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# Victory in Rhode Island Buses liberated on Rosa Parks Day

By Frank Neisser  
Providence, R.I.

Dec. 1 is Rosa Parks Day. In Rhode Island this year, it was officially Rosa Parks Day, and everyone rode public transportation for free in honor of the Civil Rights heroine, who died in 2005 at the age of 92.

What brought this people's victory to the smallest state was a concerted public campaign that started two years ago. The local Rosa Parks Human Rights Day Committee had aimed at the 2005 date—the 50th anniversary of the day Parks refused to give up her seat on the Birmingham, Ala., bus to a white man and launched the struggle that won equality on that city's transit system.

In Providence, as well as in New York, Boston and other cities that year, local committees demanded and got city councils to pass resolutions declaring Dec. 1 "Rosa Parks Human Rights Day."

In 2006 in Rhode Island, the House passed the resolution, which the Senate signed in 2007. This not only made Rhode Island the first state to honor Parks Day, but the resolution urged free transportation on the Rhode Island Public Transit Authority (RIPTA) buses.

This year the RIPTA board acted on the resolution and declared the bus rides free. Local activists say they will continue the struggle to ensure that the practice is made permanent.

Providence's Rosa Parks Human Rights Day Committee, which organized the struggle and which has held commemorations in December each year since 2005, this year conducted a community activists' conference on Dec. 1 on the State of Human Rights in Rhode Island. More than 60 people, mostly from the African-American community, attended the conference.

#### Conference discusses action

The event discussed strategies for fighting back against massive looming state budget cuts, including building for a march on the State House in Providence on April 4, 2008, the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and the 40th anniversary of the Poor Peoples Campaign.

During the meeting, activists spoke on prisons, environmental racism and hunger in Rhode Island, showing how much had to be done. The number of people in prison in the state has increased by 700 percent in the last 20 years. The rate of incarceration for Black males is eight times that of white males.

Environmental racism feeds directly into the track to school absence and jail. Lead-paint poisoning and asthma from rats, roaches and pollution are the leading causes of school absence. Schools are built on top of toxic waste sites.

Hunger is also on the rise. According to the census bureau, 48,000 people were hungry during the year and 16,000 were hungry regularly during 2004-2006, up by 3,000 in each category from 2001-2003. And Rhode Island is cutting back on food stamp workers.

In the discussion on these points, community activist Asata Tigray pointed out that these drastic conditions must all be traced back to capitalism and to money that is going to kill people in Iraq.

Everett Muhammad of the Nation of Islam chaired the conference and spoke on Rosa Parks' legacy.

Jasmine Woodbury, youth organizer for DARE youth, described the program to train youths as organizers and activists, including teaching political terms, public speaking, media and information on great civil rights leaders like Rosa Parks. She described the community organizing project that got the school disciplinary code revised to reduce the number of suspensions and involves the community and youth themselves in monitoring how the schools apply the revised code.

Lisa Reels read Leonard Peltier's statement to the 2007 National Day of Mourning march in Plymouth, Mass. Everyone at the conference gave a rousing round of applause to Billy Kennedy, a retired steelworker who is a member of the RIPTA board and fought tirelessly to have the free fare on Rosa Parks Day adopted. State Senator Howard Metts spoke on opposing hospital mergers. Robert Parham read poetry from both Langston Hughes and the Lost Poets.

Larry Woodbury, a youth coordinator with the Rosa Parks Human Rights Day committee and member of Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (FIST), presented a verse, saying in part, "The

people got to unite as our future isn't so great as the rich keep getting richer, slavery is in sight. They got our youth in the prisons, African Americans in jails. It cost \$68,000 to free Michael Bell. And our houses are for sale, the banks is buying them out. I'm starting to think the rich want us to move down South. Sometimes I think about Ms. Parks to shut my mouth and ease my pain. Nonviolence, I'll try those things. But there still remains that line you cannot pass. Keep killing our youth and watch City Hall go up in a flash." □



World AIDS Day



Rosa Parks, Dec. 1, 1955



WW PHOTO: LIZ GREEN

Above, Boston College's Phaymus Dance Company performs on Dec. 1. See page 3 article.

Right, members of Rosa Parks Human Rights Day Committee, Providence, Dec. 1.

WW PHOTO: ED CHILDS

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# Media bias in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal

By Betsey Piette  
Philadelphia

As the case of Pennsylvania death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal enters its 27th year, despite the growing body of evidence that supports both his innocence and the charge that he was denied a fair trial, the mainstream media have been relentless in their bias against this award-winning African-American journalist. This media bias is well documented by Covert Action Quarterly, FAIR.ORG, and the documentary film “Framing an Execution.”

Media coverage was sparse during Abu-Jamal’s May 17 Philadelphia hearing before a three-judge panel from the United States Third Circuit Court of Appeals. The judges heard oral arguments on four different issues regarding the fairness of the original 1982 trial. Attorneys for Abu-Jamal, including Christina Swarns of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, argued that there is strong evidence that a racist judge and racist jury practices contributed to the sentencing of Abu-Jamal to death row.

Only progressive media like The San Francisco Bay View, a national Black newspaper, have published any of the 26 crime scene photos taken by photographer Pedro P. Polakoff. The photos—which the 1982 jury never saw—call into serious question the prosecution’s scenario.

But with a ruling from the May 17 appellate court anticipated at any time, the big-business press and their allies in the Fraternal Order of Police are rehashing an old tactic in their arsenal: trial by front page and jury made up of talk-show hosts.

They are unwilling to let Abu-Jamal exercise his constitutional rights to a fair trial with a jury of his peers in front of an unbiased judge, so lies and distortions about the case are presented as “facts” on the front pages of newspapers like the Philadelphia Inquirer, TV shows like NBC’s “Today,” and a recently released book co-authored by right-wing radio shock jock Michael Smerconish and Maureen Faulkner, widow of slain police officer Daniel Faulkner, entitled “Murder by Mumia.”

“Murder by Mumia” repeats the FOP’s official myths that “Mumia Abu-Jamal was unanimously convicted of the crime by a racially mixed jury based on the testimony of several eyewitnesses, his ownership of the murder weapon, matching ballistics, and Abu-Jamal’s own confession.”

### Cops, media and courts in collusion

“The Today Show” has invited Maureen Faulkner and Smerconish, a former lawyer and fundraiser for the FOP, to appear on Dec. 6 to talk about their book. The group International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal is demanding that “Today” give equal time to present information of Abu-Jamal’s innocence and about the unfair trial he received.

The New York Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and other supporters will protest outside the “Today” taping in New York City on Dec. 6.

To ensure fairness for Abu-Jamal on “Today,” the group Journalists for Mumia, along with ICFFMAJ and Educators for Mumia, initiated their own media-activist campaign urging people to write the “Today Show” at today@msnbc.com asking it to present both sides of the Mumia Abu-Jamal/Daniel Faulkner case,



people to send to MSNBC. Go to www.iacenter.org.

As of result of the campaign, “Today” scheduled a telephone interview with Pam Africa of ICFFMAJ, who provided them with a press packet on the case.

The Fraternal Order of Police and the state powers that want to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal have always counted on people’s ignorance of and confusion about the facts surrounding this case. Since most people will never read the trial transcripts, the FOP feels free to present its own “facts”—lies that are never challenged and frequently repeated by mainstream media outlets like the Philadelphia Inquirer. That newspaper publishes a regular column by the pro-death-penalty Smerconish, who recently tried out to replace “Imus in the Morning” on WNBC after host Don Imus was fired for racist remarks.

The official myths have been rehashed by former Philadelphia Inquirer reporter Buzz Bissinger in Vanity Fair magazine (August 1995), which also ran the “widow-fighting-by-herself” myth, thus hiding the role of the FOP.

In 1998 on ABC’s “20/20,” Sam Donaldson made no effort to hide his racism as he stated, “African-American activists believe that a black man was railroaded, and will continue to believe it, no matter what’s presented to them.” Donaldson was talking about major African-American figures like Angela Davis, Cornel West, Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Sonia Sanchez and many more. He failed to mention that most of the prosecution witnesses had credibility problems.

Today, Faulkner’s book also fails to mention all the discredited prosecution witnesses, that the police never performed the standard “wipe test” to check for gunshot residue on Abu-Jamal’s hands and clothing, that the fatal bullet was too damaged to link to the particular traits of Abu-Jamal’s gun, or that Abu-Jamal’s alleged “hospital confession” was first officially reported to police more than two months after the Dec. 9, 1981, shooting.

Polakoff’s crime scene photos also show police officer James Forbes holding both Faulkner’s and Abu-Jamal’s guns with his bare hands touching the metal parts.

On the 26th anniversary of Abu-Jamal’s arrest in connection with the shooting death of Faulkner, his supporters are readying themselves for the next stage of the struggle when the appeals court’s ruling is announced.

A demonstration at Philadelphia’s City Hall at noon on Dec. 8, followed by an indoor rally at 2 p.m. at the Friends Center, 1501 Cherry, will also be used to air new evidence in support of Abu-Jamal’s innocence and to make clear that he sits on death row due to his revolutionary outspokenness against police brutality and all forms of injustice.

by also featuring as guests Linn Washington, Jr., Philadelphia Tribune columnist and associate professor of journalism at Temple University, and Dr. Suzanne Ross, clinical psychologist and co-chair of the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition, NYC. The International Action Center also helped launch an online petition for

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NEW ORLEANS

# Demolition of public housing to take place Dec. 15

By Monica Moorehead

The Housing Authority of New Orleans announced at its Nov. 29 public meeting that, in conjunction with the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development, it has rescheduled the demolition of five public housing projects in New Orleans. The demolition will now begin on Dec. 15.

The projects are St. Bernard, Lafitte, C.J. Peete, Fisher and B.W. Cooper.

Originally, some of this demolition was to take place earlier in November. Nationwide demonstrations protesting the demolition, including one in New Orleans, took place on Nov. 13.

Ignoring the outcry of residents from the working-class neighborhood of Algiers, HANO officials stated their approval of \$30 million in contracts with demolition companies to bulldoze these projects, which are generally still in good condition. The plan is to replace these public-housing units with “mixed income” neighborhoods—meaning a mixture of low-income and luxury housing, at least on paper.

According to the Nov. 29 Times-Picayune, the breakdown of the demolition contracts include: “\$9 million for the demolition of 132 buildings at the vacant St. Bernard development, in agreement to St. Bernard Redevelopment; \$6 million for demolition of vacant buildings at the B.W. Cooper, in agreement with Keith B. Key Enterprises; an additional \$955,000 to Keith B. Key for ‘certain predevelopment expenses’; \$5.8 million for the demolition of 55 buildings at the vacant C.J. Peete, in an agreement with Central City Partners; \$2.5 million for the demolition of 70 vacant buildings at the Lafitte, awarded to D.H. Griffon of Texas, Inc.; \$6.3 million for the demolition of buildings and the construction of streets, lighting and other utility infrastructure at the Fischer, to support new home construction, awarded to Boh Brothers Construction.”

Once the demolition concludes, the Louisiana Housing Finance Agency has reserved \$35 million in tax credits for HANO to “rehabilitate” these buildings, affecting 1,949 units.

If housing officials truly represented the interests of poor and working people, the combined amounts of the \$30 million in contracts for demolition and \$35 million in tax credits for “rehabilitation” could be used for expanding public housing, not tearing it down.

Housing activists in New Orleans and elsewhere have exposed this plan to destroy public housing as nothing more than racist gentrification as a means to discourage poor residents from moving back to New Orleans since being displaced by Hurricane Katrina in 2005. A disproportionately high percentage of these displaced people are African American. HANO and HUD are in cahoots with the big real-estate and private developers in transforming New Orleans into a city to attract mainly white, affluent people and businesses.

Combine the impending destruction of public housing with the devastation of the lower Ninth Ward, where massive flooding took place during Katrina due to

breeched levees, and you can see a concerted effort to deny the vast majority of African Americans—tens of thousands of people—the right to return to New Orleans where generations lived before them.

What’s happening in New Orleans might remind some people of what has been happening in Iraq during nearly five years of a racist military occupation. In Iraq there has been the systematic destruction of an entire country. Iraq’s so-called rehabilitation is carried out with multi-billion-dollar contracts provided by the U.S. government to Halliburton, KBR (formerly Kellogg Brown and Root) and other corporate interests, which have collected the money but still fail to provide sufficient water and electricity to Iraq.

