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After disputed election

Mexico's poor call for parallel gov't

By Teresa Gutierrez

The Mexican presidential elections of July 2006 have come and gone. Despite overwhelming evidence of considerable voter fraud on the part of the government, the candidate of the pro-U.S. conservative National Action Party, Felipe Calderón, was declared president on Sept. 5 by the Federal Electoral Tribunal (TRIFE)—the highest electoral court in the country.

TRIFE declared that the progressive candidate, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, was defeated.

Prior to the election, López Obrador had spearheaded a massive presidential campaign under the banner of the newly formed coalition "For the Good of All." His election campaign sparked a mass movement.

Despite the proclaimed defeat of the progressive candidate, a clear blow to the movement, the people's struggle in Mexico is far from over. In fact, capitalist political pundits continue to characterize the situation in Mexico as "at a turning point"—code words for "we are worried."

All indications are that despite how the election turned out, the political movement in Mexico has been revived and is not waning. AMLO, as López Obrador is affectionately called, has not returned to the corridors of government buildings defeated. He has instead remained in the streets with the masses.

In fact, upon notice of the court's decision last week, he said "To hell with the institutions" and refused to recognize Felipe Calderón as president.

Masses occupy Zócalo

On July 2, when it became evident that the elections had been tainted with voter fraud, López Obrador refused to deal with the issue within the confines of bourgeois parliamentarism. Instead,

he embraced the momentum in the streets, took the issue outside the confines of capitalist law and called for mass mobilizations.

The Zócalo square in the heart of Mexico City, the capital, became López Obrador's headquarters where his supporters camped out, met and rallied for justice.

The Zócalo is the site of countless important and mass actions that have taken place since the days of the Aztecs. A cantina (bar) near the plaza advertises that it has a bullet hole from a shot fired by Mexican revolutionary hero Pancho Villa.

Demonstrations called by AMLO grew to almost 2 million people at one point, signaling that the Mexican people are fed up with business as usual. The issue for the masses is not just the failure of the Mexican state to guarantee a fair election but the intense rate of exploitation in the country today.

Mexico faces one of its worst economic and social crises ever. Massive under-employment and unemployment have led to unprecedented waves of migration to the north. As a result of policies like NAFTA, U.S. imperialism is deeply imbedded in Mexico's economic and political structures.

The movement now gripping Mexico is a result of this condition.

The mass takeover of the Zócalo that started in July, and continued for seven straight weeks, was so effective that the French Press Agency reported the occupation blocked major streets. The encampment was so successful that it disrupted business, at a cost of an estimated \$709 million in revenue, according to a report issued by frenzied business association representatives.

Commerce was not the only thing disrupted. Traditionally, Sept. 16 is celebrated at the square by the capitalist government. This year, however, the reigning but outgoing president Vicente

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EYEWITNESS LEBANON

Hezbollah
heals
divisions

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Residents of
Bint Jbeil.

WW PHOTO:
SARA FLOWNERS

Silent march hits police torture

By Lou Paulsen
Chicago



Even as Congress was debating whether and how much to torture Islamic prisoners of war, people here were learning that from at least 1972 to 1990, torture was routinely used against Black U.S. citizens who were prisoners of the Chicago police.

Police used electric shocks, suffocation, beatings and death threats to extract confessions from prisoners, many of whom were later proven innocent.

The chief torturer, Area 2 Commander Lt. Jon Burge, now lives on his city pension in Florida, having still not been prosecuted. Prosecutors who condoned the torture include the present Cook County state's attorney, Dick Devine, and Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley.

At least 200 Black people were tortured to extract confessions, which were used to send many to prison and even to death row. While some were later pardoned, many are still in prison.

On Sept. 15, over 200 members and supporters of Black People Against Police Torture (BPAPT) carried out a silent march for justice on Chicago's downtown streets. They marched past Daley Center and the County Building, then stopped at City Hall for two minutes to face Daley's office in an act of silent confrontation before returning to the starting point.

Passers-by studied the marchers' red foam-board signs with black lettering that declared, "No justice, no peace," "Prosecute Burge, Devine and Daley," "Stop 'em killing our

people," "Resist!" and "By any means necessary."

"When you walk through this round, this obstacle course, and come back here, don't be tired because the work is just beginning," said Standish Willis, an attorney and BPAPT spokesperson, to the marchers assembling in Federal Plaza.

Willis promised that judges involved in the torture conspiracy who are up for retention in the November election "will feel the wrath of the Black community" and "will no longer be judges." Circuit judges in Illinois face a retention vote every six years in which they must get 60 percent of the vote to stay on the bench.

Some of the judges up for retention prevented defendants from introducing evidence that they were tortured; others were prosecutors at the time and used in evidence confessions produced by torture.

In addition, said Willis, "We will be sending a bill to the State Legislature to provide for reparations for torture victims. Included in that bill there's a procedure where those that are still locked up in prison as the result of being tortured by Jon Burge or his henchmen will be able to get out of prison. So we'll be mobilizing, we'll be taking buses down to Springfield, we'll be doing everything necessary to get that bill passed. Next time we convene we will have all the 27 brothers who are in prison with us, that's how determined we are to get justice for torture victims."

The BPAPT meets every Thursday at 7 p.m. at the Center for Inner City Studies, 700 E. Oakwood (3900 S). For information, contact the law office of Stan Willis at 312-554-0005. □

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Somerville 5 youth tells WW

'Racial profiling is growing'

By Phebe Eckfeldt
Boston



Calvin Belfon

In April 2005, five Black Somerville High School athletes were racially profiled, attacked and beaten by white Medford, Mass., police. The cops, courts, media and school officials carried out a campaign to frame and vilify them.

For the past 14 months, important mass organizing by the Committee to Defend the Somerville 5 has been crucial in exposing the racist lies and fabrications. The Somerville 5 became a symbol in the Boston area for the need to stand up and fight back against rampant police terror.

This past June, two of the five, Calvin Belfon and Isiah Anderson, were tried by a jury of 11 whites and one African American. Belfon was found not guilty of five assault and battery charges but guilty of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Anderson was found not guilty of seven charges that included assault and battery but guilty of two charges of assault and battery and one each of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Both were sentenced to two years' probation and some community service.

The next scheduled hearing for the remaining Somerville 5 members—Earl Guerra, Cassius Belfon and Marquis Anderson—will begin on Sept. 26 at a Cambridge, Mass., courthouse located at Third and Thorndike streets.

This past August, Workers World interviewed Calvin Belfon, who is 19 years old. He grew up in Dorchester, Mass., and his family is from Trinidad/Tobago. He is currently in his first year of college and is a football player.

Go to workers.org to read more of the interview.

WW: What is your view of the verdict and sentencing?

Calvin Belfon: It was unjust for the simple fact that we did not do anything. But I am also grateful that it turned out the way it did because it could have been a lot worse. We could have been found guilty of more serious charges and possibly face jail time.

What impact do you think community support and the work of the Committee to Defend the Somerville 5 had on your case?

It had a great impact on our case. I am not the only one who noticed it, the judge noticed it also—all the support from family, friends and the community. I feel that people would not have put themselves out there and put their reputation on the line if we were that bad. It helped us a lot.

Looking around and seeing people packing the courtroom motivated me. It took some of the fear away, knowing that they were there to support me and knowing that I did not do anything.

What would you say to other youth of color caught up in the dragnet of racial profiling and police brutality?

[Racial profiling] is a growing pandemic because I was sitting with my father and he said that every Black person will have a profile by the time I am his age. You

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Sanitation workers forced into wildcat strike

By Dante Strobino
Raleigh, N.C.

On the mornings of Sept. 13, 14 and 15, workers for the City of Raleigh Solid Waste Division carried out an historic wildcat strike, withholding their labor power and shutting services for several hours on each of those days.

In a plant with over 100 workers, more than 80, including both drivers and laborers, refused to mount the trucks and drive the city streets to pick up the garbage. The vast majority of these workers are Black.

Sanitation workers suffer from some of the worst conditions of all public employees in a city rife with unresponsive governmental bureaucracy and cronyism. These super-oppressed workers are raising their voices and organizing around their just demands, which include: no forced overtime (10 hours a day maximum), time-and-a-half pay for voluntary overtime work, all temps be made permanent workers, an end to harassment from bosses, and respect for the workers' right to organize and elect their own leaders.

UE Local 150—the North Carolina Public Sector Workers Union—has been

organizing public sector workers since 1996. It represents workers in four strategic areas: Department of Health and Human Services, the University of North Carolina system, city workers, and private workers in auto and aerospace in eastern North Carolina. UE 150 has been meeting with Raleigh sanitation workers for over a year now and supported the recent worker-initiated job actions.

On Sept. 14, over half of the solid waste workforce attended the UE 150 union meeting. There they voted, signed up and took an oath to join and build the union. Many other workers who could not attend the meeting have already joined. Many others are joining every day. In the parking lot outside, energy was high as workers chanted, "The orange brigade is rolling in." The workers had pledged to wear bright orange shirts.

There was an incredible amount of unity in the room, as workers themselves decided what steps to take next, elected a leadership structure to meet with bosses and speak with the media, and decided on what demands to prioritize.

Raleigh is one of the fastest growing cities on the East Coast. From 1990 to

January 1999, Raleigh registered a 30.1 percent increase in population and expanded its area by more than 20% but has not had a similar growth in the workforce. In fact, recently the City Council cut \$135,000 from the budget to get rid of six city worker positions. The city has also implemented "one-armed bandits," new automatic trucks that only need one worker to operate, causing increased stress, danger and workload.

Jimmy Gaye, a solid waste laborer for 22 years and UE 150 member said, "The city is growing but the workforce is not growing. ... The only changes I have seen have been to benefit the [bosses]. The job action has been a long time coming. They cut down our truck from four to three people and made me work ... without extra pay. I joined the union so someone would listen to me. The heads and superintendent won't listen."

Speaking about the high risk work environment, he said, "I have seen a man almost get his head cut off here; I know one guy got killed; I have seen fights; they get against each other, until we are mad because the system is mistreating us."

As of Sept. 19, the sanitation workers

have gone back to work because they care about the public's health. They are giving the city until Sept. 22 to meet their demands. If the city abuses this act of good faith and does not meet their demands, then the workers will be forced to consider other serious actions.

For the first time that most workers can remember, an assistant city manager—Lawrence Ray—was forced to come right to the sanitation yard and speak to workers and hear their issues face to face.

This whole struggle must be considered in the context of the deep anti-union sentiment in the South. This struggle is also part of the movement for collective bargaining rights and to repeal the so-called "right to work" anti-union clause, North Carolina 95-98. This is a goal of the International Worker Justice Campaign initiated by Black Workers For Justice, UE Local 150 and others.

The workers are asking people to call Mayor Charles Meeker at 919-833-8756 (home) and 919-828-0564 (work) to express their support.

Strobino is an organizer with the Raleigh FIST (Fight Imperialism, Stand Together) youth group and UE Local 150.

30,000 apartments put on auction block

By G. Dunkel
New York

The giant insurance company MetLife wants \$5 billion more in its corporate pockets and so has put the homes of 30,000 people up for grabs. After months of rumors and hints, the company announced it would sell its Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village on the east side of Manhattan for at least that sum.

The complex consists of 110 buildings on 80 acres of land stretching from 23rd Street to 14th Street, and from First Avenue to Avenue C. Of the nearly 11,000 apartments, 27 percent are rented at "market rate." This means a landlord can charge whatever he can get. The remaining apartments—73 percent—are "rent stabilized." A landlord can only charge what the New York City Rent Guidelines Board permits.

For example, a stabilized tenant might pay \$1,200 a month, while her next-door neighbor in a market-rate apartment could be paying \$3,600 for essentially the same space.

MetLife has been converting rent-stabilized apartments to market rate, using a provision of the New York rent laws. When an apartment becomes vacant, MetLife invests money into "fixing it up" by putting in a dishwasher, air-conditioning, marble counter tops or other embellishments that allow the rent to be raised over \$2,000 a month, the level at which the apartment is no longer rent-stabilized.

MetLife grosses \$39 million a year more from the market rate apartments than from the rent-stabilized apartments.

MetLife built Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village in the 1940s, using New York City's power of eminent domain to seize land and erect affordable housing for returning World War II veterans. The insurance behemoth enjoyed a 25-year tax rebate from the city as well as a number of other governmental benefits for performing this "public service."

