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Is U.S.'s Asian role diminished?

Bush speech leaves no choice

Mobilize against war and racism

By LeiLani Dowell

George W. Bush did it again. Thirty-one months ago it was "mission accomplished." On Nov. 30 it was "we will win." But what he is really promising is more years of more war in Iraq, more death and suffering for Iraqis, more killed and wounded GIs and more funds diverted to the military-industrial complex.

In the first of a series of public speeches aimed at winning support for the Iraq quagmire, Bush spoke at the Naval Academy in



Clemency for Tookie Williams!

Williams' supporters, including Fred Hampton Jr. and rapper Snoop Dogg, gather at San Quentin.

the morning before applauding aspiring officers. Since only 37 percent of the people say they support his Iraq policy and his presidency, the Naval Academy was a safe place to start.

The president's talk included a stab at a more sophisticated understanding of his Iraqi enemies, calling them "a combination of rejectionists, Saddamists and terrorists." But his explanation left out the largest group: the ordinary Iraqis who, outraged by brutal U.S.-British rule, have joined forces, whatever their previous loyalties, to defeat the imperialist occupation.

Bush refused to discuss any serious plans for withdrawal of troops. He instead spoke in great detail about what some call "Iraqization"—the use of puppet Iraqi forces to fight the war in order to quell anger about continued U.S. troop deaths. This

The anti-war movement and Murtha 5

strategy didn't work in Vietnam, when it was called "Vietnamization," and can be expected to fail in Iraq too, but only after causing great suffering.

Bush seemed unaware of the irony when he said the "Iraqi people will determine the destiny of their country ... despite the costs, the pain and the danger." With these words, Bush inadvertently explained to all why the resistance in Iraq cannot and will not cease until every last U.S. troop is removed from Iraqi soil, and until the neocolonialist plans of Washington for the entire Middle East are rejected in full.

Bush told his Navy audience they would be engaged in a war in "the streets of Western cities." He didn't explain how he waged that war against poor African American people of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast, when he sent battle-hardened troops there in September with orders to shoot to kill.

Bush relied on the same old Big Lies to justify the war. He Continued on page 10



WW PHOTOS, ABOVE: LIZ GREEN, RIGHT: JOAN MARQUARDT

INDIGENOUS STRUGGLES

- Day of Mourning
- Shell mounds

see centerfold



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FDA rightists attack Plan B contraception

By Kathy Durkin

In an insidious attack on women's rights, top Food and Drug Administration officials have set back women's reproductive rights by stopping widespread access to emergency contraception (EC), known as Plan B, without waiting to consider a scientific evaluation of the medication.

Available now only by prescription, Plan B is an emergency contraceptive known popularly as the "morningafter pill." Made up of two potent birth control pills, it prevents ovulation and fertilization; it is considered a safe and effective method of backup birth control.

Public health officials worldwide support Plan B as a safe, effective back-up contraceptive. "The drug is available without a prescription in 33 countries...Its switch to nonprescription status in the U.S. was endorsed by 70 scientific organizations, including the American Medical Association and others," wrote the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) in July 2004.

The sooner Plan B is taken after unprotected sexual intercourse, the more effective it is-thus the need for immediate over-the-counter availability. This EC medication could help prevent unintended pregnancies and make many abortions unnecessary.

GAO says FDA 'plays politics'

A Government Accountability Office study issued Nov. 14 confirmed the suspicions of many women's groups and health-care providers—that top FDA officials—political appointees, and not scientists or doctors—decided to prevent millions of women from having over-the-counter access to emergency birth control.

The GAO report said the involvement of top agency officials in the Plan B decision was "very rare," and that ignoring its own advisory committee and staff scientists was "unprecedented." A Planned Parenthood Federation spokesperson said that the GAO report showed that the FDA "had been playing politics with women's health all along."

Originally, in December 2003, a scientific advisory committee voted 23-4 to approve nonprescription Plan B. The NY Times reports that subsequently Dr. Janet Woodcock, FDA acting deputy commissioner of operations, and Dr. Steven Galson, acting director of the FDA's Center for Drug Evaluation and Research, told staff members that although the agency's scientific review of the application wasn't finished, nonprescription Plan B would be turned down.

Galson overruled the committee's vote and ignored the recommendations of FDA's staff medical experts and scientists, and most health-care organizations, including the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists. Galson decided that Plan B was "not approvable" for overthe-counter use but gave no scientific evidence for this ruling, made in May 2004.

FDA internal memoranda revealed that three levels of staff reviewers disagreed with Galson's decision. (Washington Post, June 18, 2004)

Although FDA advisory committees looked at and okayed 23 other applications for over-the-counter drugs from 1994-2004, the only one the agency denied was that

The Nov. 15 New York Times reported that the FDA's rejection of the application for nonprescription Plan B in May 2004 came months before a scientific review was finished.

Galson's actions were "nearly unprecedented," wrote the UCS. They explained, "By law, FDA is required to approve drugs that are found to be safe and effective" and that "former FDA officials said they couldn't remember a time when an FDA official had overridden its own staff and advisory committees."

Dr. Susan Wood resigned in August as Director of the FDA Office of Women's Health after the third agency delay on Plan B. Wood's response to the GAO report, according to the Times, was that "the FDA's willingness to ignore science in the service of abortion politics has 'only gotten worse' since the events that were the focus of the GAO investigation.'

When Wood resigned, she criticized the FDA for limiting "women's access to a product that would reduce unintended pregnancies and reduce abortions" and added that "scientific and clinical evidence, fully evaluated and recommended for approval by the professional staff here, has been overruled."

Since there is no scientific basis to deny use of Plan B and it is safe, effective and meets FDA criteria for nonprescription use, the agency's "decision proves [that] dangerous anti-choice ideology is trumping scientific fact at the expense of women's health and well-being," stresses Dr. Vanessa Cullins, Planned Parenthood Federation vice president for medical affairs.

FDA 'a tool of the White House'

James Trussell, an FDA advisory panel member, said that to overrule the December 2003 decision and deny over-the-counter status, officials invented reasons that are scientifically "complete and utter nonsense." He said the FDA was acting "as a tool of the White House," with politicians making medical decisions. (UCS)

The collusion of the Bush administration and its agencies' officials in promoting the ultraright's agenda is clear. This move is a frontal attack on healthcare and reproductive rights for women where scientific and medical knowledge are thrown aside for reactionary political and ideo-

Preven, another EC drug, and Plan B have been prescribed and used successfully since 1998 and 1999, respectively, by millions of women in the U.S. The Center for Reproductive Rights unsuccessfully tried to expand EC's availability as early as 2001, when it asked the FDA to give nonprescription approval.

Emergency contraception has been the target of a heavy reactionary attack for years from anti-choice groups such as American Life League and Stop Planned Parenthood International. Deliberately mischaracterizing it as an "abortifacient," (abortion-causing) drug, and spreading other disinformation and distortions about it, they have set about trying to prevent its use-whether or not it is pre-

Rightwing claims about Plan B fly in the face of reality. Even the FDA in its scientific documents considers it a contraceptive and says it cannot terminate a pregnancy.

The rightwing is waging a deliberate campaign to deny women this key contraceptive method, as part of their overall move to roll back all of women's reproductive

This has already had very serious consequences for women. Some pharmacists have refused to fill EC prescriptions. Many drugstores don't carry it. In 1999, Wal-Mart refused to sell Preven EC in its 2,400 pharmacies. A Denton, Texas, pharmacist in February 2004 refused to fill a rape survivor's EC prescription, citing "religious convictions."

While the reactionaries carry out a vehement campaign to overturn Roe v. Wade and abortion rights, their fuller agenda becomes clearer. This shows how vigilantly women, their organizations, healthcare and medical providers and all progressive forces must be in defending the right to all reproductive rights.

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WW CALENDAR

Thu., Dec. 1

Strike Against Poverty, Racism, and War. How do we remember Rosa Parks? By making The 50th anniversary of Rosa Parks' arrest, Dec. 1, a nationwide day of absence and protest against poverty, racism & war. March on Wall Street in NYC to demand: Bring the troops home now; Cut the war budger, not healthcare, housing and education; Justice for Hurricane Katrina survivors; Military recruiters out of our schools; Jobs, a living wage, the right to organize. For info ww.rosaparksday.org.

Fri., Dec. 2

Workers World Party Meeting: Hillel Cohen, an epidemiologist and political activist, on what workers should know about pan demic flu; Larry Holmes, a leader of WWP and TONC, on Rosa Parks Day and what's next for the antiwar movement: and Shelley Ettinger, a member the NYU clerical workers' union, on the NYU grad student workers' strike 7 p.m. (Dinner at 6:30) At 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl., Manhattan. For info phone (212) 627-2994.

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Katrina survivors to meet in Jackson to demand justice

By LeiLani Dowell

Survivors of Hurricane Katrina and their supporters will converge on Jackson, Miss., and New Orleans Dec. 8-10 to demand justice, rights and relief in the face of the federal and local governments' continuing neglect and bungling.

A major problem the people face involves housing. After community and legal groups reacted sharply to the Federal Emergency Management Agency's deadline for survivors to leave hotels across the country, FEMA extended the deadline to Jan. 7 in the 10 states with the most evacuees and Dec. 15 in all others.

Without any real plans from FEMA to relocate the displaced families and individuals, many are still wondering how they will survive. Many of the evacuees have found no housing yet and are still in hotels. They are left with the fewest options, according to housing officials and relief workers. If they did have relatives in the area, they are most likely unable to stay with them any longer.

In cities like Houston, where there are 19,000 evacuees, landlords report that they are hesitant to accept more tenants using FEMA-issued housing vouchers because past vouchers from FEMA have gone unpaid. FEMA has also announced that after Jan. 7, it will only pay for vouchers for three-month leases—something landlords are generally very hesitant to offer.

Meanwhile, in New Orleans, problems continue to plague those who stayed or have returned. The Times-Picayune reported that "with sections of the electricity grid still in shambles and connections to power substations limited and tenuous, life in New Orleans at times seems more

like life in Baghdad." The newspaper suggested that engineers are waiting to rebuild wires and substations until "repopulation patterns and neighborhood power demands ... become clear."

Call for conference

These and other problems facing the mostly African American people forced to leave New Orleans or attempting to rebuild their lives there will be discussed at the conference set for Dec. 8-10.

The call for the weekend reads in part: "On Dec. 8, 2005 through Dec. 10, 2005 ... we will gather for the National State of Emergency Conference in Jackson on the 8th and 9th of December. Supporters and

representatives and leaders from over 50 Black organizations, labor unions and their third world and anti-racist allies will meet in support and solidarity of the survivors [to] initiate an action plan to rescue the Black population and all oppressed populations from their dependency on racist and incompetent governments.

"Most importantly, the Katrina Survivors will gather at the same place and time to form a General Assembly to speak for themselves and to exercise their rights to self-determination. ...

"On Saturday, Dec. 10, 2005, which is International Human Rights Day, survivors and their supporters will march on New Orleans in support of all the survivors' demands, in particular ... the right of survivors to return to the Gulf Coast."