The New Orleans-based Coalition to Stop Demolition stated on Nov. 30: “What is at stake with the demolition of public housing in New Orleans is more than just the loss of housing units: it destroys any possibility for affordable housing in New Orleans for the foresee-

able future. Without access to affordable housing, thousands of working class New Orleanians will be denied their human right to return.

“Although this situation is unique and urgent in the city of New Orleans, it does not occur in isolation. The plans for redevelopment here are part of a national assault on public housing, in which tens of thousands of homes have been demolished in the past decade.

“In coming to New Orleans, you are helping us to draw this line in the sand. You are taking part in a critical piece of the ongoing fight against neo-liberal incursions into our cities. Here in New Orleans, as the bulldozers arrive to destroy any hope for the right of return for thousands of families, you can help us push back this agenda, and stand fast with us to promote a more people-focused reconstruction: one that is based on a vision of justice and rights for all people, and not profits for corporations and the desires of those with power.” □



Four of the San Francisco 8, from left to right: Francisco Torres, Hank Jones, Harold Taylor, Ray Boudreaux.

NEW YORK

# Animated crowd demands ‘Free the SF8!’

An energetic, standing-room-only audience of hundreds participated in an uplifting event in New York City Nov. 30 to celebrate the legacy of the Black Panther Party and to demand that the charges against the San Francisco 8—Herman Bell, Ray

Boudreaux, Richard Brown, Henry W. (Hank) Jones, Jilil Muntaqim (Anthony Bottom), Richard O’Neal, Harold Taylor and Francisco Torres—be dropped. The meeting took place at the Martin Luther King Jr. Labor Center in Manhattan.

These former Black Panthers were arrested Jan. 23 on charges related to the 1971 killing of a San Francisco police officer. Similar charges were thrown out in 1975 after it was revealed that police had used torture to extract confessions from some of the eight in 1973.

Boudreaux, Jones, Torres and Taylor, accompanied by their partners and Soffiyah Elijah of the Criminal Justice Institute at Harvard Law School, presented a moving history of their survival of the COINTELPRO torture, frame-up and renewed case against them.

The program was emceed by Kamau Franklin of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, and featured stunning performances by youth from the IMPACT! Repertory Theatre (impactreptheatre.org); a welcome from Bruce Richard, vice president of SEIU 1199; Gil Noble, veteran producer and host of WABC’s “Like It Is”; and more. The event brought out the largest attendance to date of this national tour for the eight.

For more information on the case, visit freethesf8.org.

—LeiLani Dowell

BOSTON

# World AIDS Day observed



Rev. Franklin Hobbs, Dec. 1.

WW PHOTO: LIZ GREEN

By Shelly Smith  
Boston

World AIDS Day was observed Dec. 1 in Boston at the Community Church of Boston at an event organized by Dorchester’s Healing Our Land and its director, Minister Franklin Hobbs.

Communities as diverse as Healing Our Land in Boston and National Mandela in South Africa commemorated the victories we have won and the work ahead of us in fighting and conquering the AIDS epidemic. The deadly virus has taken untold millions of lives.

Healing Our Land—a faith-based organization combating the spread of AIDS in the Black communities of Boston—has made major strides in reaching out to poor African-American communities in Boston.

It succeeded in moving the Boston City Council to declare an “HIV State of Emergency” for people of color in Boston in 2005, making it only the sixth city or

state to do so. And whether it was the Rev. Keith Magee, president of Healing Our Land Inc. and Pastor of Berachah Church, or, on the international stage, Nelson Mandela in South Africa, we saw compassionate Black leaders reaching out and mobilizing the masses on World AIDS Day.

They know that if they do not, the current leaders of the world will continue a lackluster effort in stopping the spread of a deadly disease that is preventable.

Mandela’s leadership on the issue contracts starkly with that of President George W. Bush, who has reduced funding for AIDS in the U.S., despite the rising numbers of those becoming infected in communities of color.

For example, Black women represent 75 percent of the new cases of HIV infection in the U.S. Imagine if you will, Mandela as president of a socialist South Africa or a socialist U.S. AIDS would by now be a footnote in history. □



# ‘A job is a right! Housing is a right!’

*Excerpted from a talk given by Martha Grevatt, a 20-year Chrysler worker, executive board member of UAW Local 1234 in Twinsburg, Ohio, and writer on the UAW and auto industry for Workers World, at a Dec. 1 forum. The forum, “Fighting Takebacks, Two-Tier Wages, Plant Closings and Lay-offs; Analysis of the recent concessionary contracts between the UAW and GM, Ford & Chrysler; Lessons of the Flint Sit-Down Strike—Learning from our past to fight for our future,” was sponsored by the Detroit chapter of Workers World Party.*

*Grevatt was instrumental in her local union voting down the recent giveback contract between the UAW and Chrysler. She is the author of the upcoming book, “In Our Hands is Placed a Power: Lessons of the Flint Sit-Down Strike.”*

Seventy years ago Flint, Mich., was the scene of one of the most important battles in U.S. labor history: the Great Sit-Down. For 44 days—from Dec. 30, 1936, to Feb. 11, 1937—auto workers occupied key General Motors plants. They didn’t walk out and put up a picket line; they sat down and formed a community inside the plants.

In 1936, some 43 percent of the U.S. automobile industry belonged to General Motors. Its profits for that year totaled nearly \$284 million. Its assets—including 69 plants in 35 states—were valued at \$1.5 billion. The company had 37 percent of the worldwide car and truck market. GM President Alfred P. Sloan was the highest paid executive in the country.

The assembly line was a living hell. The ever-increasing pace of work on the line—speedup—gave many workers the appearance of a 50-year-old before turning 30. A sit-down participant described “hands so swollen I couldn’t get my fingers between each other.” A sociologist of the time observed “occupational psychosis” from the monotony and overwork.

On Feb. 10, GM finally signed an initial agreement to recognize the UAW as the sole bargaining agent, for a period of six months, at the most important plants. This initial victory laid the foundation for the many gains that followed.

Now contrast that with the six-hour strike, the shortest in UAW history, called against Chrysler by the international union’s leadership on Oct. 10, 2007. The rank-and-file still don’t know what, if anything, they were striking for, or why they went back so soon. It was all decided bureaucratically, with no input from below. The term “Hollywood strike” was coined, not to describe the screenwriters’ strike on the West Coast, but to refer to a strike that was “just for show.”

Yet for the brief time I spent picketing I witnessed tremendous power and solidarity. We did stop production, after all. We turned away trucks and told our hated supervisors, “You can’t go to work today.” When they protested we told them, “We’re in charge today.”

As different as these two strikes were, any hope for the future of my deeply troubled union lies in their similarity: the exercise of workers’ power.

The brief work stoppage ended when the UAW and Chrysler reached an agreement, similar to that just ratified by GM UAW workers and to the contract Ford workers later passed. These three contracts are by far the most concessionary in the auto union’s history. They represent a qualitative leap backward from the concession bargaining that has plagued negotiations over the past couple of decades. The contract didn’t go through without opposition—one-third of GM workers and almost half of all Chrysler workers voted no—but in the end the fear factor took over and the contract passed.

New hires will now start at \$14 an hour, 1.5 times the federal poverty level for a family of four and \$3 less than the median national wage, maxing out at \$16.23. They will have worse benefits. They may, if lucky, be able to move into a “traditional” wage job, but they will never get a traditional defined benefit pension. It’s divisive. It’s the enemy of solidarity.

A VEBA—which stands for Voluntary Employee Beneficiary Association (or as Soldiers of Solidarity says, “Vandalize Employee Benefits Again”)—was set up to fund retiree health care. The three compa-



WW PHOTO: SUSAN SCHNUR

**Chrysler workers. Martha Grevatt, on the right, has worked at Chrysler for 20 years.**

nies each put in a one-time contribution to the VEBA, but they are now off the hook for any future payments. VEBAs at companies such as Caterpillar and Copperweld are nearly bankrupt.

In the case of Copperweld, much of the VEBA was held in stock in CSI, the company that bought Copperweld and later went bankrupt. The Big Three set up the VEBA with a portion of it in company stock. Soon after, GM stock tanked on a reported \$39 billion loss in the third quarter—really just a paper loss tied to closing tax loopholes. Imagine that! A corporation finally has to pay their share of taxes and they can write it off as a “loss.” So now the GM retirees’ VEBA is already worth less than when it started. If one of the Big Three were to go bankrupt, it would pull the VEBA down as well.

The VEBA will save the companies billions of dollars every year indefinitely. Yet the workers pay for it by giving up nearly all of their Cost Of Living Allowance. The bosses are double-dipping! Not only that, when they compute the workers’ “profit sharing” bonus at the end of the year, profits reaped from savings due to the VEBA are immune from being “shared.” They’re not double dipping, they’re triple dipping.

Then there are the plant closings and phony promises of job security—phony because they depend on “market conditions.” Plants like mine are covered by a moratorium on plant closings—but the

companies could run the plants with only 50 people inside. Mass layoffs have already begun, and the ink on the contracts is barely dry!

All the things that had been guaranteed, that were won through long strikes lasting weeks and sometimes months, and made possible by that great struggle of 70 years ago—all these gains are being surrendered and replaced with a market-driven agreement. And it couldn’t happen at a worse time.

The whole thing is a massive transfer of wealth from the workers to the bosses. GM says within four years its labor costs will be cut in half—labor costs the bosses claim amount to \$75 an hour. Multiply the savings of \$37 an hour by 2,080 hours per worker per year by 173,000 UAW workers at the Big Three. You’re talking maybe a \$6.5 million dollar per hour rip-off of workers’ labor!

Marxists call it surplus value, the unpaid portion of the working hours—the part the bosses keep for themselves in the form of profit and executive compensation. Wyndham Mortimer, the communist UAW vice president at the time of the sit-down, called it the “loot.” In four years time, the bosses double the loot.

But enough is never enough for them. After the recent contract was ratified, Chrysler CEO Bob Nardelli said that the industry has “an insatiable appetite for cash.” They have weakened the union to such a degree, they feel they can go in for the kill. It’s like imperialist foreign policy on another front—like how they had Iraq so weakened by sanctions, disarmed by those who made bogus charges of weapons of mass destruction, then came “shock and awe.”

Shock and awe has come home, and in the case of Chrysler’s owners, Cerberus, a lot of the players are the same: John P. Snow, chair; Dan Quayle, chair of global operations; and Donald Rumsfeld is a major shareholder.

The latest job cuts go well beyond what even a depressed market would allow for under the current concessionary contract. Chrysler is going to cut one in three jobs in North America. The 13,000 job cuts announced last February were nearly doubled last month. And just a few days ago, Nardelli said the 25,000 might not be “enough.” Enough is never enough. These cuts are propelled by the drive to maximize profits, pure and simple. Now the “poor” company is getting ready to build a plant in Russia—with money stolen from the workers.

And it’s not just Chrysler. When Ford CEO Alan Mulally proclaimed that the target of 44,000 job reductions through buyouts had been reached, the next sentence was that more cuts were needed.

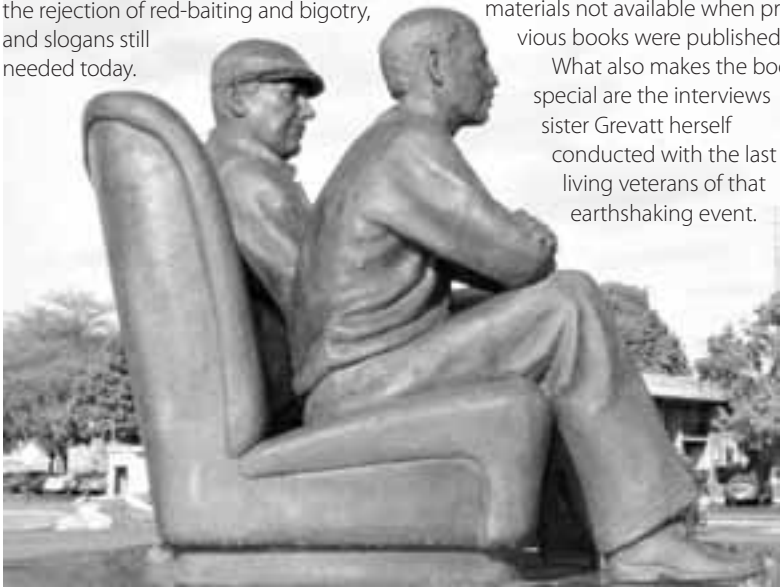
These are not merely “market-related” layoffs. They are part of a longterm corporate strategy they used to call “downsizing.” Now that that term has negative connotations they call it “right-sizing.” (I call it “wrong-sizing.”) Even the contracts we are saddled with limit the conditions under which jobs can be cut. The goal of permanently shrinking the work force is not one of them. Yet the attitude of the UAW leadership seems to be “you can’t fight city hall” or “they own the company, they can do what they want.” Local leaders are either following that line or feel powerless to go against the current.

