Americans. Politicians should pay very close attention to this vote."

The no-war vote came from "members whose fathers served in the Vietnam conflict and Teamsters who are Marine and Army veterans." Representing United Parcel Service workers, Local 705 has many people of color and many women.

This powerful union was host of a national meeting in Chicago on Jan. 11 of unionists, local union presidents and staff members concerned about Bush's military plans to invade Iraq.

What is feeding this groundswell of anti-war protest within the trade union movement, which was so absent during the Vietnam conflict? The organized labor movement in general supported the Vietnam War and strongly opposed the anti-war protesters.

Is labor's current opposition to the war primarily a mood that can be manipulated and defused into a harmless momentary opposition?

Not easily.

Rank & file begin to fight back

Today the anti-war sentiment springing up within the AFL-CIO is rooted in a deepening capitalist crisis. Exacerbated by a jobless recession, it is leaving millions of workers permanently unemployed.

In the states, urban centers and the federal government, huge budget deficits and cuts are forcing millions of poor and low-paid workers, their children and loved ones onto food lines—often homeless, without health care and other essential services.

Corporations are renegeing on their pension obligations. Workers are fearful of losing security for their senior years. General Motors has a \$19.3-billion pension fund deficit. In the takeover of National Steel by U.S. Steel, the bosses have refused to protect the pensions of 10,000 National Steel retirees in Michigan.

The open ties the Bush administration has with Wall Street bankers and bosses are infuriating the labor movement. The AFL-CIO is under attack on every front and the rank and file is beginning to fight back.

The Bush administration, with congressional support from both major parties, will have 150,000 troops ready by mid-February to launch a preemptive strike against Iraq. This, too, is fueling the anti-war development. Each day they send more troops, aircraft carriers, tanks and guns to the Middle East. Each day they order more National Guard and Reserve units to active duty. And each day more workers and communities from diverse backgrounds are increasingly opposing the war.

Class warfare is on the rise and resistance is growing to U.S. imperialist aims, becoming a worldwide movement.

All this ferment has finally reached the top layers of the labor bureaucracy. On Oct. 7, AFL-CIO President John J. Sweeney broke his silence on the war. He wrote a letter to both houses of Congress during a debate on a resolution giving Bush broad powers to unilaterally go to war. He opposed a preemptive strike. "We must assure war is the last option, not the first used to resolve the conflict before we ask ... the sons and daughters of America's working families ... to carry out the mission."

However, Sweeney demonized Saddam Hussein, and called upon Bush to "assemble a broad international coalition ... through the United Nations for an aggressive and effective policy of disarmament in Iraq." Reports from the UN inspection team have revealed that there is nothing there to disarm.

He defended the "war on terrorism" but blasted Bush for timing the debate just before the election as a political maneuver.

Congress ignored AFL-CIO appeals and voted 296-133 in the House and 77-23 in a Democratic-run Senate for Bush's aggressive war plans. Since that defeat, Sweeney's letter has brought about much discussion within the labor movement. The more progressive sector is dissatisfied with it.

There is also evidence of fallout from the right within the AFL-CIO hierarchy. Teamster President James P. Hoffa has joined a small group of war hawks with close ties to Secretary of Defense Donald

30th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade

Pro-choice showdown looms in Buffalo

By Beverly Hiestand
& Sue Davis

As Jan. 22—the 30th anniversary of Roe vs. Wade, the historic Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion—approaches, there has never been such an urgent need to defend women's basic right to control their own bodies. Right-wing forces led and emboldened by the Bush administration's broad attack on the rights of all working and oppressed people are now leading the charge to reverse this fundamental right for women.

The most fanatical right wingers plan to rally in Buffalo, N.Y., on Jan. 22 and again at the end of February to support James Kopp, who will stand trial in that city. Kopp has admitted to the Oct. 23, 1998, sniper slaying of Dr. Barnett Slepian, a respected obstetrician and gynecologist who performed abortions.

Spokespeople for these zealots have stated that they intend to bring forces from around the country to use the Jan. 22 rally and subsequent trial media coverage to argue that the shooting of Slepian was justifiable.

And in a blatant threat, the host of the "Nuremberg Files" web site—which lists names of health-care workers who are targeted for right-wing murder—has stated that he and others will photograph people visiting the Buffalo Womenservices Clinic and post their pictures on the Internet. (Buffalo News, Jan. 8)



1992 pro-choice forces booted right wing out of Buffalo, N.Y.

The "commander in chief" of the Army of God, a right-wing terror group connected with past abortion clinic bombings, has also reportedly sent a menacing missive vowing to deploy forces "with the power to stop" abortions in Buffalo on Jan. 22. The message features their logo: a cross with a military helmet perched on top of it, and a bomb. (Buffalo News, Jan 11)

This is the third time reactionary forces have organized a national attack on women's reproductive rights in Buffalo. In 1992, the anti-abortion group "Operation Rescue" attempted to close down women's health clinics. In response, a large grassroots coalition called Buffalo United for Choice formed—and brought thousands into the streets to defend the clinics and boot the reactionaries out of Buffalo.

Anti-abortion forces returned to

Buffalo in 1999 in a national mobilization there on what would have been Slepian's birthday. This time they revealed their broader agenda. Along with commemorating the Slepian murder and trying to close down clinics, they threatened to burn books containing sex- and gay-positive messages, AIDS information and other health education.

They also carried anti-Semitic signs and threatened lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender activists and clubs. BUC '99 organized an alliance that resulted in gay and straight pro-choice activists uniting to form Rainbow Peacekeepers, under LGBT leadership, to defend the bars and clubs from assault.

So in 1999, once again, the right-wing bigots left in total defeat.

Such a united movement is needed again. Marge Maloney, organizer for Buffalo United for Choice Rainbow Peacekeepers, explains: "Buffalo has been the scene of two defeats for these right wingers. They are returning because they hope they can win a victory here. Women and their supporters will prove them wrong."

Bush's anti-woman agenda

The extremists who defend Kopp have been buoyed by the Bush administration.

Even before he took office, George W. Bush revealed his administration's aims by appointing two anti-choice figures:

John Ashcroft as attorney general and Tommy Thompson as secretary of health and human services.

Since then Bush has promoted more than 40 initiatives to abridge reproductive rights in the United States and around the globe.

Planned Parenthood President Gloria Feldt notes in her Dec. 24 report "War on Women" that "Bush's anti-woman agenda is bolstered by an anti-choice Congress that is now, with Bush's support, in full frontal attack on reproductive freedom, bill by bill, with an array of anti-choice legislation."

One example is a bill banning the procedure misnamed "partial-birth" abortion. The Supreme Court ruled a similarly worded state law unconstitutional in 2000.

Bush's ultimate goal is to appoint an anti-choice justice to the Supreme Court in order to overturn Roe.

But Bush's agenda is much broader than ending legal abortion. "In addition to eviscerating women's most fundamental human and civil rights," notes Feldt, "these initiatives represent a broad assault on our public health system, which has built its success upon sound scientific and medical practice and is now being dismantled or supplanted by ideology that suits the religious right."

"Bush has earmarked millions of dollars for scientifically unsound abstinence-only sexuality education—while attempting to de-fund family planning and reproductive

Rumsfeld and Vice President Dick Cheney. Hoffa is a founding member of a group calling itself the "Committee for the Liberation of Iraq." (New York Times, Nov. 18.)

Hoffa is collaborating with the most hostile enemies of the labor movement: executives from Lockheed Martin, Wall Street's Lehman Brothers, Charles Schwab and Co. and Bechtel, a giant worldwide construction company. These are imperialist enemies and exploiters of the world's workers and oppressed.

Hoffa will ultimately be disgraced by his own rank and file, like those in Local 705, and by the anti-war movement.

Debs would be proud

A progressive current is on the move among the 13-million member AFL-CIO, one that has been absent far too long. It will be a major influence within the labor movement in the days ahead.

Recently, two Scottish railroad engineers refused to move a freight train carrying munitions believed destined for British forces in the Gulf. This act of international solidarity needs the support of all anti-war and progressive forces.

Eugene Debs would have been proud of this courageous act.

In April 1919, right after World War I, Debs went to jail for having spoken out against that war. Debs was a union organizer and socialist who spent a lifetime organizing railroad workers.

On Labor Day of 1916, Debs had issued the following proclamation: "The class war this year is raging with unusual intensity in the United States. ... The awakened and awakening workers ... have no use for any war save the class war. They have no call to fight for the country owned by their masters. They are internationalists, not nationalists, and they scorn the patriotism that incites the slaves to slaughter one another for the profits and glory of their masters."

At the 1920 Socialist Party convention in Atlanta, Debs, prisoner #9653, was nominated to run for U.S. president. While still in jail, he received almost 1 million votes from the workers, who appreciated his leadership, his sacrifices and his principles.

Resistance has begun. In the spirit of Eugene V. Debs, the class struggle will emerge in many forms. □

health care services."

Bush is attempting to do what former President Ronald Reagan threatened to do: totally dismantle the progressive public policies protecting workers, people of color, women, seniors, children and the environment that have been passed since the Great Depression more than 70 years ago.

And all these attacks on health clinics and providers are coming at a time of an overall crisis in the health-care-for-profit industry that makes it even harder to provide the care that women need.

Roe v. Wade: Product of struggle, unity

Abortion was legalized in the United States during a time of massive social upheaval.

The women's movement was inspired by the 1960s civil rights and Black Liberation movements—which also helped galvanize the struggle to end the war in Viet Nam and the oppression of lesbian, gay, bi and trans people.

Women activists, who knew the horror of illegal, back-alley abortions either from humiliating, scary personal experience or because they mourned friends who had died, took to the streets with the slogan "free abortion on demand."

It was this broad, determined struggle that won the Roe vs. Wade decision in 1973 by a vote of seven to two, although Republicans dominated the Supreme Court at that time.

A reactionary backlash against that hard-won victory began in 1977 with the Hyde amendment, which ended federally funded abortions for women on Medicare.

Ever since, the pro-choice movement has been defending women's reproductive rights, which nevertheless have slowly been whittled away. At least three times during the 1980s Reagan years, women and men in the millions marched down Pennsylvania Avenue to defend choice.

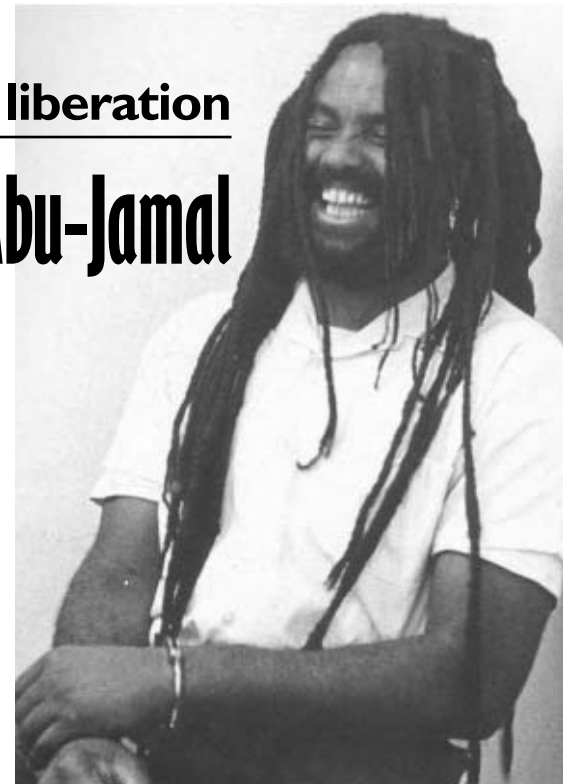
The vast majority of working and poor women today make reproductive choices in the context of low wages, inaccessible health care, inferior education and jobs where threats of violence and sexual harassment prevail.

For women to have true reproductive rights—includ-

Stop the war against Black liberation

Struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal is the world's most recognized political prisoner on death row. Known as the "voice of the voiceless", Mumia was convicted in 1982 for the killing of a white policeman in Philadelphia. Mumia is a former Black Panther who continues to write and record powerful commentaries on resisting imperialist war, racism and all forms of capitalist oppression. Mumia's case has become synonymous with the struggle against the death penalty and police brutality. Mumia has faced two death warrants which were overturned by massive outpourings of his supporters. The state and federal appellate courts refuse to hear evidence that prove Mumia's innocence. For more information on his case, visit www.mumia2000.org.



Free Leonard Peltier

Government 'Indian Wars' continue

Leonard Peltier, a member of the Anishinabe and Lakota nations, has been a political prisoner inside the U.S. for over 26 years. A leader of the American Indian Movement, Peltier was railroaded by racist courts to a double life sentence for the 1975 killings of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge reservation. President Clinton refused to pardon Peltier when he left office in 2000. He is currently incarcerated in Leavenworth, Kansas. For more information on his case, visit freepeltier.org



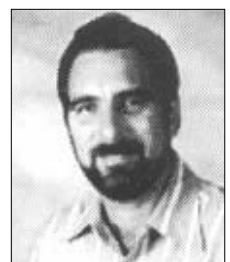
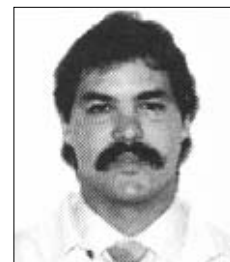
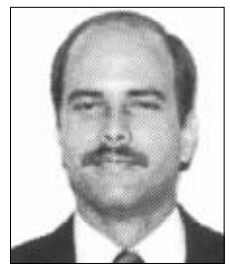
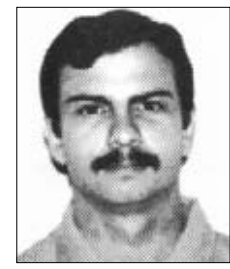
Release the Five

U.S. terror war against Cuba

When it serves the interests of capitalist globalization, the U.S. government wages war under the cover of a "war on terrorism." But five Cubans came to the U.S. to stop CIA-backed right-wing commandos in this country from carrying out terrorist attacks on Cuba. For this "crime" the Cuban 5 are behind bars, serving long sentences in U.S. prisons. For more information about their case, visit www.freethefive.org.