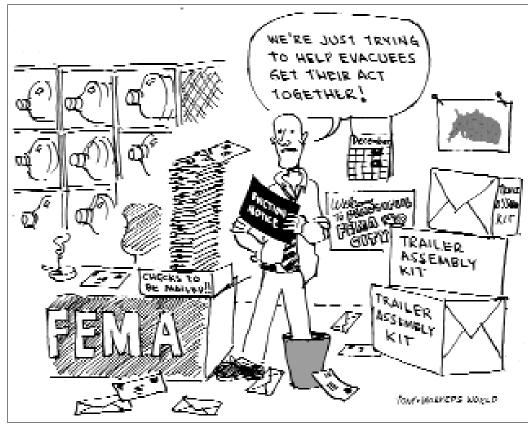
Objectives listed in the call for the weekend include:

- To demand the people's right to return to New Orleans and to the Mississippi and Alabama Gulf Coast with dignity and without poverty
- To demand reparations for the governments' criminal indifference, negligence, and malicious actions towards the Victims and Survivors, before, during, and after Katrina
- To demand, launch and/or continue investigations, lawsuits and prosecutions of governments, agencies and persons responsible for the human rights violations and crimes against humanity committed before, during and after Katrina
- To build a national united front in support and solidarity with the self

determination and reparation demands of Katrina Survivors, and through this front to design and initiate a plan of action and institutions which will allow Black people to fortify themselves and serve their own needs in the face of future disasters which are either natural or by human hands

• To link today's demands for reparations and self determination to the historical and future struggle of Black people and other oppressed populations for self determination and reparations.

For more information on the Dec. 8-10 events, call 1-888-310-PHRF (7473) or 601-353-5566, or email outrage2action@yahoo.com. □



Community fights gentrification in Harlem

By Imani Henry

Part I reported the attempts to gentrify New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina's devastation.

Nellie Bailey of the Harlem Tenants Council in New York, which is fighting the gentrification of Harlem, said: "In Harlem and in cities around the country the gentrification has been a gradual process, over several years or decades. In New Orleans since the hurricanes it has been wholesale displacement, in one fell swoop."

The New York City social service agency, Coalition for the Homeless, says there are 36,166 people who sleep in the city's shelters and welfare hotels each night, and 14,884 are children.

"Those statistics are only the tip of the iceberg." Bailey told Workers World, "We can't account for the people who live on the street, or who are staying with friends and families, doubling and tripling up in small apartments. Families are being pushed out by terrible living conditions, or evicted by landlords because they can't afford the rents."

Bailey stated that the 2004 Vera Institute for Justice's study on family homelessness in New York showed that, among other factors, neighborhoods experiencing gentrification like Central Harlem had higher numbers of families becoming homeless. Central Harlem ranked in the top 10 neighborhoods in the city with a high displacement rate.

In the last two years, a new grassroots movement, The Coalition to Preserve Community, has led the opposition to gentrification of West Harlem. One of the city's largest landlords, Columbia University, is carrying out this gentrification with the support of New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg. Columbia's Manhattanville Expansion Plan is a 17-acre land grab aimed at doubling the size of the university's campus by using the law of eminent domain, which allows the government to seize land.

Many fear the plan will displace homes and small businesses from 125th Street to 133rd in the West Harlem area. The crowning goal of Columbia's plan is to build a bio-chemical research center, which would have five stories below ground level, potentially wreaking havoc on the environment.

The Coalition to Preserve Community has united community groups, such as Harlem Tenants Council, together with workers' and students' groups from Columbia itself to fight the plan. For two years activists have gone door to door with literature and held rallies and press conferences to expose the back-room deal between the Bloomberg administration and Columbia.



Nellie Bailey

On Nov. 16, over 300 people attended the first public hearing to discuss Columbia's plan. The participants included community members, environmentalists, students, religious leaders and business owners, who came out to give Columbia a resounding "No!"

According to the student newspaper the Columbia Spectator, during the six-and-half hour hearing, all 70 people who took the floor opposed the expansion plan. Some were so outraged that they continued to speak even after their microphones were cut off.

Both New Orleans and Harlem are seen historically as Black cultural centers in the United States. Both are world-renowned for their music and food. Both Harlem and New Orleans are birthplaces of culture and community for lesbian, gay, bi and trans people, especially of color.

The people of both Harlem and New Orleans, and those in many urban centers across the country, are engaged in the struggle for the right of self-determination and to stop the racist displacement of entire communities through gentrification. At the heart of this struggle is the lack of affordable housing in the city. Under capitalism, affordable housing, like jobs, access to quality education and health-care, is not treated as a human right, but as a privilege for those with money.

According to Bailey, "Across the country, you can see U.S. capitalists' aim with gentrification is to follow the European model. The inner cities were once for the poor and working class, for communities of color. But now they will be only for the wealthy. The working class will be priced out and forced to commute in from suburban ghettos, like in France."

As the fiery uprisings in those suburbs of Paris have shown, for the ruling class, the displacement and disenfranchisement of working and poor people will always come with a price.

Report from auto worker on GM layoffs

By Dianne Mathiowetz Atlanta

The news spread like wildfire throughout the cavernous Doraville, Ga., GM assembly plant on the Monday before the November holidays: "We're on the hit list. They're going to shut us down."

From line to line, on the first shift, then the second, workers kept completing their jobs, assembling more than 1,000 minivans a day, even though their world had just been turned upside down.

On Nov. 21, General Motors CEO Rick Wagoner followed up on his announcement in early summer that the world's largest automaker planned on cutting thousands of jobs by 2008.

At a press conference, Wagoner released the names of 12 plants to be shut down. The number of workers involved had grown to 30,000.

From Oklahoma to Michigan to Tennessee, workers and their families are struggling with an avalanche of emotions—anger, anxiety, sadness, disgust, resignation and determination to resist.

A dozen communities are facing economic losses that will impact local schools and social services. The Center for Automotive Research, an industry think tank, estimates that 9.4 jobs elsewhere in the economy depend on one auto job. Everything from parts suppliers to nearby restaurants and gas stations are hurt when an auto plant shuts down.

Some facilities are scheduled to close within months in early 2006; others such as the Doraville plant will finish out their product's run in 2008.

Valuable real estate

As one of GM's oldest production facilities, Doraville has often been mentioned when possible plant closings are raised. It sits on 157 very valuable acres of land just inside the perimeter interstate that encircles Atlanta. Developers of shopping malls and high-priced condominiums have been lining up to buy the property. GM stands to pocket millions of dollars on the sale.

But for the more than 3,000 men and women who build automobiles every day at Doraville, some for most of their adult lives, the loss of their jobs is about more than just a paycheck.

In some cases, today's worker is a thirdgeneration auto maker. Their grandfathers were among the first to work at Doraville and helped establish UAW Local 10. There are many extended families with brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles who all have raised their families on the wages and benefits won in decades of struggle.

Long-time workers name with pride the different car models they have built and the awards the plant has received for efficiency and quality.

Said one, "It's like they've dropped a bomb on us. It doesn't make a difference all that we've done for GM."

Doraville's workforce includes many hundreds of people who transferred from other parts of the country when GM closed their plants in the past. They already have experienced the trauma of leaving behind all that is familiar and re-establishing their lives in a new place.

GM claims that the devastating plant closures are necessary to bring the corporation back into profitability. It desires to have 100 percent use of its facilities. In other words, the current plants are capable of producing more vehicles but GM can't sell that number at a high profit.

The cruel reality of capitalism is that the workers are not responsible for any of the decisions management made in design, development or marketing. They did not authorize the multi-million dollar bonuses paid out yearly to the corporate bigwigs; they do not control GM's political clout when it comes to government policies on fuel efficiency standards or national health care. But they are the ones who suffer most intensely from this profit-based system.

From a peak employment of almost 500,000 in the late 1970s, there are now only about 110,000 GM autoworkers in the United States. Through automation and high-tech equipment, outsourcing



Dianne Mathiowetz

and the widespread use of ready-to-install parts, these fewer workers produce roughly the same number of vehicles.

A study by the U.S. Census Bureau, which annually surveys manufacturing, figures that each autoworker produces \$463,000 worth of value. Even taking into account the cost of wages and benefits, overtime pay and pensions, it is clear that each worker provides the corporation with a huge surplus. Yet GM is driven to increase that surplus per worker as it competes with other auto companies for market dominance and investors.

GM has launched an unprecedented assault on its workers and their union. Besides announcing plant closings on Nov. 21, the company had just wrenched more than \$1 billion from health insur-

ance benefits by demanding a re-negotiated contract. Its possible bankruptcy raises the threat that GM will totally abrogate its union contracts, which in turn threatens pensions for its hundreds of thousands of retirees. The UAW national leadership is scrambling to keep up with GM's multi-pronged attack.

Right now, workers at Doraville have perhaps two years to figure out their personal plans for the future. Some are eligible for retirement, although even that option is full of uncertainty. Those with considerable seniority hope to get a transfer to another plant. Younger workers will most likely have to find a job somewhere else for less pay and benefits.

The rank-and-file workers at Doraville and all the other assembly plants, foundries and stamping plants know that the UAW was founded by bold and decisive action, including plant sit-ins in Flint, Mich., 70 years ago.

All workers, whether in other unions or unorganized, will be impacted by GM's effort to roll back the clock on wages and benefits.

The labor movement along with its allies in the community need to develop a strategy to stop this aggressive, preemptive war of corporate America.

The workers at Doraville GM want to know what to do.

Mathiowetz is a near-30-year veteran GM worker, first at the now-closed Lakewood Assembly plant, then at Delphi in Lockport, N.Y., and now at Doraville in the trim department. □

Stay grounded-every day

The racist, anti-worker, imperialist policies of the Bush administration are yielding their poison fruit: wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the collapse of the infrastructure in the Gulf area, growing disasters linked to global warming, and a looming capitalist economic crisis.

The key to global change lies with the people in this country. YOU. You need to know what's happening and why. Not next week or next month. NOW. And what you can do about it.

Workers World has expanded its news and analysis to daily updates on its website, **www.workers.org.** Join the WW Supporter Program and become part of the solution.

TransJustice plans NYC job fair

By LeiLani Dowell New York

History will be made on Dec. 3 in New York when the first Trans and Gender Non-Conforming People of Color Job and Education Fair will be held in the city. The fair is being organized by TransJustice, a political group created by and for trans and gender non-conforming people of color, and a project of the Audre Lorde Project.

Businesses and schools participating include Artisan Bakery Center/Consortium for Worker Education; Babeland (formerly Toys in Babeland); Community Healthcare Network; Con Edison; DYKE TV; Empire State Pride Agenda; Eugene Lang College of the New School for Liberal Arts; Gay Men's Health Crisis; Housing Works Inc; Purchase College, State University of New York; SCO: Family of Services GLBTQ Program; The Fortune Society; the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center; the Metropolitan Transit Authority; the

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; Wesleyan University; and West Farms Technology and Career Center.

On Nov. 15, trans and gender non-conforming people of color and allies picketed at New York City Hall to protest Mayor Michael Bloomberg's refusal to include the City of New York—one of New York's biggest employers—in the job fair, despite repeated phone calls and requests.

TransJustice organizer Damien Domenack said in a news release: "Our job and education fair may be specifically for Trans and Gender non-conforming people of color, but the mayor knows that access to jobs, job training, GED programs, higher education are major issues of every single working person in this city. ... We believe no one should be unemployed in this city and this is why we are picketing on Nov. 15."

To endorse or register your business or school for the fair, contact transjobfair-@alp.org or call (718) 596-0342 ext 18. To register to attend as an individual call 718-596-0342 ext 27. □

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The anti-war movement and John Murtha

By Fred Goldstein

Rep. John Murtha (D-Pa.) has pushed the public debate in the media and in Congress about bringing U.S. troops out of Iraq, stating that they should be brought home "immediately," adding, "within the framework of practicality." His time frame for "redeployment" is six months.