The complex is one of the largest blocks of affordable rental units in the United States today. Affordable housing, according to the U.S. Census, is housing that middle-income people can obtain for no more than 30 percent of their monthly income. Over 2 million units of affordable housing have been lost in the United States in the last decade.

A few days after the announcement that Stuyvesant Town/Peter Cooper Village was on the market, its Tenants Association, along with New York City Council member Dan Garodnik, a resident of the complex who was also raised there, announced a plan to buy the complex. The attempt is to put together a purchase package from state and city pension funds, along with some large union pension funds.

A surprising number of complex residents are union members—teachers, firefighters and nurses mainly, but also some from construction unions like ironworkers, elevator erectors, carpenters and painters.



WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

Worried tenants hear of MetLife's plan to sell their homes.

The first reaction of MetLife to the tenants' bid was to deny the tenants access to the financial documents needed to arrange for financing. Other bidders, who also need to put together financial alliances to meet the price, would be allowed to get the documents, however.

Then every Democratic politician in New York—from U.S. Senators Charles Schumer and Hillary Clinton to Christine Quinn, speaker of the New York City Council, and Eliot Spitzer, Democratic nominee for governor—started leaning on MetLife. Bowing to this pressure, MetLife turned over its financial memos to the tenant group on Sept. 15.

On Sept. 16, over 400 tenants showed up at a Tenants Association meeting and hundreds more were turned away because the room was filled. Council member Garodnik outlined the tenants' strategy and exposed how a new owner could try to "wring more revenue out of the complexes," as the New York Times reported on Sept. 13. For example, there are 260,000 square feet of developable land in the complexes, mainly the playgrounds and a peaceful park in the center of Stuyvesant Town. Air rights, that is, putting towers on top of

existing buildings, might also be sold for additional revenue.

And while a new owner would want a bigger revenue stream than MetLife needed, if only to pay off the loans needed to buy the complex, the real prize for profit-making would be condominium conversions.

Every speaker emphasized that the tenants needed to be united to get the best deal possible and fight off a sale to a new profit-hungry landlord. A victory for the tenants in this struggle would be much more than a local victory—it would be an inspiration for other struggles to preserve affordable housing.

The federal government under recent Republican and Democratic presidents has essentially abolished rent vouchers for low-income families and direct subsidies to public housing projects. Now the real estate industry is going after middle-income families, an effort which, if successful, would also have a catastrophic effect on low-income families, who would then have to compete with higher-income families for a diminishing housing stock. This is a recipe for more homelessness.

Email: gdunkel@workers.org

Somerville 5

Continued from page 2

can't do anything to further yourself in society because the cops are going to continue to harass you. They mess up kids' lives. I could not go to school or see my friends, or go to the prom or finish my senior year of football—all this for allegations of me attacking the cops late at night while I am walking home. Even the dumbest fool would not do something like that. What happened to us was worse than a nightmare. I've had nightmares that were better than this.

People are asked to phone and/or fax Middlesex County DA Martha Coakley and demand all charges be dropped immediately against the remaining three defendants. Call 617-494-4300 or 617-679-6500 or fax 617-225-0871. Call the Committee to Defend the Somerville 5 at 617-522-6626 to confirm the trial date and time beforehand, as they are subject to change. Eckfeldt is an organizer of the Committee to Defend the

Ford's 'Way Forward'

A huge step back for workers

By Milt Neidenberg

In January the management of Ford Motor Co., led by CEO and board chair William Clay Ford Jr., proclaimed a new cost-cutting campaign called "Way Forward." For Ford's 75,000 hourly workers and thousands of salaried employees in North America, a better name would have been "Way, Way Back."

Ford's plan called for shutting down 14 plants and eliminating some 30,000 production jobs by 2012. Ford had already eliminated 4,000 salaried workers and bought out 6,500 members of the United Auto Workers.

This month, Ford Jr. scrapped "Way Forward." He stepped down as CEO and hired Boeing head Alan Mulally as his replacement. Mulally then announced "Way Forward Phase 2."

Even more brutal than Phase 1, it calls for terminating 10,000 additional salaried jobs by the first quarter of 2007—about one-third of what is left of Ford's North American salaried work force, which numbered 46,000 at the beginning of 2006. Phase 2 plans to shut down or sell off more plants much sooner than 2012—the original projected date.

Now Ford is offering buyouts to its entire hourly workforce—75,000 employees. However, this payout, which eliminates good-paying union jobs and benefits, is chump change in a period of rising prices.

On Sept. 15—"Blue Friday"—production and engineering workers got the official

word from Mulally and his Way Forward staff by e-mail.

Mulally, who was promised a total of \$18 million to take the job, was hired for his expertise in downsizing. He cut the workforce at Boeing from 127,000 to 52,000 and shut down many operations before he left. The leaders of the International Association of Machinists, which represented Boeing workers, agreed to the cuts.

Will UAW President Ron Gettelfinger learn from the bitter experiences of Boeing workers? Apparently not. Gettelfinger's response to the hiring of Mulally was to laud him as fair-minded, reasonable and a credible individual. He had had previous contact with him in the aerospace industry.

When Gettelfinger was asked about Way Forward 2, he said that the union was still in discussions with the company about the first restructuring plan, but that "I'm sure we'll be having discussions about the second Way Forward plan." (detnews.com, Sept. 8)

What a sad commentary on the state of the UAW leaders and their failure to evaluate the further catastrophic attacks on the rank and file. Gettelfinger and the other UAW leaders are overwhelmed by this unprecedented restructuring and downsizing of the workforce. It is a monumental crisis faced by UAW workers across the entire industry.

"The automotive industry has shed more than 250,000 jobs since 2000," wrote the Washington Post on Sept. 16. They were

good-paying jobs with benefits that covered a broad range of salaried, non-union and union workers. The article describes the immensity of the current crisis among the Big Three North American auto giants:

"Ford's broad restructuring reflects an industry malaise that was further underscored yesterday by DaimlerChrysler AG's projection that it expects its Chrysler unit to lose \$1.52 billion this quarter. Like Ford, General Motors Corp. has undertaken drastic measures to jettison workers and close plants to recover from steep losses."

GM is cutting 30,000 jobs and closing a dozen plants. It will decide in the near future whether it wants to link up with a merged Japanese and French auto combine.

Producers versus exploiters

It's critical for those who assemble cars, from the drawing board to the production line, to view the crisis from a broad-based class point of view. The separate classification of white-collar workers from blue collar, of salaried from hourly, of union versus non-union is divisive. It serves the interests only of corporate cliques and a cabal of Wall Street banks and financial institutions whose undying devotion is to the bottom line—and damn the laboring masses.

To learn who is calling the shots, check the board of directors. At Ford, three family members run the empire: William Jr. is married to an heir to the Firestone dynasty of rubber and related industries. Edsel R. Ford is a retired vice president who deals with financing and credit and is on the board of the Detroit branch of the influential Chicago Federal Reserve Board and privy to all insider information. And there is the family patriarch, William Clay Ford, father to William Jr.

They are taking care of themselves in this crisis. According to a New York Post article of Sept. 18, since Way Forward was announced "at least 18 top Ford officers and directors have been net sellers of Ford stock. ... The biggest seller of the bunch: Chairman William Clay Ford Jr., who sold more than 593,000 shares ... bagging close to \$4.7 million."

Joining the family parasites on the board is a group of Wall Street bankers. Representing Citigroup, the largest banking institution in the world, was Robert Rubin, a senior vice president who joined the bank in 2000 after ending his tenure

as secretary of the Treasury during President Bill Clinton's administration. Recently, Rubin quietly resigned from Ford, citing a potential conflict of interest. Citigroup would like to get its hands on Ford Motor Credit Corp., a financial institution with deep pockets from loans and other services provided to Ford customers. Citigroup will continue to advise Ford on its strategic objectives: How will Ford be restructured? Will it survive as it is now?

Other key directors on Ford's board include the chairperson of HSBC, one of the largest banking and financial services groups with over 9,500 offices in 76 countries, and the retired CEO of KPMG, a worldwide accounting group operating in 144 countries.

Scratch the list of directors who run the boards at GM, Chrysler or any other giant corporation and you'll find it's only the names and the particular financial connections that change. The banks rule.

The Ford board has at its disposal a cash reserve of over \$20 billion. GM and Chrysler hoard billions while autoworkers are forced into inhuman speedups leading to dangerous working conditions. Plant closings that eliminate tens of thousands of jobs are destroying a working class culture unique to autoworkers that is over a century old. The fabric of their lives, families, loved ones and communities is being torn up.

It doesn't have to be. Autoworkers have a history of class struggle etched in their culture. Labor on the production line is reflected in their language and stories. They are the inheritors of the sacrifices and heroism of their ancestors.

There have been many downturns in the lives of autoworkers. During periods of crisis, new leaders sprang up from the ranks. At this moment in history they face another great challenge.

A job is a property right

Will private ownership of the plants, the machinery and the new technology by a few tyrants trump the labor power of autoworkers who built the plants and created the wealth?

It was the many who rose up and seized the GM plants in the mid 1930s. It was the many who defied Henry Ford, great grandfather of William Ford Jr., who swore that

Continued on page 5

Chrysler workers brace for layoffs

By Martha Grevatt
Cleveland

Few Chrysler workers will be going on a spending spree with their new raises. With the auto giant having just announced across-the-board production cuts, most of us will want to save as much as possible.

The layoffs have already begun, with most plants planning several weeks of shutdown and/or reducing the number of shifts. Nothing has been specifically stated yet, but it is likely some closings will be announced between now and the expiration of the national contract this time next year.

All the Big Three automakers say they need to extract sacrifices to remain competitive. If they were really determined to compete aggressively, why would they be slashing production, thus voluntarily ceding market share to their overseas competitors?

They seem less interested in regaining market share than in extracting a greater share of surplus value from the workers and emerging from temporary financial losses a leaner, meaner profit machine.

Last year hourly workers at General Motors voted to forego a dollar per hour of their negotiated wage increase. The top leadership of the United Auto Workers pushed this concession as a way for the financially troubled GM to fund retiree health care costs, even though an \$800 increase in retiree health insurance premiums was also part of the package.

The cuts were ratified, but over 40 percent voted for rejection. The same proposal passed at Ford, but by fewer than a hundred votes. Many locals called for a recount, but that request was denied.

Since then, Chrysler workers represented by the UAW have been wondering when they, too, would be asked to take a

pay cut. The Chrysler Group of DaimlerChrysler has shown a profit for 12 consecutive quarters, but claims it needs concessions "to be competitive."

Local union leaders who comprise the Chrysler Sub-Council were set to vote on the issue at a meeting Sept. 9. A vote of the entire membership was to follow if the Sub-Council voted in favor of a cut. Talking to co-workers, this writer's sense was that the givebacks would suffer a resounding defeat, and might not even pass the leadership vote.

Then, on Sept. 8, while speaking at the Detroit Economic Club (what was a union leader even doing mingling with such thieves?), UAW President Ron Gettelfinger cited Chrysler's financial health and proclaimed there would be no vote.

That should have been the position all along.

Worker productivity has risen 24 percent in the past four years, a fact stated by none other than Chrysler CEO Tom LaSorda himself in an August letter to all employees. Canceling negotiated raises would leave Chrysler workers with a pay increase of less than 2 percent for the same period.

It's just another proof of Workers World's front-page headline of two weeks ago: "Productivity soars, incomes drop." While workers turn out more products than ever, they are earning less and less.

Any rejection of this theft is a step in the right direction. Now workers at Chrysler's Ohio Stamping Plant, relieved to be receiving a well-earned raise later this month, are speculating as to what the thieves will be trying to steal when the national contract expires next year.

Martha Grevatt is an elected trustee of UAW Local 122.



Several hundred UNITE HERE! Local 2 hotel workers picketed all day and early evening on Sept. 7 at the entrances of the upscale Westin St. Francis hotel on Union Square in downtown San Francisco. The workers, many of them Asian, Black and Latin@, have been working without a contract for over two years now. Over a dozen "Class A" hotels, managed by the San Francisco Multi-Employer Group, locked out the workers for just under two months in 2004. Since then the union has urged a boycott of these hotels. The Local 2 workers recently voted 93 percent to authorize a strike if current negotiations fail to produce a fair contract. Major issues include affordable healthcare benefits, subcontracting jobs and very serious workload problems. For more information: www.hotelworkersrising.org.