Antonio Guerrero
Fernando Gonzalez
Gerardo Hernández
Ramón Labañino
René Gonzalez



End legal lynching

Continued from page 3

went to trial. Appointed attorneys, even if competent, are not given the funds to properly investigate capital murder cases.

As Governor Ryan discovered, many court-appointed attorneys barely go through the motions. Of the 160 people on Illinois' death row, he found, 33 had been represented at trial by attorneys who were later disbarred or suspended from practicing law. In Texas, courts have ruled it is okay for attorneys to sleep during a capital murder trial—as long as they're awake for the "important" parts.

There are now over 3,600 people on death rows across the United States. Thirty-eight states have the death penalty, but most rarely use it. There were 71 executions in 2002, 33 in Texas alone. The next-highest state was Oklahoma, with seven.

The ultimate cure for the whole racist and anti-poor criminal justice system in the U.S. is a complete restructuring of who is in charge. Only when working people and the oppressed control the justice system will there truly be justice.

Gloria Rubac is a long-time prisoner rights activist and a founder of the Texas Death Penalty Abolition Movement in Bush's home state. □

Fighting war is a women's issue

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

Pentagon war is a women's issue, say women all over the world who oppose the U.S. military aggression against Iraq. Women are demonstrating and leading protests against the imperial war in record numbers.

The Bush administration claims that war is a "women's issue" too. Bush and the generals have tried to justify their brutal bombing and continued occupation of Afghanistan in part by pointing to the brutal treatment of women there by the Taliban.

What hypocrisy: It's no secret now that Washington financed and fostered the rise of the Taliban in the first place.

The United States bombed the population and infrastructure of Afghanistan mercilessly. It continues to occupy the country in the interests of Big Oil and geopolitical control in the Central Asia region.

Oil corporations have been trying to get a pipeline through Afghanistan for about 10 years. (New York Times, May 26, 2002)

Washington installed the new regime headed by Hamid Karzai—a former consultant for the U.S. oil company Unocal. Karzai helped Unocal plan a proposed 1,500-kilometer gas pipeline starting in Turkmenistan, stretching across Afghanistan and ending in Pakistan.

Meanwhile, at ground zero Afghanistan, the population's misery deepens.

Afghani writer Zama Coursen-Neff, co-author of "We Want to Live as Humans," says, "Women and girls are still being abused, harassed and threatened all over Afghanistan, often by government troops and officials." (Reuters, Dec. 12)

In one province in rural northern Afghanistan, there is an epidemic of mothers dying in childbirth—6,500 maternal deaths for every 100,000 live births. This is the highest rate ever documented—and 87 percent of these deaths were preventable. (U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention)

Remember all those promises from Washington about "rebuilding" Afghanistan?

The cosmetics industry sent free lipstick to Afghani women. Backed by Anna Wintour, editor of Vogue magazine, the industry also sent some money to establish a "beauty school" in Kabul. (The London Telegraph, Nov. 17)

Strangling economic sanctions

This terrible crisis for women also accompanies "undeclared" wars the United States wages on countries that try

to establish some economic and national independence.

Before the U.S. imposed sanctions against Iraq after the first Gulf War in 1991, women there had the right to education, employment, freedom of movement, equal pay for equal work, universal day care and five years of maternity leave. (www.madre.org)

Today sanctions have devastated the Iraqi economy and its public services that made these rights a reality.

Far worse, sanctions have resulted in the deaths of more than 1 million people in Iraq. More than 60 percent of them were children under the age of 7. The women of Iraq have watched their children die from starvation and preventable disease. (UNICEF Child and Maternal Mortality Survey, 1999)

Nawal el Saadawi—Egyptian feminist, activist, author, physician and freedom fighter for Arab women—laid bare U.S. policy's impact on the women of Iraq: "Who is being punished in Iraq? It's not the rich people—it is the poor. It is women, children and the poor who suffer the most, who die most in war and in 'peace' under sanctions. The United States has no interest in the Arab region except for oil." (Workers World, April 30, 1998)

And remember all the media propaganda about how the United States and its NATO allies were bombing the former Yugoslavia to "liberate" women and refugees of all genders?

Today almost one-third of the 700,000 women and girls forced into sexual slavery in the world annually have been transported into areas of what was socialist Yugoslavia, now broken apart by the United States and other NATO powers. U.S. officials working for the United Nations have been implicated in this capitalist sex trade for profit. And the organized-crime network of prostitution is tied to the U.S.-backed Kosovo Liberation [sic] Army. (New York Times, Oct. 20)

It's a class war

How is war a women's issue?

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees estimates that of the 50 million people uprooted by war around the world, 75 to 80 percent are women and children. Eighty percent of casualties caused by small arms in a war are women and children in the civilian population—outnumbering military casualties. (Refugees magazine, UNHCR)

In war zones, women work daily to obtain food, water and fuel, and to care for children and elders devastated by wartime disease and trauma. The loss of a father or

husband brings extra economic burdens because of many women's economic dependence on men. ("War and Public Health," 1997)

In fact, as the United States prepares to launch an all-out war on Iraq, it is becoming more and more apparent that the Pentagon drive for global domination is really a class war—a war against the poor and oppressed of the world.

It is an international war against the women and girls who do two-thirds of the world's work, most of it unpaid and much of the rest at sweatshop wages that can only feed capitalist profits. (Global Women's Strike-UK)

The United States pours more than \$450 billion a year into military spending. A mere 20 percent of that could provide the essentials of life for everyone on the planet—water, sanitation, basic health, nutrition, literacy and a minimum income. (Global Women's Strike-UK)

It is also a domestic war waged against women in the United States.

A recent study of industrialized countries found that the United States had the highest poverty rate for female-headed households of all countries studied: 30.9 percent compared to a 10.5 percent average. (Luxembourg Income Study Working Paper, Sept. 2000)

In fact, 60 percent of all poor adults in the United States are women. Recent census figures show that the sinking capitalist economy here is hurting women in disproportionate numbers. Working women are 40 percent more likely to be poor than working men, and families headed by a single woman are twice as likely to be poor as families headed by a single man. (NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund)

An estimated 20 percent of African American women and Latinas live below the poverty level. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Resources, 2002)

As the U.S. government marches toward war, states are making budget cuts to deal with an estimated \$50 billion shortfall. This means that in 2003 the situation of many women in this country will worsen, in a heartbreaking parallel to the lives of women in other parts of the world.

More women here will be evicted from their homes, have utilities disconnected, go hungry together with their children. They will spend more time trying to get

medical care, and will still be turned away. And women of color will bear a disproportionate share of this overall burden.

Some women will be forced by the "economic draft" of racism, sexism, homophobia and low-paying or non-existent jobs into joining the U.S. military.

Still others will suffer at the hands of men returning from war—men programmed to kill by the military who end up killing their wives and lovers, as did veterans of the Fort Bragg Special Operations unit returning from Afghanistan last summer.

Pentagon war & women's liberation

Fighting to stop Pentagon war is a women's issue. But not because women are instinctively and "naturally" more peaceful. Not because women give birth or because women have been the "guardians of life" while men have been making war.

Fighting Pentagon war is a women's issue because it flows out of the inherent need of capital to expand its markets and its rate of exploitation in order to survive—and women's labor, paid and unpaid, is a foundation upon which this profit system rests.

Capitalism wages brutal imperialist wars and imposes brutal imperialist peace in order to secure those profits, extorted from working class, oppressed and impoverished people of all sexes.

Now, on the eve of this war with Iraq, young U.S. men may face the reinstatement of registration for the draft, and young women, presumably, would not. But from the perspective of progressive activism, the point is not to get young, working-class women onto the frontlines of battle in Iraq—the point is to get the men out.

Fighting against Pentagon war is a women's issue. It is linked to the struggle for the liberation of all poor and working-class people, all oppressed people.

Stop the war on Iraq! U.S. out of Korea, the Philippines, Colombia and Vieques! Stop the war on women!

Minnie Bruce Pratt, a lesbian, anti-racist activist, organized for women's liberation in the military-dominated town of Fayetteville, N.C., in the 1970s and 1980s. She is currently a member of International ANSWER. □

This is liberation?

By G. Dunkel

What has U.S. war and occupation meant to Afghanistan?

Relief workers estimate that half a million Afghans are homeless, living in bombed-out buildings or tents with mud piled along the sides to keep out drafts. Some 75,000 residents of Kabul are reported to suffer from tuberculosis, a disease largely controlled elsewhere in the world.

Kabul has lost 78,000 houses in wars over the last 30 years. None were repaired in 2002. Its sewers are overflowing, its narrow streets grid-locked and choked with smog.

Three years of drought have devastated much of the country, particularly in the south. Rivers and reservoirs have run dry.

Three-quarters of the country's livestock have died. War has completed the devastation: irrigation systems have been blown up and roads destroyed.

The 7 million land mines left in the country are still deadly. NGOs say it would take several thousand workers at least a decade and cost \$500 million to dispose of most of them.

International donors say \$1.8 billion has poured into Afghanistan in the past year, but only \$80 million has reached the government.

The U.S. is spending about \$1 billion a month in Afghanistan for its military occupation, but only \$25 million for aid. (New York Times magazine, Jan. 5)

That's 2.5 cents on the dollar—not even a fig leaf. □

Lesbian, gay, bi, trans

'We stand against the

By Leslie Feinberg

"There are lesbian, gay, bi and trans groups all around the country who are organizing locally against the war," Jesse Heiwa told Workers World.

"And a coalition of more than 17 groups have signed into a statement asking other LGBT organizations to take a stance against the war. That coalition includes the diversity of our communities—from Al Fatiha, an LGBT Muslim group, to the National Youth Advocacy Coalition and an umbrella organization called Queers for Peace and Justice."

Heiwa, a person of color, is a self-identified queer and anti-racist activist who also does alternative media work with WBAI radio. He is a long-time and deeply respected fighter for social and economic justice.

When Jesse Heiwa takes the podium in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 18 in front of a massive anti-war audience, he will speak

for many lesbian and gay, bisexual and trans people of all nationalities across the country who are working hard to stop this war before it starts.

What message will he deliver? Heiwa said, "That it's important for queer folk to come out against the war."

Heiwa explained, "The term 'queer' to me is an inclusive term incorporating lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, same-gender-loving and all the other names we call ourselves. And also it's a political term that reminds us of our need to link up with all the issues that affect our lives: racism, sexism, homophobia and class oppression."

What message will Heiwa bring to those who watch the rally—those bundled up in overcoats in the shadow of the U.S. Capitol Building and those watching satellite transmission from the warmth of their homes?

"Not only does the war affect the LGBT communities directly by taking money

An interview with Larry Holmes

On Rangel's bill, the draft and organizing GIs

By Leslie Feinberg

President Richard Nixon abolished the compulsory military draft in the United States in 1973. Tumultuous anti-war struggles inside the ranks of the military and within the society as a whole—inspired and bolstered by the resistance of the Vietnamese people themselves—made a drafted army untenable for the brass.

Rep. Charles Rangel, an African American Democrat representing New York's 15th Congressional District, announced in a Jan. 8 opinion editorial that he had introduced legislation to reinstate the draft.

Rangel noted the disproportionately high representation of poor and oppressed nationalities in the enlisted ranks. He said people of color make up 35 percent of the military—Black GIs 20 percent—which is well above their proportion of the general population. They, along with poor and rural whites, Rangel said, make up more than their share of ground forces.

Workers World newspaper talked with Larry Holmes about the idea of reinstating the draft. When the Pentagon gun turrets were aimed at the Vietnamese, Holmes was a GI resister. After a brief stint in a military prison, he was kicked out of the army in 1972 for anti-war organizing. In 1972-73 he became a leader of the American Servicemen's Union, which tried to form a labor union inside the ranks, and he has continued to be an activist—leading many struggles against war and racism over the last three decades.

Big firms get rich, GIs die

"There's no question that Rep. Charles Rangel's legislative initiative to reinstate the draft has touched off a raw nerve in the White House and in the ruling circles and the media," Holmes begins.

"It is clear that Rangel meant to draw attention to the fact that today's ranks

are from the working class, and more and more they are largely Black and Latino," he continues. "They are sent off to fight wars decided in the chambers of the all-white and wealthy Senate and in the corporate boardrooms. The sons and daughters of the rich and powerful are spared from war."

Holmes explained that the composition of the troops spells trouble for the ruling summits of war makers. "One of the reasons why Bush and Co. are very nervous about this reality, as they send tens of thousands of troops to the Gulf, is that it has the potential of fracturing this false and thin sense of 'national patriotic unity' that they work overtime to inculcate society with.

"Why should these youths be sent off to fight wars for Wall Street?" Holmes asks rhetorically.

"And what happens to them when and if they come home?" Holmes adds. "Too many of those who survived the Vietnam War and the 1991 Gulf War had been killed but didn't know it yet—from Agent Orange or Gulf War Syndrome. Too many came back sick, their lives destroyed by post-war trauma, addiction, domestic violence, inability to work or function, devastating social side effects that linger for decades, if not generations, in working-class communities and ghettos across the country."

Discharged soldiers return to the war on the "home front"—racism, police violence, imprisonment, cutbacks in social services, poverty and low-paying jobs, too.

"Malcolm X raised this contradiction," Holmes recalls, "Martin Luther King did, too, along with every other progressive leader who thought seriously about the relationship of Black and Latino young people to wars. They're sent to fight the wars, but when they come home they face racist discrimination in every aspect of their life."

'Hell, no! We won't go!'

"I don't think anyone really believes that Rangel, or Rep. John Conyers of

Detroit who co-sponsored the bill, is really for reinstating the draft," Holmes says.

"No progressive person would vote to force more people to go to war," he explains. "What Rangel, or other legislators who may really be opposed to this war, could do as an alternative way of opening up this question is to explain that many young people join the military because they can't find any jobs—creating what's often been called the 'economic draft.'