Various politicians, friend and foe alike, speak of Murtha with the greatest respect because of his personal military record and his closeness to the military brass. While Democratic Party politicians basked in the anti-war glow created by Murtha's position, they also decisively rejected it as being too precipitous. They are all afraid Bush and the Republicans will tag them with the "cut and run" label.

The double talking of the Democratic Party leadership on the war flows from the fact that they are completely tied to imperialism. It shows how dangerous it is for the movement to become passive and look to any of them for leadership. Instead, the movement should concentrate on the possibility of taking advantage of the present split, represented by war-hawk Murtha's new-found position, to escalate the antiwar struggle.

Murtha's stand has made him a hero among the defeatist elements of the ruling class. But sections of the anti-war movement are also erroneously elevating him to the position of spokesperson and leader.

While he did take a strong stand within the imperialist political establishment, an anti-imperialist analysis of Murtha's role is needed.

What made Murtha's presentation appealing was that he castigated Vice President Dick Cheney for not listening to veterans "who have been there"—and, by implication, President George W. Bush for his flimsy National Guard service, which enabled him to escape combat during the Vietnam War. Murtha himself was a decorated combat veteran in Vietnam.

Privileged selfishness among warhawks who dodged service while the workers and the oppressed were dying on the front lines is reprehensible. But consider the reactionary character of the war in which Murtha was decorated.

Another brutal imperialist war

Murtha wears medals won in a brutal colonial, imperialist war against the Vietnamese people, who struggled for national liberation for over a century. In this war the Vietnamese were bombed with napalm and white phosphorus. Their villages, towns and cities were carpetbombed by B-52s and strafed by fighter planes. More bombs were dropped on Vietnam than on all the targets in World War I and World War II combined.

The Vietnamese were machine-gunned from helicopters and tortured in "tiger cages." Villagers were rounded up into barbed-wire-surrounded concentration camps called "strategic hamlets." Whole villages were slaughtered, including defenseless children. The most notorious was the My Lai massacre.

Thousands of political cadre were assassinated in the CIA's "Operation Phoenix." To remove cover for Vietnamese fighters, the Pentagon destroyed hundreds of thousands of square miles of foliage, spraying the poisonous, genetically damaging herbicide Agent Orange from the air. Millions of Vietnamese were killed and wounded. Even U.S. troops who had to handle this toxic substance came down with many illnesses and apparent genetic damage.

Murtha parlayed his military record in Vietnam, one of the most brutal colonial wars in history, into gaining a position in Congress. There, as a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, he got even closer to the generals. Murtha was fighting for imperialism and considers this service a point of pride.

From the Vietnamese point of view, or the viewpoint of anti-imperialist solidarity and support, pride-in-service in this near genocidal adventure is hardly qualification to be an "anti-war leader."

Murtha also was speaking on behalf of rank-and-file U.S. soldiers who have been wounded in Iraq and their families. Indeed, he spoke with deep emotion and apparent sympathy for the troops he visits frequently in Walter Reed Hospital.

Iraq war's horrors

The wounds U.S. soldiers suffer in Iraq are terrible and evoke sympathy on an individual basis. But U.S. soldiers who are victims of the war are really victims of the war criminals in the White House and the Pentagon who sent them to Iraq on a mission of colonial conquest. For an anti-imperialist, any expression of sympathy must be connected with condemning the invading high command and the Bush administration. Otherwise such unqualified sympathy only reinforces patriotism to the capitalist state.

Murtha, who is a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Reserves, complained that the army is broken. But by that he meant that the military is so stretched that the mission of conquering the Iraqis can no longer be carried out as he and others in the Pentagon originally conceived of it. His fear is that the U.S. military will run out of soldiers because recruitment has dried up and the pressure on the present force could result in widespread troop resistance.

Murtha wants to act before that resistance materializes on a wide scale. But the

anti-war movement must have the opposite view: one of encouraging and assisting the resistance of the soldiers against being forced to kill and be killed to promote the fortunes of U.S. imperialism.

The soldiers have every right to resist brutalizing the Iraqi people. They have the right to resist being sent on a mission to conquer Iraq for the oil companies, the Pentagon and the multinational corporations. It is the right of every soldier to resist an illegal and unjust mission.

Some U.S. soldiers who were in Iraq have returned to testify about the crimes they saw the U.S. military commit against the Iraqis, including the murder of civilians, including Iraqi children, the use of illegal weapons like white phosphorus, and the torture of captured Iraqis. A few, like U.S. Army Sgt. Camilo Mejia, have then refused to return to Iraq, and have become an active part of the anti-war movement. These soldiers, and not the militarists like Murtha, are the heroes whose example

thousands of U.S. troops now in Iraq should begin to follow.

Murtha has issued no statements about the mothers and children in Iraq who died or were wounded or who lost loved ones at the hands of the U.S. occupation forces. He has not shed a tear for the Iraqi dead and wounded, for the millions of people whose lives were shattered by the U.S. invasion and occupation.

In addition, Murtha's demand is to have "Iraqis fight for Iraq." In simple terms, this means let the puppet forces take over the responsibility of securing Iraq for U.S. imperialism. To bring the troops home, as Murtha demanded, while putting in their place a domestic force to fight against the resistance, backed up by U.S. air support and U.S. troops "over the horizon" to defend the puppet government, is completely at odds with genuine anti-war, anti-imperialist sentiment.

This is the "Iraqization" of the war, just as Richard Nixon was forced to "Vietnamize" the Vietnam War. That started in 1969, when U.S. casualties were mounting, the military budget was becoming unbearable and the anti-war movement in the U.S. was growing broader, deeper and more militant.

While there are vast differences between the Vietnam War and the Iraq War, there is one parallel that is instructive. In a work entitled "The Long Resistance (1858-1975)," written by Nguen Khac Vien and published in Hanoi in 1975 after the U.S. was driven out, a section on "Nixon's' War" reads as follows:

"Unable to reinforce the U.S. expeditionary corps, [Nixon] was compelled to start bringing the 'boys' home. American losses had reached unacceptable proportions. ...

"To carry on and win the war while cutting down American casualties and spending to levels acceptable by American opinion and still seeking to impose American terms upon the Vietnamese people— Nixon wanted to solve this thorny problem through the 'Vietnamization' of the war.

"The question was:

"—To provide the puppet army with enough men and material to make it the main force that would liquidate the Vietnamese resistance and constitute the essential prop of the Saigon government fully devoted to Washington's interests,

"—To gradually withdraw U.S. ground forces"

Murtha is proposing a "Vietnamization" solution to the problems of the U.S. military in Iraq. He was echoing the generals when he said, "We have become the primary target of the insurgency" and "Some say the army is broken. Some of our troops are on their third deployment."

The overall anti-imperialist goal of the Iraqis and of the anti-war movement is not just to get U.S. troops out of the country. It is to free Iraq from the stranglehold of the U.S. government, military and corporations. But behind Murtha's scheme of "redeployment" in the immediate future is the goal of salvaging the situation for Washington by setting up a proxy regime of intermediaries with the title of "Iraqi government." This regime would give the oil rights to the monopolies. It would collaborate with the Pentagon, privatize the country, destroy all social benefits and open it up for foreign investment.

Finally, it must be said that Murtha puts his criticism of the Iraq occupation on the strategic basis that it threatens "procurement programs that ensure our military dominance." It is in this sense that he also speaks for the military high command, which is being consumed by the Iraq War and fears that it has lost ground in its goal of building up the military machine for world domination.

Murtha's remarks should be seen, not as a signal to get behind him, but to escalate the struggle against the war, now that the military leadership and the political establishment of the U.S. ruling class are

Continued on page 11

COST OF IRAQ WAR

An October 2005 report published by the Congressional Research Service (CRS)

concluded that \$251 BILLION had been obligated or appropriated for the Iraq War.

The media cites a figure of

\$300-\$350 BILLION

for the Iraq War, the Afghanistan War and for military operations abroad and does not include costs to others or other countries or any economic impact costs. costofwar.org

Over 2,000 U.S. military dead

100,000

civilian Iraqi deaths, or more, have happened since the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq Lancet Oct 2004

The UN's Food & Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that over

800 MILLION

people worldwide are hungry and undernourished.

\$10 BILLION

required annually by 2005 to stem the tide of AIDS –UN Secretary-General Koli Annan

THE BATTLE FOR NEW ORLEANS END RACISM provide money

for decent HOUSING JOBS HOSPITALS HEALTHCARE OPEN

SCHOOLS in oppressed communities FOOD

nutrition programs

Funds for Black, Latin@, Native, Asian organizations to determine

to determine & supervise the rebuilding of their communities

COST OF WAR NEW ORLEANS

A levee system designed to fail.

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
underestimated the impact of
weak soil layers from 10 to 25 feet
below the levee and deliberately
misrepresented the depth
recently discovered to be 10 feet deep
New Orleans Times Picayune

500,000 people lost their homes 5,000 missing residents of the city

in addition to 1,050 confirmed deaths. Times Picayune, November 2005

At least

200,000 HOMELESS

In September an urgent bill from New Orleans for

\$250 billion

was put before Congress

More than \$32 billion needed to build leeve to withstand Category 5 storms. A levee

Category 5 storms. A levee is only part of the solution in a degraded ecosystem that has bullered the city from storms.

Bush appoints Donald Powell, a Texas banker & chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., to lead Gulf Coast rebuilding efforts.

DAY OF MOURNING . DAY OF MOURNING . DAY OF M

Native struggles honored at Plymouth Rock protest

By WW Boston Bureau Plymouth, Mass.

Nearly a thousand people gathered to commemorate the 36th National Day of Mourning in Plymouth, Mass., on Nov. 24. Since 1970, United American Indians of New England (UAINE) and their supporters have gathered on U.S. "thanksgiving" day to tell the world that Native people have no reason to give thanks for the arrival of the Pilgrims and the other European settlers who stole Native lands and sought to eradicate Native peoples and cultures.

At this year's commemoration, speakers represented Native nations from Peru to Maine and ranged in age from a Penobscot elder who spoke of the importance of protecting the Earth to a Chicano student who spoke of the racist anti-immigrant laws of the United States. Speakers included Sam Sapiel, Cesar Villalobos, Tiokasin Ghost Horse, Working Beaver Wixon, Juan Gonzales, Stephanie Hedgecoke, Augustin Herrera, Bert Waters, Moonanum James and Mahtowin Munro.

Non-Native allies attending this important day of solidarity with the Indigenous struggle included African-American, Latin@, Arab, Asian and white supporters. The crowd listened attentively to the speakers at an outdoor rally on the hill



Above, Mahtowin Munro, above right, Bert Waters.

Moonanum James, co-leader of

UAINE, spoke of the real "first thanksgiv-

ing" in Massachusetts. "It was not a nice

little dinner where the Pilgrims and

Indians sat down to have a meal and then

everybody lived happily ever after," he

said. "In fact, the first official 'Day of

Thanksgiving' was proclaimed in 1637 by

Governor Winthrop. He did so to cele-

brate the safe return of men from Mas-

sachusetts who had gone to Mystic, Conn.,

to participate in the massacre of over 700

above Plymouth Rock.

Pequot women, children and men."