—Report and photo by Joan Marquardt

Chain stores, mayor conspire to veto living wage

By Lou Paulsen
Chicago

On July 26 the Chicago City Council voted 35 to 14 to require a living wage and health benefits for workers at large “big box” chain stores like Target and Wal-Mart.

This was a big victory for the coalition of unions and community groups that campaigned for the bill for two years, and for the people of Chicago. In a poll taken in June, 84 percent of Chicago voters—and 90 percent of Black and Latin@ people—supported the bill.

The retail industry, however, has been pushing for a “do-over” ever since, and this week they got what they paid for. On Sept. 11, Democratic mayor Richard Daley Jr. vetoed the “big box” ordinance.

Two days later, a 31 to 18 majority voted to override the veto, but it would have taken at least 33 votes to be successful. This failure to override Daley resulted in three council members switching sides under a barrage of economic and political intimidation. One council member was not present during this vote.

The Target and Wal-Mart chains had both announced they were stopping construction projects in the poorest areas of the city until the vote was overturned. Hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans received phone calls warning that the ordinance spelled “economic ruin” for the oppressed communities.

Daley, one of the most influential U.S. politicians, could in theory have condemned this economic extortion and interference in the democratic process by the giant retail chains. Instead, he acted as the commander of their political forces.

Daley supporters in the Black community—some politicians, developers and ministers—participated in the anti-ordinance campaign. The Woodlawn Organization, once an activist group but now a real estate developer and Daley ally which has been criticized for its collaboration with gentrification plans of the University of Chicago, organized against the ordinance.

A full-page ad in the Sept. 8 Chicago Defender newspaper, signed by 126 Black ministers and “with financial support from the Illinois Retail Merchants Association,”

“implored” Daley to veto the ordinance.

On Sept. 12, surrounded by Black supporters assembled by the Woodlawn Organization, Daley charged that the living wage ordinance was a “racist” conspiracy by white-led unions for the purpose of stopping development in the Black community, while allowing “big box” development to go on unimpeded in white suburban areas.

Daley went on to say, “Not one person objected to any type of store in the suburban area. Only on the West Side. Only on the South Side. When we talk about economic development in the Black community, [they say] there’s something wrong there. [They say] development belongs in the suburban area.”

But in fact, the movement for a living wage at “big box” stores to be built in the Black community came largely from within that community.

Black organizers like Rev. Robin Hood and UFCW member Toni Foulkes, both of ACORN, and Elce Redmond of the South Austin Coalition Community Council, had been organizing support for the ordinance.

“Some people say any job is better than no job. But slavery was full employment,” Redmond told the Chicago Tribune. Alderman Ed Smith told the Sun-Times, “We want the companies, but we want them to come in with integrity and dignity. Companies ought to be able to pay people a decent wage for the work they do.”

Daley’s self-appointed role as defender of the Black community against racism must have seemed bizarre and insulting to those organizing to protest his role in covering up the police torture of African-American prisoners, or who saw how his white cronies raked in city

contracts by establishing fake “minority-owned” businesses.

Black councilmember Shirley Coleman, who voted for the ordinance in July, said she switched her vote because Wal-Mart promised her it would build a store in her ward. But after the vote, David Tovar of Wal-Mart said, “We haven’t made any commitments to anyone.”

Even under intense pressure, nine out of the 17 Black council members and five out of seven Latin@s voted to overturn Daley’s veto. Other Black leaders supporting the progressive ordinance included Congress members Danny Davis and Jesse Jackson Jr. and mayoral candidate Bill “Dock” Walls.

“It was a fight Wal-Mart needed to win,” said a report in the Chicago Tribune’s business section, because it is fighting to expand into Chicago and other northern cities, and it wants to expand on its own terms.

Analysis had shown that the stores could have easily paid the additional wages and benefits, amounting to 2 cents on a dollar on sales at most. Their threats to pull out of Chicago were entirely political in nature.

Wal-Mart set back the momentum of the living wage movement nationally to show that it can force politicians to guarantee cheap labor, cheap land, rezoning and huge tax breaks. Corporate interests financed this anti-ordinance campaign in order to pit the oppressed communities against organized labor.

However, the battle is not over. Living wage supporters have introduced a bill calling for an advisory referendum on the issue during city elections in February 2007. □

Glaxo profits while people with HIV die

By Gerry Scoppettuolo

On Sept. 11 the U.S. media quietly released the news—totally obscured by 9/11 anniversary coverage—that the federal Internal Revenue Service had just levied a \$3.4 billion fine, the largest in U.S. history, against drug giant GlaxoSmith-Kline. GSK is the biggest manufacturer of HIV medications on the planet.

The fine on Glaxo was actually a victory for the pharmaceutical company. The \$3.4 billion was what the IRS settled for—60 percent of the \$6 billion the IRS said GSK underpaid in taxes from 1989 to 2005. Since corporations are taxed at a statutory 32 percent rate, the \$6 billion represents a fraction of Glaxo’s profits during the period in question. In the “you can tell me that, but I’ll never believe it” department, GSK agreed to drop its claim for a \$1.8 billion rebate from the IRS as part of the settlement offer. (Wall Street Journal, Sept. 11)

Shares of Glaxo stock rose 23 cents the afternoon the IRS announced the settlement. Investors were doubtless elated to learn from that day’s GSK press release that the company had well over \$4 billion in reserve to deal with such untidy matters.

The company’s bottom line and its

shareholders’ wallets have been fattened by the exorbitant profits to be made in pharmaceuticals—especially HIV antiviral drugs that GSK produces, like Combivir, Epivir and Ziagen.

Since 1987, Glaxo has made sky-high profits from the sales of the first FDA-approved AIDS drug, AZT. Government-financed National Institute of Health research at the University of Michigan in the 1960s made the development of AZT possible. Granted an exclusive patent by NIH, the school then licensed the drug to GSK, at that time known as Burroughs Wellcome. (“The Truth About Drug Companies,” Marcia Angell, Scribner Press, 2005)

Working people paid through their taxes for the development of AZT—while people with HIV paid upwards of \$15,000 to \$20,000 a year for the drug in the 1980s when AZT was thought to have life-saving properties.

In order to continue reaping mammoth profits, Glaxo spent millions to block the distribution and manufacture of generic versions of its drugs, from Ghana to Canada. The number of lives lost by this intentional withholding of life-saving drugs could easily run into the millions—a true crime against humanity.

The \$6 billion that GSK allegedly evaded in taxes is more than the sum of the last 10 years’ HIV prevention budget in the U.S. That money might have prevented thousands of new infections in the U.S. and seriously limited the epidemic’s expansion.

Glaxo’s willingness to sacrifice human lives to gain obscene profits makes it clear that the global HIV pandemic cannot be curtailed under the rule of capitalism. Good health for the poor and Wall Street greed are irreconcilable and always will be.

Only a socialist public health program, such as exists in Cuba, can offer a thorough solution for HIV prevention and care. When all industry, including the production of life-saving pharmaceuticals, is owned and controlled by the working class instead of by individual capitalists, the needed resources can easily be allocated to alleviate suffering, including from preventable diseases like HIV-AIDS. □

Ohio in poverty

AFL-CIO gets wage hike on ballot

By Martha Grevatt
Cleveland

Ohio Secretary of State Kenneth Blackwell ruled on Sept. 6 that an initiative the Ohio AFL-CIO proposed to raise the state minimum wage qualified to be on the ballot this coming November.

From Cleveland in its northeast to Cincinnati in its southwest, Ohio has suffered from economic restructuring going back to the 1980s. Closing after closing in auto, steel and related industries gave the rust belt its name. One can barely recall the time when the Great Lakes industrial region was called the “steel belt.”

As a direct consequence of the restructuring, in 2004 Cleveland was named the poorest city in the U.S. Data from 2005 showed other cities to be poorer, but the latest economic figures put this rust-belt city on the bottom again. This time Cleveland is joined by Cincinnati as among the 10 poorest cities in the country.

Ohio has one of the highest state unemployment rates, but that alone does not explain the high poverty rate. More and more workers, especially young workers, have joined the ranks of the so-called working poor. In a Cleveland neighborhood formerly dominated by steel mills, a new shopping complex is opening with the sickening name, “Steelyard Commons.” Its major draw is Wal-Mart.

Even a modest increase in the minimum wage would help ease the pain of Ohio’s lowest-paid workers. In the fall of 2005 the Ohio AFL-CIO launched a heroic effort to obtain the 350,000-plus signatures required to put this needed increase, from \$5.15 to a mere \$6.85 an hour, on the November 2006 ballot.

This was no small achievement. With signatures typically disqualified on the most insignificant technicalities, unions and their community allies had to collect over 750,000 names. Petitions had to have a percentage of signatures from at least 44 of Ohio’s 88 counties, many of which are sparsely populated.

The only place to petition in many areas might be a supermarket or Wal-Mart where, if spotted, a petitioner could be asked to leave. The excessive requirements forced the labor movement to hire a number of paid petitioners at a tremendous cost.

In an attempt to defeat the initiative, business interests have formed “Ohioans to Protect Personal Privacy.” Their attempt to defeat it claims poor wording, burdensome record-keeping, and the false allegation that it would let anyone see an employee’s payroll record. While the business group may be well funded, the latest statistics on poverty undermine its arguments against raising the minimum wage for the first time in nine years. □

Continued from page 4

only over his dead body would a union be recognized. It was the many who by their actions proved they had a property right to their jobs, which was briefly upheld by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins during the Roosevelt administration.

It will take a bold and creative strategy to resist the plans of the Big Three automotive giants, who are determined to shut down dozens of plants.

Over 70 years ago, the ancestors of today’s autoworkers had a similar challenge. The issue was whether property rights and profits should prevail over human rights and job rights. The workers made the right decision. They seized the plants. The culture of industrial unionism and the defense of workers’ rights survived. Can this generation rise to the challenge? □

Why virulent militarists are debating torture

By Fred Goldstein

Two opposing camps of murderous aggressors in the U.S. capitalist establishment are having a fierce argument over President George W. Bush's proposals to both legalize torture and kangaroo military courts and overturn rules of evidence.

Three pro-Pentagon Republican leaders in the Senate—John Warner of Virginia, John McCain of Arizona and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina—along with significant sections of the U.S. military are engaged in a bitter conflict with the administration over whether the U.S. government should revise its obligations under the Geneva Convention to allow torture by the CIA, to deny the right of detainees to see evidence against them, and to establish secret military tribunals, among other things.

Civil liberties groups and humanitarian organizations have rightfully long opposed Bush's drive to alter the U.S. government interpretation of the Geneva Convention and the U.S. War Crimes Act to allow torture and deprive captives of the U.S. military of their basic legal rights. Progressive voices have been raised everywhere against this new push by the Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld group.

CCR legal victories

The Center for Constitutional Rights fought long and hard in civilian courts to defend the rights of detainees at Guantanamo, challenging the legality of their detention (*Rasul v. Bush*) and demanding that the Geneva Convention be held applicable to prisoners taken as so-called "enemy combatants" by the U.S. military (*Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*). Both these legal victories were won at the Supreme Court level after several years of arduous legal struggle at the federal district and appeals court levels.

The political background to these legal victories is the deteriorating military and political situation for Washington in Iraq and Afghanistan and the rise of the worldwide anti-war movement. Along with the persistent growth of the resistance in Iraq came the exposure of U.S. military torture at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq and at Baghram Air Force Base in Afghanistan. There was also a growing world scandal over the U.S. torture of prisoners, illegal military tribunals and indefinite detention with no recourse at Guantanamo.

But this contention between two militarist factions of the ruling class in the present Senate debate is not over concern about torture or human rights as a matter of principle. The struggle is really over how best to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism. While the Bush proposals are more reactionary than the alternate proposals by the three senators, the Warner/McCain/Graham bill is said to have many dangerous concessions, even before any compromise is worked out with Bush.

The Supreme Court had ruled that the Geneva Convention barring torture applies to prisoners of an agency of the U.S. government. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney are trying to reverse this ruling and the one on the right of defendants to see evidence against them.

Bush wants to reinterpret the Geneva convention so that only "extreme viola-

tions" of the convention would be illegal. This wording would allow practices that the CIA has been using and that Bush wants them to be able to keep. Examples are: keeping prisoners naked in a "cold room" at 50 degrees and dousing them with cold water; having them stand in extreme stress positions for up to 40 hours; subjecting them to ear-splitting noise; prolonged sleep deprivation, and other measures that cause both physical agony and mental duress.