We need a radical departure from the strategy of labor-management cooperation. Marxists have always opposed it in principle but in the past, conservative bureaucrats were able to maneuver within its parameters and deliver the goods. Now a raging capitalist crisis, in

*Continued on the next page*

One of the most significant labor battles of the last century was the Great Sit-down Strike. Seventy years ago, the workers of Flint, Michigan held General Motors plants for 44 days. Their heroic occupation forced GM to finally grant recognition to the UAW, setting the stage for the great wave of strikes and sit-downs that brought hundreds of thousands into the ranks of organized labor.

There is much to be learned from that dynamic struggle. There are lessons about solidarity and courage in the face of adversity, and about the daring tactics that beat the company despite incredible odds. There are lessons about the necessity of women’s involvement and about the indispensable contributions of Black and immigrant workers. There are lessons about taking on the state, class-conscious leadership, the rejection of red-baiting and bigotry, and slogans still needed today.



These lessons and the history behind them are the subject of “In Our Hands is Placed a Power: The Flint Sit-down Strike,” a new book from World View Forum set to come out next year.

The author, Martha Grevatt, has written extensively on the crisis facing auto workers for Workers World newspaper. A Chrysler worker and UAW member herself for over 20 years, she has spent many hours researching the sit-down.

This is the first full-length book on the sit-down to come out since 1969, and the only work on the subject to be written by an actual worker on the shop floor. “In Our Hands” brings new insight to the subject, relying on materials not available when previous books were published.

What also makes the book special are the interviews sister Grevatt herself conducted with the last living veterans of that earthshaking event.

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# Lou Dobbs: Why he must be stopped

By Teresa Gutierrez

For some time now, many in the immigrant rights and anti-racist movement have been warning about the danger of Lou Dobbs, a CNN news anchor and the host of “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” who uses part or all of his show to blame immigrants—especially those without legal papers—for all the ills of U.S. capitalist society.

Is Dobbs dangerous, and if so why? Should his nightly anti-immigrant diatribes on CNN just be ignored?

Or should the movement that disapproves of him ratchet up its tactics and organize to stop him altogether? Let us take a close look at Dobbs and what he represents.

### Who is Dobbs?

Dobbs comes from the working class, although his father for a time was a small-business owner. He was born in Childress, Texas, which is near Amarillo and on the Texas panhandle. When Dobbs was 12 years old, his family moved to Rupert, Idaho, when they lost the propane business they co-owned.

Dobbs attended Harvard with a full scholarship, graduating in 1967 with a degree in economics. Surprisingly, one of his early jobs after college graduation was in federal so-called anti-poverty programs in Boston and Washington, D.C.

In 1980, after many jobs in the news industry, Dobbs was recruited to join CNN when it was first launched. He served as its chief economics correspondent and host of “Moneyline.” Dobbs left CNN for a while because of differences but was aggressively recruited back by CNN founder Ted Turner in 2001.

In June 2003, “Moneyline” became “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” where he has been the managing editor ever since.

Dobbs also hosts several radio shows

### Continued from page 4

which the subprime mortgage disaster is only the tip of the iceberg, is making the strategy unworkable. It has run its course. The bosses just keep making the union smaller and weaker, and at one point, and we should prepare ourselves for this, they may decide to dispense with the UAW altogether and just flat-out bust the union. We can’t put anything past them.

We need a new strategy now, before it gets to that point. Trying to fight it through the grievance procedure alone would be futile. We need a new old program, a 70-year-old program that at the time of the sit-down was a widely held assumption: that a job is a worker’s property right.

We have to spread this thinking around. We have to revive it. We have to challenge a strategy dictated by Wall Street, dictated by the ones who have a stake in capitalist ideology. We have to disown the capitalist crisis. It isn’t our doing, and it isn’t our responsibility to bail them out over and over. Their property rights don’t take precedence over our property rights: We have a property right to our jobs.

We need to take it further. Many of the jobs being cut do not involve mass layoffs. Rather, they involve buyouts—paying workers to leave but not replacing them. But our communities have a community property right to these jobs and these tax revenues upon which they depend.

And furthermore the right to work is a human right. It’s even in the U.N. Charter on Human Rights. That brings me to another human right, and the tremendous campaign you are initiating here, around the issue of housing. And this issue is completely inseparable from the issue of jobs.

Both the auto industry and the construction industry are what are called “multipli-

and is a regular columnist in Money Magazine, U.S. News and World Report and the New York Daily News. He is the author of several books, including, “Independents Day: Awakening the American Spirit”; “Exporting America: Why Corporate Greed is Shipping American Jobs Overseas”; and “War on the Middle Class: How the Government, Big Business, and Special Interest Groups are Waging War on the American Dream and How to Fight Back.” The last book is a New York Times best seller.

His CNN nightly show is reported to reach about 800,000 people. It does not reach nearly as many people as NBC Nightly News, which has a viewer audience of about 9 million. But according to many press accounts, not only is Dobbs’ viewer audience growing, so is his political influence.

In fact, there are rumors that Dobbs is considering running for president of the United States.

### Man of the people or for the rich?

The mainstream press repeatedly characterizes Dobbs as a populist. That doesn’t sound so bad, does it?

One dictionary defines populism as “a political philosophy supporting the rights and power of the people in their struggle against the privileged elite.”

A populist therefore should be a “supporter of the rights and power of the people.”

This characterization is based much on Dobbs’ many nightly programs on the loss of jobs as a result of “outsourcing.” Many workers who have lost their jobs or whose jobs are insecure might find this approach appealing. Mother Jones magazine, usually considered progressive, printed a friendly interview on this subject in 2005.

But make no mistake about it, Dobbs is

er industries.” A downturn in auto affects every sector of the economy: rubber, glass, and steel, everything that becomes part of a vehicle. It affects the public sector with lost tax revenues. A drop in purchasing power affects everything from travel to retail to—and this gets into your fight around foreclosures—housing. Imagine on the other hand if everyone had a job at union wages. How many workers would be losing their homes?

Likewise a drop in home building and remodeling affects a multitude of workers—from materials to retail to the public sector—and it affects auto. The drop in light truck sales reflects a drop in construction and remodeling, and the domestic automakers depend heavily on truck sales. When construction workers aren’t working they aren’t buying cars.

So we need to link these two most basic rights into a struggle that says housing is a right, a job is a right. The struggles in the neighborhoods and the struggles in the work place can make common cause. The capitalist crisis should not cost us our homes or our livelihoods. Only the rottenest of systems would give a bank the “right” to put someone out of their home.

So we need to build a movement, a grassroots movement, a united movement. And it’s that need for unity that brings me back to the other protest you just held, against the fascist immigrant basher Lou Dobbs. If we don’t take on this vicious racism, then we don’t have real solidarity. And without solidarity we can’t win.

Fighting the banks and the auto barons to save our jobs and our homes is hard enough when you have solidarity, across all lines that reject racism, immigrant-hating, homophobia, transphobia, the patriarchy,

Continued on to page 6

dangerous for the workers and poor.

At a time when an ugly economic crisis is rearing its head, at a time when countless homes are being foreclosed, when Citicorp announces thousands of layoffs, Dobbs’ rants against immigrants are not only detrimental, they are exceedingly dangerous.

Populism a la Dobbs is a slippery road that has similarities to fascism. Like the classical fascist movements of the 1920s and 1930s, Dobbs mixes an appeal to workers’ suffering with a vicious scapegoating of “others”—and in Dobbs’ case the others are the mostly Latin American immigrants.

The nightly rants on his show are undeniably geared to working people. But his views absolutely do not represent their interests. Dobbs’ rants are meant to divide people, disarm the masses as well as foster divisions among the working class.

They are meant to derail the struggle of the workers against those very people he claims to harangue against: the rich and powerful.

Dobbs is in fact a demagogue in the worst sense—his appeals to the public are based on prejudice and racism. His claim to defend “America’s working people,” the unprotected “middle class,” is a lie. His harangues and views benefit one class and one class only: the ruling capitalist class, which stands to gain a great deal from Dobbs’ success.

A working class fighting among itself is a class that cannot fight its real enemy: U.S. imperialism.

### Journalism or jingoism?

The Lou Dobbs show has turned from an analytical news show, if it ever was, to a platform for right-wing ideas. It broadcasts an hour-long rallying cry for nativism rather than a news hour with facts, even pro-capitalist facts.

Dobbs attacks free trade, but not by exposing it as a cover for imperialist penetration of oppressed countries that benefits only the imperialists and a few very rich collaborators. Instead his attacks are based on anti-foreigner jingoism and chauvinism, which in the long run can benefit imperialism as all the anger of workers is turned against foreigners and immigrants.

No one in the higher echelons at CNN, the government or even the Federal Communications Commission is challenging the fact that Dobbs lies on his show, and lies often.

In August 2006 The Nation magazine wrote this about Dobbs: “Night after night, under the rousing headline ‘Broken Borders,’ the distinguished looking 61-year-old instructs his growing audience that illegal immigrants [sic] import deadly diseases, rampant crime and international terrorism; they live off welfare, destroy public schools and burden hospitals; what’s more, most haven’t learned to speak English. Add that they’re foot sol-

diers sent by the Mexican government to re-conquer the Southwest and by the end of the hour, we have seen the enemy—and he is a Spanish speaking immigrant.”

One episode of his show resulted in quite a scandal. It should have led to major punitive action against Dobbs for its outlandish charges.

When Dobbs was interviewed on “60 Minutes” earlier this year, background research showed that on one of his shows in 2005 contagious diseases came up. According to the May 30 New York Times, one of Dobbs’ correspondents said on that show that there had been 7,000 cases of leprosy in the U.S. over the last three years. The Dobbs show led viewers to believe that this was a result of immigrants coming to the United States.

It turns out of course that this was not true. The cases arose not over three years but 30 years. According to health experts, this was not reflective of any kind of serious epidemic.

But of course business on Lou Dobbs Tonight went on as usual. Dobbs was never forced to retract this lie.

### Demonizing immigrants, dividing the working class

Why is Dobbs carrying out such a hateful, repulsive and racist campaign against immigrants? Because, trained at Harvard, Dobbs sees the writing on the wall. On the horizon looms a serious economic crisis. More homes will be foreclosed, Home Depot will make less profit, more jobs will be lost.

Isn’t it more convenient to blame immigrant workers than the bosses? Isn’t it easier to point the finger at one of the most vulnerable sectors of the working class?

Also on the horizon, however, is the struggle of the workers and oppressed. Sooner rather than later, even some of those workers who are being taken in by Dobbs’ view of the world will come to realize it is not immigrant workers who are carrying out the layoffs. It is not immigrant workers who are foreclosing on their homes. It is not immigrant workers who destroyed the levees in New Orleans or hung the nooses in Jena.

It is the capitalist class and the capitalist system and all its infrastructure—the banks, the government, the military—that are to blame for all of society’s ills.

Perhaps Dobbs did learn one thing after all at his so-called anti-poverty job: Poor people ain’t gonna take it forever. They will fight back.

When they do, Dobbs wants to play the role of mobilizing one part of the working class to fight against the other. That’s what he offers to the big capitalists. And that’s why it is important for workers’ organizations to expose him and fight him tooth and nail.

*The writer is a leader of the May 1 Immigrant Rights Coalition in New York City.*

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## Rights violated

# Black activist attacked by police at his home

By John Parker  
Denver

At a Dec. 3 Denver news conference, more than 60 supporters of Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (FIST) organizers Larry Hales and Melissa Kleinman gathered in front of the Denver Police Station at night despite cold winds to protest the brutal beating, terror and arrest of Hales, who is African American, after police broke into their home Nov. 30.