UAINE co-leader Mahtowin Munro spoke about the importance of solidarity with the survivors of Hurricane Katrina, noting, "The government is treating the dispossessed survivors of Katrina just the way that Indians have traditionally been treated—first, the survivors were labeled as criminals for daring to attempt to survive, then forced into internment camps, then treated as helpless wards who are not capable of making any decisions for themselves, and then offered substandard

housing in areas where no jobs are available to them."

Several speakers stressed the importance of supporting the upcoming Dec. 1 Day of Absence in honor of Rosa Parks, the African-American woman whose defiance of segregation laws sparked the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott 50 years ago.

This year's National Day of Mourning was dedicated to Native political prisoner Leonard Peltier, who will soon mark the 30th anniversary of his imprisonment. Peltier, who is now in Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, sent a special message to the event, which read in part: "It is time we all unite to stop the madness threatening the whole planet, and stand together with those who go beyond words and deliver on the promise of freedom and justice, and against those guided by greed, arrogance and prejudice. Stay true, work in unity, confront the traitors, don't be afraid, and don't let our struggle die."

Following the rally, the crowd chanted "Free Leonard Peltier" as they marched through the streets of Plymouth. After the march, a pot-luck social was held in a nearby hall. \square

1953 Mattachine convention:

Left wing speaks, opposition unites

By Leslie Feinberg

Faced with louder red-baiting both outside and inside the Mattachine movement, the left-wing founders called for a delegated convention in April 1953.

The convention was unprecedented. It drew together the first large-scale political assembly of those who identified as homosexual to address movement building. The conference also allowed the founding members to speak to the membership directly, for the first time.

But the convention also brought into the same room, for the first time, rightwing members of Mattachine. This gathering allowed them to fuse as an opposition hell-bent on purging the left-wing leadership.

The founding members of Mattachine—the Fifth Order—who had been leading the burgeoning West-Coast-based homosexual emancipation movement in early 1953, were faced with enormous obstacles.

McCarthyism was in its ascendancy. The anti-communist, anti-gay witch hunt threatened to crush any demand for economic, political or social change.

The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in March and April came to Los Angeles, where Mattachine had first been organized, to investigate local communist activism and organizing.

Mattachine and one of its founders, Harry Hay, had recently faced red-baiting. Hay was "outed" as a former teacher of Marxism.

The public arm of the organization, the Mattachine Foundation, and its left-wing attorney, Fred M. Snider, had been red-baited in a March 1953 newspaper column by columnist Paul Coates, who described the lawyer as an "unfriendly

witness" at a recent HUAC hearing.

And among the influx of new members, many were far to the right of the communist organizers who set the movement in motion. They were demanding that the underground leadership—the Fifth Order—which had operated in an underground manner because of fear of arrest and red-listing, create a more aboveground form of organization.

Guild councilor Marilyn Reiger, soon to become part of the reactionary opposition, was one of those who argued for restructuring. She stated that she was already an out lesbian at work, and that openness was essential.

Hay's biographer, Stuart Timmons, elaborated, "The Fifth Order was deluged with demands for change. The foremost concern was about secrecy. Coates' accusations of 'subversion' made the rank and file uneasy with the anonymous structure. Even before the Coates piece, many guild members reacted to the city council letter by saying, as Konrad Stevens recalled, 'They think we're activists! We'll all get into trouble.'

"He further remembered that a growing faction was 'scared to death that Mattachine was being run by the Communist Party and was part of a plot to overthrow the U.S. government!' One guild member even called for a loyalty oath denouncing Communism as a condition for Mattachine membership. Harry termed this attitude 'the middle-class mentality more concerned with respectability than self-respect.' In his view, the organization was growing with the wrong people." ("The Trouble with Harry Hay")

Below-ground or above-ground?

Hay was opposed to lifting the secrecy

under which the leadership structure operated. He felt it was an important protection against police and government retribution. Others in the core leadership criticized Hay as being out of touch with the changed realities of the organization and the large meetings it was helping to inspire and to coalesce.

"Harry was the theoretician and the consultant, but he was not present at these enormous gatherings," observed Chuck Rowland. "It became evident to Steve, Bob, Dale, and me, that there simply were more people than we could handle."

Chuck Rowland recalled, "Mattachine was growing so fast in the first few years that it became obvious to me there was no way we could control it. It was a very tight top-down organization, where no one who attended the meetings knew who the leadership was. It was kept very secret, but it had become unmanageable." ("Making History")

It is arguable whether the founders of Mattachine themselves would have mantled their leadership in secrecy had they not feared a fascist takeover in the United States was imminent. However, given the illegality of same-sex love, the employment purges and the overall period of political reaction in which they organized, it certainly is understandable that they chose that form of organization.

The sudden new influx of members put the question of reorganization on the agenda for immediate discussion. The fact that there were members who were brave enough to function as openly gay or lesbian in their daily lives, particularly at work, marked a new phase in the homophile movement.

But it quickly became clear that the forces calling for a "democratic" reorga-

nization of Mattachine had a political objective, not an organizational one. Their real goal was to unseat the left-wing leadership.

Leadership issues call for convention

"Harry Hay has never quite forgiven us for what happened next," Rowland later recalled, "but several of us said that it was obvious we couldn't go on like this. I said that the only thing to do was to open up Mattachine, to make it a fully democratic organization. To this end I proposed that we call a constitutional convention." ("Making History")

In response, the Fifth Order called a democratic convention to change the structure of Mattachine. They called on several hundred members at various stages of membership and responsibility to come to a two-day April conference to draw up a constitution, vote on by-laws and elect the leadership. The Rev. Wallace Maxey made his Universalist Church available for the political gathering, an unparalleled event in the United States.

Rowland argued for restructuring with a more visible leadership. "So I wrote a constitution, which I thought was a damn good one. And then we at the highest echelon of Mattachine worked on it for weeks and months. I thought it was a really marvelous document. We thought it was so good and so workable that it never occurred to us that anybody would come up with another constitution. Or if they did, that they could get anybody to vote for it."

The founding Mattachine members braced themselves to hold a principled position against anti-communism at the convention. Rowland wrote Hay at that

OURNING • DAY OF MOURNING • DAY OF MOURNING

Ohlone protest burial site desecration

By Joan Marquardt San Francisco

A group of Indigenous people and their supporters marched for three weeks in November from Monterrey, Calif., to the San Francisco Bay area—270 miles—to protest the desecration of 425 ancient Shellmound burial sites along the march route.

The group Indian People Organizing for Change led this action, called the Sacred Site/Shellmound Peace Walk. The trek concluded Nov. 25 at the entrance to the biggest site: the Bay Street Mall in Emeryville, Calif., in the East Bay.

For years now, Indigenous people have struggled to prevent further desecration of the sacred ground where their ancestors were traditionally reverently buried under huge mounds of molluscan seashells. The burial mounds date back 5,000 years ago. The local Ohlone People, including the Puichon Tribe, supported by several other nations including Ute Dine from the Southwest, Me-Wuk from the Yosemite Valley, Wappo, Wintun, Potwin and Yokuts, have taken part in this struggle.

As recently as 225 years ago, the Muwekma Ohlone Nation flourished where the Temescal Creek flowed into the Bay, in what became Emeryville. The Muwekma Ohlone spoke the ancient Chochenyo language. European-origin settlers in the region ignorantly thought the burial mounds were garbage heaps. When informed that the mounds were actually cemeteries, the settlers arrogantly went right on leveling the ground and discarding the very visible Native remains.

Although today they have been largely destroyed, originally the Shellmounds



Read the rest of part 48, and the entire Lavender & Red Workers World newspaper series, online at www.workers.org/ lavender-red/. Next, more on the 1953 convention.

time, "Come hell or high water, we will oppose all idea of a non-Communist statement by any group using the name Mattachine ... [and] will have nothing to do with any group which has a loyalty oath as a condition of membership." ("Sexual Politics")

Hay stressed that since the Mattachine Foundation had been publicly red-baited in the article by Paul Coates, Sen. Estes Kefauver and his red-baiting committee would zero in on the Mattachine Foundation as part of its "investigation" into local nonprofit groups.

Hay stated, "We had made a mutual pledge in the Fifth Order to invoke the Fifth Amendment if questioned, which, I felt, was the best protection for us and for the membership of the society." □

were so big that they were noted on the original U.S. Coast Guard maps.

Over the years as burial mounds were disturbed by construction projects, the University of California at Berkeley seized hundreds of remains. The university now refuses to return to the Ohlone people the remains of their ancestors.

When the city of Emeryville announced plans to "redevelop" the large area that is now the Bay Street Mall, Native people and their supporters fought hard to get their Shellmounds respectfully preserved. They attended city planning meetings and hearings time and again.

Nevertheless, the Emeryville Redevelopment Agency and the Madisson/ Marquette business enterprise collaborated to go right ahead clearing the land.

Many construction workers on the site complained of illness on the job. Besides containing the burial sites, the area was an environmental hazard—classified as a "Brown Field," half of which could have qualified for federal "Superfund" cleanup.

But the workers were told that the toxic waste that had been dumped there from polluting paint, pesticide and metal manufacturing years earlier was no longer a danger. That was a lie.

Even the protesting Native people picketing the site became ill from the toxics released into the air by the excavation. And no one told the workers they were desecrating a Native cemetery. Had they known, some of their own cultural sensitivities would have prohibited them from working there.

The area's character as a burial site is being hidden from buyers of costly housing built as part of the "redevelopment." Workers in some of the stores in the mall continue to report illnesses related to the environment.

Early on, one supporter of the Indigenous struggle made his own placard which read, "No shopping on graves— Ohlone Cemetery." He picketed the construction site both before and after work hours.

Madisson/Marquette and Emeryville maneuvered to get away with the "redevelopment" by citing the federal government's refusal to recognize the Ohlone Nation.

The oldest burial mounds are still in the ground, with the huge mall built over them reaping huge profits for the owners.

On Nov. 25 the marchers conducted an informational picket, handing out leaflets to carloads of shoppers entering the mall. A hundred Native people and supporters hoisted beautiful banners identifying their nation and tribe. Some would-be shoppers, after reading the leaflet, drove right out the exit.

The IPOC leaflet stated that the Shellmounds are older than the Egyptian pyramids, and that the Ohlone People remain in the area. The flier explained that "ancestors remain buried under this mall" and asked people, "Please don't shop at a place that does not value the sacred sites of Ohlone people," and to "protest this form of American terrorism at the collaborative hands of government agencies and commercial developers."

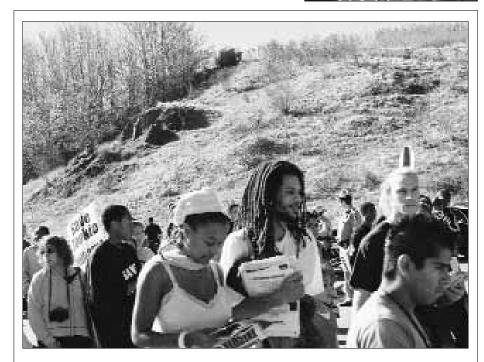
Corrina Gould, Ohlone, said that renaming the roadways at the mall—like "Shellmound Street" and "Ohlone Street"—is Emeryville's "way of commemorating the Ohlone People who were once here" without respecting the "Ohlone People who are still here."



Scenes from the final rally of the Sacred Site/ Shellmound Peace Walk in Emeryville, Calif.