McCain, Warner and Graham won a battle against Bush and Cheney last year when legislation was passed in Congress declaring that the language of Common Article 3 of the convention outlawing "cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment" of prisoners in U.S. custody has the force of law. As the crisis in Iraq and Afghanistan gets deeper and the elections approach, Bush and Cheney are reviving the debate.

Senators speak for military

All three senators who oppose Bush have been staunch supporters of the war and occupation of Iraq.

McCain, who is known mostly as a prisoner of war during the Vietnam War, is more than just an Air Force pilot. He is the son of Adm. John McCain, commander of the Pacific Fleet during the Vietnam era.

Graham is a former military lawyer with deep connections to the Pentagon brass.

The New York Times of Sept. 20 wrote of Warner: "With a long history of ties to the military, Mr. Warner, 79, has a reputation as an accurate gauge to views that senior officers are reluctant to express in public."

"Mr. Warner," continued the Times, "like his two colleagues, has a network of high-ranking current and retired military officers who provide regular guidance and support. While he has been consulting them privately, some of them are expected to weigh in publicly in the days ahead."

Indeed, two former heads of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, generals Colin Powell and John W. Vessey, have written letters opposing the Bush proposals.

In a letter to McCain, Powell wrote that "the

world is beginning to doubt the moral basis of our fight against terrorism." He followed that up with an interview published in the Washington Post of Sept. 19, in which he said that "If you just look at how we are perceived in the world and the kind of criticism we have taken over Guantanamo, Abu Ghraib and renditions, whether we believe it or not, people are now starting to question whether we're following our own high standards."

Warner expressed similar thoughts, according to the New York Times of Sept. 17. The struggle was about more than a few prisoners at Guantanamo, he said. "It's about how America's to be perceived in the world, how we're going to win the war on terror."

Twenty-five generals and admirals sent a public letter to the Senate Armed Services Committee expressing similar fears.

The chief lawyers from all four branches of the military, under extreme

pressure, signed a grudging letter of partial approval of the Bush proposal, but each expressed disagreement in different ways.

Why the military is fearful

What comes across in this struggle is that major sections of the military, whose responsibility is to carry out the wars of U.S. imperialism, are fearful that if the U.S. government openly becomes the first imperialist power in 60 years to sack the Geneva Convention on torture and other basic legal guarantees, it will further undermine the political position of Washington and make the Pentagon's job of conquest that much more difficult.

Unlike Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld, who are encased in their right-wing bubble in Washington, the generals and admirals face resistance in Iraq and Afghanistan and smoldering rebellion across the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. They are more keenly aware of the contradiction between simultaneously shouting slogans—as Bush just did once again at the United Nations—about "making a war to spread democracy" and at the same time openly advocating the eradication of fundamental legal rights and legalization of the right to torture.

The opposition of sections of the military grows out of the increasing political and military weakness of U.S. imperialism.

This struggle can be viewed as an attempt by a solid section of the ruling class to slow down the rightward trend being pushed by the Bush administration. And it can also be regarded as a second act in the "revolt of the generals" against Rumsfeld, Bush and Cheney. The first act came when half a dozen high-ranking generals, active duty and retired, called for Rumsfeld's resignation earlier this year.

There have been rumblings in the military about needing more troops on the ground in both Iraq and Afghanistan. There is a tone of desperation in recent military assessments of the resistance, the civil conflict, the shortage of forces in Anbar province and Baghdad as well as in Afghanistan. The Bush administration has remained firmly committed to the Rumsfeld doctrine of trying to fight wars with lots of technology but limited forces on the ground.

U.S. record of covert torture

To be sure, this struggle is not about generals and admirals being opposed to torture.

For decades the U.S. military has run the School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Ga. It became so notorious it has been renamed the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation. This school, where thousands of protesters descend every year, has trained generations of torturers for the militaries in Latin America—from Guatemala to Nicaragua to Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil and Chile, among others. The U.S. military also funds brutal death squad torturers and murderers in Colombia.

Washington funds the Israeli military, which has tortured thousands of Palestinian prisoners for two generations. Washington set up the KCIA in South Korea. It operated under the jurisdiction of the U.S. military and routinely carried out torture of people suspected of being sympathetic to the north or to socialism. The U.S. set up the Savak, the Shah of Iran's secret police, which notoriously engaged in torture against the left and the

All progressive forces must continue to carry on a genuine anti-war, anti-imperialist struggle against the Bush administration's torture tactics & kangaroo courts.

Islamic opposition.

And the U.S. military shows no compunction when it comes to slaughtering civilians with the most brutal kinds of weapons—napalm, phosphorous bombs, cluster bombs—all in violation of the laws of war and international convention.

Warner, McCain and Graham speak for this brutal military establishment. As such, it is laughable to think that they are concerned with the fate of the victims of torture. They are primarily concerned with the political and ultimately the military consequences for the empire of a shift from covert support for torture to open, governmental advocacy of it.

The military is still reeling from the Abu Ghraib scandal. Every place they go in Europe and the Middle East, they are grilled about the torture chambers at Guantanamo.

While the U.S. high command and diplomatic corps have worked mightily to try to convince the world that the horrors of Abu Ghraib were not U.S. policy, but just "a few bad apples," the chief executive of U.S. imperialism in the White House is struggling to codify torture as official policy!

In addition, the military fears that if Washington sets a legal standard allowing torture and secret military courts, this will invite retaliation against U.S. forces. And there is deep concern that should the Bush proposals go through, this will be prima facie evidence of violations of the Geneva Convention and U.S. officials would be subject worldwide to war crimes charges.

It is said that at the beginning of the Iraqi resistance the higher ranks of the U.S. officer corps were made to watch the film "Battle of Algiers" about the struggle of the Algerian people against French colonialism, which was victorious after eight long years of brutal urban warfare.

The French military became infamous during that war for its torture of prisoners. In spite of the overwhelming military "strength" of the French, the torturers lost. The Algerian masses won. This is what the U.S. military is worried about.

It is important to know that 28 Democratic Party members of the House Armed Services Committee voted with Republicans for the Bush proposal. They were afraid to be called soft on the phony "war on terror." None of them have pointed out that the Warner/McCain/Graham bill would allow as many as 450 prisoners to be permanently detained. It would also make allowances for Bush's "alternative techniques"—including hypothermia, sleep deprivation and threats of violence against detainees and their families. This is the "moderate" bill, before any compromise is negotiated with Bush.

The anti-war movement and all progressive forces must continue to carry on a genuine anti-war, anti-imperialist struggle against the Bush administration's torture tactics and kangaroo courts. Militarist opponents of the legalization of torture will find ways to allow it in secret while opposing it in public for political purposes. There must be an independent struggle and mass mobilization to stop these inhuman violations of the most basic rights. □

THE CUBAN FIVE

Why they're revered as anti-terrorist heroes

By Leslie Feinberg

The State Department lists Cuba as a state that "sponsors terror." But five Cubans are in U.S. jails serving long prison terms because they tried to prevent terrorist attacks against their country.

And at the same time a judge in Texas is preparing to release an admitted terrorist from detention who has a long record of bombings and assassination attempts against Cuba.

The FBI arrested a group of Cubans in Miami in the fall of 1998 on charges of conspiracy to commit espionage. Five refused plea bargains. They are Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, René Gonzáles, Antonio Guerrero and Gerardo Hernández—the Cuban Five.

According to the head of the Cuban Parliament, Ricardo Alarcón, the FBI arrests were in response to a memorandum that his government had presented to the U.S. that July providing documentation about terrorist activities by right-wingers operating out of southern Florida. Instead of stopping the terrorists, the FBI arrested Cubans it thought had been monitoring the right-wing groups and providing information about them to Havana.

New revelations of Miami-based terror attacks on Cuba back up the socialist government's accusations.

Jose Antonio Llama, a former member of the 28-person directorate of the extreme right-wing Cuban American National Foundation (CANF)—which has long been an instrument of U.S. hostility towards socialist Cuba—has admitted that he invested more than \$1.4 million of his own wealth to purchase an arsenal of weapons. (El Nuevo Herald of Miami, June 22)

He bankrolled a plan to attack Havana's Revolution Square during a public gather-

ing and also to assassinate President Fidel Castro during the 1997 Ibero-American Summit on Isla Margarita, Venezuela.

Llama stated that 20 CANF leaders met in the early 1990s to devise the plot and plan recruitment of armed mercenaries. CANF obtained seven boats, a Midnight Express speedboat, 10 ultra-light remote-controlled aircraft, a cargo helicopter and a virtually unlimited supply of explosives.

"We were impatient about the survival of the Castro regime after the demise of the Soviet Union and the socialist system," Antonio Llama told El Nuevo Herald. "We wanted to speed up democratization in Cuba using any means to achieve it." Democratization is a euphemism for capitalist restoration.

Ricardo Alarcón said the Cuban Five had helped foil these planned terrorist attacks by giving Havana a heads-up warning. "They had been trying to locate those planes, weapons and explosives to stop a terrorist attack," he said.

Luis Posada Carriles was arrested and convicted in Panama for his role in an attempted assassination of Castro there. He was later pardoned by Panamanian president Mireya Moscoso, part of the old political establishment that got back in power after the U.S.—with George H.W. Bush at the helm—invaded the country in 1989.

Now Posada Carriles is in an immigration detention center in Texas because he entered the U.S. illegally after leaving Panama. But he may soon be free, if the Justice Department accepts the ruling of a Texas judge.

Lifting the rock on a covert war

The Cuban Five are victims of Washington's relentless campaign to bring about regime change in the socialist Caribbean island.



From the day of their arrest the five were buried alive in prison punishment cells, the infamous "holes." They remained in solitary confinement for 17 months, barred from contact with lawyers and loved ones who could help them prepare their defense before the trial opened on Nov. 27, 2000.

While they awaited trial, fascist exile forces in the Cuban exile community in Miami were creating a political uproar by holding six-year-old Elián González hostage. The child's mother, Elisabeth Brotons, had perished in the Florida Straits trying to reach the U.S. with her son. She and others are the tragic consequences of Washington's "Cuban Adjustment Act"—which creates red tape inhibiting legal entry but gives green cards to Cubans who risk their lives at sea.

Mass demonstrations in Cuba, protests in the U.S. and around the world, and growing mass sympathy in this country for Elián's plight forced the Clinton administration to return the now-motherless child to his father in Cuba.

The Cuban right wing grew more impatient. And soon, the U.S. Attorney General's office was spending some \$20 million to convict the Five.

The Cuban Five trial threatened to lift the rock hiding the CIA's training, funding and sheltering of mercenary "contra" armies on U.S. soil whose purpose was, and is, the dismantling of socialist

construction in Cuba.

For example, Orlando Bosch, who today walks free in Miami, has publicly boasted of his role in the mid-air bombing that killed 73 passengers on Cubana jetliner 455 on Oct. 6, 1976. He spent 11 years in a Venezuelan prison for those murders.

Cuban 5 defendant Fernando González was assigned to follow Bosch's actions in 1994. However, in the trial of the Five, U.S. District Judge Joan Lenard denied a defense request to use information from the Justice Department about acts of terror by Bosch.

Instead, it was the Five who were portrayed by prosecutors, FBI officials and local authorities as dangerous spies attempting to "destroy the United States," despite there being not one shred of evidence that they had committed any act of espionage against the U.S. government.

The Five were convicted on June 8, 2001, on charges that included "espionage conspiracy," and slapped with sentences ranging from 15 years to two consecutive life terms.

CIA terrorists in the shadows

For almost half a century, since the tillers and toilers of Cuba in 1959 liberated their land, labor and resources using the fulcrum of revolution, U.S. sugar monopolists and organized crime bosses have conspired to return the small country to

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In attack on all workers

Gov't arrests thousands of immigrants

By Heather Cottin
Freeport, N.Y.

After rising up strong in defense of its rights last spring, the immigrant section of the working class is now under strong government attack.

The Department of Homeland Security's Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency says it is picking up 1,000 immigrants per week for deportation. Across the U.S., immigrants are living in fear that a knock at the door can mean imminent arrest and deportation.