Shareef Aleem, a Black Denver activist who was himself a victim of police brutality and helped organize the news conference, said, "In the last couple of years many of us involved in police accountability work have been attacked by the police and we know that when it happens we all have to stand up."

Aleem noted that part of the motivation for this latest act of police brutality was to begin the process of neutralizing activists like Hales who will be involved in helping to organize the Democratic National Convention protests.

Hales also noted that the attack was aimed at both his activism around police brutality and the fact that he was helping a Black youth on parole who had filed a civil

Shareef Aleem,  
Larry Hales and  
Melissa Kleinman at  
Dec. 3 press conference.

WW PHOTO: JOHN PARKER

case against the Denver police. At the time of the Nov. 30 police raid that parolee was living at the home of Hales and Kleinman.

Since the police attack, this young man is no longer permitted to stay at that residence. He must also pay \$100 for an electronic ankle bracelet to monitor his whereabouts.

After hearing this and the fact that a hefty bail was paid for Hales' release, the attendees at the news conference immediately took up a collection for the youth, Hales and Kleinman.

In addition to Aleem, other supporters there had been victims of police brutality.

Loree McCormick Rice and her daughter Cassidy bravely stood in solidarity despite the terror they have endured. Cassidy's collar bone was broken during a police beating in June 2006 when she was 12 years old.



Julie Winby also stood strong in the crowd. Her son Allen Kerford faces a 30-year sentence after being framed by police to cover up a severe beating by them.

Community demands that were given out at the news conference are: "That all charges be dropped immediately and that an official apology to Hales and Kleinman be given; that the names of all officers and Parole Officers on the scene for the incident that happened Nov. 30 at approximately 10:30 p.m. be given; that the records of abuse any of the officers may have on file be made public; that Denver

take steps to enforce the policy which requires all officers to carry business cards and surrender them upon request and that any records of abuse related to an officer's refusal to surrender said card and subsequent retaliation upon the subject who may have requested a card be especially scrutinized; that the officers responsible for the act on Nov. 30 against Hales and Kleinman be suspended without pay pending an investigation; that a People's Review Board, comprised of civilians from communities of color, be allowed to decide the fate of the officers involved; that a real Independent Monitor position, one with the power to prosecute and beholden to a People's Review Board, be established; that the rights of parolees be respected and that they be allowed to enjoy their full rights without harassment from officials, this includes the ceasing of parole sweeps which are designed to harass and which violate the constitutional rights of and criminalizes not only the parolee but those she or he may be living with."

If this news conference was any indication, it seems that the terror tactics of police brutality and fear are beginning to inspire less fear and more determination to fight back. □

# 'Bushwick 32' supporters arrested on phony charges

By Tyneisha Bowens  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

On Nov. 30 than 20 Black students were in the Criminal Court of Brooklyn, N.Y., facing charges from their arrest in May while walking peacefully to the wake of a fellow student and friend. The charges they face include "unlawful assembly," although the students had permission to attend the wake from both their parents and the administration of their high school. Originally these students were the "Bushwick 32" but some of the students had their charges dropped or had been to court before Nov. 30.

The Bushwick youths have had support from fellow students, community members, organizations like Student Coalition Against Racial Profiling and Make the Road since the May arrest, and had planned a news conference for Nov. 30. Unfortunately, no bourgeois news outlet found this incident important enough to dispatch even one news crew, camera person, or reporter.

During the court proceedings four supporters of the Bushwick students—John Mekins, Brian Favors, Mario Cox, and Jesus Gonzalez—were forced out of the courtroom for attempting to have counsel with one of the students' lawyers and calling out injustice when they saw the court's treatment of fellow supporters.

Once in the hall a fight between the supporters and the court officers broke out. "We could hear what was going on in the hallway but when we wanted to go out and stop it we were told to sit down before the same thing happened to us," said one of the Bushwick youths on trial at the time.

The four men were arrested in the hall and held in the courthouse. During the initial time of their holding, Brian Favors' spouse and Mario Cox's mother were not allowed to see their loved ones and were unaware of the charges and details of the incident. Due to the circumstances of the case and the arrest of the students' supporters, the Bushwick youths' case was moved to Dec. 7.

On Dec. 1, the four supporters were arraigned in the same courthouse where they had been the previous day standing up against racial profiling and the racism of the entire judicial system. More than 60 supporters of the four men packed the courtroom. Most of the crowd in the courtroom consisted of Latin@ and Black community members, while the judge, prosecution and the bulk of the officers present were white.

Mekins, Favors, Cox, and Gonzalez were accused of starting the altercation with court officers and resisting arrest during the prosecution's statement. The defense teams for the four men used character statements about them to prove that they had no intention of or interest in causing an altercation with the officers and that doing so would have stood in contrast to their community work and past behavior.

Cox, a high school student, was scheduled to take the SAT at the very time he was in court. Favors is a teacher and a trusted advisor to the Bushwick students and their parents. Gonzalez is a dedicated community organizer and college student. And Mekins' removal from the courtroom was a case of mistaken identity which was cleared up by Favors before the arrest.

The four defendants had visible bruises during the arraignment. They had been taken to the hospital for their injuries after the fight. All four men were released without bail, but the charges were not dropped. Cox and Gonzalez will be in court on Jan. 7, and Mekins and Favors on Dec. 12.

After their release the four pillars of the community greeted and thanked each of their supporters outside of the courtroom. The defense team and defendants spoke to supporters outside the courthouse.

Ray Boudreaux of the San Francisco 8, members of the Black Panther Party and political prisoners, came out in support of these men and had this to say: "They attacked these brothers because they are organizers for our community. ... This is the whole U.S. government that we are up

against and what we need is a revolution."

The defendants let tears run down their faces as more supporters joined the crowd outside.

For all those who are against these racist acts of injustice, come out to Criminal Court at 120 Schermerhorn Street in Brooklyn on Dec. 7, Dec. 12 (room AP1) and Jan. 7 (room AP6) and show your support.

*The writer is a Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (FIST) youth organizer. Email: fist@workers.org.*

## A job is a right Housing is a right

*Continued from page 5*

anti-Islam, etc. A divided movement, a movement weak on the national question, surely cannot get anywhere.

The ruling class has any number of tricks when it comes to keeping us divided, but at this moment the greatest danger to our unity is anti-immigrant racism. It's the big issue. Just listen to the Democratic and Republican debates. All the candidates know how to do is bait one another on the question of immigration. And they try to outdo one another by demonstrating their hard-line stance against undocumented immigrants.

The issue played out in a little-known aspect of the auto contracts. I wrote a resolution to the national bargaining convention, which my local forwarded, to amend the non-discrimination language—and believe it or not it was amended. What's called the Equal Application section includes marital status. And while it doesn't say gender identity or gender expression, there's carefully worded language that protect transgender workers. Imagine that! The UAW! The blue-collar unions have always lagged behind the service-sector unions when it comes to defending LGBT workers. Eleven years ago we were picketing Chrysler dealer-

# Student group formed on Rosa Parks Day

The Third Annual Rosa Parks Day was celebrated at Springfield Technical Community College in a very appropriate way on Nov. 30. The newly created student group, Mobilization Against Poverty, Racism and War, based at the college, was officially inaugurated that day as a student organization.

Rodnell Collins, nephew of Malcolm X, delivered the keynote address for Rosa Parks Day at the college-wide commemoration. Members of the Mobilization were instrumental in organizing support for the recent Sept 29th Encampment and March on Washington, organized by the Troops Out Now Coalition. The Rosa Parks Day event was organized by Rosa



Pictured above are members of the new group, from left to right: Stephan White, vice president; Dede Hassell, president; and Catherine Donaghy.

Parks Committee co-founders Professor Nick Camerotta of the Western Mass. IAC and E. Henry Twiggs. For more info: cadonaghy@yahoo.com

—Report & photo by Gerry Scoppettuolo



# Committee steps up defense of Victor Toro

By Arturo J. Pérez Saad

The threat to deport Victor Toro, a Chilean national and co-founder of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) in that country, back to Chile from the United States, has grown more intense. Since Toro is a known revolutionary leader, there is serious concern that he will be in danger in Chile even if the current government doesn't target him. Toro's friends and allies have stepped up efforts to organize vigils and a social event to stop deportation.

Adding to the danger, in 1978, the illegitimate undemocratic government of Augusto Pinochet declared Toro dead and published this declaration in the Chilean press. This falsehood, which can deprive Toro of normal protections, has not been corrected even though the Toro family has made many attempts to do so.

Toro was arrested and tortured by the fascist Pinochet-led junta that with full U.S. backing had just overthrown the Salvador Allende government in September 1973. After being released from a concentration camp prison in 1976, Toro was given an exit-only passport and forced to leave his homeland.



WW PHOTO: DUSTIN LANGLEY

Berta Joubert-Ceci and Victor Toro at Sept. 29 anti-war rally in Washington, D.C.

Toro arrived in the U.S. in 1984 and settled in the South Bronx, N.Y. In 1987 he co-founded La Peña del Bronx, a community grassroots organization serving the poor and the needs of the community, with his life partner and partner in struggle for social justice, Nieves Ayress.

On July 6, 2007, while on an Amtrak passenger train, Victor Toro was arrested

and detained by the Border Patrol (ICE) in Rochester, N.Y. His supporters mobilized and quickly collected \$5,000 to bond him out.

Legal Counsel Carlos Moreno was able to get the venue changed from Rochester to New York City. Toro's defenders hold informational pickets in front of 26 Federal Plaza every Friday between noon

and 1 p.m. The Victor Toro Defense Committee is demanding from the Department of Homeland Security that Victor be granted political asylum.

Toro's next court appearance is on Jan. 18, 2008, and his defense committee asks everyone to come out and show your support.

Toro, Ayress and their family are targeted again by U.S. government policies aimed at the sovereign countries of Latin America and especially the poor. First, the U.S.-sponsored overthrow of Allende, and now the persecution of all immigrant workers, the more recent of whom have been forced off of their lands by free trade agreements like NAFTA and CAFTA to migrate north to survive.

To mobilize support and raise funds, the Victor Toro Defense Committee will be hosting a party on Saturday, Dec. 8, from 6 p.m. to 11 p.m. at the Martin Luther King Jr. Labor Center (310 W. 43rd St., New York City) with live music from REBELDIAZ and Los Chamanes and dancing to the tunes of D.J. Laylo International. For more information call 718-292-6137. □

# Remembering Lin Biao

By Caleb T. Maupin

It is 100 years since Lin Biao, an outstanding military leader in China's anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolutionary war and later a political leader in the Cultural Revolution, was born on Dec. 5, 1907.

After his death in 1971, Lin was almost erased from public recognition in China. But in July, the Shanghai Daily News reported that Lin had finally been returned to hero status and his portrait placed in the Beijing Military Museum.

Who was Lin Biao? Why should he be remembered?

Lin came from the Chinese countryside, which was impoverished and oppressed by feudal landlords. At an early age he developed a desire to see things change. At 18 he left home, joined the Socialist Youth League and became a student at the Whampoa Military Academy, a hotbed of nationalist and Marxist thought.

Lin studied alongside Zhou Enlai and many others who would become lead-

ers of China's socialist revolution. A civil war broke out between the feudalists and the nationalist forces in which Lin commanded nationalists in battles against the regime of emperors and landlords.

In 1928, Chiang Kai-shek, head of the nationalist Kuomintang party, turned on his Communist allies, slaughtering thousands. Lin, Mao Zedong, Zhou and other Communists eventually regrouped and established a new army that fought the ruling classes. Its aim was to put the factories, the land and political power in the hands of the workers and peasants, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. Lin and Mao both mastered the art of guerrilla warfare. Their strategy of "people's war" depended on the support of ordinary people to gradually build up a new kind of army, highly political and democratic.

## Anti-Japanese war of resistance

In the 1930s and 1940s, Lin and Mao led a guerrilla war against Japan's invading imperialist army. In the areas controlled by their People's Liberation Army, land was distributed to the poor peasants, who combined with Communist Party cadres to run their villages in the interest of the people. Ordinary people for the first time had a say in decision making. The landlords and nobles were tried for their crimes against the people.