WW PHOTOS: J. MARQUARDT



San Quentin rally demands

Clemency for Tookie Williams

One thousand anti-death penalty advocates rallied at the gates of San Quentin prison near the San Francisco Bay on Nov. 19 to stop the scheduled Dec. 13 execution there of Stan Tookie Williams. Williams, who years ago was a gang leader in Los Angeles and is now an outspoken African American advocate for positive alternatives to street crime, is the author of several books for young people discouraging them from joining gangs. Nominated five times for the Nobel Peace Prize, Williams was supported by speaker after speaker at the gathering.

Although few people expect rightwing California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger to grant Williams clemency of his own choice, the governor has found it necessary to schedule a hearing for Williams' appeal.

Young people of African origin and Latin@s told of the influence Williams' compelling books had on their own lives. One young woman, formerly in a gang in Southern California, told how

she now reads Williams' books to her own daughter.

Local Nation of Islam leader Minister Tony Muhammad, representing the Millions More Movement, said, "Stan Tookie Williams has done more good on death row than many of us" on the outside. World-famous rapper Snoop Dogg spoke about his past gang membership and the impact Williams' books had on him, redirecting his life and goals. Snoop Dogg ended his remarks by leading a chant: "Change gonna come."

Barbara Becnel, a co-author of Williams' books who has also helped draft some of his legal appeals, spoke, as did Fred Hampton Jr., son of the Black Panther Party leader executed not by the courts but by the Chicago police in December 1969. Hampton pointed out that the rally was taking place "out in front of the concentration camp where George Jackson was murdered" and urged the crowd to "organize or die."

—Story and photo by Joan Marquardt

Who's killing Iraqi intellectuals?

By David Hoskins

Iraqis opposed to the U.S. occupation believe there is a systematic campaign of targeted assassinations aimed at Iraqi intellectuals and that a well-organized enemy intent on keeping Iraq weak and susceptible to foreign occupation is carrying out the killings.

The Monitoring Net for Human Rights in Iraq recently reported Iraqi police figures demonstrating that well over 1,000 Iraqi academics and scientists have been shot to death since the beginning of the U.S.-led invasion. The U.S. State Department has confirmed that hundreds of university professors have been killed.

The shooting of peaceful academics clearly differentiates these killings from those attributable to the Iraqi resistance's effort to defend its homeland. The popular insurgency has primarily targeted U.S. and British forces along with Iraqi military

and police personnel who cooperate with the occupation.

Whoever is responsible for the assassination of academics must also have access to sophisticated intelligence techniques that allow for the widespread targeting of a particular grouping of civilians.

The attacks on Iraqi intellectuals first began when U.S. forces purged at least 15,500 researchers, scientists, teachers and professors for alleged ties to the Baath Party. The dismissal, and subsequent emigration, of so many leading professionals contributed to a destabilized Iraq and provided the occupiers with an excuse for staying in the country.

An article in the [London] Times Higher Education Supplement (Sept. 15, 2004) points out that "there is a widespread feeling among the Iraqi academics that they are witnessing a deliberate attempt to destroy intellectual life in Iraq."

The cold-blooded nature of the assassi-

nations leaves many wondering exactly who is responsible for this ongoing campaign. The Iraqi resistance denies it is responsible, and those interested in liberating Iraq from the occupation have no motive to carry out such wide-scale killings.

Osama Abed Al-Majeed, the president of the Department for Research and Development at the Iraqi Ministry for Higher Education, has accused the Israeli secret service, Mossad, of perpetuating the violence against Iraqi scientists. A June 2005 report by the Palestine Information Center claims that Mossad, in cooperation with U.S. military forces, was responsible for the assassination of 530 Iraqi scientists and professors in the seven months prior to the report's publication.

Mossad unquestionably has the motive and means to assassinate leading Iraqi intellectuals. The Israeli intelligence agency contains a Special Operations Division called Metsada which is tasked with conducting assassinations, sabotage and paramilitary projects. Israel has a long history of interference in Iraq, going back to the 1981 bombing of a nuclear energy plant that stood 15 miles outside Baghdad that just before that attack had voluntarily undergone inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Regardless of who is responsible for the killing of Iraqi scientists and academics, it is clear that the U.S. and Britain, as the leading occupying powers, have the responsibility for the precarious situation in which these intellectuals are forced to live.

Dr. Saad Jawad is a university professor who was known to speak out against certain Baathist policies. But he recently said, "To tell the truth, in the time of Saddam Hussein, we used to speak to our students freely.... But now, a lot of people are not willing to say these kinds of things because of fear."

Haiti regime postpones vote again

By G. Dunkel

Haiti's Provisional Electoral Commission has put off the country's illegal presidential election once again. It announced on Nov. 25 that Jan. 8, 2006 will be the new date of presidential and legislative voting, followed by a Feb. 15 runoff.

Many Haitians say the delay is due to the general incompetence of the de facto government that came to power after U.S. Marines on Feb. 29, 2004 forced President Jean-Bertrand Aristide onto a U.S. plane that took him to the Central African Republic. This incompetence is intensified by the political maneuvering in the government and the PEC and by the bloody repression the government and the occupying troops under UN command mete out to protesters demanding the return of Aristide.

The PEC cites "technical reasons" for the delay: the need to distribute identification cards, print ballots, train election workers, set up polling offices and spend the \$100 million that this election is going to cost the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.

But some political maneuvers by the United States, France and Canada before the PEC announcement suggests that these technical reasons are a smokescreen

The week before the PEC announced the postponement, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution authorizing MINUSTAH, the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti, to increase its troop strength in Haiti so it would have enough forces on the ground to protect all the polling places. Earlier in November, Abou Diouf, the secretary general of International Francophonie — an association of all countries which have French as a first or second language — had promised that troops from six French-speaking African countries-Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius and Senegal-would provide troops for MINUSTAH.

Nothing gets done on this level by Francophonie without the assent of the French government, which can then hide behind the actions of its neocolonies in Africa.

The same day that the PEC made its announcement, the Canadian government, which is a member of Francophonie along with its province of Quebec, made an announcement that it was going to give an additional \$33 million in aid to Haiti. While the announcement mentioned social services, the recent book, "Canada in Haiti," exposes the fact that almost all the aid that Canada supplies to

Haiti goes to reinforcing the police and

After President George W. Bush suffered through a chilly, humiliating reception at Playa del Mar, Argentina, Nov. 3-4, he visited Brazil and met with Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Since a Brazilian general is in charge of MINUSTAH, one of the topics raised was Haiti and its elections.

According to the communiqué they issued, "both presidents affirm their engagement to see political stability, democracy and economic development established in a permanent fashion in Haiti." They expressed their "confidence that a new president, democratically elected, will assume his duties Feb. 7, 2006."

Lula and Bush were perhaps a bit too optimistic, but their communiqué did signal to other countries that among their major concerns were Haiti's future and legitimizing the de facto government the U.S. has imposed there.

What really publicly raised the hackles of the Haitian bourgeoisie and caused a big commotion was a demonstration in favor of René Préval, one of the 30 or so presidential candidates, who was a prime minister under Aristide and president between Aristide's first and second terms. Some 10,000 people marched from Cité

Soleil through the streets of Port-au-Prince to wind up at PEC headquarters.

MINUSTAH and the Haitian National Police provided security for the demonstration, which is surprising since similar demonstrations have been forbidden. What Préval hopes to achieve if he wins is not clear — he would face a parliament of opponents.

But the turnout and the enthusiasm that greeted this demonstration show how a very conscious, militant and struggle-oriented section of the Haitian people is intervening in the elections/selections that the de facto government is trying to hold. These Haitians might vote for Préval or might boycott the vote entirely.

The 1990 election surprised Washington when it put Aristide into office by a landslide, giving him 70 percent of the vote and crushing the U.S.-approved candidate, Marc Bazin. The election could again be much more a mass movement to resist imperialism and its Haitian allies. During other elections in the recent past, the population has held effective boycotts.

The U.S. government could still get its Haitian clients to cancel the elections altogether and remove the opportunity for the masses to intervene. That course, however, would expose U.S. pretensions to democracy. \Box

Major strikes hit Italy, France

Walkouts hit Berlusconi's budget cuts

All three major labor confederations in Italy joined together on Nov. 25 for the sixth time in the past four years for a strike against the budget cutbacks of Premier Silvio Berlusconi. Airplanes sat on the ground, trains and metro lines stopped, schools, post offices and government offices, hospitals and big firms closed.

Every orchestra in Italy played a requiem at 8:30 p.m. to express their solidarity with the strike.

Union leaders attacked the cuts in funds for education, medical care, scientific research and aid to local governments.

Secretary General Guglielmo Epifani of the CGIL, the left-wing labor confederation, led a march of 80,000 people in Rome. Savinio Pezzotta, head of the Catholic confederation CISL, led 100,000 people in the nation's financial center,

Milan, and Luigi Angeletti, the head of the UIL, a centrist confederation, led a march of 30,000 in Palermo, Sicily.

Berlusconi called the strike and demonstrations "useless," but wherever and whenever the unions called for a work stoppage — which varied from area to area and sector to sector—production came to a halt.

Strikes in France indecisive

Workers in France had the legal right to strike in the 1860s but had to wait 30 years before they won the legal right to form unions.

Even though they have the right to organize and strike, unions in France, faced with determined bosses under strong international pressure from the European capitalists to privatize services that long have been publicly owned, have had to fight hard just to keep gains made since the end of World War II.

The government has sold 15 percent of the national electric company EDF to private investors. The SNCM, the ferry service between Marseilles and Corsica, has been totally privatized, even though the unions involved put up a long and hard struggle. The ferry strike lasted 24 days, and Marseilles, one of the major ports in France, was blockaded for an additional 14 days.

A coalition of unions struck public transportation in Marseilles, both bus and metro, for 46 days, to prevent privatization from being pushed through. The last union on strike went back to work Nov. 25 after some of the other unions involved had started working. Since the

unions signed no agreement, it is possible they can resume the strike. The union leaders say this standoff is a setback.

Some of the more militant unions in the French national railroads (SNCF) called a one-day strike Nov. 22 over issues such as night work, outsourcing and additional employment. Railroads in France provide much more intercity transport than in the U.S. This was the sixth strike on the SNCF in a year.

Only one out of four railroad workers—according to management—or one out of three—according to the unions—struck. While the right-wing media in France crowed over the decline of union power that these figures on strike participation indicate, the SNCF management has started to seriously negotiate on the union's demands. These repeated one-day strikes have cost management a lot of money.

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BUSH IN ASIA

A weakened president dismays his own class Some ruling-class sectors worry that the U.S.

By Deirdre Griswold

It was not too long ago that the Bush administration seemed able to "shock and awe" any possible rivals, adversaries or opponents, internal as well as external. The president's carefully scripted public appearances were reported with veneration and his words generated not a hint of questioning. When political commentators from within the capitalist establishment wrote of his "imperial presidency," they did so more in a tone of admiration than alarm.

Those days are hard to remember now, when the tone has turned to mocking, even in such bastions of reaction as Rupert Murdoch-owned Fox television.

Had George W. Bush been able to pull off the global expansion his neo-con advisers were promising to their ruling class base, he would undoubtedly have morphed into a sort of god-king. But his administration has a bone in its throat that it cannot swallow nor cough up, it seems. The tenacious resistance of the Iraqi people to occupation, plus the growth of a worldwide anti-war movement, have thwarted Washington's attempt to gain sole control—with its British junior partners—over the oil riches of the entire region, including Central Asia.