"Therefore, because of the widespread opposition to the war, these political figures could introduce legislation giving enlisted personnel—including reservists—the right to refuse to participate.

"That would really shake up the establishment," Holmes says emphatically. "And it would energize the anti-war movement and give it a way to be in solidarity with GIs."

Holmes took note of how narrowly the U.S. government defines Conscientious Objector status. "They wouldn't give Muhammad Ali that status when he spoke out against the war. CO status should be broadened to include everyone who for whatever reason doesn't want to fight in this war."

The struggle against the draft during the Vietnam War was a dynamic component of anti-Pentagon activism, Holmes stresses. He described massive, angry protests in the late 1960s that shut down the Whitehall induction center in the southern tip of Manhattan as fighting spilled into the heart of Wall Street.

"The occupation of draft offices, the activist disposal of draft files, burning of draft cards—it was a serious, compelling demand to stop the war," Holmes recalls.

"However, Rangel has at least reminded the movement that opposing the draft isn't enough."

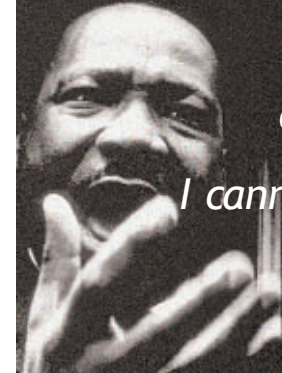
Winning over workers in uniform

"We have to win the hearts and minds of those from the working class who happen to presently be in uniform. We have to have a thoughtful approach to engage them and organize the one to two million enlisted personnel in the military, including the hundreds of thousands of reservists." Holmes leans forward to stress the importance of this point.

"When you really think about it, as serious anti-war activists, a small, highly-paid, elite mercenary force that is socially divorced from the mass of the population—like the CIA and FBI, or the SWAT teams of the NYPD or the LAPD—couldn't be appealed to."

But watch the footage of tearful families and reservists saying their goodbyes on the news programs, wondering if they'll ever be reunited, Holmes suggests. "There is tremendous apprehension among enlisted personnel. Anti-war activists and organizations like the International ANSWER coalition—Act Now to Stop War & End Racism—are being contacted by GIs and reservists

The greatest purveyor of violence in the world today is my own government...



for the sake of humanity, I cannot be silent" ...

-Dr. M.L.King, Jr.

wanting to know what can be done to help them take an anti-war stand."

When full-scale war breaks out, Holmes cautions, a media blitzkrieg marches alongside it. "They'll say we have to stop all the debating and criticizing, all the marching and rallying against the war because now we have to support our troops.

"It's a phony appeal meant to touch a chord in the hearts of working-class people whose loved ones are in harm's way. But it's cynical propaganda from those who are diverting attention from the body bags being sent home and the Iraqi people being slaughtered."

The burgeoning anti-war movement can express its genuine solidarity with the soldiers. Holmes voice rises: "We have an alternative way to support the troops: Bring them home! Why should they fight and die for oil profits?"

Holmes offers a few cogent lessons from the anti-military struggle he cut his teeth on 30 years ago. "I was drafted during the Vietnam War and got involved with a group called the American Servicemen's Union. The ASU was founded by GIs, with the support of anti-war activists, in 1967. At the height of the Vietnam War we had 30,000 card-carrying members who exchanged information and views with each other through a terrific monthly newspaper called 'The Bond.'"

Holmes brings to mind that soldiers have no rights. "We had a splendid approach to organizing the women and men in the military ranks that I think could be applied today. The ASU demanded that GIs have the right to a labor union.

"This includes the right to vote against participation in wars, to engage in free speech and political activism, decent pay and benefits for GIs and their dependents, and an end to racist, sexist and anti-gay discrimination."

Holmes adds that soldiers, specifically, "should be able to talk openly about the war in their barracks without the presence of officers or any fear of punishment. They should be able to participate in anti-war activities both on military bases and off."

He draws a breath and concludes with conviction: "In the coming days and weeks, our anti-war movement will have to take up the challenge of helping to organize GIs against the war much more seriously." □

war!

away from all the programs, such as AIDS, queer youth support and anti-violence programs. It also means that LGBT people—both in the U.S. military and in Iraq—

are going to be directly affected. And we shouldn't be fighting each other, we should be fighting against the war."

Heiwa points to a recent report that the Pentagon brass might temporarily suspend its "don't ask, don't tell" policy of witch-hunts against LGBT people in military—but only for the duration of the war.

He asks, "Why should we fight in a military that oppresses people around the world and is not for defense—the same Pentagon that tells us our lives only matter when they're used to kill other people?"

And adds, "As people who are oppressed, we need to speak out in support of other people who are oppressed—particularly Arabs, Muslims and South Asians being targeted by selective registration and imprisonment."



WW INTERVIEW WITH WARRIOR JESSE HEIWA

Taking a strong stand against war and racism is not new for the left-wing current of the LGBT movement, Heiwa notes. "Queer people have always been involved in anti-war and social justice organizing and it's no different now."

He will stand at the dais as a powerful representative of that left-wing current that arose out of a rebellion in Greenwich Village on a hot summer night in 1969 in response to police repression.

And he will state, "We are here—a vital part of the anti-war movement. And as a group of people once made to wear the pink triangle in the Nazi concentration camps that signified our oppression, we stand in solidarity with those who are today facing the full wrath of this government, which is waging war around the world." □

THE ULTIMATE WEAPON TO HALT WAR: WORKERS

By Sara Flounders

As the international movement to stop the war on Iraq gains momentum, the power that is capable of actually stopping the war has stepped forward.

In early January, two Scottish train drivers made headlines in the British press when they refused to move a freight train carrying munitions to the Glen Douglas Base on the west coast of Scotland. According to the Jan. 11 Guardian, a total of 15 drivers are threatening some form of anti-war action.

This was the first such political action by Scottish or British workers in many decades. Officials of the ASLEF Rail Union, which represents the train drivers, were pressured by the government and the rail management to end the job action.

But the unionists were unlikely to comply, reported the Jan. 9 Guardian, a major

British newspaper. This is because the union itself has taken a stand against the war.

Glen Douglas is NATO's biggest weapons storage base in Western Europe. The war materiel was to be shipped to British troops deployed for war in the Gulf. Britain is the U.S. junior partner in the coming war to recolonize the entire oil-rich Gulf region.

The two unnamed Scottish workers are in a key position to stop the shipment because they are the only ones at the Motherwell freight depot trained to operate on the route to the Glen Douglas base. The ministry of defense is therefore faced with moving the war materiel by road.

While the union could face legal action and fines for contempt of court, the government may fear a confrontation. The Tony Blair Labor Party government faces a bigger problem: This refusal to comply

could quickly spread to other key sections of organized labor that are part of the war industry—and the Labor Party's base.

The government's problem is compounded by support for the two workers from the mobilized and increasingly militant anti-war movement in England. Lindsey German, a convener of the Stop the War Coalition in Britain, said: "We fully support the action that has been taken to impede an unjust and aggressive war. We hope that other people around the country will be able to do likewise."

The anti-war movement is a rising tide in England. On Sept. 28, more than 400,000 people flooded London to oppose the war. Many other demonstrations have been held since then, involving hundreds of thousands of people.

Without massive demonstrations it is doubtful that these two courageous workers would have acted on their own or that

the government and management would be so worried about the idea spreading to other sectors.

The massive mobilizations break isolation and challenge the corporate media's line that the imperialist war has broad support. Individual workers know they will have organized support and can act with the confidence that their actions represent the aspirations of millions of other working people. And millions of rank and file workers who are deeply opposed to the war are emboldened to challenge their own leadership to take a stand against the war.

Soldiers and reservists feel that they can refuse the criminal orders of their officers. Students begin to organize walkouts and strikes.

The mass protests show that there is a basis for more radical actions. They act as yeast to raise resistance.

Workers have learned through their own bitter experiences of spiraling layoffs and runaway shops that looting oppressed nations does not "trickle down" to them.

Instead each military adventure strengthens the hand of the largest corporations and leads to lower wages and a new round of layoffs. Entire industries move overseas. Real income for working people has declined every year for the past 20 years. An ever-growing list of cuts in vitally needed social programs—health care, education, housing—pay for a military budget that grows relentlessly.

Those who do the world's work every day are not consulted about how the bosses run it in the murderous pursuit of profits.

If workers by the millions put down their tools and walk off the job to protest the war, they have the power to shut down all business as usual—including the Pentagon's.

Flounders is co-director of the International Action Center and a coordinator of the Iraq Sanctions Challenge. □

Mid-January anti-war actions in 28 countries

By John Catalinotto

Mobilizing against the U.S. war drive is gaining momentum around the world.

Thousands protested in **Rabat, Morocco**, on Jan. 12. That same day in **Germany** there's a traditional remembrance for Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, two communist leaders who opposed World War I. This year's commemoration included a protest march of 10,000 in Berlin. Its main slogans were directed against U.S. plans to invade Iraq.

As of Jan. 14, demonstrations have been scheduled in at least **29 countries** in solidarity with the call from the International ANSWER coalition—Act Now to Stop War

& End Racism—for mid-January actions.

International protests will target Pentagon bases, and in some cases activists will attempt to carry out inspections of the facilities for U.S. weapons of mass destruction. This is true in **Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the Philippines, South Korea and Spain**.

Demonstrations will also take place in **Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Russia, Sweden Switzerland and Belgium**.

Polls show between 70 and 85 percent of the population in Asia, Europe and Latin America oppose the war against Iraq.

This popular pressure is so strong that even capitalist governments in Europe, North America and Japan—seeing no gain for their own interests from a U.S.-British assault on Iraq—have urged a slowing down of the U.S. war.

South Asia, Latin America

In **Pakistan**, a coalition of secular, democratic and pro-socialist parties will demonstrate on Jan. 18 in Lahore in front of the U.S. Consulate. In **India**, the All-

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War deeply rooted in profit system

Continued from page 1

Party to declare their opposition. Even a member of Blair's cabinet, International Development Secretary Clare Short, publicly said it was the prime minister's "duty" to stop Bush from carrying out the war.

Blair, after blinking and calling for more time for the weapons inspectors, quickly jumped back on board and ordered the call-up of 1,500 reservists. He also put the Royal Navy, including the aircraft carrier Ark Royal, on notice to prepare for pre-war training in the Mediterranean.

In France, a poll taken for Le Figaro showed 77 percent of those interviewed opposed to military intervention against Iraq.

Yet President Jacques Chirac, in order to protect the interests of French imperialism and not be left completely out of a division of Iraqi oil, "told his armed forces to be prepared for deployment, the clearest suggestion so far that France would participate in a military move against Saddam." (Canadian Press dispatch, Jan.7)

Washington desperately needs to use Turkey as a major staging ground for an attack on Baghdad from the north. It has been working on the government for permission to put up to 80,000 troops in

Turkey. Yet 80 percent of the population in this Muslim country opposes the war, the country is in the worst depression it has seen in decades, and any war will only intensify the economic and social crisis. (Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 14) The repressive Turkish government has given the Pentagon permission to send surveying teams to assess the basing situation for U.S. troops, despite the prospect of disaster brought about by the war.

All over the Middle East, Washington's client regimes are trembling at the prospect of social explosions in the wake of a U.S. invasion. The Saudi Arabian oil monarchy has been compelled to privately assure its master that it can use Saudi bases, but is terrified to admit that in public. And the Saudi government is desperately trying to find some peaceful way out of the crisis.

All this twisting and bending by powerful imperialist governments as well as dependent but endangered regimes under the pressure of the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department, as well as the complete disregard by Washington for mass anti-war sentiment, contains important lessons for the anti-war movement. Above all, the movement should not count on the UN Security Council, weapons inspectors' reports or

public opinion to stop the war.

Only mass resistance will have an impact.

Who really make the decisions?

The driving motivation behind the war is to conquer Iraq and seize its oil fields, with 112 billion barrels of reserves, in order to establish U.S. military and corporate dominance in the Middle East. It is the class interests of the rich ruling class—led by ChevronTexaco, ExxonMobil, Boeing, Lockheed, Raytheon, the military-industrial complex and the financial oligarchy on Wall Street—that dominate and dictate the Bush administration's foreign policy.

These profit interests override any concern about public opinion or even the most basic democratic forms.

In a recent major article in the Jan. 12 Washington Post, Glenn Kessler wrote about the "murky process" behind the decision to go to war against Iraq. He said that "often, the process circumvented traditional policymaking channels as longtime advocates of ousting Hussein pushed Iraq to the top of the agenda by connecting their cause to the war on terrorism."

He concluded that "the decision to confront Iraq was in many ways a victory for a small group of conservatives" who out-

maneuvered the so-called moderates after Sept. 11.

But Kessler and all those who complain about foreign policy being hijacked by the right wing fail to explain this: Just how does a "small group of conservatives," i.e., Dick Cheney, Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz and hawks like Richard Perle, who is on the Defense Policy Board outside the official government, corral the entire ruling class to get behind their policy?

Indeed, this small group did go too far for its own class base in its disregard of diplomacy and its failure to put enough effort into lining up the imperialist allies and U.S. clients.

But as to the substance of the policy—conquering Iraq—the entire ruling class is for it. This comes through as a solid wall of pro-war propaganda. Whether it's ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News, the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, Time magazine, Newsweek, Business Week or any other major instrument of U.S. ruling-class propaganda, they all have been spouting anti-Iraq lies ever since the Bush administration began its campaign in earnest.

And not one significant capitalist politician in either party came out against a war on Iraq.

Every so-called "opponent" supported the war but conditioned it on the U.S. achieving a broad coalition or on getting

LOS ANGELES

Anti-war protest brings 30,000 into the streets

By Adrian Garcia
Los Angeles

On Jan. 11—with the Bush administration's war rhetoric against Iraq becoming more pronounced, menacing and belligerent, and with U.S. and British troop deployments to the Gulf region increasing day by day—the people of Los Angeles descended onto the streets by the tens of thousands to demand an immediate cessation to the immoral and illegal drive to war against the people of Iraq.