Lin and Mao were seen as Robin Hoods. Tens of thousands of Chinese people began to join their ranks, seeking to build a socialist future in China.

In 1949, the revolution was victorious and Chiang Kai-shek, who had been supported by the U.S., fled to Taiwan. "The Chinese people have stood up!" proclaimed Mao to a giant rally. Lin, whose troops had just liberated the capital, was at his side.

In 1959, Lin became China's defense minister. He abolished privileges for officers and insignia of rank.

In 1966, students at Tsinghua University hung "big character posters" attacking elitism and bureaucratic tendencies and formed the Red Guards. Mao and Lin came out strongly in support of the students' "right to rebel." It was the beginning of a massive revolution within the revolution. Chinese youth became a fighting force against those who defended cap-

italist restoration and elitist policies.

In the state-owned factories, workers began to criticize their bosses. In the schools, teachers once above criticism became targets of massive student dissent. Empowering the common people and the collective became the rallying cry of what would be known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Lin, acting as Mao's official representative during this period, wrote a book, "Long Live the Victory of People's War," that said a world revolution was going on against the U.S. imperialists. It argued that the underdeveloped world and forces of socialism and communism could surround and overwhelm the imperialists.

When the workers of Shanghai, China's most industrial city, revolted, Mao and Lin began to develop different views. The workers of Shanghai set up a new government in their city modeled after the Paris Commune. Its leaders were subject to immediate recall by the workers. There was free speech and total access to the media by common people.

Lin was blown away by what he witnessed in Shanghai. He called for all China to become a Commune state. No more bureaucracy, he proclaimed. Direct democratic control by workers' councils. He was joined by , Jiang Qing, Mao's partner, and others later labeled as the "gang of four."

But Mao disagreed. He argued that doing so would give rise to "bonapartism." Mao felt the Commune was too weak to suppress the opposition.

Lin also began to advocate a better relationship with the Soviet Union. Lin viewed all the socialist countries as on the same side in the people's war raging across the world. But Mao had begun to proclaim that the Soviet Union was a "social imperialist empire" and the "main danger to the people of the world."

Lin and Mao's disagreements grew acute. Lin died on Sept. 13th, 1971, in mysterious circumstances.

The official story is that Lin tried to assassinate Mao but failed and died in a plane crash while trying to escape to the Soviet Union.

The founder of Workers World Party, Sam Marcy, argued in his pamphlet "China 1977: End of the Revolutionary



Lin Biao

Mao Era" that Lin had been killed and that his death represented the beginning of the rightward turn in China.

The view that the Soviet Union was the "main danger" became the official line of the Chinese Communist Party. The next year U.S. President Richard Nixon was invited to Beijing, even as the Pentagon was continuing its war against the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Following Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping came to power. The leaders of the Cultural Revolution were put on trial for "counter-revolutionary activities." Soon, China began to adopt policies of "market socialism." Foreign corporations were free to set up factories on Chinese soil. Many of the socialist policies of the Chinese Revolution, including the job, health and food security guaranteed by state-run communes and factories, were abandoned. However, the Communist Party continued to play the leading role and the state that had emerged from the revolution was not destroyed, as happened later in the USSR.

What followed was an enormous industrialization of China and, along with greater inequality, a huge increase in the size of the working class.

The Chinese Ministry of Labor reports dealing with more than 130,000 cases of "industrial unrest" this year. China is currently undergoing a massive strike wave as workers demand better conditions. There is also a revival of support for the socialist policies and workers' democracy of the revolutionary period.

It is in this environment that the portrait of Lin Biao was finally placed in the Beijing Military Museum.

*The writer is a FIST organizer.*

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ships just to get "sexual orientation" included, and this was in the face of death threats, sexual degradation, and for at least one worker physical assault. And now without even a petition campaign we have protection for trans workers.

But here's the other side of the coin. That same resolution also called on the union to add the words "immigration status" to the Equal Application clause. Not done. The UAW was too afraid to confront the mounting campaign of hatred and educate their more backward members, too afraid to confront the state, the media, and the Lou Dobbses.

They divide us. They set us up in competition with workers who come here from other countries. Likewise, they turn us against workers in other countries. They would foster protectionism to have us think it is workers in other countries who are "stealing our jobs," when the only true threat to our jobs is the capitalist drive to maximize profits. The exploiting class that circles the globe scours the planet for the cheapest source of labor and materials.

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# Afghanistan: Reaction to NATO massacres

By G. Dunkel

A NATO air attack on Nov. 28 dropped two bombs on tents where workers were sleeping in Nuristan, a rugged province in eastern Afghanistan. The bombs killed 14 workers, with no survivors. These workers had been building a road for the NATO occupation forces.

NATO’s International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) admitted it conducted air strikes against Taliban fighters in the area but denied any workers were killed. ISAF spokesman Brig. Gen. Carlos Branco claimed at a news conference a few days later that a “Taliban leader” was targeted and that “there were no civilian casualties.”

While it may be no surprise that Gen. Branco denied the bombing, it wouldn’t be the first time NATO forces in Afghanistan have caused heavy civilian casualties. According to United Nations reports, NATO and Afghan government forces killed 314 civilians in the first six months of this year. The same source says 279 civilians were killed by the Afghan resistance.

Mark Herold, a well-respected economist at the University of New Hampshire, estimates that U.S. forces killed 3,767 civilians in Afghanistan—and that’s only between October and December of 2001, during the initial bombing. Many more

have been killed in the six years since. The U.S. Department of Defense admits to 401 military fatalities as of July 2007. Another 278 from other NATO countries have also been killed. Many more Afghan civilians than NATO troops have been killed, and most have been killed by NATO troops.

Past examples indicate that even if it were clearly established that the ISAF air and helicopter attack was aimed the road workers, it is highly unlikely that any serious charges would be brought against the forces involved, especially if they are from the U.S. or other big imperialist powers.

### U.S. Marines’ impunity

During a routine patrol last March 4, U.S. Marines were attacked by a suicide bomber. They responded by killing at least 50 civilians and seriously injuring an unspecified number more. Three weeks later, after large, angry protests, Marine commanders agreed to open an investigation and announced that they would keep the platoon implicated in the massacre in Afghanistan even though they were sending the company involved out of the country.

On May 9, Col. John Nicholson, who commanded the brigade to which the Marine Special Forces were attached, apologized to the families of the 69 civilians who were killed or wounded. Nicholson said he was “deeply, deeply ashamed”

about this “terrible, terrible mistake.” On behalf of the U.S. government, he turned over \$2,000 as compensation for the deaths and injuries.

A few weeks later, the Marine Corp’s top general said that Nicholson was wrong to apologize because investigators had yet to determine whether any wrongdoing occurred. As of the middle of November, the Defense Department was saying that a formal investigation would be opened sometime in December.

### Polish troops jailed

The Polish military reacted differently. When the military prosecutors in Poznan, Poland, became aware that Polish soldiers, who were operating together with U.S. troops, mortared the Afghan town of Nangar Khel on Aug. 16, killing six civilians including women and children, they jailed the troops on Nov. 15. The authorities are holding the Polish troops in separate cells, to avoid collusion. The investigating judge has held that it is established that the killings took place.

Poland currently has about 1,200 troops in Afghanistan and 900 in Iraq. The new prime minister, Donald Tusk, appointed at the end of October after his Civic Platform party won the parliamentary elections, had run on a platform of withdrawing from Iraq by the summer of 2008. His platform also included trying to

strengthen Poland’s ties to the U.S. Tusk says he will continue to keep a significant Polish force in Afghanistan.

According to a recent public opinion poll, 72 percent of Poles want Poland out of Afghanistan.

The Polish edition of Newsweek ran a front-page headline, “Blood on the uniform,” the week the news broke of the Aug. 16 massacre. The Polish Business News Agency raised the charge that Polish army commanders knew about the massacre and the cover up.

Tusk announced that if the charges were proven, he would apologize to the Afghani people. The Polish military prosecutor intends to try the soldiers early in the spring of 2008.

Washington, the imperialist capital with the most powerful military, has insisted its soldiers be exempt from the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, and that the actions of its occupation troops in Iraq and Afghanistan are virtually unpunished. Poland is a poor neo-colony of U.S. and Western European imperialism. More than two million of Poland’s young workers have left for Western Europe in the past three years. Though Poland’s youths are also acceptable as cannon fodder for imperialist wars and occupations, they don’t get the same arrogant protection as the imperialist troops when they commit war crimes. □

## U.S. and Afghanistan

# The cynical abuse of ‘women’s rights’

By Leslie Feinberg

The U.S. did not unleash war on Afghanistan in 2001 to “liberate” women. But pro-war spin doctors—embedded with the corporate media—went into overdrive to create that impression after 9/11. Public relations campaigns “sold” as liberation a high-tech imperialist war against an impoverished country with no air force.

This was designed to obscure the fact that imperialism had no right to violate Afghanistan’s self-determination and sovereignty.

The New York Times offered a more candid geopolitical view as early as Jan. 18, 1996, in an article entitled “The New Great Game in Asia”—referring to the 19th century struggle among capitalist powers to control the Eurasian landmass and the warm-water ports of the Persian Gulf.

The Times explained, “While few have noticed, Central Asia has again emerged as a murky battleground among big powers engaged in an old and rough geopolitical game. Western experts believe that the largely untapped oil and natural gas riches of the Caspian Sea countries could make that region the Persian Gulf of the next century. The object of the revived game is to befriend leaders of the former Soviet republics controlling the oil, while neutralizing Russian suspicions and devising secure alternative pipeline routes to world markets.”

After overturning the bloc of workers’ states in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, U.S. finance capital schemed to secure ownership of trillions of dollars worth of buried oil and gas treasure in the Caspian Sea region, which had for decades been collectively owned by the workers and peoples of the region.

Transnational energy giants like Unocal and Enron saw Afghanistan as the best path to pipe oil and gas from Central Asia to the world market.

The Bush neo-cons, Pentagon brass and the military-industrial complex worked

overtime to frame this as a campaign for women’s rights.

Laura Bush delivered the presidential radio address on Nov. 16, 2001—a month after the Pentagon assault began. Her speech focused on women’s rights in Afghanistan: “The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women.” It was a total lie.

### Afghan Revolution advanced women’s rights

An article in Workers World on Oct. 10, 1996, by Deirdre Griswold showed how a progressive revolution in Afghanistan in 1978 had taken measures to liberate women and challenge centuries of landlordism. In response, the U.S. pulled together an army of pro-feudal elements to crush that revolutionary government, forcing it to call on the USSR for support.

The WW article quoted from a 1986 Department of Defense publication titled “Afghanistan—a Country Study.” Even this Pentagon book had to admit that the 1978 revolution brought many gains to Afghan women and girls.

Women were organized in the Democratic Women’s Organization of Afghanistan. The national group had been founded in 1965 by Dr. Anahita Ratebzada. Her companion Babrak Karmal, who founded the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan the same year, later became the country’s president.

One of the first actions of the revolution was to end “bride-price” and allow women to make marriage choices. Punishment of women who had sex outside of marriage was prohibited. Women could choose to wear or not to wear the veil, travel in public, get an education and work at a job. Women of all classes—not just the well-to-do—were trained as doctors, teachers and lawyers.

Brigades of women and other young Afghans brought medical care to rural peasants.

The revolution impacted the life of one third of the rural population—landless

peasants, sharecroppers and tenants held in virtual bondage to landlords and money lenders.

Before the revolution, 5 percent of the landlords claimed ownership of more than 45 percent of the country’s arable land. “When the PDPA took power,” the Pentagon report noted, “it quickly moved to remove both landownership inequalities and usury.” One of the revolutionary land reforms was the cancellation of mortgage debt for agricultural laborers, tenants and small landowners.

On the eve of the revolution, 96.3 percent of the women of Afghanistan were illiterate; rural illiteracy for all the sexes was 90.5 percent. The progressive government created massive literacy programs and printed textbooks in Dari, Pashtu, Uzbek, Turkic and Baluchi.

The 1986 Pentagon report stated, “The government trained many more teachers, built additional schools and kindergartens, and instituted nurseries for orphans.”

The Washington Post admitted that Afghan women were the strongest supporters of the 1978 revolution.