As the resistance in Iraq unfolded, the preoccupation of the Bush administration became an obsession that has deeply alarmed wide sections of the U.S. imperialist ruling class. They see their global position as "the world's only superpower" slipping away, despite the hundreds of billions of dollars taken each year out of workers' pockets to bankroll U.S. military supremacy.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Asia, where a summit meeting of more than a dozen countries will take place in December to inaugurate a regional commercial bloc known as the East Asian Community. The Asia experts who advise the highest echelons of the U.S. ruling class are in a near-panic over this development. For the first time since World War II, an Asian regional body is being formed without the participation of the II S

East Asian Community—without the U.S.

Elizabeth C. Economy is a Senior Fellow and Director for Asia Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. The CFR, like the Trilateral Commission and the Asia Society, was set up originally with Rockefeller money and is a corporate-funded think-tank that for 70 years has provided skilled imperialist strategists for both Republican and Democratic administrations. Here's how she described the situation in a recent interview:

"I think that, as is the case in many other parts of the world, people in Asia feel as though President Bush and his team have been very much of a 'one-note band,' overwhelmingly focused on the war on terror to the exclusion of other issues that are critical to Asia. Asian leaders have gotten tired of having the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summits dominated by discussions of counter-terrorism challenges. At the same time, the White House has made some significant blunders as when Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice did not attend the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) annual summit

this past July. She was the only foreign minister not to attend, and that was considered a slap in the face to the region."

Rice had said her schedule was too busy. Indeed, she must have been overwhelmed trying to put out the fires consuming the Bush administration.

Economy was interviewed just before Bush's recent trip to Asia. She added that "the Asia hands within the administration are making an enormous effort in advance of this trip to get the president and the top foreign policy leadership to focus on Asia in a way that they haven't ever done. Some of this newfound attention may also have to do with the fact that the United States is in danger of being marginalized in the region. In December, all the ASEAN countries plus Japan, China, South Korea, India, Australia, and New Zealand, will gather for the inaugural summit of the East Asian Community (EAC)."

The U.S. is becoming "marginalized" in Asia, where more than half the world's people live? And after Washington sent millions of troops to fight three bloody wars—against Japan, Korea and Vietnam—and unleashed the scourge of the atomic bomb, all so that it would become the dominant power in Asia and the Pacific? How could such a thing happen?

"I think the region was divided as to the wisdom of including the United States. The Australians and some others—the Japanese, Singaporeans and Indonesians, apparently—tried to make some room in the EAC for the United States, but one of the conditions of participation is that a member state signs the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, which is a non-aggression treaty, and we're not willing to do that," explained Economy. (www.cfr.org)

While this reluctance of the U.S. government to sign a non-aggression treaty is an interesting admission, it is obviously only part of the story.

'Asian economic crisis' not forgotten

Ever since the "Asian economic crisis" of 1997, when Asian countries lost enormous wealth as their currencies came under attack from international speculators, their governments have looked for a way to free themselves from dependence on the U.S. dollar in the global market. Part of the concept of the EAC is to develop an Asia-wide currency similar to the euro in Europe.

The EAC would be a mixture of imperialist (Japan), sub-imperialist (Australia) and oppressed countries trying to overcome years of colonial underdevelopment and exploitation. Even without India, it would encompass 2 billion people. China, which wrenched itself free of imperialist domination when its socialist revolution triumphed in 1949 but has allowed capitalist investment in recent decades, is a driving force behind the EAC.

What is being envisioned is a sweeping rearrangement of the relationship between the Asian countries and the United States. Aided by China's steady economic growth, the region has recovered from the crisis of eight years ago and is ready to discuss how to increase its economic integration.

No matter how you slice it, this would mean decreasing the economic control of U.S. imperialism in the area. The failure of Washington to agree to a non-aggression treaty may be the technicality that is Some ruling-class sectors worry that the U.S. global position as 'the world's only superpower' is slipping away under Bush's leadership.

keeping it out of the EAC, and that may be a blunder on the Bush administration's part, but this "blunder" also makes the point very clearly: if things don't go well for U.S. imperialism, it always has the might of the Pentagon at its command.

That is why Bush began his trip to Asia with a visit to President Junichiro Koizumi of Japan, who has dramatized that country's own renewed imperial ambitions with his recurring visits to a memorial for Japanese officers killed in World War II, including those branded the very worst war criminals. This militarist posturing arouses an angry response in countries like China and Korea, where millions died at the hands of the Japanese army before 1945.

Bush and Koizumi

In a speech in Kyoto, Bush lauded Koizumi as a longtime ally with "common values, common interests, and a common commitment to freedom." The Bush administration has no problem with imperialist war criminals.

This was Bush's longest-ever trip abroad. It might be expected that he would make full use of it in the media, rounding up the news agencies, seeking photo-ops wherever he went, showing his administration's global reach and command. But it passed with barely a ripple. Unlike Richard Nixon's famous trip to China-also undertaken when his presidency was in deep trouble over Watergate-there was hardly any coverage of Bush in Beijing. And no wonder. While polite, the Chinese did not feel compelled to enter into any grand accords or make any ringing joint statements with a president who has become a pariah to most of the world.

The one concession Bush got was a limited order for Boeing commercial airliners. In other words, the Chinese treated him as a salesman. Bloomberg.com took note of it: "China's order for 70 Boeing 737s, signed during Bush's trip, is worth an estimated \$4 billion, half the purchase it was considering. It was dwarfed the next day by a \$9 billion order for Boeing from the United Arab Emirates."

While Bush was in Japan and China, a struggle was going on in his administration back home about how to respond to calls from Pennsylvania Rep. John Murtha, a Democrat and war-hawk, to get out of Iraq soon. At first the White House press secretary blasted Murtha. But by the time Bush arrived in China, he was conciliatory, calling Murtha "a fine man." The administration is walking a shaky tightrope, not wanting to further antagonize the war-weary population at home while still sending a signal to Asia that it intends to beef up its military presence there.

The very conservative American Enterprise Institute, commenting on the trip, said that, "A reshaping of the U.S. defense relationship with Japan has been in the works for more than a decade. The United States will reposition its forces and base a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in a Japanese port when the non-nuclear USS Kitty Hawk is retired from active service. The United States and Japan will also work together more closely on common security concerns."

And how will the U.S. be able to do all this if it continues to be bogged down in Iraq, and even Afghanistan? How will it be able to bolster its Japanese imperialist allies when the protests begin in Japan over basing a nuclear-powered U.S. vessel there? This is why the ruling class in the U.S. is tied up in knots over the Middle East misadventure begun by Bush and the neo-cons.

The main demonstrations against Bush came when he visited South Korea, where some 37,000 U.S. troops are stationed. Even as he was getting the usual toasts, lawmakers there passed a resolution mandating the withdrawal of a third of South Korea's forces from Iraq.

Mongolia's 'success'?

Bush ended his Asia trip in Mongolia, where he said, "Mongolia has made the transition from communism to freedom, and in just 15 years, you've established a vibrant democracy and opened up your economy. You're an example of success for this region and for the world."

Bush's remarks should be remembered alongside what he said about Iraq's WMD's and "mission accomplished."

In Mongolia, most public property has been sold off to entrepreneurs and foreign investors since the counter-revolution, which accompanied the breakup of the USSR in 1991. Here's what the government of Mongolia itself, in a Human Development Report it prepared for the UN just two years ago, had to say about conditions there since the "transition" from a socialist to a capitalist economy.

"Both the depth and severity of poverty have increased in recent years, as has the inequality in income distribution. Close to 35.6 percent of the population was below the income poverty line in 1998 ...

"Women in Mongolia, unlike in many other countries, do not face a serious problem of gender discrimination. Progress for women has been quite positive in the past under the socialist regime as well as in recent years. However, not all developments and outcomes have been favorable to women. In 1998, the proportion of poor women (44 percent) was more than double the proportion of poor men (21 percent). Women's share of parliamentary representation has fallen from 23 percent in 1990 to 10 percent in 2000. ...

"Many of the disparities which are apparent today were kept at bay by a socialist system that limited migration and set up rural institutions to facilitate regional development. However, with the uneven expansion of employment opportunities, following the economic transition, disparities began to develop, and these are now reflected in the data for health, education and earnings. ...

"The birth rate declined by nearly 52 percent in 10 years as Mongolians decided to have fewer children, or have them less frequently in order to avoid becoming more economically vulnerable."

Clearly, the only freedom the U.S. ruling class promotes is the freedom of the transnational corporations to extract profits at the expense of the people everywhere.

World AIDS Day

As another World AIDS Day passes on Dec. 1, efforts to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS and treat those infected continue to come up against poverty, racism, lack of accessible medical care and assaults on women's right to control their own bodies.

The figures on who gets infected these days show that class and national oppression, as well as the subordination of women, are the main factors in spreading the deadly virus. People with access to adequate medical care, education and an enlightened social environment are relatively safe and, if they have contracted the virus, are much less likely to fall ill or pass it on to someone else.

People with HIV/AIDS and medical workers around the globe continue to be appalled that U.S. policy on this question can be dictated by narrow-minded religious fanatics who demand that countries promote "abstinence only" over contraceptives in order to qualify for AIDS programs and funds.

For example, the U.S. Agency for International Development, which is supposed to help developing countries, recently cut off funds to a Central American HIV-AIDS prevention program run by Population Services International (PSI), a nonprofit group. The action was taken after right-wing Sen. Tom Coburn of Oklahoma, waxing moralistic, complained that the group was teaching

prostitutes how to use condoms.

Another NGO, DKT International, had its funds for AIDS-prevention work in Vietnam cut by USAID for the same reason. The right-wing groups behind this pressure don't care a bit that women are forced into prostitution not for lack of "morals" but because of poverty-which in both Vietnam and Central America is strongly linked to decades of aggressive U.S. intervention and war.

Uganda, which has cooperated politically and militarily with the U.S. in Africa, is not spared the attentions of the right-wing bigots. It has been successful in reducing the rate of new infections, but faces what groups there call a "condom crisis" that could allow the disease to rebound. The Center for Health and Gender Equity (CHANGE) says condoms have become difficult to find in cities there, even for a high price, and are completely unavailable in many rural areas. People are resorting to using plastic bags as a substitute, the group says.

CHANGE warns that other African countries, including Zambia, Kenya, Namibia and Tanzania, face the same situation. It says the problem is linked to U.S. policies that undermine effective AIDS/HIV prevention.

Many lives are in the balance. On World AIDS Day, the struggle must continue to beat back the right wing in this area, as in all others. \Box

U.S.-EU conspire

By Ardeshir Ommani

Vice President Dick Cheney-whose popularity plunged in mid-November to 27 percent, even lower than his boss, President George W. Bush, who has managed to please only 34 percent of the U.S. public-once said that the country that controls Middle East oil can exercise a "stranglehold" over the global economy. Did Chenev let the cat out of the bag?

Far back in 1997, in a Foreign Affairs article titled "A Geo-strategy for Eurasia," Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter, wrote: "A power that dominated Eurasia would exercise decisive influence over two of the world's most economically productive regions, Western Europe and East Asia. A glance at the map also suggests that a country dominant in Eurasia would almost automatically control the Middle East and Africa."

On the basis of what has transpired since these opinions reached print, one can conclude that the United States has been in the deadly business of dominating the world—and at this juncture targeting Iraq, Iran and Syria, three countries that have dared to differ with Washington's whims and wants.

U.S. belligerence against other nations can take many forms. These include economic and trade sanctions, diplomatic containment, orchestrating an environment of isolation, spreading fabricated propaganda and outright lies, intruding into air space, carrying out acts of sabotage, buying off individuals to commit acts of treason, bribing other governments to take Washington's side, or carrying out naked acts of aggression and war to subvert or overthrow a government.