Organizers, including those from International ANSWER—Act Now to Stop War & End Racism, estimated the number of marchers at more than 30,000, while the Los Angeles Police Department's estimate was 3,000. The photographs in the Los Angeles Times and La Opinion on Jan. 12 tend to support the former estimate.

The diversity of the crowd was clearly visible. Students ranging from grade school to university age participated in the protest.

"I think it's bad for this country to have all this power, while other countries like Iraq are suffering," commented Carson High School student Joseph Kim as he joined a contingent of students in front of Los Angeles Trade Tech College. Elementary school students from East Los Angeles prominently displayed a banner that read: "Guerra No! Escuelas Si!" (No to war! Yes to schools!)

The demonstrators also included families with strollers in tow, seniors, disabled resisters in wheelchairs, members of the different religious communities and a great number of first-time attendees to the anti-war movement.

"I got tired of watching the news every day and becoming angry about the imminent war against Iraq," proclaimed Jose Lopez. "I felt I had to come out and take a

stand against injustice."

High-profile politicians and celebrities made their presence felt and proclaimed their solidarity with the movement. U.S. Rep. Maxine Waters defiantly expressed her disdain for the Bush administration's war-mongering policy: "I wanted to send a message back to Washington. I am not afraid of George W. Bush. I do not support a strike on Iraq! I do not support war anywhere!"

Jackson Brown and Slash, former guitarist for Guns n' Roses, were among the musical talents lending their support to the growing anti-war movement.

Actor David Clennon assured the crowd that "we are not alone" in this justifiable struggle. Clennon referred to two Scottish train drivers who recently refused to move a freight train carrying war materiel.

Veteran actors and activists Ed Asner and Martin Sheen urged protesters to continue the fight to resist a new war against Iraq.

Immediately after the first rally, the marchers proceeded north on Broadway amidst crowds of enthusiastic onlookers and workers. Immigrants from Central America and Mexico peered out of building windows and encouraged the crowd to make some noise.

The march culminated in an equally electrifying second rally outside the doors of the downtown Los Angeles Federal Building—the site of recent immigration roundups and arrests of young boys and men from Middle Eastern countries, including Iran.

The plight of immigrants and demands for their rights were at the forefront of the demonstration.

Alicia Jrapko of the San Francisco office



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

Los Angeles, Jan. 11.

of the International Action Center spoke about the struggle to free five Cubans jailed in this country for trying to stop terrorist attacks on their country launched from the United States. And Jrapko commended immigrants for making their presence felt in the Jan. 11 protest.

Richard Becker, West Coast regional director of the IAC and a member of the ANSWER coalition, one of the organizers of the event, summed up the exhilaration that filled the crowd of more than 30,000.

"This demonstration is not only a victory for the people of Los Angeles. It is a victory for people all over the world who are opposed to a new war against Iraq," proclaimed Becker, prompting cheers from the crowd. Becker also urged those in attendance to continue the struggle by joining the Jan. 18 protests in San Francisco and Washington D.C. □

'Stop the racist round-ups!'

A week of daily protests at the Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Francisco and Los Angeles culminated in a Jan. 10 action in which hundreds of supporters of Arab and Muslim men—who face mandatory registration if they are over 16—came out to condemn this latest attack.

Jan. 10 was the deadline for the second phase of a racist round-up affecting men from Afghanistan, Lebanon, North Korea, Bahrain, Eritrea, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. Already across this country 7,200 men, many without legal representation, have been thrown in jail for any inconsistency the INS determines in their visa status.

Many at the Jan. 10 protest compared what the INS is doing to the concentration camps for Japanese Americans during World War II. This current witch-hunt is meant to create a climate of hostility and intimidation, primarily against Arab people.

—Bill Hackwell

UN Security Council support. And these politicians answer to the billionaires and millionaires who put them in office.

This is because the right wing of the Bush administration, methods aside, appealed to the exploiting, looting class interests of the giant monopolies that rule the U.S.

Politics and method may separate many of them from Rumsfeld, Cheney, Wolfowitz and Co., but the lust for oil booty, military profits and world domination brings them together in practice for war. It was the "moderate" Colin Powell who engineered the 15-0 vote in the UN Security Council, which gave the U.S. a war resolution it could live with. And it is Colin Powell who is now preparing public opinion for war regardless of what the weapons inspectors say.

Of course, this wide support for the war in the ruling class may grow shaky as the combat approaches. War, which suddenly poses the prospect of destabilization of U.S. political and corporate interests abroad, will inevitably produce fear and nervousness in the establishment.

But this fear and nervousness will have nothing to do with concern for the Iraqi people, who will have to face death and destruction. The UN is estimating 500,000 casualties in the war. It is of no concern to the ruling class here that their military forces will bring Iraqis the ter-

rorism of U.S. bombing raids followed by the prospect of a full-scale invasion and a possible military occupation.

Getting rid of Bush not enough

It is Bush's war. But not Bush's war alone. A big segment of the bosses and bankers who might have been wary at first have now been swung firmly behind the Bush administration's initiative. It has become a war of, by and for the entire ruling class and its political leadership in both parties, supported by its entire propaganda apparatus.

This speaks to an issue that has been raised in the anti-war movement in this country. Many have called for "regime change" in Washington. It would certainly be in the immediate interests of the Iraqi people and the world in general if the Bush administration were set back and ousted precisely because it was waging a criminal war.

But in the long run, without Bush, there would still be ExxonMobil, ChevronTexaco, Lockheed, Boeing, Raytheon, General Electric, General Motors, ChaseMorgan, Citibank, Goldman Sachs, AT&T and all the other profiteers that need worldwide Pentagon enforcement and expansion to sustain their worldwide empire.

For over a century, these monopolistic forces of aggression have prevailed in the decisive areas of both foreign and domes-

tic policy. They are responsible for John Ashcroft and his racist roundups of peoples from the Middle East and South Asia. But they were also behind the Palmer Raids and mass deportations of radical immigrants after World War I and the internment of the Japanese-Americans in World War II.

Democrats John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson sent U.S. troops into the war in Vietnam, and Republican Richard Nixon kept the war going until the bitter end. Democrat Jimmy Carter began the revived U.S. military buildup after the Vietnam War, which was then escalated by Republican Ronald Reagan. Reagan also invaded Grenada and Lebanon. George Bush senior waged the Gulf War. Clinton went to war to dismember Yugoslavia and carried out the bombing of Belgrade and other Yugoslav cities.

So "regime change," as a popular slogan, should not be limited to its political aspect alone. In order to deal with the fundamental problem of war, the social and economic regime of capitalism must be rooted out. The war in Iraq is for profit. The military buildup is for profit.

Fifty thousand corporate lobbyists occupy Washington, D.C. They come and go from corporate offices to government offices to be sure the will of the ruling class is implemented on a daily basis. The working class and the oppressed peoples of this

country are completely shut out of the real policy-making process of the capitalist government.

That is why the richest country in the world has 43 million people without healthcare—and rising. Why millions are homeless. Why states and cities are in growing debt while the Pentagon thrives. Why unemployment grows steadily and workers have to live in fear of layoffs. Why tens of millions live in poverty while financiers and corporate moguls live in unfathomable luxury.

What is needed in this country is not "regime change" but system change. We need a mass struggle to stop the war. But that struggle, to be ultimately successful, must be a struggle to get rid of a system that runs for profit. It must replace it with a social and economic system where the economy is owned, not by a tiny group of billionaires, but by society as a whole and is run for human need. The billionaires don't like it, but that system has a name: socialism. □

After half a century of Pentagon war crimes

Why U.S. wants 'regime change' in North Korea

By Pat Chin

The global movement against war on Iraq keeps growing. At the same time, the people in South Korea continue to demand an end to U.S. occupation of their land and the right to live in friendship with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north.

It is in this context that the Bush administration has been forced, at least for the moment, to moderate its bellicose language against the DPRK.

The DPRK has been demanding direct talks with the U.S. government over its defense and energy concerns, even as the Bush regime is preoccupied with preparing a colossal war of neocolonial conquest on Iraq. The North Koreans say they won't back down from their plans to resume building a nuclear reactor until Washington agrees to sit down and talk about signing a permanent peace treaty, with a pledge that it won't attack the country and won't obstruct normalization between north and south.

Bush only last year had virtually threatened war on North Korea when, in his State of the Union address, he called it part of an "axis of evil" that had to be stopped, through pre-emptive military action, from using "weapons of mass destruction." Iraq was also cast as part of this evil trioka, along with Iran.

The Koreans had every reason to be alarmed. From 1950-53 they had suffered a catastrophic invasion by the U.S. The Korean War was halted by a cease-fire armistice, but there has never been a peace treaty. Thus, the White House can claim the legal authority to attack the DPRK at any time without consent from Congress or the United Nations Security Council—not that legality has ever stopped the war machine.

The idea that socialist North Korea presents a threat to the world is ridiculous. Born from the Korean people's decades-long struggle against Japanese colonialism, it is the DPRK that has been under nuclear threat from the U.S. for more than 50 years.

In this period, the U.S. has manufactured nearly 70,000 nuclear weapons, at the cost of \$5 trillion. (See the book "Atomic Audit: The Costs and Consequences of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Since 1940, edited by Stephen I. Schwartz.) It has deployed thousands of them within reach of the Korean peninsula.

But last November, when the DPRK raised the prospect of resuming its own nuclear program, the Bush White House canceled oil shipments to that energy-starved country and threatened economic sanctions. Now, it has dispatched U.S. Deputy Secretary of State James Kelly to the Korean peninsula in a rush of diplomatic activity, while insisting there will be no negotiations with the DPRK.

The crisis for the Bush administration came to a head after North Korea said it was withdrawing from the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty—a pact aimed primarily at preventing smaller, oppressed nations from acquiring the means to defend themselves—and expelling inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency.

On Jan. 10, North Korea's UN ambassador, Pak Gil Yon, denied that the DPRK is producing nuclear weapons but stressed that the socialist state, which has been

under nuclear threat for over 50 years, is keeping that option open as a sovereign right of self-defense.

Back in October 1994, the DPRK had stopped construction on two graphite nuclear reactors and allowed UN inspectors into the country as part of an "Agreed Framework" between the DPRK and the U.S. government. The Clinton White House—which claimed that the graphite reactors could be used to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons—agreed, along with South Korea, Japan and the European Union, to help North Korea build two light-water reactors for generating electricity. It was supposed to keep the country supplied with fuel oil until the new reactors were online.

The Clinton administration had erroneously assumed that North Korea was about to collapse after the demise of the Soviet Union and years of severe weather that disrupted agricultural production and the food supply. Eight years later, there's been no collapse. But neither has the U.S.-led consortium built the new reactors. Then, last November, at the start of the usual bone-chilling Korean winter, Washington and Tokyo announced they were stopping all oil shipments to North Korea.

This is what led the DPRK to declare its sovereign right to resume construction on the original reactors, which the Bush administration propaganda machine presents as a threat to the entire region.

What was the Korean War about?

Many in the U.S. are familiar with the anti-colonial nature of the Vietnamese struggle and the brutal atrocities committed by the Pentagon against national liberation fighters and civilians alike. But little is known here about the roots of the Korean War. There was no big anti-war movement after the U.S. invaded Korea. The conflict erupted during the height of the Cold War, when fierce McCarthyite witch hunts left progressives on the defensive.

Massacres like the one at Vietnam's Mylai village, as well as widespread torture, merciless carpet bombing and the use of napalm and other chemical weapons, left 2 million Vietnamese dead. However, the communist-led anti-colonial forces finally triumphed.

In Korea, too, there was a long struggle for national liberation. The movement against colonial domination started after Japan annexed the peninsula in 1910. A liberation force developed in the 1930s led by Kim Il Sung, who later became the first president of the DPRK.

In 1945, after World War II ended in Japan's surrender, Washington hurried troops to South Korea under the guise of protecting the population. But the real reason was to prevent the liberation forces in the south, which had widespread support, from taking power as they had done in the north. It was, in fact, a bid to establish a beachhead near China while protecting the class rule of the south Korean landlords and merchants, who had collaborated with the brutal Japanese occupation.

The Pentagon occupied South Korea, and later South Vietnam, to push back anti-colonial movements there led by communists who—horrors!—had won broad support by addressing the problems of the peasantry and the poor.

'The idea that socialist North Korea presents a threat to the world is ridiculous. It is the DPRK that has been under nuclear threat from the U.S. for more than 50 years. In this period, the U.S. has manufactured nearly 70,000 nuclear weapons, at the cost of \$5 trillion. It has deployed thousands of them within reach of the Korean peninsula.'

As with the Vietnam War, the Korean War was a continuation of an earlier anti-colonial struggle—the Koreans against the Japanese, the Vietnamese against the French. After defeating these colonial predators, both countries then faced new aggression in the form of the U.S. military machine, which cloaked itself in democratic phrases.

The Korean War, which broke out in 1950, saw U.S. troops and forces of the Syngman Rhee dictatorship in the south pitted against the Korean People's Army and southern partisans who fought to free their country of foreign domination.

But while the U.S. claimed to be defending the civilians in the south, it in fact carried out heartless bloodbaths wherever it suspected the people were sympathetic to the revolution in the north. Fighter jets and battleships off the coast deliberately shelled and strafed civilians—many of them refugees. Many homes were burnt to the ground.

During this time, the U.S. also mercilessly bombed the north. All buildings over two stories high were systematically leveled. People were forced to live and work in caves or underground shelters. No town was left untouched.

Germ warfare was also unleashed against the DPRK, South Korea and the People's Republic of China, which had sent 1 million volunteers to Korea to help repel the invasion.

Lee Wha Rang wrote on Jan. 27, 1999, that "At least 36 of the captured American flyers 'confessed' to dropping biological bombs on targets in Korea and China. This lot included Col. Frank H. Schwable, chief of staff, 1st Marine Air Wing. These officers were repatriated in 1953 and recanted their confessions soon after their return, under threat of court-martial.