But this revolution was crushed by a well-funded, well-armed counterrevolution in which U.S. imperialism made common cause with feudal patriarchs. Women were then bought and sold as property once again.

National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and former CIA Director Robert M. Gates later publicly bragged that, beginning in early 1979, the CIA had funneled money and arms to counter-revolutionary groups, many of them members of militias loyal to local landowners.

Democrats and Republicans had approved at least \$8 billion for this counterrevolutionary effort that hired, armed and trained the Taliban, Osama bin Laden and other forces.

CIA historian John Ranelagh recalls that then President Jimmy Carter OK’d “more secret operations than Reagan later

did.” Carter later admitted in his memoirs that his administration actually considered the use of tactical nuclear weapons against the progressive developments in Afghanistan.

### U.S. set women’s rights back centuries

By 1992 the Soviet Union was overturned and the progressive government in Afghanistan was defeated by imperialism. After four years of internecine struggle among different Afghan factions, the Taliban came to power.

Michael Meacher, a senior Labor Party member of Parliament who had been a member of British Prime Minister Tony Blair’s cabinet, observed in a Sept. 6, 2003, article in the Guardian of London, “Until July 2001 the U.S. government saw the Taliban regime as a source of stability in Central Asia that would enable the construction of hydrocarbon pipelines from the oil and gas fields in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, through Afghanistan and Pakistan, to the Indian Ocean.

“But confronted with the Taliban’s refusal to accept U.S. conditions, the U.S. representatives told them ‘either you accept our offer of a carpet of gold, or we bury you under a carpet of bombs.’”

Washington took advantage of the attacks on Sept. 11, 2001, to launch an invasion of Afghanistan.

U.S. occupiers appointed former Unocal advisors to be both the titular president of Afghanistan and the U.S. ambassador to the country.

The continuing imperialist blitzkrieg has destroyed the infrastructure—including potable water, sewage and electricity—worsening hunger and disease. Soviet-built public urban housing complexes and schools lie in ruins.

These conditions create suffering for all sexes, genders and sexualities in Afghanistan, particularly for women. In

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# Chávez on referendum: 49 percent say yes to socialism

By Berta Joubert-Ceci

The Venezuelan National Electoral Commission (CNE) early on Dec. 3 announced the results of the previous day’s referendum on proposed major changes to 69 articles of the Venezuelan Constitution. The “No” vote opposing the reforms had won by a margin of less than 2 percent over the “Yes” option, which would have deepened progressive changes and ratified the reconstruction of society on a socialist basis.

Announcing the results on national radio and television, President Hugo Chávez said that his proposed reform “could not happen for now, but I continue to propose it, the most advanced in the planet and the one that aims to reach the maximum social inclusion, a fundamental principle of our system.”

Chávez emphasized that “as president of the nation, I have listened to the voice of the people and will always keep listening to it. I will take it into my heart for our analysis and to continue constructing the Bolivarian Venezuela for our children.” In a later statement, he said, “We will have to mature and continue building our socialism.”

When the news was known, forces opposed to the Bolivarian Revolution began celebrating in the wealthy neighborhoods over what they called the “end of Chávez” and the revolution—in other words, their hopes to bring back the old system of privilege and wealth for the few and poverty and exclusion for the majority.

Since Chávez took office in 1998, the pro-revolutionary forces had prevailed in every local and national election, including the 2004 attempt by the right wing to remove the president from office in a Recall Referendum and the presidential reelection a year ago, in December 2006. They had won a total of 10 electoral processes.

What happened this time? Is the revolution weakening? Is the right-wing opposition getting stronger? Are the people disillusioned with the revolution or opposed to the idea of building socialism in Venezuela? Besides the electoral process, what methods can be used to advance the revolution?

Before any of those questions can

be answered, we should look closely at the results. Of the estimated 27 million Venezuelans, 16 million are registered to vote. The election commission reported that 8,883,746 valid votes were counted, reflecting a high level of abstention: 44 percent. In the presidential elections a year ago, Chávez won with 63 percent of the vote and the abstention rate was only 25 percent.

The Constitutional Referendum was complicated, with 69 articles divided into two separate blocks, voted on separately. Taking both blocks, the results were 50-51 percent of the vote for the “No” option and 48-49 percent for the “Yes.”

Several of the articles in question dealt with concrete issues like decreasing the work hours and guaranteeing social security for workers in the informal economy. Others dealt with more abstract matters that required careful study and explanation. These included a new division of the national territory, how to deal with a national emergency, and steps toward a transition to socialism.

Efforts were made to inform the population about the proposed reforms. The National Assembly distributed 10 million copies of the proposal between August and October. A special phone line was established for consultation and more than 9,000 events were held throughout the country.

However, it is clear that this was not enough. Bolivarian Venezuelans are now in the process of seriously analyzing this outcome.

President Chávez said: “We were short 3 million people who did not vote [this time]. Why? We have to evaluate this. I am completely sure that the immense majority of those people are still with us. They did not vote for the Yes; they abstained—doubts, fears, we did not have enough time, capacity to explain. ... There are many political elements that we must consider in this battle.”

He noted, however, that “The fact that 49 percent have voted for the socialist project, in spite of everything, is a great political step.”

## U.S. behind the opposition

Despite the advances made on behalf of the poor majority, the capitalist mode of

production still exists in Venezuela. The U.S.-allied oligarchy is in a constant fight against the progressive measures and the prospect of building socialism.

The traditional opposition, the old parties of the Fourth Republic that carried out the U.S.-instigated coup against Chávez in 2002, had been fractionalized and weakened. But a new layer has surfaced that has brought hope to the oligarchy. These are mostly the offspring of the white and wealthy Venezuelan bourgeoisie. Some come from public colleges but most are from private and Catholic colleges. They have been staging sometimes violent demonstrations opposing the constitutional reform and complaining that President Chávez wants to be a dictator-for-life because one of the articles called for ending term limits on the presidency.

These sons and daughters of the rich hide under the banner of “freedom and democracy,” showing arrogant and racist contempt against not only the president but the poor and the rest of Venezuela’s youth, who are strongly with the revolution.

U.S. imperialism is trying new tactics to stop the revolution. In the Dec. 2 Washington Post, Juan Forero wrote that “some student groups have received funding for workshops from the U.S. Agency for International Development, according to documents made available to The Washington Post on Saturday. ... The U.S. documents, obtained through a freedom of information request filed by a researcher for the National Security Archive at George Washington University, show that \$216,000 was provided from 2003 through this year to unnamed student groups at several universities for ‘conflict resolution,’ ‘democracy promotion’ and other programs.”

In this deeply religious country, the Catholic Church has also played a destabilizing role. Vice President Jorge Rodríguez sent a video to Papal Nuncio Giacinto Berloco, recorded earlier in one of the Caracas churches, showing calls to ignore the outcome of the elections if the Yes option won.

Another tactic used by the opposition

was a severe food shortage, created mostly by the hoarding of basic food items by the oligarchy’s agribusiness and food distribution sector. For weeks many people had to stand in long lines in the Mercades, the government-subsidized markets. This, the oligarchs said, is what can happen under socialism. The campaign also tried to scare people into thinking that a socialist government could take away their children and homes.

In late November, Venezuelan counterintelligence obtained an internal CIA memorandum on “Operation Tenaza [Pliers]” from the U.S. Embassy in Caracas. The memo was authored by a CIA officer stationed in the embassy, Michael Middleton Steere, and was addressed to CIA Director General Michael Hayden in Washington.

It revealed different aspects of the CIA campaign against the revolution, including the work of the USAID, the creation of fraudulent polls and the distortion of information about the referendum in conjunction with private national and international media. Multiple destabilizing actions described range from violent street protests and the creation of a climate of ungovernability to military intervention. President Chávez read the text on television, calling on the people to be alert and ready for action.

The elation of the right wing may not last. The pro-revolutionary forces, instead of feeling sad or defeated, are expressing a new enthusiasm for advancing the revolution and building socialism.

Letters to the Web site Aporrea and statements of organized parties and formations all point to the need to filter out what they call opportunist elements around Chávez that are preventing the revolution from moving forward and to increase the dialog with the population explaining the concepts of socialism. One such opportunist is former Defense Minister Raúl Isaías Baduel, who joined the opposition against the reforms, stating that they represented a “constitutional coup.”

The revolutionaries also agree on the need for serious reflection and analysis to try to correct any mistakes committed. □

## Tijuana conference

# Uniting workers’ struggles worldwide

By Cheryl LaBash

In Tijuana, Mexico, on Dec. 7, 8 and 9, an historic conference will discuss pressing issues faced by the U.S. working class in relation to the emerging Latin American cooperative alternative to imperialism—ALBA (Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas). The Cuba/Venezuela/North America Labor Conference - IV will address topics ranging from international relations to immigration, from building solidarity across borders and nationalities to ending war and war threats.

A special session on Friday evening with honored guests Irma Schwerert, mother of Cuban Five hero René González, and Silvia Lozano, Cuban National Assembly member, will call for freeing the Cuban

Five from U.S. prisons and screen the new film, “The Trial,” narrated by Danny Glover.

Also new at this fourth conference is the participation of union leaders from Bolivia and Nicaragua joining Venezuelan and Cuban union leaders, representing workers from all four countries which have joined in the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA). ALBA is the alternative to the imperialist proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas that is attempting to extend the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) from the Arctic Circle to Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of Argentina and Chile.

Malik Rahim, organizer of the Common Ground Collective in New Orleans, brings

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## Confrontation at Venezuelan Consulate



Supporters of the Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela demonstrated near that country’s consulate in New York on Manhattan’s 51st Street near 5th Avenue on Dec. 2, as the vote on the referendum was taking place in Venezuela and also at the consulate office. At about 2 p.m. a shouting match broke out between opponents of President Hugo Chávez—from the relatively wealthy Venezuelan expatriate community—and the demonstrators, who also included Venezuelans. The anti-Chávez forces picked up

the arrogant expression used by the Bourbon king of Spain against Chávez at the Iberian Summit in Chile, shouting to the progressive demonstrators, “Why don’t you shut up?” Perhaps they longed for the pre-Simón Bolívar days when Venezuela was still a Spanish colony. It was also telling that the New York cops moved the pro-government demonstrators away from the government office, while allowing the anti-Chávez forces to gather there.

—Report and photo by John Catalinotto





## A vicious cycle

An article in the Dec. 1 New York Times reports that almost half of the 50 U.S. states pass none of the money collected for child support to families on welfare; most of the other states pass along only \$50 per month to the custodial parent.

In Wisconsin, a federally approved experiment gave all child support money directly to the custodial parent. The results revealed what probably seems like common sense to most: “Studies of the Wisconsin experiment showed that when support payments were fully passed along to mothers, more fathers came forward and paid more of the support they owed. ... As families receive more support money, they are less apt to require public assistance, making up for any short-term loss of revenues. And fathers are more likely to establish lasting patterns of payment and connection with their children.” (New York Times, Dec. 1)

Of the total uncollected child support—\$105 billion in 2006—half was “owed” to the federal and state governments for welfare costs. The article states that in 2009, due to legislation passed in 2006 by Congress, states will be “permitted”—not required—to pass along up to \$100 for one child and \$200 for two or more children.

Year after year, so-called “deadbeat dads” and “welfare moms” are demonized in the mainstream media. The media say they’re heartless, abandoning and/or profiting off their own children. It’s always people of color that are portrayed. Rarely if ever portrayed, however, is the hardship these parents face in finding jobs, or simply surviving.

Meanwhile, as the custodial parent, mostly mothers, scrape to find money to pay the bills in a worsening economy, the prospects for the noncustodial parent are made bleaker. A 2006 article entitled “Plight Deepens for Black Men, Studies Warn” cites two factors that have slowed Black employment. One is the high rate of incarceration; the second, the stricter enforcement of child support.

“Improved collection of money from absent fathers has been a pillar of welfare overhaul. But the system can leave young men feeling overwhelmed with debt and deter them from seeking legal work, since a large share of any earnings could be seized.

“About half of all Black men in their late 20s and early 30s who did not go to college are noncustodial fathers. ... Some fathers give up, while others find casual work. ‘The work is sporadic, not the kind that leads to advancement or provides unemployment insurance,’ [Georgetown University economist Harry J.] Holzer said. ‘It’s nothing like having a real job.’” (New York Times, Mar. 20, 2006)

And so the cycle continues. The Dec. 1 article confirms this: “Young fathers with little education or job prospects find themselves in arrears and facing jail time or the loss of their driver’s license as a result, making it all the harder to start earning and paying.”