In the language of the U.S. government, all these acts are committed under the cover of spreading "American democracy." And now an old, all-too-familiar argument is being resurrected to bring countries into line with U.S. plans to dominate the Middle East: that Iran cannot be "trusted" and must be "thwarted" in its plans to develop nuclear energy.

To deny Iran or any other country from "researching, developing and producing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes" is a violation of the right of not only Iran, but other nations, as is embodied in the fourth paragraph of the Nuclear Non-Prolif-

Anti-war movement and John Murtha

Continued from page 5

breaking up into factions and are beset with defeatism.

The probability is that, no matter what the talk-shop Congress does, the Bush group is going to go full steam ahead with its plans to "win" in Iraq. Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld are ready to fight to the last drop of blood of the U.S. troops and the Iraqi people. They will continue the warthe way the administrations of Nixon and Lyndon Johnson before him did-until they are defeated.

The anti-war movement here should expect nothing else and should take an independent position to get all U.S. troops out immediately, unconditionally and totally. We must say "down with the puppet government," whoever is elected, and "no" to the training of Iraqi mercenary

There are two fundamental sides in this struggle-the side of U.S. imperialism and the side of the Iraqis fighting to end occupation. Murtha is on the side of U.S. imperialism. If his defeatist position helps to weaken the U.S. military in Iraq, so much the better. But don't thank Murtha for this. Thank the Iraqi resistance who are fighting for the independence of their country and have brought about the demoralization of sections of the U.S. military and the political establishment.

Bush speech leaves no choice

Mobilize against war & racism

Continued from page 1

answered criticism within Congress over the war policy with a statement that the war was still on, and his regime would follow that policy to the end.

The Democratic Party leaders have given no evidence that they will confront Bush's arrogance with a determined effort to push the U.S. war train off the tracks.

It is exactly for this reason that the independent anti-imperialist movement in the United States must do everything it can to support the struggle for self-determination of the people of Iraq, the Middle East and throughout the world-including the oppressed within the United Statesfighting valiantly to rid themselves of oppression and occupation. \square





Los Angeles, New York City Councils honor Rosa Parks

Left, Troops Out Now Coalition spokesperson Larry Holmes, Million Worker March coordinator Brenda Stokely and Councilperson Charles Barron interviewed by NY1-TV after the New York City Council voted unanimously on Nov. 30 to make Dec. 1 Rosa Parks Day. A rally has been set for Wall Street and Broadway from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. to commemorate that day. Right, John Parker, West Coast coordinator of the International Action Center, is interviewed outside the Los Angeles City Council chamber, where the council had just passed a resolution declaring Dec. 1 "Rosa Parks Action Day" on the

eve of a "Bring the Troops Home Now" rally at the Los Angeles Federal Building on Dec. 1 at noon

-WW New York & Los Angeles bureaus

against Non-Proliferation Treaty

eration Treaty. The NPT is administered by the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is currently headed by Mohammed ElBaradei.

Officials of the IAEA, a United Nations monitoring agency, have visited the Iranian nuclear facilities many times in the last two-and-a-half years. They have held meetings with the Iranian authorities in charge of the nuclear energy programs. Throughout this long period the United States has adamantly claimed, without a shred of proof, that Iran plans to produce nuclear bombs—and therefore must be denied the right to produce enriched uranium, a process for producing nuclear fuel used in nuclear reactors.

All along, Washington has brought pressure on the agency and its governing board to pass a resolution stating that Iran is in violation of the NPT—another unsubstantiated charge—and must be referred to the UN Security Council for possible economic sanctions.

And what has been Iran's response? In order to build confidence, the Iranian government has not only allowed regular inspection by the IAEA. It has accepted an additional protocol that permits the nuclear agency to inspect any nuclear site without prior warning.

It is interesting to note that Israel is not

a party to the NPT agreement, has more than 250 nuclear bombs in its "secret" arsenal and is building a huge apartheid wall on Palestinian land, against international law—but has never been referred anywhere for any reason.

Also, "the United States has not yet adopted the necessary implementing legislation for the additional protocol to become a law," according to the Arms Control Association's fact sheet of January 2005.

In contrast, Iran, in addition to cooperating with ongoing inspections by the IAEA, held joint meetings with the three major Western European powers. And, for the purpose of "confidence building," Iran "voluntarily" suspended its nuclear-enrichment operations for almost a year.

After the three European and the Iranian representatives had met for a year, the Europeans insisted that Iran extend the period it would suspend uranium enrichment—but did not agree on a resolution to assure Iran's right to produce its own fuel for nuclear reactors. On the contrary, this period of suspension sets a precedent. So if Iran decides to resume the enrichment process, in the eyes of the so-called international community this resumption would be considered a violation.

In other words, the apparent European enthusiasm to meet with the Iranian government really serves the U.S. policy of containment and imposition of sanctions. As in Iraq, having Europeans hold the meeting usurps the UN's authority and paves the way for a genocidal crime against the people of Iran.

Learning from this experience, the Iranian government under the new president, Ahmadinejad, decided to withdraw from the endless meetings and bickering. Iran began not the process of uranium enrichment, but the earlier stage of turning yellow cake (uranium raw material) into a gaseous state called tetrafluoride.

A day did not pass without the major European countries—Britain, France and Germany, with the United States lurking

behind the scenes—declaring Iran in utter violation of the NPF and pressing the IAEA to pass a resolution referring Iran to the UN Security

Council for probable economic and trade sanctions. At this stage the European powers had completely capitulated to Washington's foreign policy designs against not only Iran but all the countries in the Middle East and Central Asia, particularly Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Palestine.

It did not take much persuasion on the part of the United States to make the Euro-

pean powers and Britain's Labor government show their true imperialist colors.

In the history of the IAEA, no resolution had passed without a total consensus on the part of its board, composed of 35 members. In this case, even though the resolution lacked muscle and teeth, the United States and the European imperialist powers could not muster a consensus. Without a deadline for referral, the IAEA resolution passed with 26 for, eight abstentions including China and Russia, and one against. The no vote came from Venezuela.

The Iranian response was that should the resolution be referred to the UN Security Council, Iran may decide to withdraw from the IAEA and end its membership in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

It was at this point that George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair declared that no measure with regard to Iran is off the table. In other words, they were implying a threat of force and war against Iran.

Ardeshir Ommani is co-founder of the recently formed American-Iranian Friendship Committee.

Next, Bush and Blair's threats, the Iranian Oil Bourse and dollar supremacy v. euro.

In Massachusetts and New York

Venezuela sells oil to poor at discount

By Evan Sarmiento & Bryan G. Pfeifer Boston

In a resounding gesture of humanitarian internationalism, CITGO, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Venezuelan state oil company PDVSA, began shipping 12 million gallons of discounted home-heating oil for 45,000 low-income families and local social-service organizations in Massachusetts during the week of Nov. 27.

A similar program is underway in the Bronx, N.Y., and preliminary discussions regarding possible CITGO heating oil subsidies are taking place in Maine and other parts of the U.S. where blistering cold weather is a factor.

Due to Big Oil's price gouging and restriction on production, home heating oil costs are expected to increase 30 to 50 percent this winter. Venezuela's offer will help thousands of working class and oppressed people who would have been unable to adequately heat their dwellings and thus risk dying from the cold.

The Massachusetts contract signing took place at a news conference Nov. 22 at the home of Linda Kelly and Paul Kelly in Quincy, Mass. The couple has three children, one with diabetes. Linda Kelly has multiple sclerosis. The Kelly family became eligible for the PDVSA oil subsidies because their state fuel assistance ran out last winter.

"He's doing the right thing," said Linda Kelly of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, who arranged the subsidies. Chávez first pledged this life-saving assistance in a meeting with the Rev. Jesse Jackson in Caracas in August. "There were people who were going to freeze to death.... This is huge," said Kelly.

The discounted heating oil will be available to Massachusetts households receiving federal fuel assistance who have used up their \$550 annual federal subsidy.

Families would pay about \$276 for a 200-gallon shipment, a savings of about \$184. The shipment will last about three weeks.

CITGO will deliver the oil, and Citizens Energy, a non-profit organization providing subsidized oil to Massachusetts residents, will distribute it. Then about 350 local dealers will deliver approximately 75 percent of the oil to local families. MassEnergyConsumer Alliance will distribute or sell the remaining quarter to homeless shelters, food banks and low-income groups.

Venezuela has arranged for 285,000 barrels to be shipped to Massachusetts within the next few weeks at a 40 percent discount.

"This program represents the fulfillment of the promise made to people in the United States by our President, Hugo Chávez," said Venezuelan envoy Bernardo Alvarez Herrera at the Quincy news conference. "We are committed to working for a hemisphere with less poverty and more development, whether by teaching 1.5 million adults to read in Venezuela or helping Massachusetts residents through a long winter."

All the major U.S. oil corporations were asked to participate in similar agreements; they all refused despite recordbreaking profits in 2005 arising from their decision to reduce production during and after Hurricanes Katrina and Wilma. This decision drove up prices.

The companies have also benefited from billions in federal subsidies. Most of Big Oil's losses incurred when refineries, pipelines and other infrastructure were destroyed in the hurricanes are expected to be recovered through insurance as well.

According to Standard & Poor's, ExxonMobil, the world's largest publicly traded oil corporation, just had its highestever quarterly profit, \$9.92 billion, up 75



Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez

percent from its 2004 third quarter. ExxonMobil also set an industry record of \$100.72 billion in sales. BP-Amoco, Chevron, ConocoPhillips, Marathon and Royal Dutch/Shell also had record profits.

In contrast, President Chávez has vowed to set aside 10 percent of all the oil that CITGO refineries produce for his own country's oil-for-the-poor program. Thus far, Venezuela is providing subsidized or discounted oil to more than 20 nations in South America, the Caribbean and beyond.

Big Oil profits as the poor die

It is testament to the miserable state of affairs in the United States, where profits are placed before human beings, that poor people have to turn to an underdeveloped country like Venezuela, still struggling to industrialize after decades of neocolonialism, to get discounted oil.

Each year in the United States an average of 689 people die from hypothermia, a preventable medical emergency caused by prolonged exposure to cold

temperatures, says the federal Centers for Disease Control.

Hypothermia-related deaths are preventable. A disturbing report from the Southern Medical Journal revealed that 61.5 percent of such deaths last winter were among African Americans. The CDC confirmed the Journal's findings, admitting that insufficient access to heat kills African Americans and Latin@s at a higher rate than whites.

Bolivar's dream resurrected

Venezuela's gesture of genuine internationalism, which embraces the working class and oppressed of the U.S., is fundamental to the constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. This document guarantees economics of solidarity and mutual aid, rather than the free trade and neoliberalism that are used to ransack underdeveloped nations, steal their natural resources and put profits in command, resulting in whole countries mired in poverty.

Mutual assistance is part of Venezuela's foreign policy. Venezuela has championed the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA in its Spanish initials) as opposed to the U.S.-sponsored Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Chávez's internationalist use of oil wealth threatens the very essence of neocolonialism in South America as ALBA embraces integration, development and hemispheric unity as opposed to wholesale imperialist plundering.

The U.S. government and Big Oil are, of course, worried about these developments. They claim that Chávez uses "oil as a weapon" to undermine U.S. foreign policy. Venezuela is not using oil as a weapon, but is using it within the context of South American integration and "21st century socialism," attempting to encourage U.S client states to shake off the influence of imperialism.