"The confessors disclosed where the biological weapons were manufactured (Terre Haute, Ind.), the command structure of germ warfare (Unit 406 based in Japan), types of germs (the types developed by Japanese germ warfare units) and details on the bombing tactics." (www.kimsoft.com/1997/us-germx.htm). See also, "The United States and Biological Warfare: Secrets of the Early Cold War and Korea," by Stephen Endicott and Edward Hagerman.)

After three years, fierce resistance stalled the war. At least 3 million Koreans had been killed, 1 million of them non-combatants.

Massacres of civilians

One of the best-known civilian massacres in the south took place in the township of Nogun-ri shortly after the start of the Korean War in 1950. The Associated Press broke the story of the atrocity on Jan. 12, 1999, after interviewing survivors and GIs. The U.S. soldiers said they had fired on refugees under official orders.

The slaughter started when U.S. fighter jets strafed a large group of refugees fleeing an area of heavy fighting. About 100 people were deliberately machine-gunned. Another 300 who sought shelter under a railway underpass were killed by

ground troops over the next three days. U.S. military occupation of the south kept this story suppressed for almost 50 years.

Civilian deaths were the target of an investigation in May 2002 by the Korea Truth Commission. "We traveled hundreds of miles all over South Korea," explains a KTC report dated June 23, 2002. "At each of 12 sites we visited, we heard survivors recount their painful experiences as if they had happened yesterday. We were also shown structural damage to buildings and tunnels. And we investigated three mass gravesites." (www.iacenter.org/ktc_delegation-rpt.htm)

In the small village of Sacheon in Gyeongsangnam-do province, for example, 100 people were killed and another 100 injured on Aug. 2, 1950, after four U.S. fighter jets fired on hundreds of refugees who had gathered along a riverbank.

In Chongtong-ri village, members of the KTC delegation were told of another August attack. Four U.S. fighter jets bombed and strafed the entire village, killing 53, injuring 40, and incinerating 100 houses. One 81-year-old survivor asked the delegation angrily, "Why has it taken 50 years? We want compensation for our suffering! When are we getting it?"

In South Korea's Ham Ahn County alone over 30 massacre sites have been located. There are hundreds all over the peninsula—in cities, villages, towns, under railroad trestles, on plains and in the mountains.

A delegation from North Korea, which was prepared to testify about the even greater destruction meted out there by the Pentagon, was prevented by Washington from attending the June 23, 2001, Korea International War Crimes Tribunal in New York that heard testimony about these massacres. At that event, the judges found the U.S. guilty of war crimes against the Korean people. (http://www.iacenter.org/ktc_verdict.htm, Jan. 12, 2003)

Although many Koreans have known the truth for decades, it's been only over the past few years that they have dared to speak about the murderous carnage committed during the Korean War by U.S. imperialism.

Thanks to the courageous work of groups like the Korea Truth Commission, a voluminous mountain of convincing evidence has been gathered. This, coupled with the revelation that official orders were given to fire on refugees, exposes the lie that the U.S. invaded Korea to protect the South Korean people. It instead confirms the racist and imperialist nature of the carnage, in which all Koreans were seen as potential enemies.

Today, people around the world are recognizing that the Bush administration's threats to attack Iraq are motivated by imperialism's designs on the oil riches of the region. Tomorrow, the threats could shift to Korea, but the underlying causes will remain the same: Corporate America's insatiable appetite for domination and control of the world's resources, and its fear and hatred for those who resist its dictates. □

Why the anti-war movement should support the Palestinian struggle

By Richard Becker

On Jan. 13 the British government convened a conference focused on “democratic reforms” in the Palestinian Authority. The meeting was in London—capital of the former empire on which, it used to be said, “the sun never set.” There, British Foreign Minister Jack Straw pontificated about the Palestinians’ “need for a higher quality of public administration.”

Present to hear Straw’s oh-so-imperial-British admonitions were high-level representatives of the European Union, the United States, Russia, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and other countries.

Notable by their absence were the targets of Straw’s arrogant instructions—the leaders of the Palestinian Authority. Not that they weren’t invited to hear Straw’s lecture in person. No, the problem was that Israel, which the corporate media often call “the Middle East’s only democracy,” wouldn’t let them attend.

As a Jan. 14 Associated Press report pointed out: “Israel controls Palestinian travel in and out of the Gaza Strip and West Bank and decides who can and cannot leave.”

That one sentence speaks volumes about the real relationship—the colonial relationship—between Israel and the Palestinians. While the number of Israelis and Palestinians living inside Palestine’s borders are roughly the same, their status is anything but equal.

The 3.4 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza live under military occupation designed to strangle their economy and drive them out.

Their average per capita income is about one-twelfth that of the Israelis. Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are subject to arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and torture at the hands of the Israeli authorities.

The 1.2 million Palestinians living inside the 1948 borders of Israel are third-class citizens. They are prohibited from buying land and subjected to pervasive discrimination.

An equal number of Palestinians, more than 4.5 million, live outside Palestine—those expelled from Israel in 1948 and 1967 and their descendants. Despite many United Nations resolutions affirming their right to return to their homeland, none has ever been allowed back or compensated for stolen lands and property.

Without taking into account the colonial character of Israel’s oppression of the Palestinian people it is not possible to understand the struggle that has been raging for more than a half-century.

The anti-war movement and the Palestinian struggle

Some in the anti-war movement advocate side-stepping the Palestinian struggle and focusing only on opposing a new U.S. war against Iraq. They argue that the Palestinian-Israeli struggle is too controversial, and supporting the Palestinians will lead to a narrowing of support for the anti-war movement.

However, separating the U.S. war on Iraq from the U.S.-Israeli war against the Palestinian people does violence to reality. It ignores what the Bush cabal is trying to accomplish in the Middle East.

Washington wants to conquer Iraq, turn it into a virtual colony and take control of its rich oil resources. But that’s not all. The U.S. ruling class aims to subjugate and remold the entire region to fit neatly into its expanding empire.

The larger U.S. objective is predicated on destroying all opposition in the region. At the top of the list is the Palestinian Resistance—which, despite heavy losses suffered in decades of struggle against overwhelming odds, remains strong.

The Palestinian cause is central to the overall struggle in the Middle East. Defeating the Palestinians would be a great victory for imperialism and a big setback for the Arab people as a whole.

The Bush administration has given carte blanche to the Israeli government of Ariel Sharon—a war criminal and mass murderer—to carry out this assignment.

Washington has supplied the F-16 fighter-bombers, Cobra helicopters and even the M-16 rifles to the Israeli army. Just as important, the United States has provided the political and diplomatic cover for Israel’s illegal occupation of Palestinian territory.

Now the Bush administration is contemplating an unprecedented grant of \$14 billion in new military and economic aid to Israel, a country of just 6 million people.

Despite all the repression—the tens of thousands of Palestinians killed since the 1948 establishment of the state of Israel; the hundreds of thousands beaten, tortured and imprisoned; the dispossession of the Palestinians from more than 90 percent of their homeland—the resistance has not been crushed.

Expulsion in slow motion

How have the Palestinians been able to persevere under extremely unfavorable conditions? Fundamentally, it is because the struggle is so deeply rooted in the population.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Palestinian resistance and the Palestinian people are one and the same.

From this, Tel Aviv and Washington conclude that the only way to destroy the Palestinian resistance is to uproot and destroy Palestinian society as a whole. And that is exactly what the Sharon regime, with the backing of Bush, Cheney, Powell & Co., are attempting to do.

In 1948, to make way for the state of Israel as an exclusivist Jewish state,

780,000 Arabs were expelled from the cities, towns and farms of Palestine in what is known as “Al-Nakba”—the catastrophe. None of the expelled has ever been allowed to return, nor have they received a penny in compensation for their lost homes, lands and other expropriated property.

Israel, with U.S. backing, has ignored UN resolutions calling for the Palestinian right to return. In fact, a second mass expulsion, of hundreds of thousands more Palestinians, took place after Israel seized the West Bank and Gaza in the 1967 war.

A new wholesale expulsion of Palestinians, such as what took place in 1948, would likely trigger a massive social explosion in the Arab world and beyond. What the Israeli government is now attempting, through a combination of extremely harsh repression and economic strangulation, might be termed “expulsion in slow motion.”

Ta’ayush, an organization of Palestinian and Jewish activists in Israel, describes the policy in this way:

“Transfer isn’t necessarily a dramatic moment, a moment when people are expelled and flee their towns or villages. It is not necessarily a planned and well-organized move with buses and trucks loaded with people, such as happened in Qalqilyah in 1967. Transfer is a deeper process, a creeping process that is hidden from view. The main component of the process is the gradual undermining of the infrastructure of the civilian Palestinian population’s lives in the territories: its continuing strangulation under closures and sieges that prevent people from getting to work or school, from receiving medical services, and from allowing the passage of water trucks and ambulances, which sends the Palestinians back to the age of donkey and cart. Taken together, these measures undermine the hold of the Palestinian population on its land.” (Ha’aretz newspaper, Nov. 15)

The Israeli army has completely re-occupied the cities and towns of the West Bank, cutting off virtually all economic activity. Malnutrition and extreme poverty have become widespread.

Unemployment has risen to over 90

percent in some areas. Farmers in many villages have stopped planting because they can no longer bring their crops to market.

The deliberate destruction of the Palestinian economy, and the health and education systems, is part of an integrated strategy that also includes assassination—“targeted killings”—and mass arrest and imprisonment.

Since the second Intifada (Uprising) began 27 months ago, more than 2,000 Palestinians have been killed and 30,000 wounded. In the same period, 690 Israelis have been killed. More than 5,500 Palestinians have been imprisoned, many held without specific charges and jailed for indefinite terms.

The assassinations and mass imprisonments aim to destroy the infrastructure of the Palestinian resistance organizations. The Israeli program as a whole is meant to persuade the Palestinians to leave en masse.

Sharon and the other Israeli leaders aspire to fulfill the goals of the political Zionist movement since its origin a century ago: to turn all of historic Palestine into an exclusively Jewish state. A central tenet of the Zionist ideology is expressed in the racist slogan, “A land without people for a people without a land.”

The U.S. leaders—not just Bush but Clinton before him as well—want to pacify the entire region, which requires the elimination of the Palestinian resistance movement.

The U.S. and Israeli interests thus neatly converge in seeking the destruction of not only the Palestinian movement, but of the Palestinians as a people.

Despite all the hardship and extreme violence inflicted on them, the Palestinian people are continuing their fight for self-determination and liberation. The Palestinian resistance has been a major obstacle to the launching of a new U.S. war against Iraq.

The anti-war movement here needs to join with progressive forces around the world in supporting the Palestinian people and their just struggle, and opposing all U.S. wars and intervention in the Middle East. □

Anti-war actions in 28 countries

Continued from page 8

Indian Anti-Imperialist Forum (AIAIF), based in Calcutta, is organizing protests that day.

In Argentina, the Mothers of the Plazo del Mayo have called for a Jan. 16 demonstration against the war on Iraq. They will march from the Plaza Italia to the U.S. Embassy. Many other organizations in Argentina also are backing the anti-war action, including one in Córdoba.

In Ecuador, and throughout the Andes, organizers vow to find ways to express opposition to U.S. war policies in actions outside the U.S. Embassy and United Nations Headquarters in Quito.

In Mexico, a Jan. 18 demonstration will bring together people from both sides of the border at the International Bridge connecting El Paso and Ciudad Juarez, with participation from Chihuahua. The same day a protest will take place in Mexico City.

A protest is planned at the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala City on Jan. 17.

In Vieques, Puerto Rico, groups fighting

to oust the Navy from using their island as a bombing range have added their names as supporters of Jan. 18-19 actions.

In Indonesia, the organization The Utopian of Bandung, West Java, pledged actions on Jan. 18.

Anti-war groups in Canada plan demonstrations across the country on Jan. 18-19, with local actions in almost 30 cities—from Vancouver and Winnipeg to Toronto, Montreal and St. John. See www.canesi.org/Engl/agir.html for details.

Europe Jan. 18 to Feb. 15

A national demonstration will take place in Paris on Jan. 18, in addition to protests in some provincial cities.

In Brussels, Belgium, the Stop USA—United States of Aggression—Coalition has called a Jan. 19 action under the slogans of “No war,” “No sanctions” and “Stop the bombardment.” Demands also support the struggle of the Palestinian people.

At least three actions are planned in Spain for Jan. 18-19, including a protest march to the Torrejon airbase near Madrid

to “Stop the war on Iraq before it starts.”

In Italy, there are calls for demonstrations in Florence, Perugia and at Camp Ederle near Vicenza in northern Italy.

In Britain, a regional demonstration is planned in Yorkshire, and a weekend of protest and civil disobedience in London at the Northwood Military Base.

Netherlands organizations announced a protest in Leiden on Jan. 18 to commemorate Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. with a demonstration for peace, civil rights and anti-racism. There will also be actions in Rotterdam and at Volkel military airbase in the south. There, peace inspectors will look for weapons of mass destruction—U.S. nuclear warheads are reportedly hidden there.

In Germany, actions are slated in Gera, Bonn, Frankfurt and Berlin, and a group in Heidelberg will demonstrate at the U.S. military headquarters. In Sweden, the protest is set for Gothenburg.

The next step in Europe will be massive national demonstrations in many countries on Feb. 15. □

VENEZUELA

Right-wing lockout loses steam

By Andy McInerney

Venezuela's bosses and their masters in Washington face the prospect that their lockout and attempted shutdown of the Venezuelan economy will fail to unseat the democratically elected government of President Hugo Chávez.

This failure is due to the determination of the Chávez leadership team, the strength of the organized masses and the vacillation of U.S. imperialism as it faces challenges on every front.

Since Dec. 2, a coalition of big-business federations, members of Venezuela's old political elite, some corrupt union leaders and a handful of dissident military officers have tried to economically strangle the Venezuelan people and force Chávez to resign. The same coalition tried to unseat Chávez in an April coup backed by the U.S. government.