Those who return to the U.S. after having been deported face a felony conviction punishable by up to 20 years in prison. ICE calls them "absconders." Some 40 ICE teams across the country are focusing on what one official estimated are 600,000 "absconders" presently in the United States. (Vail Daily News, Sept. 14)

Homeland Security chief Michael Chertoff has ended the policy that released detained undocumented immigrants after setting a court date. The insulting name given that policy—"catch and release"—likened the arrests of these workers to sport fishing. But now the policy is even worse. Chertoff has ordered that anyone caught crossing the border be immediately arrested and deported.

Over the Labor Day weekend, agents converged on immigrant workers' homes in Stillmore, Ga., with guns and bullet-proof vests. Since Sept. 1, ICE has arrested 120 Mexican immigrants in Stillmore. During one of the raids, Rosa Lopez, the mother of a two-year-old, left her son with neighbor and friend Julie Rodas. With tears running down her cheeks, she asked Rodas to "please take care of my son because I have no money, no way of paying rent." ("Immigration raid makes a ghost town," Associated Press, Sept. 16)

Reaction to the raids in Stillmore has been angry. David Robinson, the owner of a trailer park where the Mexican immigrants lived, said, "These people might not have American rights, but they've damn sure got human rights. There ain't no reason to treat them like animals." He hung a U.S. flag upside down in protest.

"This reminds me of what I read about Nazi Germany, the Gestapo coming in and yanking people up," said Stillmore mayor Marilyn Slater.

At a construction company in Alpharetta, Ga., 30 immigrants were arrested right at their workplace. (Gainesville Times, Sept. 15) ICE officials brag that Atlanta-based field agents incarcerated or deported 4,216 immigrants in 2005.

But Georgia is not the only place where

ICE raids have meant to terrorize the local population. In Bradenton, Fla., during a raid on a nightclub, ICE agents arrested 27 immigrants. (Bradenton Herald, Sept. 16).

In Tallahassee, ICE arrested 55 workers at General Building Maintenance, Inc., a janitorial services company contracted by the state of Florida. It deported 21 of them. (Tallahassee Democrat, Sept. 16) Six others were arrested at another work site.

In Miami-Dade County, ICE officials arrested 15 Mexican and Guatemalan men working in construction. (Miami Herald, Sept. 17)

In West Michigan, 55 undocumented immigrants were deported as part of the Department of Homeland Security's racist "Return to Sender" operation, which has arrested 2,179 people in Ohio and Michigan since June. (Grand Rapids Press, Sept. 16)

In the Western Slope region of the Colorado Rockies, ICE reported it had arrested 34 immigrants from Mexico, El Salvador and Honduras. "Taking fugitive aliens off our streets is a top ICE priority," said Douglas Maurer, head of ICE's Office of Detention and Removal Operations in Denver. (Rocky Mountain News, Sept. 13)

In California, ICE arrested 107 undocumented people in Santa Cruz, Watsonville and Hollister. But some 50 community members then participated in a pub-

lic denunciation of the sweeps at Resurrection Catholic Community in Aptos, and the community scheduled a meeting to denounce the crackdown. (Santa Cruz Sentinel, Sept. 17)

In August, in the five-state area that includes Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and Tennessee, ICE deported 875 undocumented immigrants. (Louisiana Weekly, Sept. 18)

These Gestapo-type raids undermine the rights of all workers. In some communities, resistance has already started.

On Long Island, N.Y., for example, ICE targeted the villages of Brentwood, Hempstead and Freeport, picking up 35 workers, most of whom were merely passing by during ICE raids. The newly formed Long Island Coalition for Immigrant Rights is organizing a rally and protest in Freeport for Sept. 25, urging the Village Board to make Freeport a sanctuary for immigrants.

Immigrant Solidarity Network activist Ceci Wheeler in Pittsburgh organized mass actions against the anti-immigrant mayor of Hazelton, Pa. Urging nationwide vigils and rallies against the ICE raids, she said, "The bad news is the detentions [and] deportations. The good news is that our movement is large and we can communicate faster than a decade ago." □

Eyewitness Lebanon

Hezbollah helps mend divisions

By Sara Flounders

Flounders was part of a fact-finding delegation to Lebanon, organized by the Campaign for Accountability, from Sept. 11-17.

Traveling throughout war-torn Lebanon, we realized it is impossible to understand the historic accomplishment of the resistance or the vast reconstruction underway without understanding the role of Hezbollah in Lebanese society. Everyone we met wanted to discuss this one topic.

Lebanon is a complex multi-ethnic, multi-religious country. Under French colonial rule, the entire state structure of Lebanon was rigidly divided into religious groupings. There was no civil society and social services in Lebanon were organized by the different religions.

Even today, access to schools, health services, jobs, small business loans and marriage is strictly based on religious affiliation. The same is true for voting and representation in government—whether Sunni or Shi'a, Muslim or Maronite, Catholic, Orthodox Christian, Druze or numerous sub-groupings. Each grouping has its own political parties and its own militias.

This archaic structure was organized to keep the groups endlessly competing and warring with each other. In order to keep it in place, there has been no census or count of the population in 75 years. Every struggle for change in Lebanon has come up against this divisive structure.

By seeking to unite the whole population to resist the continuing invasions and occupations coming from Israel, Hezbollah, which is based in the Shi'a Muslim population, has had a profound impact on all the sects in Lebanon.

In meetings with countless individuals and organizations all across Lebanon, we heard again and again the strongest defense and support of Hezbollah as the one organization that did what no other organization in Lebanese history has been able to accomplish: they defeated an Israeli invasion.

Hezbollah's support has grown since the war because it is also leading the reconstruction. The weak Lebanese government has been unable to take any steps to reorganize or provide relief. It is still "studying" the situation.

According to villagers we spoke to at every stop, the only force involved in extensive cleanup and reconstruction is Hezbollah.

But what has won the deepest support is Hezbollah's long-held position to never use its arms against any political or reli-

Bint Jbeil in southern Lebanon after Israeli assault.

PHOTO: MAY ABOUD

gious group within Lebanon. Even in past provocations, when other militias or groups fired on Hezbollah assemblies and demonstrations, it has refused to retaliate. Each time it has stated that its arms will only be used against outside intervention.

Hezbollah also set up a wide network of social services and healthcare that distinguishes it both for the quality of care and the fact that it is open and accessible to all. Many people not linked to Hezbollah told us that this is what gave them confidence in the organization.

Learning from past mistakes

In Amman, Jordan, we had an opportunity to meet with Leila Khalid, a Marxist and heroic Palestinian leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. She was in Lebanon during the invasion.

She explained that Hezbollah has learned from and benefited from the lessons of past mistakes by the Palestinian and Lebanese resistance. It has the willingness to sacrifice and the confidence of the population. She said that Hezbollah knows its enemy and follows every Israeli development. The Israelis, however, entered the war having little intelligence on Hezbollah and were unable to penetrate its organization.

Hezbollah's victory prevented both Israel and the U.S. from realizing their strategic goals for the region.

In Beirut we visited the totally bombed and devastated neighborhood in the south of the city called Dahiyeh. We observed the enormous clearing and reconstruction operation that Hezbollah has organized block by block. Hundreds of dump trucks, tractors and earthmovers were involved in clearing rubble.

Dr. Mufid Kuteish of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Lebanon explained to us the steps made by the U.S. in preparing for war in Lebanon, the danger of wider war and Washington's efforts, especially since the invasion of Iraq, to reshape Lebanon.



When Israel's invasion started, Hezbollah led the national resistance. The Lebanese CP declared a full mobilization of its party to aid Hezbollah in the political movement, in the defense of the south and in internal operations to aid the million refugees who fled Israeli bombing.

Dr. Kuteish traced the history of the Arab Nationalist movement in Lebanon that had been so harshly attacked by the U.S. and Israel. He also described the left secular movement that had been repressed and then was confronted with the loss of the Soviet Union and many socialist countries.

He explained that now Hezbollah, a religious grouping, has undertaken the tasks of uniting the national movement and liberating the land. If Hezbollah had been defeated by the Israeli invasion, he concluded, it would have been a defeat for all the resistance.

Hezbollah is a problem to the U.S. not because it is a religious group—the U.S. helps divide Lebanon according to religion and helped arm other religious groups—but because Hezbollah is a national resistance organization.

The impact of solidarity

We visited the southern part of Lebanon, where the full fury of Israeli bombardment was felt, and had the opportunity for many discussions amid the ruins.

One local organizer explained that the relations among the different sects in Lebanon was a historic problem, and that outside pressures had been consciously used to enflame civil wars. Zionism was planted in the region by imperialism in order to divide and instill conflict. The coming of Hezbollah had for the first time stabilized the situation in Lebanon and transformed the conflict from an internal conflict to a united conflict against Zionism and foreign intervention. Now the various sects were knitting back together.

Many we spoke to described how in this invasion, for the first time, other sects welcomed Shi'a refugees into their homes. In past wars, each sect looked after only its own grouping.

The day after the ceasefire went into effect, almost a million people responded to Hezbollah's call to return to their homes and rebuild. This was often cited as an example of the people's confidence in the resistance movement to help solve their enormous reconstruction problems. Hezbollah immediately offered to pay \$10,000 to every family whose home was destroyed, not just to people in their Shi'a base.

The caretaker at an Orthodox church in Marjayoun described how Hezbollah had provided the same funds for rebuilding that village's homes, saying this surprised

him because past hostilities ran deep. During the 1982 to 2000 Israeli occupation, Israeli collaborators were based in the Christian communities.

He described how as Christians took refuge in his church, he met with Hezbollah leaders and appealed to them not to fire rockets near the church. They told him they were under orders to never fire near any Christian or non-Shi'a community.

In Baalbek, the traditional center of the Hezbollah movement and the site of magnificent ruins dating back 3,000 years, official Hezbollah spokesperson Hajj Ahmed Raya told us:

"Hezbollah is a Lebanese party. We are sons of this population. We want our land and we want our prisoners and we want back everything stolen from us.

"This party has not been terrorized by this war. The U.S. and Israel thought that we would have a huge social problem after this war. Our reconstruction has upset them. We are able to solve problems that big nations have not solved. To this day the U.S. lives with the problems of Katrina.

"What distinguishes us is the variety of cultures here. This creates a nation in contact with all of the world. Israel, based on Zionism, is increasingly isolated and has nothing to offer—just war. They entered Lebanon to defeat Hezbollah. But now the flag of Israel is being burned everywhere.

"Hezbollah is not a military organization; it is a society. So it is impossible to dismantle it. We are an example to other peoples of the world. We will continue to fight the American Project. Justice is on our side."

The view that this was a U.S. war, although carried out by the Israelis, was also raised to us in almost every discussion. This was reinforced by billboard-sized signs in front of bombed sites throughout the country that read, "Made in USA."

Another local organizer said to us that Hezbollah does not view itself as a replacement for the state, and that the Lebanese state should be responsible for rebuilding the roads, bridges and homes. However, since the government was nowhere to be found and because people had immediate needs, they had stepped in.

He described how rebuilding was based on mobilizing popular pressure. "In this town we have two wealthy families; we also have two bombed bridges. We sent a delegation of town families, we appealed to their patriotism and our needs. One family will repair one bridge; the other family will pay to repair the other bridge."

As we parted he said, "A single human can do nothing. Collectively we can make a great change. We look to a future without borders. We look for real peace." □



WWW.PHOTO: LEILANI DOWELL

Solidarity with those on Bush hit list

Non-aligned meeting rejects imperialist threats

By Berta Joubert-Ceci

The 14th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was held in Havana, Cuba, from Sept. 11 to 16 in a climate of ominous threats from the U.S. imperialist colossus—particularly against the movement's member states of Cuba, Iran, Sudan and Venezuela.

May Abboudnations reaffirmed its solidarity with the Palestinian people, supported Iran's contention that all countries have the right to develop and use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and urged solidarity among member countries to better respond to global threats and challenges.

While the U.S. government was sending its officials around the world trying to rally allies in order to give a veneer of legitimacy to its threats and interventionist actions, 57 heads of state and 90 foreign ministers were in Havana for the meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Revolutionary socialist Cuba had been selected to host the meeting. According to NAM rules, the host nation is also the chair of the NAM for the next three years, putting President Fidel Castro in that position of honor for the second time.

In a speech to the NAM Summit on Sept. 15, Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez eloquently put in perspective the path that NAM has taken during the last two decades.

He brought to memory the earlier role of NAM in the creation of an important South Commission in 1986 that would analyze the common problems of the countries of the South and draw conclusions and lessons in the interest of the organization's members. But after the completion of the report based on the work of that commission, nothing was put into effect.