¡Proletarios y oprimidos de todos los países, uníos!

Mientras la resistencia iraquí avanza Los guerreristas invasores discuten qué hacer

Por Fred Goldstein

En marzo de 2003 la administración de Bush dio al Pentágono una misión imposible—colonizar a Irak. Casi tres años después, frente a la campaña sostenida de la resistencia iraquí y la creciente oposición aquí en EEUU, esa misión ha pasado de ser un atolladero a convertirse en una crisis.

La constante oleada de contratiempos está forzando al alto mando militar a demandar cambios en la política. Pero los comandantes responsables de la guerra no han logrado una audiencia con la camarilla de Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld. Y se han encontrado forzados a llevar sus batallas a las cámaras del Congreso.

En el episodio más reciente de esta batalla, el famoso militarista y amigo del Pentágono, Jack Murtha, un Demócrata de Pennsylvania, causó una tormenta en el Congreso cuando introdujo una resolución en la Cámara de Representantes pidiendo que los EEUU salgan de Irak "tan pronto como sea posible", en aproximadamente seis meses. Él llamó a un "cambio del frente" de la Infantería de Marina hacia "más allá del horizonte" donde estarían listos para intervenir, y básicamente demandó que las fuerzas títeres de Irak asumieran el mando.

Durante una conferencia de prensa el 17 de noviembre y durante el debate producido por su resolución ese mismo día, Murtha hizo unos comentarios claros explicando su posición. "Ha llegado la hora de devolver las tropas a casa", declaró. "Nuestras tropas se han vuelto en el blanco principal de la insurgencia. Ellos están unidos en contra de las fuerzas de los EEUU y nos hemos vuelto en el catalizador de la violencia.

"El futuro de nuestras fuerzas militares está en riesgo", Murtha dijo durante la conferencia de prensa. "Nuestras fuerzas militares y sus familias están demasiado extendidas. Muchos dicen que el ejército está deshecho. Algunas de nuestras tropas están en su tercer despliegue.

Durante el debate en el Congreso él explicó que el comandante en Irak le había dicho que "cada convoy es atacado". Murtha agregó, "Dicen que no tienen tropas suficientes".

Murtha dijo que no pueden conseguir más tropas. "Las fuerzas militares no están llenando sus cuotas, a pesar de que han disminuido las cuotas". La única solución sería el reclutamiento obligatorio. Pero esto "es imposible".

Murtha tiene la posición clave de Demócrata de mayor rango en el Subcomité de Apropiaciones Militares del Comité de Apropiaciones de la Cámara de Representantes. Él ha sido líder de ese subcomité por décadas. Trabajó con Dick Cheney cuando Cheney era el Secretario de Defensa durante la Guerra del Golfo de 1991.

Murtha: instrumento del Pentágono

"Conocido como amigo y defensor de los oficiales en el Pentágono y en la zona de guerra", expresó un reporte de Prensa Asociada del 17 de noviembre, "se cree ampliamente en el Congreso, que Murtha habla con frecuencia por los uniformados y puede ser que esté repitiendo lo que los comandantes estadounidenses en el campo y en el Pentágono están diciendo en privado sobre el conflicto.

"Varias veces al año, Murtha viaja a Irak para evaluar la guerra y con frecuencia visita a las topas heridas en hospitales en los EEUU. Y a veces llama por teléfono a los generales para obtener sus opiniones de primera mano"

Mientras que Murtha se conmovió sobre las bajas estadounidenses, nunca derramó una lágrima y ni siquiera mencionó l@s 100.000 iraquíes muert@s y l@s miles y miles de herid@s o víctimas en otras formas de las fuerzas de ocupación de los EEUU. Su preocupación principal era la condición de las fuerzas militares de los EEUU.

Como amigo del Pentágono, él también refleja el pensamiento de dominación mundial de los militaristas. Él dijo que Irak amenaza con drenar los recursos de "programas que aseguran nuestra dominación militar". (Time Magazine, 28 de noviembre)

En el programa News Hour con Jim Lehrer de la cadena PBS, Murtha se mostraba preocupado porque "más adelante" los EEUU tendrán que tratar con China y "hemos comprado solamente cuatro o cinco barcos este año".

Tres días antes de la resolución de Murtha, el Senado aprobó una resolución de John Warner diciendo a la administración de Bush que debe reportar cuatro veces al año sobre el progreso en la guerra y que debía presionar a los iraquíes para que tomen responsabilidad de la acción militar en el año 2006. Esta fue una resolución básicamente floja. Pero denota que existe un sentimiento creciente de derrota en la clase dominante y frustración en los militares.

La Fuerzas Armadas se fraccionan

Hay entre los altos rangos militares quienes quieren amenazar con sacar cantidades significativas de tropas para presionar a sus títeres a que abandonen sus diferencias internas y forjen un régimen cohesivo que se oponga a la resistencia contra la ocupación y para hacer que las tropas títeres combatan más fuertemente. Warner, un militarista experimentado, ex secretario de la Marina y Jefe del Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas, habla a nombre de este grupo.

Algunos quieren más tropas, como reveló la revista Time en su número del 28 de noviembre de 2005. "Si el jefe republicano del Comité de las Fuerzas Armadas quiere obtener una segunda opinión sobre cómo va la guerra, ¿qué hace? Él le pregunta al Pentágono, pero esta vez no a la comandancia". En lo que la revista llamó "una sesión poco usual de puertas cerradas en el capitolio la semana pasada", Warmer, Carl Levin de Michigan y Mark Dayton de Minnesota se sentaron en una mesa al frente de 10 oficiales militares escogidos por su experiencia en el campo de batalla, no en la arena política". Eran comandantes de batallones.

Los comandantes "dijeron que no solamente necesitaban más tropas sino que las habían pedido" tan recientemente como en agosto de 2005 "pero fueron absolutamente rechazados".

Esta agrupación está representada por John McCain, quien recientemente pidió 10.000 tropas más. McCain votó en contra de la resolución de Warner de convertir el año 2006 en un año de pasar la comandancia a las tropas títeres.

Uniéndose a Murtha y a la facción que aboga por la retirada rápida está el Teniente General William Odom (jub.), ex jefe de la Agencia de Seguridad Nacional bajo Ronald Reagan. Odom quiere salir inmediatamente para así reparar las alianzas del imperialismo estadounidense con el imperialismo europeo y japonés. Quiere establecer una dominación conjunta de todo el Medio Oriente—es decir, quiere compartir algo del poder con los rivales de Washington.

Es importante destacar que los actores claves que están empujando los debates sobre la estrategia en Irak son aliados de los militares. El hecho es que militaristas como McCain, Warner y Murtha tienen que tomar acción antes de que el Congreso descubra su fuerza y pase una resolución aún hipócrita sobre la guerra. Es requerido el permiso de algún sector militar para hacer eso.

Bajo la presión de la resistencia iraquí, la comandancia militar se está dividiendo en varias fracciones que debaten qué hacer sobre su crisis en Irak. Lo más importante en este debate actual es que se trata de cómo salir de una crisis con el menor daño. Nadie ha sugerido alguna propuesta sobre cómo ganar la guerra. Todos menos Bush, Cheney y Rumsfeld han abandonado lo que Murtha llamó "una ilusión".

En el debate actual entre las distintas fracciones, un lado asevera que si se queda el ejército estadounidense, estaría inflamando a la resistencia, portándose como una fuerza de ocupación y uniendo al país en contra de las fuerzas estadounidenses. Si se fueran, liberarían al ejército de esta imposible y sostenida situación.

El otro lado dice que si se retiran los Estados Unidos, significaría una victoria para la resistencia, una humillación para los Estados Unidos—es decir para el imperialismo estadounidense—y animaría a la resistencia mundial.

La contradicción sin solución que se ha creado para la clase dominante estadounidense y su ejército es que los dos lados del debate tienen razón.

El modelo de "vietnamización" no servirá en Irak

Eso es lo que pasa cuando un poder imperialista está perdiendo inalterablemente una guerra colonialista. Eso es lo que resulta al tratar de recolonizar a un pueblo que sufrió del colonialismo británico pero se levantó y echó a sus opresores. Cuando el pueblo iraquí echó a los colonialistas británicos en 1958, se apoderó de su petróleo y de su país. Irak se embarcó en un camino de desarrollo científico, educativo, económico y social como país independiente del imperialismo.

Los iraquíes no quieren que las compañías de petróleo estadounidenses les quiten su petróleo. No quieren que el Pentágono establezca bases militares para amenazar a la región. No quieren privatizar su país y entregarlo a corporaciones transnacionales. Y no quieren un gobierno títere. Han vivido bajo la opresión imperialista y no quieren volver a esas condiciones.

Todas las fracciones en el ejército estadounidense y la clase dominante están contando con la llamada "Iraquización" de la guerra. Es una página sacada de la Guerra de Vietnam. Nixon finalmente tuvo que terminar el reclutamiento forzado y "Vietnamizar" la guerra—lo cuál significó financiar, aprovisionar, y aconsejar a las tropas títeres en un vano esfuerzo de parar a los vietnamitas quienes ya habían derrocado a los dos colonialistas previos, los franceses y los japoneses, de tomar el control de su país.

Es importante destacar que antes de que John Warner presentara su resolución que propone hacer del 2006 el año de la "Iraquización" de la guerra—aunque no la llamó así—él tuvo varias reuniones con Melvin Laird, de 83 años, quien había sido el Ministro de Defensa bajo Nixon, y había trazado la llamada estrategia "Vietnamización" en 1973. Laird recientemente ha escrito extensos artículos que tratan de persuadir al Pentágono a que adopte una estrategia similar a la suya.

Pero aunque la Vietnamización estuvo acompañada por crueles bombardeos estadounidense y miles de comandantes estadounidenses se quedaron en el país, ésta falló.

Y fallará en Irak.

Lo que en realidad es la cuestión, es el desarrollo fundamental de la lucha por la liberación nacional, la cuál comenzó en las regiones oprimidas del mundo, especialmente en Asia, inmediatamente después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

El hecho histórico es que el imperialismo estadounidense ha promulgado guerras para tratar de conquistar territorio en Asia. En el norte de Asia trató de conquistar toda Corea y fue derrotado por fuerzas socialistas y anti-colonialistas. En el sureste de Asia trató de conquistar Vietnam, Laos y Camboya y otra vez fue derrotado por fuerzas socialistas y anti-colonialistas. Está luchando en el Asia Central para conquistar Afganistán y está perdiendo. Está luchando en Asia del Oeste—el Medio Oriente—para conquistar Irak. Y ya ha sido derrotado.

El imperialismo estadounidense, el centro del capitalismo mundial, la producción y la explotación mundial, siempre ha pensado que su destino está ligado a la dominación del gran territorio, rico en recursos naturales y población, de Asia. Ha visto este enorme territorio como el terreno histórico para la expansión de la explotación y el saqueo necesario para su existencia.

Ninguna estrategia militar en Irak, ni en cualquier otra parte del mundo va a cambiar el hecho de que los pueblos del mundo anteriormente oprimidos van a resistir ser forzados de nuevo a llevar el yugo del imperialismo. El pueblo trabajador y oprimido en los Estados Unidos ya está desilusionándose y resistiendo matar y ser matado en este esfuerzo fútil y reaccionario de dominar al mundo por aquellos que los oprimen y explotan también.