The Venezuelan ruling class is furious that Chávez has managed to restructure the political system, giving poor and working people a voice for the first time in history. He has encouraged the formation of "Bolivarian circles," neighborhood-based groups organized outside the bounds of the police to defend his "Bolivarian revolution."

Chávez has also initiated a number of economic projects designed to shift part of Venezuela's oil wealth to benefit the 80 percent of Venezuelans who live below the poverty line. He has proposed land redistribution. His government has proposed a bigger role for the state in the oil and banking industries.

In addition, his independent foreign policy has met opposition from the U.S. government. Chávez has challenged U.S. aggression toward Iraq and Cuba. He has refused to support U.S. intervention against the leftist insurgencies in neighboring Colombia.

The organizers of the most recent attempt to topple the Chávez government call their effort a "strike." But it is a lockout: It is organized by bosses and business executives, not by workers.

Its main target is the oil industry, where the lockout is supported not by oil workers—many of whom are valiantly working to keep the industry running—but by executives and highly paid technicians.

The shutdown has had the open support of the U.S. government and big corporations based in the United States. For example, a Dec. 26 French Press Agency report quoted Ramon Martinez, governor of the state of Sucre in eastern Venezuela: "The transnationals are involved up to their necks."

He detailed a government seizure of the "Barbara Palacios," one of the oil tankers refusing to unload Venezuelan oil. "The captains were receiving instructions from Washington and were handling accounts in dollars," Martinez charged.

The governor also said that U.S.-based oil companies like Exxon were ordering their tankers not to load oil.

Proctor and Gamble, General Motors and Goodyear are some of the other U.S. companies that have shut down their operations in Venezuela to support the "strike." A Jan. 9 Associated Press report revealed that the U.S.-based Ford Motor Co. sent 1,300 workers home "on vacation"—beginning Dec. 3, the second day of the shutdown.

International bankers have also weighed in. On Jan. 10, the World Bank's International Finance Corp. froze distribution of \$225 million in loans—at the very time that the Venezuelan government is preparing to normalize oil production.

The U.S. government itself has been far from neutral. In the early weeks of the shutdown, the State Department endorsed the right wing's call for an early election—despite the fact that such an election has no basis in the Venezuelan constitution.

When Chávez proposed a "Friends of Venezuela" group on Jan. 3 to mediate the conflict, the White House immediately threw cold water on the idea.

But one week later, the Bush administration had apparently made an about-



PHOTO: E. MENDOZA/APORREA.ORG

Supporters of Chávez, Jan. 13.

face. On Jan. 10, the Washington Post reported that the U.S. government was preparing a "major initiative" on Venezuela: "The U.S. initiative is centered on the formation of a group of 'Friends of Venezuela,' trusted by one or both sides to the conflict, that would develop and guarantee a compromise proposal." The U.S. proposal, of course, counts the Bush administration as among the "friends." According to the Post, "Its immediate goal would be an end to an opposition-organized strike."

Carlos Ortega—one of the main organizers of the shutdown affiliated with the old "Democratic Action" party that Chávez trounced in both 1998 and 2000 elections—was summoned to Washington on Jan. 11 for a meeting with the State Department.

Behind the shift

Why the shift in tactics? A Jan. 11 New York Times headline pointed out one factor: "Venezuela Crisis Complicates Iraq Situation, Experts Say."

"A few months ago everybody thought that if we went to war in Iraq oil wouldn't be a major problem," said oil industry analyst Larry Goldstein. "Now, we won't have

enough spare capacity to take care of both those events," referring to an invasion of Iraq and a protracted crisis in Venezuela.

Another factor has been the Chávez government's refusal to offer any concessions to the rightists. Instead of following a strategy of trying to reach accommodation with the opposition, Chávez has stood his ground.

Hundreds of oil executives have been fired for their sabotage. On Jan. 8 Chávez unveiled a plan to restructure the state oil company Petroleos de Venezuela to gut the managerial bureaucracy, the heart of the anti-Chávez movement.

When bank executives and supermarket owners tried to stage a shutdown, Chávez threatened to nationalize the banks and send in the army to seize warehouses of food.

But the most crucial factor in forcing Washington and its lackeys to back down from all-out confrontation has been the strength of the mobilized poor and working people in defense of what they call their "Bolivarian Revolution."

Workers take pride in working against the will of their bosses. Oil production is resuming at one refinery after another—despite sabotage by managers and engineers.

When bankers shut the doors in solidarity with the "strike," tellers and other employees reported for work. Consider the opening line of a Jan. 9 Associated Press report on the bank "strike": "Many bank workers ignored a call Thursday for a two day-strike."

Daily demonstrations show support for Chávez and his government. Right-wing rallies are blocked in the streets by mobilizations from the poor neighborhoods.

Despite U.S. efforts to pull the Venezuelan ruling class back from an immediate confrontation with the Chávez government, a threshold has been crossed. The Bolivarian Revolution is passing from its electoral birth into a phase of open class struggle.

The outcome of this struggle will be felt across Latin America. □

Lula election raises hopes of Brazil's poor

By Alicia Jrapko

Half a million people took to the streets of Brasilia on Jan. 1 to cheer their newly elected president, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva. Many wore red and white, the banner colors of the Workers Party that he leads.

Although Brazil has the largest economy in Latin America, the election of Lula came at a time of severe recession and unemployment. At least 50 million people in this country of 175 million live in poverty, while the income of the top 10 percent of the population is 32 times that of the poorest. In the northeast, infant mortality is 96 per 1,000 live births.

Representatives of 119 countries, including seven Latin American presidents, attended the inauguration. Sitting in the front row were presidents Fidel Castro of Cuba and Hugo Chávez of Venezuela.

Last October, during Lula's presidential campaign, Chávez coined the term "Axis of Good." He said that Venezuela, Brazil and Cuba should team up to fight poverty. It was an answer to Bush's "Axis of Evil" speech, in which he attacked Iraq, Iran and North Korea.

Stephen Haber from the Hoover Institute at Stanford University, a long-time conservative think tank, warned the new Brazilian president: "Embracing Castro and Chávez, the symbols of anti-U.S. influence in Latin America, gets Silva political capital in Brazil, but this is a dangerous game. You go too far one way or the other and this will blow up in your face."

Lula's government favors strengthening the Latin American market, MERCOSUR, and regional integration. He has spoken out against hegemony in any form, advocating a political solution to the conflict in the Middle East and a reformed UN Security Council.

The Bush administration showed an arrogant disrespect to this important country by sending no one higher than Trade Representative Robert Zoellick to the inauguration. In October, Zoellick had said that if Brazil did not join the hemispheric free trade zone dominated by the U.S., its only trading partner would be Antarctica. During his election campaign, Lula responded by calling Zoellick "the sub-secretary of some sub-secretary."

Lula da Silva's election to the highest

post in Brazil worries the Bush administration. His triumph, as well as the recent victory of Lucio Gutierrez in Ecuador and the growing popularity of Evo Morales in Bolivia, are signs that Latin Americans are looking for alternatives to the neoliberal model. This may obstruct U.S. efforts to create a Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005. The FTAA, like the NAFTA agreement that links Mexico and Canada to the U.S. market, would submit all countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the exception of Cuba, to International Monetary Fund regulations.

First working-class president

The U.S. corporate media is fond of referring to Lula as "a former shoeshine boy" or "a school dropout." While George W. Bush was born into oil wealth and virtually inherited the White House from his rich corporate connections, Lula was educated in the struggle and rose from poverty to become the first working-class president of Brazil.

Lula won the election by 62 percent of the votes, while Bush was selected by the Supreme Court after a scandal of uncount-

ed votes from the disenfranchised African American community and many other irregularities.

And while the Bush administration may spend \$200 billion on a war against Iraq in which thousands of innocent people will perish, Lula in his first week in office suspended a \$760-million purchase of a dozen new jet fighters for Brazil's air force. Lockheed-Martin was one of the companies competing to win the coveted fighter plane contract. He chose instead to spend the money on combating hunger to save thousands of lives. During his inaugural address, Lula had said that the initial goal of his administration was to make sure that everyone in Brazil got three meals a day.

It is too early to determine the course that this Latin American giant will take. But one thing is certain: Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva will be under tremendous pressure from the U.S. government not to take an independent path. U.S. corporations know very well that Lula rode a wave to victory based on the hopes and aspirations of the workers and oppressed, and these exploiters find this very threatening. □

As Washington pays the bill

Colombia wages class war on workers

By Teresa Gutierrez

After canceling two previously scheduled visits, why did Secretary of State Colin Powell travel to Colombia in December to convey the U.S. government's full support of President Alvaro Uribe Velez?

It is Colombia's turn to preside over the United Nations Security Council. This Latin American country is in a key position at a very important time for U.S. imperialism.

Washington is poised to launch a horrific racist war against the people of Iraq. It needs every ally it can muster as most of the world lines up against the U.S.

"We would expect [Colombia] to administer the council in a responsible way," Powell said, and allow an "open, full and comprehensive debate" on whether Iraq has met the terms of the Security Council resolution on weapons inspections.

If its conduct at home is any indication of how Colombia will administer the Security Council, then the people of Iraq are in for some real problems.

Uribe began his administration in August 2002. In his first 100 days, he carried out a slew of actions that are alarmingly dangerous for the Colombian people.

Uribe declared a state of emergency, restricting the movement of many citizens and violating civil rights. He granted the army exceptional powers for sweeps in several areas of the country. He ordered

an offensive that took back a rebel-held district outside the city of Medellin, strengthening the hand of the paramilitaries.

He launched the most aggressive aerial spraying campaign in recent history, destroying more acreage in two months than the previous president, Andres Pastrana, had managed in one year. He held secret talks with the AUC—the United Self Defense forces of Colombia, the despicable death squads that have carried out a reign of terror in that country for decades.

Uribe is building elite commando forces, which amounts to legalizing death squads. They will be composed of units from the police, the army and the attorney general's staff. The Colombian government is promising wads of money—as much as \$30,000—to private citizens who turn in information on their neighbors.

The Ministry of Defense created a reward fund of \$360,000 for every city that collaborates with the state, all under the guise of fighting "terrorism." Bans have been issued on carrying weapons, transporting gas cylinders and even moving during the nighttime.

A report in the daily La Jornada on Dec. 15, 2002, described in gory detail the cruelty used to train new paramilitary troops for combat. Thirteen youth told the newspaper that the right-wing group had given them a corpse's hand so they could get used to the smell of death. They also had to dismember the body of

a dead comrade as punishment.

Uribe is creating a controversial program of military training for peasants who will be returned to their small towns and live at home on condition that they spy on their neighbors.

A major referendum was held in early January to legalize the dismantling of political and labor rights. Every progressive trade union in Colombia had opposed it.

In effect, Uribe is militarizing Colombia for the benefit of Wall Street and Washington. Endorsed by the paramilitaries during his campaign and a known collaborator with them, his election in effect put the death squads into the front seat of administering the country.

How is he paying for all this? He is fully backed by the U.S., which has put over \$2 billion into Plan Colombia, primarily for military hardware.

International Action Center delegates who attended a tribunal in Bogotá recently were impressed by the incredible tenacity of the trade unionists and all the social sectors in Colombia that continue to fight privatization, repression and Plan Colombia.

Four out of five of the trade unionists killed in the world today were in Colombia. This struggle is nothing more than class warfare against the workers. Colombian workers have a chant: "Why? Why do they assassinate us, when we are the hope of Latin America?"

Colombian workers, like their sisters



IAC GRAPHIC BY MIGIWA KANAZAWA

and brothers all over Latin America, are determined to end centuries of imperialist domination that have filled the coffers of many a bank and multinational corporation.

They are in step with the masses in Venezuela, Brazil, Ecuador and heroic Vieques, Puerto Rico. Indeed, throughout the continent, the Latino masses are mightily pushing forward and fighting for justice.

The Bush administration, on the other hand, is pouring money into Uribe, hoping he can deliver both at home and in the Security Council. But, as a Dec. 3 Washington Post editorial pointed out, this is a time when "the political climate in much of the rest of Latin America is turning against the United States." □

'We have won a battle, but not the war'

U.S. Navy announces May 1 halt to bombing Vieques

By Berta Joubert-Ceci

On Jan. 10, after years of struggle to oust the U.S. Navy from their land, the people of Vieques, Puerto Rico, received the news that the Pentagon will move its operations off the island as of May 1, 2003.

Navy officials have chosen alternative sites in Florida and North Carolina for military and bombing practice. The Pentagon will also use areas at sea where it will employ a new computerized simulation system known as "Virtual at Sea."

But the U.S. oil companies and Pentagon are in such a rush to prepare a genocidal war against Iraq that the Jan. 10 notice was accompanied by the announcement that military practice scheduled for the latter part of January had been moved up to Jan. 13.

Once again the will of the people of Vieques has been arrogantly dismissed and offended—and their land is being used to practice waging war against sister countries.

The reaction both in Vieques and the rest of Puerto Rico was to organize against this assault. Two hundred people from Vieques traveled to the main island on Jan. 11 for a "March for the Peace of Vieques." They walked through several towns in the northeastern coast of the Big

Island, and ended with a rally at the steps of the Capitol in San Juan.

This was the preamble to actions of civil disobedience that started early Jan. 13 in Vieques. Even before the Navy had started its lethal early morning exercises, five members of the Puerto Rican Independence Party had already been arrested for entering the restricted bombing range to try to stop the war maneuvers.

History of broken promises

Can the people of Vieques celebrate the news of the base's moving?

Ismael Guadalupe, leader of the Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques—the main organization leading the anti-Navy struggle there—summarized sentiments on the island.

He told Workers World: "History has taught us that we cannot trust the U.S. Navy. Its history is full of chapters where the Navy has said one thing and done the opposite.

"It has denied storing and using a variety of arsenals, including chemical weapons, and later on had to accept that they had indeed used them in Vieques. The Navy has made commitments and has broken them. Some they have signed, others they have not. And many times these actions have been supported by the



PHOTO: JOSE GONZALEZ, VIEQUES SUPPORT COMMITTEE

Puerto Rican government.