Chávez explained: "The Third World experienced what we could call the illusion of economic growth, the illusion that economic growth would bring development." But then came "the disorder of the economic model, the crisis of the 1980s, foreign debt and recession.

"At the same time the report was presented, the Soviet Union fell, contributing

to a greater world destabilization. The U.S., its allies and world capitalism then rose up to sing of victory."

Chávez concluded, "This is when they unleashed, against the people not only of Latin America but also of Africa, Asia and Oceania, the neoliberal proposal. The so-called Washington Consensus, structural adjustment packages, privatization, the reduction of state, the elimination of planning."

'New NAM'— Cuba's moral leadership

This situation is precisely what Cuba intends to rectify. Cuba has a wealth of experience in dealing with the most adverse situations—including a criminal blockade imposed by the U.S. for over 45 years. Cuba's role in the international community in providing health care, medicines, education and technical expertise makes this revolutionary nation a bastion of dignity. Generally, it takes nothing in return and is respected worldwide.

Cuba, as small as it is and as poor as it is, is a real world power of morality and generosity.

In the summit's opening, Cuban Vice President Carlos Lage summed up Cuba's expectations for this summit: "Our movement is essential to the quest for a new system of international relations. We do not align ourselves to wars, to terrorism, to injustice, to inequality, to double standards. We align ourselves to peace and to justice. We must fight for a world in which aggression and occupation by any country in search of material or geopolitical gains is unthinkable, in which acts of aggression of the kind the Lebanese people endure today or the atrocities committed by Israel in Palestine are not permitted."

These ideas were behind the 90-page final document adopted by the NAM heads of state.

In the closing ceremony, underscoring the success of the conference in such a trying period and with so many diverse countries, Cuban Acting-President Raul Castro said, "The fact that an atmosphere of understanding prevailed during this Summit and that we were able to reach solid consensus, even in the most com-

plex issues, clearly shows that we have decided to give priority to that which unites us, in order to face, together, the effects of the economic and political order imposed upon us by the powerful, an order which is not only profoundly unfair but also unsustainable."

Cuban Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, due to his recent abdominal surgery, had to remain in his convalescent room. But he was not left out of the Summit. He was the most "absentee-present" figure there, following the debates closely and meeting separately with many people, including United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, Bolivian President Evo Morales and Chávez.

Argentinean writer and government representative Miguel Bonasso also met with and interviewed Castro twice, at the Cuban leader's request. Argentina had left NAM in 1991 under the presidency of Carlos Menem due to his U.S. ties. But current President Nestor Kirchner requested that Argentina participate in the Cuban Summit. Bonasso was part of that delegation.

Underscoring the interest in Fidel Castro by international media, foreign dignitaries and the Cuban people, Bonasso writes: "I've spent the last two days giving interviews about the interview [with Castro] and receiving greetings and inquiries from hundreds of delegates at the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement.

"Princes with turbans, presidents from three continents, ministers, ambassadors of the Third and First World have all asked me about Fidel's health. Also many humble and anonymous Cubans—like those who open a door or bring you a mojito—have asked me with watery eyes and emotion: 'Did the commander really look well? Does he stand up without help? Does he walk? Has he regained some weight?'"

NAM's background

The NAM is composed of 118 developing nations. Haiti and Saint Kitts-Nevis just joined during this summit.

It was founded in 1961, with 25 countries represented, at the height of the Cold War. At its first Summit Conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, the central principle was to be independence and neutrality

from the military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Cuba, showing even in its earliest revolutionary days its commitment to international solidarity, was the only nation present from Latin America and the Caribbean at the Belgrade Summit.

At a preparatory meeting held in Cairo three months earlier, the criteria for membership were adopted. The main points were for a principle of independent policy and non-alignment; support for Movements of National Independence; and non-membership in any military alliance. (nam.gov.za)

However, the history of the NAM dates back to post-war 1955 when the famous Asia-Africa Conference was held in Bandung, Indonesia. "The meeting was convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, and brought together leaders of 29 states, mostly former colonies, from the two continents of Africa and Asia, to discuss common concerns and to develop joint policies in international relations." (nam.gov.za)

That conference was led by Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Indonesian President Sukarno and Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

In spite of its neutrality from both military blocs, one thing is very clear: Since its inception this entity had as its most crucial purpose an anti-imperialist pursuit. As the NAM website reads, "At the meeting, Third World leaders shared their similar problems of resisting the pressures of the major powers, maintaining their independence and opposing colonialism and neocolonialism, especially Western domination."

Now the NAM, according to an article in Gambia's Daily Observer on Sept. 13 entitled "Cuba Summit: Crucial for Non-Aligned Movement," is comprised of 53 African countries, 38 from Asia, 24 from Latin America and the Caribbean, and one from Europe, which is Belarus.

According to official data, these countries together possess 51 percent of the world's population, 53 percent of its coasts, 44 percent of its forests, 45 percent of its arable land and 86 percent of its reserves. □

Mexican masses call for parallel government

Continued from page 1

Fox of the PAN was forced to commemorate Sept. 16—Mexico's independence day from Spain—miles away from Mexico City, as a result of the mass takeover at the Zócalo.

Earlier in September, legislators from the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD)—an opposition party and supporter of López Obrador—were also able to disrupt the government in a significant show of power. PRD legislators blocked the podium where Fox was to give his final state-of-the-union address. He was forced to retreat and give his speech on television later that night.

Call for a parallel government

Despite the fact that the encampment at the Zócalo had been dismantled, the tensions have "no apparent reconciliation in sight." (Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 18)

This is due to the movement's new phase of the struggle.

López Obrador and the movement he is leading are clearly not going away. The encampment may be dismantled now, after seven weeks of what amounts to a massive sit-in, but the movement is not dismantled.

For over a month, after massive July and August demonstrations of millions of Mexicans, the encampment held steady.

Then, on Sept. 16, the encampment culminated in a massive National Democratic Convention.

Over 1 million people attended this convention, reported La Jornada. They filled not just the huge square but the streets surrounding it. They voted with a show of hands to declare López Obrador their president and called on him to form a parallel government. He is to name a cabinet and will be inaugurated Nov. 20, just days before Felipe Calderón's inauguration on Dec. 1.

November 20 is the date Mexico commemorates its 1910 Revolution.

López Obrador said on Sept. 16 that his

parallel government will work on proposals to rewrite Mexico's constitution so that the right to "food, work, health care, education and housing" will be guaranteed. He also says he wants to overhaul corrupt public institutions. (ABC News, Sept. 17)

The coalition that was formed for the presidential election has agreed to continue their alliance through 2009. Their slogan is "For the Good of All, the Poor First."

Reuters reported that delegates at the convention also voted to support a boycott against some of the biggest companies in Mexico, including Wal-Mart, Citigroup and Coca-Cola. A serious boycott of Coca-Cola in Mexico would be good news for Colombian workers, who face a death squad campaign that unionists there charge is protecting Coke's interest. More Coca-Cola is sold in Mexico than in any other country in Latin America.

La Jornada reported on Sept. 17 that the convention also voted to initiate a "Plan of Civil and Peaceful Resistance" against the

electoral fraud, promising to disrupt Calderón when he speaks. Three commissions were formed to carry out the work and plans were made for the convention's second gathering on March 21, 2007.

Surely, the U.S. ruling class is worried about developments in Mexico. Will another Hugo Chávez emerge so close to the U.S. border? Will the conditions be ripe for the Mexican masses to have their second revolution, this time closer to the Cuban model? Only time will tell.

In the meantime, Mexico's current capitalist government is considering breaking diplomatic relations with Venezuela. Why? Because Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez said in Havana on Sept. 18 that his government did not recognize the Calderón victory because of the reported irregularities.

Surely Chávez is not losing sleep over the possibility of a break in relations. He has a good friend in Havana who is much more essential—a friend the Mexican people also hold close to their hearts. □



Solidarity with Philippine movement

Demonstrations across the United States on Sept. 21 will focus a spotlight on the widespread reign of death-squad terror in the Philippines. The protests are called by BAYAN USA and the International League of Peoples Struggle.

BAYAN USA explains in the call for the Sept. 21 actions that the campaign of extra-legal violence—Oplan Bantay Laya—is U.S. instigated, and patterned after the Pentagon's Phoenix Program against the Vietnamese in the 1960s.

Under the Washington-backed regime of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, some 751 people have already been murdered, and more than 180 abducted and presumed dead. The class targets of the military and Klan-like death squads reveals more about the intent of the violence. It's directed at left-wing activists, workers, peasants, Muslims, women, youth, students, teachers, legal workers, grass-roots church people and progressive media. Witnesses to killings have themselves been "disappeared."

In 2003, then-Assistant U.S. Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz

announced that the Philippines was the "Second Front in the war on terror."

Since that time, the economy has continued to disintegrate and state repression and extra-legal violence against the workers and peasants has increased. All who struggle against the bosses, landlords, and the Arroyo regime and call for Pentagon troops out of the Philippines face killings, abductions, disappearances and torture.

Today this state terrorism in the Philippines, BAYAN explains, is "the bitter fruit of such U.S. imperialist policies as 'neoliberal globalization' and 'global war on terror.'"

The group concluded, "We are calling on all justice-loving people and forces of the world to join the international mobilization against the Arroyo regime and its U.S. imperialist master."

"With the solidarity and support of the people of the world, the Filipino people can bring closer the day of reckoning for the entire Arroyo regime."

All out to demonstrate solidarity with the struggling people of the Philippines! □

1970: Youth of color form STAR-Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries

By Leslie Feinberg

Stonewall combatants Sylvia Rivera and Marsha "Pay It No Mind" Johnson—a Latin@ and an African American activist, respectively—took part in the early development of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) in the weeks after the 1969 Stonewall street battles. Both were self-identified drag queens.

While consciousness and attitudes toward transgender and transsexual activists was not uniform in GLF, the lesbian and gay front did not turn away trans people.

The Philadelphia GLF newsletter COME OUT took the following written position in its August 1970 newsletter: "Gay Liberation Front welcomes any gay person, regardless of their sex, race, age or social behavior. Though some other gay organizations may be embarrassed by drags or transvestites, GLF believes that we should accept all of our brothers and sisters unconditionally."

Rivera and Johnson were inspired by their experiences in the early militant gay liberation organizing and protests.

"STAR came about after a sit-in at Weinstein Hall at New York University in 1970," Rivera explained to me, in an interview in 1998, four years before her death. The protest at NYU erupted after the administration cancelled planned dances there, reportedly because a gay organization was sponsoring the events. GLF, Radicalesbians and other activists held a sit-in at Weinstein Hall. They won the right to use the venue.

Rivera and Johnson saw the need to organize homeless trans street youth. Both Rivera and Johnson were themselves homeless and had to hustle on the streets for sustenance and shelter. "Marsha and I just decided it was time to help each other and help our other kids," Rivera stated.

In 1970, the two formed Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR).

"STAR was for the street gay people, the street homeless people, and anybody that needed help at that time," Rivera said. Shelter was a big problem for trans street youth. "Marsha and I had always sneaked people into our hotel rooms. And you can sneak 50 people into two hotel rooms."

The first STAR home was a parked trailer truck in an outdoor parking lot in Greenwich Village. Some two dozen STAR youth lived together in the trailer. One day, at dawn, Rivera and Johnson arrived at the trailer with food for all and discovered to their horror that their "home" was moving. Some 20 youth were still sleeping in the trailer as a trucker was driving it away. Most youth were able to leap out in time. One awoke to find herself en route to California. (Martin Duberman, "Stonewall")

Rivera and Johnson decided that STAR

needed a more permanent home. "Marsha and I decided to get a building," Rivera told me. "We were trying to get away from the Mafia's control at the bars. We got a building at 213 Second Avenue."

Together, they all figured out how to fix the electricity, plumbing and the boiler. They envisioned the top floor as a school to teach the youth, many of whom had been forced to leave home and live on the streets at a very early age, to read and write.

"We fed people and clothed people. We kept the building going. We went out and hustled the streets. We paid the rent. We didn't want the kids out in the streets hustling. They would go out and rip off food. There was always food in the house and everyone had fun. Later we had a chapter in New York, one in Chicago, one in California and England. It lasted for two or three years."