For all the scapegoating of poor people of color, it’s the government that is callously profiting off of poor children and their parents. While the government is busy collecting money from individuals, claiming that it is needed to cover the cost of welfare, it spends billions on war and the prospect of expanding war. The same children that the government collects child support for, it will later try to recruit to fight its wars. At the same time, huge sums of corporate welfare—in the name of tax breaks and subsidies—are the rule and not the exception.

When it comes to supporting its people, the capitalist system in the United States has produced deadbeat governments—year after year, whether Democratic or Republican—and welfare corporations. As the economic and political crises deepen, the grassroots movement will grow, demanding that all mothers and fathers receive the support they need to raise healthy children and live healthy lives. □

# Annapolis conference Not ‘peace’ but cover for a new U.S. war Anti-war movement must embrace Palestinian struggle

By Joyce Chediak

The Middle East “peace” conference held by the Bush administration in Annapolis, Md., on Nov. 27 was not meant to address the just grievances of the Palestinian people. The Annapolis meeting cynically exploited the suffering of the Palestinian people as a screen to hide a pro-war alliance aimed at Iran, Hezbollah, Hamas and all who struggle for self-determination in the Middle East.

Addressing the 50 representatives of organizations and states in the Middle East, George Bush called the timing of the Annapolis conference “right” because “a battle is under way for the future of the Middle East, and we must not cede victory to the extremists.” [Bush uses “extremists” to refer to Iran, Hezbollah and Hamas—J.C.]

Even the terms agreed upon at Annapolis are full of contradictions. A “final agreement” is to be reached between Tel Aviv and the Palestinian Authority by 2008, the end of the Bush term. But Israeli Prime Minister Olmert said, “We will do all we can to try to reach an agreement as soon as possible, and we can do it. It doesn’t mean you can implement it.” (New York Times, Nov 29)

Bush claims he will be the “arbitrator” of the talks, yet his National Security Advisor Stephen J. Hadley said the U.S. would neither impose terms of a peace treaty on the two sides, nor “force a resolution of differences.”

And who has Bush appointed to follow up on the sham “peace process”? He named not a career diplomat, but the former supreme commander of NATO, Gen. James L. Jones, to follow the sham “peace process.” Jones’ real job will be to funnel overt and covert arms for use against national liberation struggles.

Bush, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas talked “peace,” while the Israeli military waged war. Armed with U.S. weapons, Israeli attacks continued in the West Bank and especially in

Gaza. The six-month U.S.-Israeli blockade of Gaza, which is slowly strangling 1.4 million Palestinians, was not even on the Annapolis agenda (see related article).

### One million in Gaza say: “Don’t recognize Israel!”

While Palestinian Authority President Abbas attended the conference and appears willing to go along with this deception, Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank and in the diaspora organized angry demonstrations against the phony peace talks, and Abbas’ participation in them. In Gaza, 100,000 chanted: “Don’t recognize Israel!” West Bank demonstrations were attacked by the Abbas forces, killing one (see related article).

Since the Oslo Accords of 1993, Washington has brokered a series of peace accords. All have been meant to confuse progressive people and divide the Palestinians. Israel broke each accord while Washington sat on its hands. Since 1993, Israel has placed half a million Zionist settlers in the West Bank, has confiscated more than half of the West Bank’s territory, refuses to define its own borders, has annexed East Jerusalem, denies Palestinian refugees the right to return, and has incarcerated 10,000 Palestinians, including half the Hamas cabinet.

Mustafa Barghouti, the former Palestinian information minister, said Annapolis was “deja vu” and it was unlikely any real agreement would be reached “as long as there is no serious pressure on Israel to end occupation ... and be forced to respect international law.” (aljazeera.net, Nov. 27)

### Israeli think tank calls conference “a triumph”

Even the Israelis agree that Annapolis offers little hope for peace. Michael B. Oren, a senior fellow at the Israeli think tank Shalem Center, calls Olmert and Abbas “two of the region’s weakest leaders, unpopular among their own people and



Boston school bus driver, Robert Traynham, at Nov. 27 rally against Annapolis “peace” conference.

WW PHOTO: LIZ GREEN

# U.S. resisters continue fight for Canada asylum

By Dustin Langley

From 1965 to 1973, while the U.S. government was engaged in a brutal war against the people of Vietnam, more than 50,000 draft-age men from the U.S. fled to Canada, refusing to participate in what they considered an immoral war.

Then, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said: “Those who make the conscientious judgment that they must not participate in this war ... have my complete sympathy, and indeed our political approach has been to give them access to Canada. Canada should be a refuge from militarism.”

Today, soldiers refusing to fight in another U.S. war for empire face much greater challenges. Two weeks ago, the Supreme Court of Canada declined to hear appeals from U.S. war resisters Jeremy Hinzman and Brandon Hughey seeking refuge in Canada. On Nov. 15, the War

Resisters Support Campaign (www.resisters.ca) organized rallies across Canada in support of the right of U.S. war resisters to receive political asylum in Canada, a right supported by 65 percent of Canadians.

Hinzman and Hughey were among the first Iraq War resisters to arrive in Canada in 2004. They applied for political refugee status on the basis that the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq is illegal under both U.S. and international law.

Hinzman said: “They said there were weapons of mass destruction. They haven’t found any. They said Iraq was linked to international terrorist organizations. There haven’t been any links. This was a criminal war. Any act of violence in an unjustified conflict is an atrocity.”

Hinzman and Hughey claimed that according to the United Nations convention, they should not be prosecuted for refusing to fight in an illegal conflict. Canada’s Immigration Review Board and

the Canadian courts, however, denied a hearing on these facts.

Gerry Condon, a Vietnam-era resister who lived in Canada for three years, now works with Project Safe Haven (www.soldiersayno.blogspot.com ). Condon said, “While the refusal of the Supreme Court of Canada to hear the appeals is very disappointing, the struggle for sanctuary in Canada is being stepped up. All along, we have known that a political solution was ultimately what would be needed. While the sanctuary campaign ramps up in Canada, we in the U.S. can seize this moment to become much more supportive.”

On Dec. 6, Canada’s Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration will be holding hearings on the issue of allowing U.S. war resisters to stay in Canada.

The War Resisters Support Campaign is asking supporters in the U.S. to join the appeal campaign launched by Courage to

Resist in support of asylum for resisters, located online at www.couragetoresist.org. For more information, go to www.resisters.ca. □

## U.S., Afghanistan & women’s rights

*Continued from page 8*

2004, some provinces reported 593 maternal deaths for every 100,000 live births.

Pentagon Special Forces commandos can kick in the door of a home at any hour of the day or night, body search Afghan women and their loved ones, and drag them all off in hoods to torture chambers.

That’s imperialist-style “liberation.”

*Research by Minnie Bruce Pratt contributed to this article.*

*Next: U.S. warmakers gay-baited and gay-bashed Afghanistan.*

*E-mail: lfeinberg@workers.org*



discredited by corruption charges.” Bush, he says, because he refuses to enter into any direct role, “further diminishes any hope for breakthrough.” (New York Times op-ed, Dec. 2)

But Oren is really excited about Annapolis. “Yet in spite of its glaring handicaps,” he continues, “Annapolis must be deemed a triumph—not of peacemaking, paradoxically, but of girding the region for conflict,” as participants in the conference were mostly motivated to attend by their fear of Iran. “This fear has deepened with the success of the Iranian proxies Hezbollah and Hamas in Lebanon and Gaza, as well as the expansion of Iranian influence westward into the Iraqi vacuum.”

**Arab regimes “losing own youth to religious militancy”**

In truth, the Arab reactionary regimes, all clients of the U.S., have entered into this anti-struggle alliance with the U.S. and Israel out of weakness. These regimes fear their own people, who feel a strong bond with the Palestinian struggle and are outraged that for 60 years Palestinian grievances have never been addressed.

“Those Arab nations fear that the tide of history is moving away from them, and that they are losing their own youth to religious militancy,” said the New York Times, Nov 28.

Shibley Telhami, Anwar Sadat professor of government at the University of Maryland, said of the Arab regimes, “They’re very worried about militancy and their public’s great sympathy with Hezbollah and Hamas. ... They were all stunned by the Hamas takeover of Gaza” in June.

Hisham Melham, the Washington bureau chief for Al Arabiya television, in the same source, points out that the “Israeli-Palestinian conflict has always been the focal point for mobilization of Islamic and radical groups.”

An exception is Syria, subject of U.S. and Israeli attack, which for fear of isolation joined the other Arab League governments to attend at Annapolis.

**U.S built for Iraq war on backs of Palestinians**

This is not the first time the Bush administration has used the suffering of the Palestinian people, and the deep feelings the working and progressive people of the Middle East have for this struggle, to cover its war moves. Five years ago, Bush cried crocodile tears for the Palestinians and lied about “moves towards peace” in order to get the backing he needed for the invasion of Iraq.

“By June 2002, Mr. Bush and Ms. Rice realized that before the Europeans and Arabs would support an American-led invasion [of Iraq], the administration would have to prove that it cared about more in the Middle East than the security of Israel.” (New York Times, Nov. 26)

So “Mr. Bush ... called for Palestinian elections.” Then, at “the eve of the [Iraq] war in March 2003, and then only under pressure from Tony Blair, the British prime minister, the White House finally endorsed the ‘road map,’ a peace plan that was to lead to a Palestinian state in three years.”

The end result was not peace. It was the invasion of Iraq, and worsened conditions for the Palestinian people.

But today is not 2003. The brutality of Bush’s war on Iraq and the steady gains of the Iraqi resistance have exposed Washington’s predatory nature and its weakness in the face of popular resistance. The oppressed people and the liberation movements of the Middle East will not be fooled by Annapolis.

The situation here in the U.S. is another question. Here, the Palestinian struggle is still one of the most misunderstood. The imperialist maneuvers at Annapolis, however, show the centrality of the Palestinian struggle to all events in the Middle East. The anti-war movement cannot push the Palestinian struggle to the sidelines simply because the Republicans, the Democrats and the press deliberately obscure the just nature of the Palestinian cause.

To end the Iraq war and stop the Pentagon from starting new wars in the Middle East, progressives here must be armed with a firm understanding of the Palestinian struggle, and must embrace it with the deepest solidarity.□

**Meeting plans Int’l conference**

**Support the right to return**

**By Cheryl LaBash  
San Diego, Calif.**

On Dec. 1, the San Diego Chapter of Al-Awda hosted the Third Al-Awda West Coast Regional Conference to prepare for the Sixth Annual International Al-Awda Convention, which will be held on May 16-18, 2008, in Anaheim, Calif. The theme is “Palestine: 60 Years of Forced Exile—Time for Return.”

This important 2008 conference will mark the sixtieth year of Al-Nakba, the cataclysm that forcibly displaced a million Palestinians from their villages and cities. The Zionist settler state of Israel was installed by U.S. and British imperialism on May 15, 1948, through the massacre of civilians and the razing to the ground of hundreds of Palestinian

villages. The conference will reaffirm the right of displaced Palestinians to return to the lands stolen from them—not just in theory, but in reality.

Through panels, workshops and cultural presentations the 2008 conference will educate and inform Palestinians, supporters and others seeking to understand the roots of the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East. Topics will include modern history, current affairs, the goal of one democratic secular state, the parallels with the former South African apartheid regime, and the current status of refugees and racism and discrimination faced in the U.S.

To plan with the San Diego Chapter of Al-Awda, Palestinians traveled from as far away as Portland, Ore.,

**Israel wages war on Gaza population**

**By Joyce Chediak**

It is the elephant in the living room that the participants at Annapolis refused to see. While talking “peace” they have looked away from the military and economic war waged on the 1.4 million Palestinian people who live in Gaza.

Gaza is under siege. Israel, with the full backing of the U.S., has blockaded Gaza for six months. This barren strip of beach, overcrowded with refugees expelled from their homes in Palestine in 1948, was already the poorest and most overcrowded part of the occupied territories. Today, the civilian population is being slowly strangled, in violation of international law and human decency. Yet it was not a topic on the Annapolis “peace” agenda.