"Now they try to confuse the people with their terminology saying that they will leave, when everybody knows that it is a lie. They might move the base, the shooting range, but they still control the land through other departments. Besides, there is no written guarantee stating that they cannot reopen the range.

"We have to be very clear," he stressed. "If the tremendous health problems continue, if we continue living with the contamination of water, land, and food chain,



WW PHOTO: JOHN CATALINOTTO

if we have no access to our own land in order to develop it because it is on the hands of the U.S. Navy, then we have not won.

Won a battle, but not the war

"We can celebrate a small triumph of the people, but it is not the fundamental gain. The CRDV has demanded the four D's: Demilitarization, Devolution of the land, Decontamination and Development of the island. The Navy has not responded to these demands, it has made another offer—the stopping of the bombings. It is insufficient.

"We will continue demanding the 4D's for the well-being and the health of the people and for the future of Vieques and the world." □



Another war front

A General Electric worker has been killed on a Lynn, Tenn., picket line, run over by a cop just hours after she joined 20,000 of her fellow unionists in a two-day strike. To paraphrase War Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, this shows that the U.S. billionaires and bankers can wage class war on two fronts. Rumsfeld, of course, wasn't talking openly about the war at home. He meant Iraq and Korea. The Bush administration wants to keep it a secret that the U.S. ruling class plans to wage war on the workers here as well.

The GE strike struggle has crystallized the main issues facing the working class today. On one side is a major U.S. transnational monopoly, GE, a charter member of the military-industrial complex and a giant force in the control of the mass media with its ownership of NBC.

While posting record profits, GE has insisted its workers increase payments for health insurance. In 2002 that issue—who should pay for health insurance—was a major issue in many strikes. With health-care costs soaring, along with the profits of the medical-industrial complex, companies like GE want future increases to fall on the workers' backs.

Members of Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers-Communications Workers of America are on the other side of that class war. They carried signs reading "Jobs, not greed" and "I'm ready to strike to save our health-care." The union says the increased healthcare contributions will cost workers \$300-\$400 per year, and that's just to start.

They reacted in anger to the death of their sister unionist, Kjeston "Michelle" Rodgers, who was hit by a police car while carrying a picket sign at about 5 a.m. on Jan. 13. So far no one, with the exception of the cop driving the car that struck Rodgers, knows exactly what happened. But as GE assembler and striker Alex Brown put it, "To me, it's outrageous that any cars would be going fast anywhere near a picket line."

It's outrageous, but it's all too much in line with cops shooting young people of color in U.S. cities, with missiles slaughtering Iraqis, with cuts in taxes on the rich and services to the poor. It is class war and under the Bush administration it is coming home with a vengeance. Bush's gang is betting that the working class at home won't fight back. The GE workers are already showing that's a bet the administration is going to lose. □

ANSWER coalition builds bridge to world

Continued from page 1

which stands for Act Now to Stop War & End Racism. This coalition, representing many organizations committed to social justice, came together in September 2001, after the Bush administration, taking advantage of the terrible Sept. 11 attacks, began vigorously pushing forward an aggressive agenda already formulated. It included a massive military mobilization aimed at dominating the oil-rich areas of the Middle East and, at home, stepped up repression in the name of "homeland security," targeting Muslims and Arabs in particular.

That led to ANSWER's first national march in Washington, on Sept. 29, when 20,000 people braved the flag-waving and fear mongering to demand no war and no racial profiling.

Succeeding demonstrations have grown too large to be ignored by the establishment media, particularly the Oct. 26, 2002, mass marches in Washington and San Francisco against a war on Iraq, which brought out a total of a quarter of a million people.

WW spoke to some of the members of the ANSWER Steering Committee about what they think the Jan. 18 demonstrations will achieve.

Peta Lindsay is a Howard University student who joined ANSWER while still in high school and now coordinates youth and student outreach. She sees tremendous growth in this area:

"The vast majority who come to the protests are youth and students. We can't vote until we are 18, but we can go to these large demos and make a change. Civil rights, the Vietnam War—people are realizing more and more that it was the youth and students in the streets that made the difference. We're in touch with high school students all over, from Michigan to Kansas to Maryland. They can feel isolated in their communities, but when they get on the bus and travel to these demos, and find they're with 200,000 other people, they know they're not alone but on the side of the majority of the people of the world."

Elias Rashmawi brings to the coalition steering committee the determination and passion of the Free Palestine Alliance, USA:

"I believe that the people of the U.S. have a moral duty and a responsibility to oppose the march toward war and the escalation in the level of hate that exists today in the world. The people of the U.S. are the only ones fully equipped to stop it. No one else in the world has the ability—diplomatically, militarily—to challenge this empire or the way it functions internally.

"The people around the world have their eyes focused on Jan. 18, waiting to see how the people of the U.S. collectively speak with their feet and tell the representatives of their government, 'We will not let you march to war, not allow you to destroy nations and peoples.' The ANSWER coalition is positioned, because of the partnership it has with affected people throughout the world, particularly the Arab people right now, to galvanize and lead a movement to stop this war before it starts."

Chuck Kaufman, a national co-coordinator of the Nicaragua Network, believes there's no substitute for large-scale activism:

"The only place that U.S. wars have ever been stopped is in the streets. The only thing that impresses our government is when there's massive non-cooperation with the war machine."

Jennifer Wager represents the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization/Pastors for Peace:

"Our organization for 35 years has advanced struggles for self-determination, racial, economic and social justice. We

believe there's no more fitting way to honor the memory of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. than to come out and 'break the silence' and express our outrage at the war-mongering of the Bush administration. We know that Jan. 18 will continue to build momentum for this growing movement for peace with justice in the U.S. and worldwide."

'Preemptive war' meets preemptive anti-war movement

Mara Verheyden-Hilliard, a civil rights attorney and co-founder of the Partnership for Civil Justice, thinks the Bush administration is "shocked" by the emergence of a mass anti-war movement and its impact worldwide.

"This movement is having a significant impact on their plans. He has put out this idea of calling for 'preemptive war'—and he is being met with a preemptive antiwar movement.

"There are times when it is critical for people to come together in a mass assembly for the largest possible mobilization. By having a significant physical and vocal presence, we send an unmistakable and undeniable rebuke to the administration."

ANSWER is prepared if the focus of Bush's wrath turns against the people of Korea. On the steering committee is **Yoomi Jeong**, deputy secretary general of the Korea Truth Commission, who says:

"The people around the world recognize that the real axis of evil is in fact the USA. I think it is very important for the people here to stand up for justice and peace. This is our moral obligation to the humanity that is affected by U.S. imperialism.

"Having said that, as a member of the ANSWER Steering Committee, I am very much inspired by comrades representing different nations, races, regions and issues. This is a true form of international solidarity; across the borders of religion, culture and language. We are one against the tyrant of U.S. imperialism. Along with Iraq, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—North Korea—is being singled out as a next target of U.S. military attack. I am very happy that we are represented at the Jan 18th march and rally in Washington so people can hear what the Koreans have been saying all along."

Brian Becker, a national coordinator of the International Action Center, says:

"The ANSWER coalition believes that the mobilization of the people can be the decisive factor in stopping the planned war of aggression against the people of Iraq. The war is an imperialist war for objectives that have nothing to do with disarmament. Rather the Bush administration, operating on behalf of the biggest transnational corporations and especially big oil and the big banks, seeks to conquer Iraq and all the Middle East in order to loot and plunder the vast natural resources of the area.

"People at the grassroots level all over the country are utilizing every avenue of struggle to stop the war. But there are moments in history when having a huge national mobilization is essential to show the power of the movement and to inspire confidence and stimulate a firestorm of countrywide militant opposition."

These leaders, along with others on ANSWER's diverse steering committee, show that a new kind of coalition is leading this anti-war struggle. It reflects the energies, experiences and sensitivities of the many peoples and cultures now incorporated into the working class and progressive movement in the United States. But it is also a bridge to peoples all over the world who are resisting the imperialist globalization of the planet. □



ACTION ALERT

Keep the pressure on!

Bush has to know this movement will keep growing and fighting to stop his war plans.

Coming up:

FEB. 15: day of international actions

Called by the European movement

Major mobilization in New York City

Endorsed by United for Peace and Justice, ANSWER, & all major peace groups

FEB. 14: ANSWER teach-in and rally in New York

FEB. 21: Coordinated Day of Resistance by Students and Youth

Also:

JAN. 27 is deadline for report by UN inspectors. **JAN. 28** is Bush's State of the Union address. Heads up for actions around these dates!

JAN. 30: Community, labor, student, emergency anti-war summit at House of the Lord Church, Brooklyn, sponsored by ANSWER and MLK Peace Committee.

Check in with ANSWER for details: www.internationalanswer.org
212-633-6646 in New York, 202-332-5757 in D.C.

Bush no puede vender la guerra del imperio

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esperanza para la democracia y la estabilidad." El argumento de que "la evaluación moral del imperio se complica cuando uno de sus beneficios pueda ser la libertad para los oprimidos."

Este es la versión del siglo 21 de la ideología encarnada en poema de Rudyard Kipling, "El Agobio del Hombre Blanco," escrito durante la toma militar de las Filipinas por los Estados Unidos en 1899, durante la Guerra Hispano-Americana. Kipling, poeta del imperio británico, comenzó este trecho racista con las líneas, "Ocupa el Agobio del Hombre Blanco—Envía tus mejores castas—Ata a tus hijos al exilio—Que tus cautivos necesitan servir".

Washington también colonizó a Cuba y Puerto Rico durante esa guerra y luego a Santo Domingo y Haití.

Para promover la esclavitud de la India, donde Kipling nació, al igual que Africa, el Medio Oriente y América Latina, los imperialistas británicos y estadounidenses recurrieron a la ideología de una raza blanca superior con una misión de "civilizar". El secretario de la Marina, Theodore Roosevelt y presidente en dos ocasiones fue uno de los pioneros de la expansión imperialista de Estados Unidos. El fue un admirador fiel de este poema por su mensaje expansionista.

Está flagrante advocación del racismo y chovenismo blanco ocultaba el hecho de que las clases gobernante del imperialismo europeo y estadounidense estaban robando a los pueblos del mundo bajo el disfraz de diseminar la "civilización".

Roosevelt entregó muchos tractos en justificación de la expansión imperialista. Un discurso típico fue uno que él pronunció en 1909 en una Iglesia Metodista Episcopal en Washington, D. C. "Hay una característica en la expansión de la gente de sangre blanca o europea durante los últimos cuatro siglos que nunca deben perderse de vista, especialmente por aquellos que denuncia a tal expansión en bases de moral," dijo él. "En su totalidad, el movimiento ha estado lleno de beneficios duraderos a la mayoría de los pueblos ya en las tierras habitadas en las cuales la expansión se llevó a cabo."

El comercio de la esclavitud, la masacre de los pueblos del Congo por el Rey Leopold de Bélgica, la conquista y la esclavitud de la India y Egipto por los británicos, del Norte de Africa y el Sur Este de Asia por los franceses, de Indonesia por los holandeses, del Sur Oeste de Africa por los Alemanes—todo esto se llevó a cabo bajo la ideología del "agobio del imperio."

La versión de Ignatieff de la empresa,

"noble pero peligroso" de extender la "democracia" al pueblo iraquí y entonces al Medio Oriente es nada más que una versión recalentada de la ideología de Theodore Roosevelt y Rudyard Kipling de "servir a sus cautivos".

¿Qué han hecho realmente las empresas petroleras estadounidenses, bancos y corporaciones multinacionales en el Medio Oriente con el apoyo de la CIA y el Pentágono? Han saqueado el pueblo de Irán bajo la dictadura del Shah; sostenido al régimen sionista de Israel en tres guerras contra el pueblo árabe y en su intento de destruir el movimiento nacional palestino; han apoyado a las monarquías feudales petroleras del Golfo por décadas; invadieron a Líbano para aplastar a su movimiento nacional; bombardearon a Libia; libraron una guerra brutal por el aire y por la tierra en contra de Irak seguida por sanciones responsables por la muerte de más de millón de personas.

Ignatieff y el New York Times han decidido, en este período pos soviético del siglo XXI, de circular el concepto de un nuevo imperialismo benefactor en lo cual los opresores se han convertido en liberadores—todo en el espíritu del racismo paternalista de los fundadores de la ideología imperialista del siglo XX, Kipling y Roosevelt. Este profesor de Harvard lo hace, sin embargo, en lenguaje más apropiado a una época después de un siglo de revoluciones socialistas y movimientos de la liberación nacional.

La Revolución Bolchevique y el surgimiento de los oprimidos

De hecho, fue la Revolución Bolchevique y el surgimiento de los pueblos oprimidos que forzaron a los imperialistas a frenar su racismo y chauvinismo.

Woodrow Wilson, el presidente de los EE.UU. de 1913 hasta 1921 había invadido o ocupado a México, Haití, la República Dominicana y Panamá, y envió fuerzas militares a participar en la Primera Guerra Mundial, una lucha ínter imperialista para re dividir al mundo. Pero Vladimiro Lenin y los Bolcheviques agarraron el poder en Rusia en el nombre de los campesinos y los trabajadores. Publicaron los tratados secretos entre el zar y los demás poderes imperialistas y declararon la solidaridad soviética con todos los pueblos oprimidos.

Wilson, el saqueador de las naciones caribeñas y Latinoamérica entonces produjo una llamada por la "autodeterminación de naciones". Proclamar abiertamente a favor del imperialismo ya había vuelto en algo provocador y peligroso por los Poderes Grandes.

Talón de Aquiles del imperialismo

Tras el colapso de la URSS y los reveses en las luchas por la liberación nacional, la administración de Bush, Wall Street y el Pentágono están en un proceso de consolidar su dominio absoluto del mundo. La guerra contra Irak es parte de este intento.