Rivera and STAR also became a part of the Young Lords Party—an organization of revolutionary Puerto Rican youth. Rivera recalled, "[W]hen the Young Lords came about in New York City, I was already in GLF. There was a mass demonstration that started in East Harlem in

the fall of 1970. The protest was against police repression and we decided to join the demonstration with our STAR banner. That was one of the first times the STAR banner was shown in public, where STAR was present as a group.

"I ended up meeting some of the Young Lords that day. I became one of them. Any time they needed any help, I was always there for the Young Lords. It was just the respect they gave us as human beings. They gave us a lot of respect. It was a fabulous feeling for me to be myself—being part of the Young Lords as a drag queen—and my organization [STAR] being part of the Young Lords.

"I met [Black Panther Party leader] Huey Newton at the Peoples' Revolutionary Convention in Philadelphia in 1971. Huey decided we were part of the revolution—that we were revolutionary people."

Rivera stressed, "I was a radical, a revolutionist. I am still a revolutionist. ... I'm glad I was in the Stonewall Riot. I remember when someone threw a Molotov cocktail, I thought, 'My god, the revolution is here. The revolution is finally here!' I always believed that we would have a fightback. I just knew that we would fight back. I just didn't know it would be that night. I am proud of myself as being there that night. If I had lost that moment, I would have been kinda hurt because that's when I saw the world change for me and my people.

"Of course, we still got a long way ahead of us."

Next: Nationally oppressed activists form caucuses, organizations.

Email: lfeinberg@workers.org



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LAVENDER & RED

focuses on the relationship over more than a century between the liberation of oppressed sexualities, genders and sexes, and the communist movement. You can read the entire, ongoing Workers World newspaper series by Leslie Feinberg online at www.workers.org.

Stop and get a subscription while you're there!

Cuban Five revered anti-terrorist heroes

Continued from page 7

the capitalist market. They found willing pawns among exiled Cubans in Miami who fantasized about returning to their mansions on the island.

The CIA trained commandos—including Luis Posada Carriles and the late founder of the Cuban American National Foundation, Jorge Mas Canosa—to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, but they were beaten back by the armed local Cuban population.

Posada and Mas joined the U.S. military and were schooled at Ft. Benning. There, Posada recalled, "The CIA taught us everything, everything; they taught us explosives, how to kill, bomb; trained us in acts of sabotage." (New York Times, July 1998)

Mas Canosa became a feared right-wing political leader in Miami who was feted at the White House by presidents Reagan, Bush and Clinton. He funneled cash to Posada, who ran a terrorist training camp in Florida for the CIA.

Posada boasts that he worked for the U.S. Army in Vietnam, headed the Venezuelan secret police, worked for Lt. Col. Oliver North and oversaw supply operations for the CIA contra army organized to defeat the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

He spent nine years in Venezuelan prisons for having masterminded the 1976 mid-air bombing of the Cuban airliner. Last spring a retired prison guard admitted to the Venezuelan television program En Confianza that the CIA had bribed him and other guards to allow Posada to escape. That was the year that George H.W. Bush, father of the current U.S. president, became head of the CIA.

Venezuela at that time was run by political parties compliant with Washington's foreign policy and Rockefeller oil interests.

Posada admitted to having engineered

a string of bombings of four newly renovated hotels in Havana in 1997—which killed an Italian tourist—at a time when Cuba was trying to build up its tourist industry with some European investment. Salvadoran terrorist Raul Ernesto Cruz Leon, who was convicted of killing the Italian tourist, confessed that CANF paid him \$3,000 for every bomb he planted. (New York Times, July 12, 1997)

The Cuban Five were trying to thwart these terror plots by infiltrating organizations that conspire and train to overthrow the Cuban government—like Alpha 66, Brothers to the Rescue, Comandos F4, Omega 7 and Brigada 2506.

Today Posada is being held in what amounts to protective custody in El Paso, Texas, awaiting possible release, while the Cuban Five have already spent eight years behind bars in five far-flung maximum security penitentiaries across the U.S.

The Five remain resolute, strong and brimming with solidarity. In a recent statement issued from behind prison walls, they demanded justice for the Palestinians, the Lebanese people and all those suffering from imperialist aggression, justice for the people of the U.S. who are suffering crimes committed by their own government, and justice for all immigrants and political prisoners—including Mumia Abu-Jamal, Leonard Peltier and the Puerto Rican political prisoners.

By revealing how terrorists operated against Cuba from the safe haven of U.S. soil, they wrote, "we demonstrated the double standards of the empire in its so-called 'war on terrorism.'"

Now all progressive people in the U.S. need to demonstrate their solidarity in order to free los cinco, los muchachos, the Five Heroes—free the Cuban Five!

For more information on how you can help, visit: www.freethefive.org and www.iacenter.org. □

MISSION AGAINST TERROR

This award-winning documentary tells the story of the "Cuban 5" who were imprisoned in the U.S. for fighting against terrorism.

On August 10, 2005 a federal appeals court overturned the convictions of the Cuban 5, and ordered a new trial, a new battle has begun for their supporters: winning their release from prison. This documentary also charts Cuba's 45-year struggle against terrorism.

Order online at www.Leftbooks.com



Trench around Baghdad

'Hurts Iraqis but won't stop resistance'

By John Catalinotto

The U.S. occupation forces and the Iraqi puppet government have found a new way to make life even more miserable for the people of Baghdad than it is already: They are building a trench around urban Baghdad to be able to stop and search all traffic entering and leaving the city.

Despite the additional burden on residents, there is no indication this harsh step will be effective in turning back the Iraqi resistance or in subduing the capital.

This planned trench coincides with the final stages of an earlier plan to quash the resistance inside this city of 7 million people. U.S. and puppet troops have been carrying out house-to-house searches through Baghdad neighborhoods and have recently been entering the poor Shi'ite areas of Sadr City, where the Mahdi Army is strong.

Moqtada al-Sadr is head of the Mahdi Army, which, according to most observers, is the largest of the party-based militias. Although al-Sadr participates in the pro-U.S. Iraqi government, the imperialist media continue to describe him in hostile terms. Their favorite description is "fire-brand cleric," indicating an ongoing U.S. distrust of his role.

According to an article in the Sept. 17

New York Times, the proposed trench will circle urban Baghdad, crossing farmlands and forcing all traffic through 28 main highways to the city. There all vehicles and people will be subject to inspection, at least in theory.

In practice, according to Iraqi exile Abdul al-Bayaty, who keeps close contact with events in Iraq, this will interfere with "students, workers, ill people needing medical care, merchants, farmers and public workers trying to move in both directions. Imagine what will happen to economic fluidity if every truck of vegetables or cement or bricks which Baghdad consumes each day should be searched each time it passes," not to mention all the 6 to 7 million inhabitants.

"Urban Baghdad is surrounded on all sides by tribes and towns that support the resistance," said al-Bayaty, "and the U.S. military has been unable to subjugate them up to now. Nor will it be able.

"This is a large agricultural region covered by palm trees, and the population there knows the land better than the U.S. Historically they are fighters whose sons have made up the armies protecting Baghdad since the Abasside caliphate of [the years] 750 to 1248.

"The trenches will not stop the resistance, which is strongest inside urban

Baghdad, where there are now real liberated regions. The government cannot enter there," al-Bayaty told Workers World. Regarding Shi'ite regions like Sadr City, which is not now actively joining the resistance, he added, "Nothing indicates that the Shi'ites will not rise against the occupation in the future."

'Only contractors will profit'

Al-Bayaty called the trench scheme "a crime against urban Baghdad, the Baghdad region and Iraq. It will destroy the economy and the life of people but will fail militarily. It is a new mirage that the U.S. is selling Iraqi collaborators. Only the contractors digging the trenches will profit from it."

In a Sept. 14 Guardian Unlimited article assessing the occupation's failures, Iraqi novelist Haifa Zangana makes the point that while U.S. forces destroyed great parts of the towns of Falluja, Samara, Tel Afar and parts of Najaf, and carried out massacres in Haditha, Al Qaem and Al Ishaqi—all located in Anbar Province to the west and northwest of Baghdad—the resistance is still strong there.

"The reality," writes Zangana in an article emphasizing the nationwide character of the resistance, "is that the U.S.-led occupation has not just failed to put an end to

the resistance in the 'Sunni Triangle' but has helped to multiply resistance triangles in other Iraqi cities.

"In Mosul, the second largest city in Iraq, Azzaman Iraqi newspaper reported on Sept. 1, 2006, that: 'The rebels now even do not mind the presence of Americans since they never dare to dismount their armored vehicles. U.S. foot patrols are unthinkable as they will make the Marines easy prey for snipers. Iraqi police and troops have no armored protection and drive in open pick-up trucks, turning them into easy targets.'

"In Basra and Amara—cities south of Iraq, both are far beyond the sides of any triangle—British forces are under repeated mortar attack," wrote Zangana.

Meanwhile the second-ranking U.S. commander in Iraq, Lt. Gen. Peter W. Chiarelli, made it clear the priority of the occupation was that of securing Baghdad. "I'll be perfectly clear with you, our main effort right now is Baghdad," Chiarelli said.

According to the most seasoned anti-occupation observers, this too will fail.

Al-Bayaty, Zangana and Catalinotto are all members of the advisory board of the Belgium-based BRussell's Tribunal.

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INTERNATIONAL BRIEFS

AFGHANISTAN:

Reluctant NATO buildup

A successful resistance to U.S.-NATO occupation troops in Afghanistan has apparently discouraged NATO's big powers from sending more of their youths to die there. Despite U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's warning that Afghanistan could become a "failed state" if NATO failed to commit more troops, the big powers all took cover and kept quiet.

In recent months the battle in Afghanistan's southern provinces has reached a new level since some 8,000 of the total 17,000 NATO troops in-country took control from the U.S. last Aug. 1. These troops started taking casualties at a rate higher than U.S. troops in Iraq.

Canadian troops were among the hardest hit. On Sept. 18 a resistance bomber killed four more Canadian soldiers and 18 other people in that region. NATO commanders, admitting they had "underestimated the Afghanistan resistance," say they need another 2,500 troops plus greater air support.

So far no offers of new troops have come from France, Britain, Germany, Canada or Italy. Finally, Poland offered an additional 900 troops on Sept. 14, to arrive next February, and Romania some 200 more on Sept. 18, hiking its contribution to 500. It appears the entry price to the Western world for these new neocolonies involves offering their youths as cannon fodder for colonialist conquest.

Pope's slanders provoke Islam

Pope Benedict, formerly Cardinal Ratzinger of Germany, is in hot water. On Sept. 12 at a public speech in a church in Regensburg, Germany, he quoted a statement from the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II in 1391 that slandered the Islamic Prophet Muhammad and Islam. The quote

made it appear that Islam was especially guilty of using force to expand.

Coming from the head of the Catholic Church, this comment would always be provocative. At a time when the Bush administration is waging a political, military and propaganda offensive against the Muslim world, and even employs the insult "Islamofascism" to describe anti-colonial resistance, the pope's comment is especially unwelcome.

It is no surprise the comment would arouse a strong reaction. It has the feel of an attempt by Ratzinger to line up the Vatican with U.S. imperialism's offensive. Over the last five years this offensive included the invasions and occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan and open support for the Israeli occupation of Palestine and assault on Lebanon.

The comment aroused both official protests from Muslim spokespeople all over the world and in some places direct action against symbols of Catholicism. Pope Benedict then retreated a little. Rather than retracting the comment, however, he regretted the reaction it provoked and claimed he didn't really share Manuel II's point of view.

The pontiff could easily have added that his own Catholic Church has used force to expand its religious influence. It marched into Mexico behind the conquistadors, even destroying the history of Mayan culture by burning that Indigenous people's public written records. It forced conversion of Muslims and Jews in Spain after Muslim state power was driven out of the peninsula. Not to mention the crusades.

—John Catalinotto

Lethal waste dumped in Ivory Coast

Beginning in the middle of August, a foul, nauseating, choking smell spread through the poor neighborhoods of Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast. After

seven people died, 24 more were admitted to the hospital and 36,000 people sought medical attention, the people lost patience.

According to Le Jour, a newspaper in Abidjan, some young people in Akouédo, a neighborhood in Cocody, one of the communes that make up Abidjan, set up a barricade of burning tires, planks and old refrigerators. Toxic wastes had been dumped in the area, releasing the odor. They pulled Minister of Transportation Innocent Anaky Kobeman out of his car, beat him up and dragged him off to a field where the toxic wastes had been dumped. An army helicopter had to rescue him.

The mansion of Marcel Gossio, director of the port of Abidjan, was burned and the

prime minister had him arrested. Some other Ivoirian officials are also under arrest.

Laurent Gbagbo, the president, shook up the government but kept the same prime minister. A preliminary investigation established that the toxic wastes came from a Greek-owned ship, flagged in Panama, carrying waste from a Dutch refinery.

The real questions are who authorized the ship to dump its toxic load and what role did the French troops, who are occupying the southern half of the Ivory Coast under a UN mandate, have in allowing this assault on Ivoirian sovereignty and health to take place.

—G. Dunkel



WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

Marchers tell UN: 'Bush doesn't speak for us'

Several thousand people marched through midtown Manhattan to Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza on Sept. 19 to oppose the U.S. war in Iraq and show the world that President George W. Bush, who was addressing the UN, didn't speak for the U.S. population. United for Peace and Justice called the demonstration, winning a permit to march after police had first denied it. Workers World Party, the International Action Center and many other groups joined the march. □

JORGE FARINACCI GARCÍA 1949 – 2006 Commemoración de un líder socialista de la clase obrera

Por Tom Soto
San Juan, Puerto Rico

Jorge Farinacci García, el líder principal del Frente Socialista de Puerto Rico, murió el 26 de agosto, después de luchar contra el cáncer durante todo un año. En el movimiento político le conocíamos como Fari.

Desde la noche del sábado hasta la mañana del domingo, más de 1000 trabajador@s con sus familias, activistas independentistas de todo el país, sindicalistas y partidari@s del Frente Socialista llenaron la funeraria Ehret en Río Piedras para dar tributo al legado de lucha de Fari a favor de un Puerto Rico independiente y socialista.

En los Estados Unidos, activistas probablemente oyeron el nombre de Jorge Farinacci por primera vez cuando él, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos y otros 14 compañeros fueron arrestados en 1985. Ellos fueron acusados de ser líderes de los Macheteros, un grupo que el gobierno federal acusó de robar \$7 millones de dólares del almacén de la Wells Fargo en Hartford Connecticut, con miras a profundizar la lucha de Puerto Rico por su independencia.

Fari nació de una familia de clase media en la ciudad de San Germán. Su madre fue maestra y su padre un gerente empresarial. La familia se mudó al área metropolitana de San Juan, donde Fari se crió.

En 1966, ingresó a la Universidad de Puerto Rico, (UPR), y obtuvo el grado de Ciencias Políticas. Luego ingresó al Colegio de Leyes de la UPR graduándose en el 1973.

En ese período, los Estados Unidos estaban llevando a cabo una guerra genocida en contra del pueblo de Vietnam. La UPR era el centro de grandes movimientos, huelgas, ocupaciones, confrontaciones con la policía, todas dirigidas en contra del reclutamiento militar de los Estados Unidos. Como resultado de su participación en estas luchas, Fari fue suspendido.

Él ya se había unido a la Federación Universitaria Pro Independencia y era colaborador del Movimiento Pro Independencia/MPI. Fari fue parte del fervor revolucionario de esos tiempos que llevó al MPI a formar el Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño en la década de los años setenta. Según Tito, el hijo de Fari, "Fari era simpatizante del socialismo desde su temprana edad, en parte debido a la influencia de su abuelo materno, quien había sido miembro del Partido Socialista en años anteriores."

La lucha del pueblo vietnamita en contra de los Estados Unidos y la Revolución Cubana influyeron grandemente en él. Como ávido lector de literatura marxista, él tenía un respeto especial a Lenin y a otros líderes de la Revolución de Octubre en Rusia.

En los setenta se vio el despertar del movimiento sindical y de los movimientos pro independentista y socialista.

Fari tendía a la formación de un movimiento armado revolucionario para expulsar a los Estados Unidos de Puerto Rico y al establecimiento de un partido revolucionario obrero. En 1977 se unió al Partido Revolucionario de los Trabaja-

dores Puertorriqueños, (P RTP), el cual al año siguiente lanzó la organización Los Macheteros.

Hilton Fernández Diamante, quien entonces trabajaba con Fari, explica: "Desde el comienzo sabíamos que Fari era un líder. Era muy elocuente y dinámico. Junto con otros camaradas él fundó la revista teórica Pensamiento Crítico, donde las situaciones enfrentadas por los trabajadores de Puerto Rico y en todo el mundo eran analizadas y debatidas."

Los Macheteros tenían la visión de tratar de unir las fuerzas que querían la independencia nacional mientras promovían los intereses de la clase obrera. Ell@s también trabajaron para estabilizar las finanzas del movimiento independentista.

Ya para el 1979 Los Macheteros estuvieron llevando a cabo acciones armadas conjuntamente con otros grupos armados revolucionarios, como por ejemplo las Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional, las Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular y la Organización de Voluntarios Por la Revolución Puertorriqueña.

Los Macheteros se volvieron en símbolo importante del movimiento armado por la descolonización de Puerto Rico. Algunos actos de Los Macheteros recibieron atención mundial, como por ejemplo un ataque guerrillero en 1981 en la Base Naval Muñiz que resultó en la destrucción de 11 aeronaves valoradas en \$45 millones.

La acción en la Base Naval Muñiz se llevó a cabo mientras EEUU estaba perpetrando las salvajes guerras contrarrevolucionarias en Nicaragua y El Salvador, utilizando fuerzas armadas disfrazadas como ejércitos independientes del imperio. No sólo fue la acción de la Base Muñiz considerada como un acto de solidaridad con Centroamérica, sino que a la vez elevó la lucha anticolonial de Puerto Rico a nivel internacional.

Forjar un movimiento armado, mientras se intenta forjar un partido político de la clase trabajadora y unificar las fuerzas sociales que aspiraban la independencia en la sociedad puertorriqueña, todo esto hecho desde la clandestinidad, resultó una tarea monumental.

Fari tuvo dos vidas.

Después de graduarse en 1973 como abogado, su primer puesto fue en el Departamento de Trabajo de Puerto Rico. Según su hijo Tito, "duró nada más que un par de meses". Él procesó quejas contra patronos que violaban los derechos laborales de trabajador@s y arbitró casos en conflicto.

Pronto salió del Departamento de Trabajo y comenzó a trabajar con abogados defensores de los derechos laborales en el Bufete Sindical, pero la mayoría de su trabajo fue con los Tronquistas del Local 901. Él negoció contratos, defendió a trabajador@s despedid@s y participó en campañas organizativas, en paros y en movilizaciones sindicales.

Cuando el movimiento sindical en 1998 convocó a una huelga general para oponerse a la venta privatizadora de la Compañía de Teléfonos de P.R. por parte del gobierno de PR, la Unión Independiente de Trabajadores del Acueducto y el sindicato de Tronquistas Local 901, jugaron un papel

decisivo cerrando el Aeropuerto Internacional Muñoz Marín en San Juan.

En 1981, Fari fue citado y obligado a atestiguar ante un gran jurado sobre un robo de un banco que había ocurrido en 1977. Él rehusó testificar. Finalmente, las acusaciones contra él fueron retiradas.

Aún después de su arresto en 1985 por el incidente de la Wells Fargo, Fari fue un luchador pertinaz. En un acuerdo sobre el castigo y las acusaciones en su contra en el caso de Wells Fargo, Fari forzó que la corte reconociera su motivación política. La estipulación decía, "Usted, sin embargo, toma la posición de que el gobierno de los EEUU no tiene autoridad para criminalizar su esfuerzo de resistir la dominación colonial de su país, Puerto Rico, y su derecho bajo el derecho internacional a trabajar por la libertad y autodeterminación de su patria. Usted cree que la corte no tiene jurisdicción sobre usted y que usted no es criminal."

Fari confesó haber aprobado la acción en Hartford, pero insistió que la estipulación incluyera: "El gobierno reconoce ... que el robo fue perpetrado para auspiciar las metas de Los Macheteros". Él pasó cinco años en la cárcel.

Fue liberado de prisión en 1992 pero tuvo que pagar cinco años más de libertad condicional y le fue prohibido ejercer su oficio como abogado. Sin embargo, Fari regresó a trabajar con el sindicato de Tronquistas y también enseñó derecho laboral en la Universidad de Mayagüez.

Después de su liberación se unió al Frente Socialista, una coalición de organizaciones socialistas que trabajan conjuntamente por los intereses de la clase trabajadora, en el cual encabezó el intento de desarrollar y estabilizar un Comité de Solidaridad con Cuba que organizó viajes anuales de solidaridad con Cuba.

Dos años más tarde, cuando el periódico pro-independentista Claridad fue reorganizado para reflejar todo el movimiento patriótico en Puerto Rico, Fari se unió a su junta editorial.

En 1997, cuando estaba terminando su probatoria de cinco años, el gobierno estadounidense intentó encarcelarlo nuevamente por alegadas violaciones a la libertad condicional. EEUU dijo que Fari se estaba asociando con criminales conocidos al asistir a manifestaciones políticas que lo pusieron en contacto con otros Macheteros. Fari luchó exitosamente contra esta acusación en la corte, defendiendo su derecho a la libertad de expresión, de asamblea y de asociación política.

Milagros Rivera, directora del Comité de Solidaridad con Cuba, comentó:

"Conocí a Fari desde nuestros días en la universidad de Puerto Rico. Él no solo trabajó incansablemente para defender a Cuba sino que fue un antiimperialista en el sentido internacionalista. No sólo se opuso a las intervenciones estadounidenses por toda Latinoamérica sino que también apoyó las luchas de l@s palestín@s, los movimientos de liberación en África ... a l@s oprimid@s por todas partes. Fari pertenecía a una nueva especie."



Jorge Farinacci García, a la derecha.

Durante la lucha para expulsar a la Marina estadounidense de la isla de Vieques, la cual involucró a todo el movimiento independentista, Fari coordinó los esfuerzos del Frente Socialista para organizar y proveer asistencia material a l@s manifestantes. Se alegró plenamente, al igual que todo el movimiento independentista, de la partida forzada de la Marina estadounidense en el 2003.

Fari insistía en que todo campo disponible debiera ser utilizado para avanzar la lucha. Representando al Frente Socialista, él testificó muchas veces ante el Comité de Descolonización de la ONU, donde demandaba la autodeterminación para la nación puertorriqueña y la salida de los Estados Unidos de la isla. Representó el Frente en varios Foros de São Paulo que tuvieron lugar en Latinoamérica y fue delegado en el Encuentro Caribeño y Latinoamericano en Solidaridad con la Revolución Bolivariana que tuvo lugar en Venezuela en el 2004.

La dedicación que sentía Fari de ayudar a l@s trabajador@s se extendió a su vida cotidiana. Fundó el Instituto de Derecho Laboral, una firma privada que reunió a abogad@s jóvenes dedicad@s a defender los derechos de l@s trabajador@s.

L@s trabajador@s pertenecientes o no a sindicatos podían encontrar consejos y asistencia allí, cuestiones que abarcaban desde violaciones de contratos hasta casos de discriminación, incluyendo los derechos de mujeres y homosexuales. Muchas veces los servicios del instituto fueron suministrados gratis.

Si el liderazgo de algún sindicato se rompía y no respondía a los intereses de l@s trabajador@s, Fari ayudaba a l@s miembros de base a establecer sus propios grupos de interés y desarrollar una lista de candidatos de oposición para luchar por cambios democrático.

Karen Vega, su secretaria, dijo que él estaba "en muchos lugares a la misma vez. Mientras negociaba un contrato laboral, también estaba resolviendo un caso de arbitraje por teléfono, y mientras daba comentarios a la prensa sobre las noticias políticas más recientes, organizaba algún evento en beneficio de las masas oprimidas ... Vivió según los dictados de su conciencia, luchando sin parar por la justicia social. Era un hombre pequeño que tenía mil guerrilleros feroces y gigantescos dentro de él."

En el año 2000 Fari se casó con Rosa Meneses. Él y su esposa tuvieron la oportunidad de visitar su querida Cuba en varias ocasiones. A Fari le sobreviven Rosa, sus hijas Maritza y Natalia, y su hijo Tito.

Una conmemoración para celebrar sus contribuciones a la lucha por la justicia social, la independencia y el socialismo tuvo lugar el 28 de agosto. Orador@s de una multitud de movimientos y sindicatos le honraron. Mensajes fueron recibidos de toda Latinoamérica y del Partido Mundo Obrero en los Estados Unidos. □