Entre poco será imposible ocultar la ambición imperialista del capital financiera de los EE.UU. Así el esfuerzo de parte de los ideólogos del imperialismo, incluso Ignatieff, de confeccionar una línea política para hacer una limpieza y promover la orientación nueva, agresiva y conquistadora de Washington.

Pero hay una nota de preocupación en el tratado de Ignatieff que revela el talón de Aquiles del imperialismo. Él cita a la obra de Edward Gibbon, "Historia de la Decadencia y Ruina del Imperio Romano", que atribuye la caída del imperio al hecho de que los imperialistas se fueron "más allá de los límites que al parecer la naturaleza había puesto como sus baluartes permanentes". Gibones atribuyó esto a la "vanidad o la ignorancia" de parte de los imperialistas. Pero la verdad es que los imperialistas fueron empujados más allá de los "límites naturales" del imperio porque necesitaron esclavos y botín para sostenerlo.

Lo que Ignatieff no dice sobre el imperio estadounidense es que es producto de la necesidad de obtener ganancias enormes. Este requisito de los monopolios, los bancos, los industrialistas, los militares comerciantes de la muerte, y el edificio entero del capital financiero impulsa la expansión.

El impulso incesante de expandir la explotación y el saqueo será el fin para los duques adinerados de Wall Street y sus sirvientes en la Casa Blanca y el Pentágono igualmente como acabó con los esclavis-

tas romanos. Pero distinto que las clases dominantes de Roma, la clase capitalista moderna en su etapa moderna ha creado una clase mundial de trabajadores y campesinos—y ellos no van a "acostumbrarse", como sugiere Ignatieff. Las luchas ya en proceso en Colombia, Palestina, Zimbabwe, Corea, Venezuela, Puerto Rico y otros lugares demuestran que la agresión expandida por el imperialismo de los EE.UU. en el nombre de establecer la "democracia y la estabilidad" solo servirá a solidificar la resistencia de las masas.

La codicia por las ganancias impulsa no solamente la expansión en el extranjero sino también ha intensificado la explotación de la clase trabajadora domésticamente. Esta clase trabajadora multinacional, que incluye a millones de personas de las áreas ex coloniales así como la gente oprimida africana americana e indígena, es inseparable de los víctimas de las guerras estadounidenses en el extranjero. Y esta clase trabajadora sufre una pobreza que incrementa, despidos y desamparo a la vez que recortes en servicios sociales, cuidado de la salud, la falta de viviendas y todas las necesidades de la vida.

Las mismas corporaciones y bancos detrás de la campaña pro guerra contra Irak están repartiendo las notificaciones de despidos a cientos de miles de trabajadores mientras que reciben mil millones en concesiones en impuestos de Bush, están destruyendo el ambiente, promoviendo el racismo y asaltando al movimiento sindical.

Tarde o pronto se va a producir un gran despertar e incremento de resistencia. La ideología de un imperialismo benefactor será rechazado con desdén mientras que la gente asume la lucha contra el impulso de Washington hacia la guerra. □

Capitalist market starves Africa

By G. Dunkel

Millions of African people are facing starvation. While drought is the reason suggested by most of the press, falling commodity prices are often more important.

The two main areas where hunger has become a major problem are in the northeast—Ethiopia and Eritrea—where 12 million people are currently at risk, and southern Africa—Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia—with 16 million at risk.

Incredibly, Ethiopia is now being sued for \$500 million by a group of wealthy European individuals and families for property expropriated in the 1970s by the Derg, the revolutionary military government that overthrew the emperor and nationalized the land and private businesses.

Nestle, the multibillion-dollar food conglomerate, was part of the suit until its public relations department, sensing worldwide outrage, advised it to withdraw and promise that it would donate any money recovered to famine relief.

The current Ethiopian government is trying to settle these claims in order to attract investment.

Ethiopia's income from coffee, its major export, has collapsed as world prices have

plummeted to 30-year lows. Last year it earned \$149 million from its coffee exports, down from \$257 million the previous year. Facing drought and famine, it can't afford to buy food and medicine on the world market. And even if it gets enough food stocks donated to feed its people, it still has to distribute them.

This means supplying and maintaining the trucks that shuttle the food from the port of Djibouti, and that takes hard cash—foreign exchange—to pay for the fuel and spare parts required.

The world capitalist media are showing dead cows and starving children with sunken cheeks and distended bellies. Politicians visit Ethiopia from Europe and the U.S. and give press conferences on how conditions are now worse than in 1984, when 50,000 people died.

What they don't mention are the lawyers in a British court demanding that the poorest country in the world, where most people live on less than \$2 a week, come up with four times more money than the value of its major export.

And the big-business media won't explain how IMF/World Bank dictates to poor countries that they increase their production of export commodities like coffee eventually leads to a glut on the world capitalist market, causing their income to actually fall. □

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Bush no puede vender la guerra del imperio

Por Fred Goldstein

Mientras que la administración de Bush sigue adelante con sus planes de guerra, los defensores del imperialismo están teniendo dificultades en la justificación de esta guerra obviamente no provocada y de agresión.

¿Se trata de “un cambio de régimen?” ¿Se trata de “armas de destrucción masiva?” ¿Se trata del petróleo? ¿Se trata del imperio?

La administración de Bush exigió inspecciones. Pero con cada nuevo anuncio de los inspectores de que ellos no han encontrados nada y que tienen toda la cooperación de los iraquíes, el Pentágono envía más armas, más tropas y más comandantes a rodear a Irak y lanza más ataques en la zona de no vuelo.

Bush dice “nosotros no buscamos ningún imperio” y esa guerra es inevitable. Pero a la misma vez la administración dejar fugar planes de una ocupación militar en Irak, la toma de los campos petroleros y juicios de “crímenes de guerra” contra el liderazgo de Irak.

Aún más importante es la conexión muy clara entre los lazos incestuosos de la administración de Bush y la industria petrolera y los 112 mil millones de barriles de reserva petrolera, la segunda reserva más grande del mundo se vez mas grande cada día mientras el movimiento anti guerra en los Estados Unidos y en el mundo entero se esparce.

Conforme se acerca la guerra, los propagandistas y los expertos en política del imperialismo se apuran para tratar de mantenerse al tanto de las confusas explicaciones de su campaña de guerra.

Haciendo su parte para promover una justificación fresca para la guerra, el The New York Times ha publicado en la páginas de su revistas dominical un artículo extenso por Michael Ignatieff titulado “El Agobio”. Se mostró en la página frontal de la revista el 7 de enero y fue promovido en brillantes colores rojo, blanco y azul como “El Imperio Americano (acostúmbrense).” Por la procedencia, este artículo será leído cuidadosamente en las capitales y embajadas del mundo.

Ignatieff es el director de los derechos humanos del Carr Centro en la Escuela de Gobierno Kennedy en la Universidad de Harvard. El Times, por medio de estas palabras propagandistas de guerra, ha echado a andar un balón de ensayo ideológico. Está jugando con algo que no se ha intentado hacer desde la Revolución Bolchevique y el alza del movimiento de liberación nacional mundial: la limpieza del imperialismo.

La admisión del imperio para poder alabarlo

Ignatieff tomó al toro por las astas. El argumenta contra la afirmación de Bush de que “nosotros no buscamos imperio”. El intenta de bregar con lo obvio. “¿Pero que palabra sino no es ‘imperio’ lo que puede describir esa cosa impresionante en la que América se está convirtiendo? Es la única nación que monitorea al mundo por medio de cinco comandos militares globales, mantiene más de un millón de soldados armados en cuatro continentes; desplaza grupos de portaaviones que están en vigilancia en todos los océanos.”

Pero Ignatieff dice que el nuevo imperio estadounidense “no es como imperios

anteriores, forjados con colonias, conquistadas y el agobio del hombre blanco. Ya no estamos en la era dela Compañía de Fruta Unida, cuando las corporaciones americanas necesitaban a los marinos para asegurar sus inversiones en el extranjero. El imperialismo del siglo 21 es una nueva invención en los crónicas de la ciencia política, un imperio ligero, una hegemonía global cuyas notas de gracia son los mercados libres, los derechos humanos y la democracia, enforzada por la más impresionantes potencia militar que el mundo jamás haya visto.”

Antes de afirmar de que el imperialismo estadounidense ya no usa al ejército para proteger sus inversiones, Ignatieff hubiera consultado a sus colega guerrierista del New York Times, Thomas Friedman. Friedman abiertamente proclamó en su columna el 28 de Marzo de 1999, durante los bombardeos contra Yugoslavia, que se necesita un contratista militar como McDonnell Douglas para asegurar la seguridad de los McDonald’s en todo el mundo.

Ignatieff debe escuchar a analista Mark Flannery del Credit Suisse First Boston, cuando fue citado en un estudio por la cadena de televisión MSNBC sobre el petróleo e Irak: “Si son tus tanques los que sacan al régimen y tienes 50.000 soldados en el país y ellos están en tus tanques, entonces tu tendrás los mejores contratos. Así es que funciona. Los franceses tendrán tres hombres en tanques de 1950. Eso no va a funcionar.”

La misma cadena de MSNBC reveló que Bush no solo es el ex director de Harken Energy, Cheney es ex ejecutivo de Halliburton y Condoleezza Rice estuvo en

los gabinetes ejecutivos de la Chevron, sino que “los 10 principales oficiales en la administración de Bush tienen la mayoría de sus inversiones personales, de casi \$150 millones, en el sector tradicional de energía y recursos naturales.”

Tanto por la “nueva invención en las crónicas de la ciencia política” de Ignatieff. La guerra contra Irak no se trata de la United Fruit, sino de la toma de las reservas petroleras de Irak, por la ChevronTexaco, ExxonMobil, BPAmoco y todo el edificio del capital financiero de Estados Unidos y Britania. De acomodarse para la futura expansión en el Medio Oriente y en todo el mundo.

La conquista para lograr la ‘autodeterminación’

Según Ignatieff, este nuevo idílico imperialismo no tiene nada en común con el “agobio del hombre blanco” del imperialismo y colonialismo anterior. El afirma de que “Irak es una operación imperial que comprometería una república renuente a convertirse en un garante de paz, estabilidad, democratización y abastecimiento de petróleo en una región combustible de pueblos islámicos.”

Los Estados Unidos llevaría la “autodeterminación” y “crearía la democracia en Irak, y así de manera optimista aplicaría el mismo experimente feliz en todo el Medio Oriente.” Tal tarea es tanto “noble como peligrosa”—noble porque si es exitosa, terminará dando a estos pueblos su autodeterminación.”

Ignatieff también declaró que “el caso para el imperio es que tiene que convertirse, en un lugar como Irak, en la última

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Rico vs. Pobre en la ‘Revolución Bolivariana’ en Venezuela

Por Andy McInerney

Los elides económicos venezolanos y sus partidarios en Washington y Wall Street han encontrado un obstáculo duro como la piedra en su afán de derrocar al Presidente Hugo Chávez. Esa piedra es los millones de trabajadores y gente pobre en Caracas y alrededor del país que se han movilizado en apoyo a su “revolución bolivariana”.

Chávez ha recibido apoyo abrumador en dos elecciones, en 1998 y 2000, por su campaña a poner el poder político en las manos de las masas.

En abril de 2002, el gobierno de los Estados Unidos respaldó un intento de golpe de estado en contra de Chávez por la federación patronal, Fedecamaras, junto con elementos de los altos rangos militares y sectores corruptos del liderato sindical oficial afiliado con uno de los partidos políticos anteriormente en el poder.

Ese golpe de estado fue doblegado por millones de trabajadores que salieron a las calles para defender a Chávez.

Desde el 2 de diciembre, las mismas fuerzas han sido intentando derrocar al gobierno de Chávez por estrangulación económica. Bajo el disfraz de una “huelga”, los patrones han tratado cerrar la empresa estatal, Petróleos de Venezuela. La mayoría de los trabajadores se oponen a esta cierra y está tratando de mantener abierto a las refineras.

Mientras tanto, Brasil y Trinidad han enviado cargamentos de petróleo a Venezuela para permitirlo sobrevivir.

Enfrentando la posibilidad que su confrontación con el gobierno de Chávez pueda fallar, los derechistas han vuelto más desesperados. El 3 de enero, declararon una “batalla final” e intentaron conducir una marcha a la base militar Fuerte Tiuna. La base esta ubicada en un vecindario trabajador y pro chavista que ha sido

declarado una zona prohibida a las fuerzas anti Chávez para evitar una confrontación.

La intención de la marcha fue de crear una provocación. Organizadores llamaron a la unidad militar rebelar en contra de Chávez, una clara llamada por un golpe de estado.

Miles de “chavistas” movilizaron para bloquear la marcha derechista. Cuando la marcha de oposición encontró las barricadas, policía metropolitana—bajo el control del alcalde opositor de Alfredo Peña—abrió fuego contra las barricadas. Dos jóvenes partidarios de Chávez, Oscar Gómez y Jairo Morán fueron matados por la policía.

Ese asesinato provocó decenas de miles a salir a las calles de Caracas el 5 de enero. Los manifestantes coreaban “¡Ni un asesinato más!” y “¡Justicia popular!” Llamaron al gobierno de Chávez de tomar acciones en contra de la oposición.

Chávez mismo estuvo en Brasil,

asistiendo a la inauguración de Ignacio Lula da Silva. Propuso crear un comité “Amigos de Venezuela” para ayudar a mediar al conflicto—una idea rechazado sin consideración por los Estados Unidos.

Sin embargo, el gobierno de Chávez ha sido muy bondadoso con los líderes opositores, a pesar de sus llamadas abiertas por el derrocamiento del gobierno elegido democráticamente. Solo unos pocos de los conspiradores más flagrantes del golpe de estado del abril pasado permanecen encarcelados. Los medios noticieros que pertenecen a las familias más ricas de Venezuela, organizan abiertamente en contra del gobierno.

Mientras que las provocaciones incrementan, sectores aún más amplios entre la clase trabajadora demandan acción decisiva en contra de los conspiradores. Tales acciones recibirán el apoyo de la gente progresista y trabajadora alrededor del mundo. □