At the same time, Israel uses U.S.-supplied weapons to daily bomb Gaza neighborhoods.

According to the Nov. 27 British Guardian, after six months of blockade, the number of Gazans now depending

on United Nations food handouts to survive is 1.2 million, or 86 percent of the population. The private sector recently collapsed due to the blockade, resulting in the loss of 80,000 jobs and an unemployment rate over 50 percent.

Israel has further reduced gasoline and diesel supplies entering Gaza, so that every gas station is now closed. This fuel is also used for cooking stoves. Israel plans to soon begin cutting electricity to Gaza.

Infant mortality in Gaza is now 25 per 1,000 live births, and many expect it to climb, as Gaza is running low on medicines needed for the vulnerable. A Nov. 27 Guardian article, entitled “Sick are in the frontline as supplies and hope drain away for isolated Gazans,” quotes the health ministry in Gaza, which says there are no stocks left of 85 essential medicines, including chemotherapy drugs, strong antibiotics and several psychiatric drugs. For another 138 medications, there are stocks only for three months at most. Supplies of nitrous oxide for surgical anesthesia

and Phoenix, Ariz. As each attendee introduced themselves, they included the town or area in occupied Palestine from which they or their families were displaced, including the first wave of displacements in 1948. One young man now living in the U.S. had parents who were born in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon after their parents were driven from their homes in Palestine.

Supporters who also attended the planning meeting included representatives from Alternate Focus, Campaign to End Israeli Apartheid, International Action Center/Troops Out Now-LA, Workers World Party and the ANSWER Coalition. Go to [www.al-awda.org](http://www.al-awda.org) for registration, agenda and other information on the 2008 Conference.□

will run out in two weeks.

“Aid officials working in Gaza say the reality of life here is barely understood abroad. ‘You must be on the ground for days and weeks to begin to appreciate the full horror of the situation,’ said John Ging, the Gaza director of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency, which works with Palestinian refugees. ... ‘By what other definition or name can these sanctions be described, other than arbitrary collective punishment of a civilian population, helplessly caught in the middle of a conflict?’

“‘We are on the verge of a real catastrophe,’ added Raji Sourani, director of the Palestinian Center for Human rights. ‘What is the meaning of international law? Is it just something for academics to discuss? This is the law of the jungle.’”

It is up to the mass movement worldwide, and especially in the U.S., to defend the people of Gaza. Protests and meetings are needed to demand an end to this brutal blockade and to expose the U.S. role behind it.□

**Tijuana conference**

**Uniting workers’ struggles worldwide**

*Continued from page 9*

to the Tijuana Conference the front line struggle against racism and criminal neglect for the rights of Katrina/Rita hurricane survivors. Camilo Romero, Coca-Cola boycott representative, will show U.S. corporate collusion with Colombian paramilitaries to murder trade unionists in that country.

The Sunday panel will feature major currents in the immigrant workers struggle including Elvira Arellano, currently on a hunger strike in Mexico after being deported from the U.S., and Emma Lozano from La Familia Latina Unida, Teresa Gutierrez from the May 1 Immigrant Rights Coalition, a representative from the March 25 Coalition, Juan Jose Gutierrez of Latino Movement USA, José Jacques Medina, member of the Mexican Congress and others.

The conference is supported by the U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange; Sindicato

Mexicano de Electricistas (SME); World Organization for the Right of the People to Healthcare, SEIU 1199 NY; National Network on Cuba (NNOC); Venezuela Solidarity Network (VSN); International Action Center (IAC); Cuba Solidarity New York (CSNY); Southwest Workers Union, San Antonio, Texas; C.O.M.P.A., Convergencia de los Movimientos de los Pueblos de Las Americas; Peace and Freedom Party; Movimiento Latino USA; Cuba-U.S. Sustainability Project; Coalición 25 de Marzo; International Committee for the Cuban Five; and other organizations and individuals.

Tijuana, Mexico, the conference site, just minutes from San Diego, Calif., was chosen to break through the international isolation being imposed on U.S. residents by their government in Washington. Cuban union representatives and leaders are not granted entry visas by the U.S. government. If

workers from the U.S. travel to Cuba exercising their constitutional right to associate with Cuban workers, letters from the U.S. Treasury Dept. threaten hefty fines. The U.S. government even reaches outside its national borders to impose trade restrictions on subsidiaries of U.S. corporations in other countries. On Feb. 5, 2006, a Sheraton Hotel in Mexico City refused to rent hotel rooms to Cuban representatives participating in trade negotiations.

Solidarity messages and donations are welcome from organizations and individuals who cannot personally attend the Cuba/Venezuela/North America Labor Conference. Make donations payable to Labor Exchange, P.O.B. 39188, Redford, MI 48239. Email solidarity messages to [laborexchange@aol.com](mailto:laborexchange@aol.com) or [laborexchange@action-mail.org](mailto:laborexchange@action-mail.org). Conference details are available on the Web at [laborexchange.blogspot.com](http://laborexchange.blogspot.com).□

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# Uribe interrumpe relaciones entre Colombia y Venezuela

Por Berta Joubert-Ceci

El desarrollo político entre Colombia y Venezuela, dos países en Suramérica que comparten una frontera de 1.380 millas, es estratégico para el clima político y la estabilidad de la región. Esto además los pone en la mira de la administración de Bush y el Pentágono.

Ambos países gozan de grandes recursos naturales. Colombia goza de la ventaja geopolítica de tener acceso a las costas del Pacífico y del Atlántico. Venezuela tiene grandes reservas petroleras. Las corporaciones transnacionales encuentran esto muy tentador.

Los gobiernos de estos países tienen ideologías opuestas. El neofascista presidente Álvaro Uribe Vélez, el aliado más cercano de Bush en toda América Latina, gobierna Colombia. El presidente venezolano, Hugo Chávez Frías ha estado promoviendo una revolución con miras a construir una sociedad con una base socialista; para la congoja de Washington, varios países en Sur y Centroamérica están siguiendo el ejemplo de Chávez.

La agenda de Estados Unidos ha sido la de desestabilizar la revolución Bolivariana en Venezuela, principalmente a través del financiamiento de grupos violentos opositores que se esconden bajo la máscara de “democracia” y por la intervención política de Estados Unidos. Mientras tanto, Washington respalda el gobierno de Uribe con más de \$4 mil millones hasta la fecha por medio del Plan Colombia. Estados Unidos interviene políticamente en Colombia por intermedio de su embajador en Bogotá. Colombia es tercera en recibir ayuda militar de los EEUU después del Oriente Medio y Afganistán.

La meta de Estados Unidos de enfrentar Colombia contra Venezuela ha fallado hasta ahora. A pesar de las diferencias entre estos dos países, han aumentado el comercio entre ellos. Ambos países son el segundo socio comercial entre ellos después de los Estados Unidos. Hace varias semanas se inauguró un gasoducto en Colombia, un proyecto conjunto colombo-venezolano.

Por supuesto que Estados Unidos ha tratado de intervenir. Paramilitares colombianos fueron capturados en Caracas hace unos años planeando asesinar al presidente Chávez. Otros incidentes en ambos países apuntan hacia la desestabilización de la Revolución Bolivariana llegando desde Colombia.

Y ahora la decisión unilateral y abrupta de Uribe de detener las negociaciones

para un Intercambio Humanitario (IH) de prisioner@s en la guerra civil de Colombia ha frenado de pronto las buenas relaciones. Las negociaciones estaban dirigidas a lograr un intercambio entre 45 personas retenidas por las fuerzas de liberación de Colombia conocidas como las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia—Ejército Popular (FARC—EP) y l@s 500 miembr@s de las FARC que están en prisiones de Colombia.

### Intercambio Humanitario, esperanza de paz en Colombia

El creciente movimiento por el acuerdo humanitario en Colombia se opone al plan de Estados Unidos y Uribe de “rescatar” a l@s prisioner@s en manos de la guerrilla por medio de intervenciones militares. En el pasado, cada ataque militar de este tipo ha resultado en más muertes de prisioner@s.

Es posible que este movimiento, con amplio apoyo tanto en Colombia como internacionalmente, haya instado a Uribe el aceptar negociaciones que podrían llegar a un intercambio. Hasta el conservador presidente francés, Nicolás Sarkozy, puso presión para comenzar las negociaciones, ya que ha tenido que mostrar su interés en la liberación de Ingrid Betancourt, la ex candidata presidencial colombo-francesa de Colombia. Además, los padres de los tres contratistas del Pentágono han exigido que se den éstas negociaciones. Las FARC-EP tienen a estas personas retenidas.

Las mismas FARC han dicho que les gustaría que el IH lleve a negociaciones con el gobierno hacia un eventual plan de paz con justicia social.

A mediados de agosto Uribe sorprendió a l@s observadores al elegir a la senadora afrocolombiana Piedad Córdoba para servir como representante del gobierno colombiano en la facilitación de las negociaciones. Córdoba es una líder opositora del Partido Liberal, que ha expuesto los vínculos de los aliados gubernamentales cercanos a Uribe a las fuerzas paramilitares.

La senadora Córdoba luego invitó al Presidente Chávez a ser parte del esfuerzo. Chávez, quien había expresado anteriormente su voluntad de participar, aceptó con gusto. Uribe aprobó estos pasos. Para poder mediar efectivamente, l@s facilitador@s tenían que reunirse con el secretariado de las FARC. Para comenzar este proceso la senadora Córdoba se reunió con el vocero de las FARC Raúl Reyes el 15 de septiembre.

Chávez y Córdoba le dieron alta prioridad a las negociaciones del IH. Córdoba viajó a Caracas, París y a Washington, donde se reunió con l@s miembros de las FARC Simón Trinidad y Sonia, que actualmente están encarcelad@s en los EEUU. Ambos generosamente dijeron a la senadora que sus nombres debían ser elimi-

nados de la lista de canjeables si su presencia iba a crear un problema para el IH.

Chávez y Córdoba se reunieron con enviados de las FARC en Caracas y también fueron a Europa para reunirse con Sarkozy. Avances importantes fueron reportados. Los familiares de la guerrilla encarcelada y de l@s retenid@s por las FARC expresaron su gratitud de que por primera vez se hacía un verdadero intento para negociar y propiciar la liberación de sus seres queridos. L@s colombian@s reportaron un tremendo sentido de esperanza a través del país.

Durante la Cumbre Iberoamericana celebrada en Chile a principios de noviembre, Chávez le pidió a Uribe que fuera más flexible. Aunque Uribe había aprobado las negociaciones, estaba estableciendo límites muy estrictos. Uribe enérgicamente rehusó crear una zona de despeje en Colombia para permitir que las negociaciones procedieran con seguridad y sin interferencia militar como las FARC habían requerido.

A mediados de noviembre, Uribe acentuó su intransigencia, estableciendo el 31 de diciembre como fecha límite para las negociaciones. No era razonable creer que un conflicto armado que ha durado por más de 40 años pueda súbitamente proveer una solución tan importante con tanta prisa. Hasta Chávez mencionó varias veces las dificultades en comunicarse con las FARC por los intensos bombardeos del ejército de Colombia en las selvas donde se encuentra la guerrilla.

### EEUU ordena un alto al IH

Dos días después, el 21 de noviembre, interesante y trágicamente, el ex embajador de los EEUU a Venezuela, William Brownfield, que había sido acreditado como embajador a Colombia el 12 de septiembre declaró públicamente, “Ya han pasado dos meses y 22 días de este proceso y aún no tenemos pruebas de vida”, pocas horas después, Uribe unilateralmente anunció que las negociaciones habían sido suspendidas y que Córdoba y Chávez terminarían sus responsabilidades en torno a las negociaciones.

El pretexto usado por Uribe fue una conversación por teléfono que duró 30 segundos entre Chávez y el General del Ejército de Colombia, Mario Montoya. Uribe alega que la llamada de Chávez a Montoya fue una violación de protocolo. En realidad, fue Córdoba quien hizo la llamada como una de las muchas que había hecho a Montoya en su esfuerzo por mediar.

Podemos imaginar la pérdida abrupta de esperanza sentida por los parientes, y en general, por el pueblo colombiano que quiere paz. Y por la comunidad internacional que está en solidaridad con las valientes masas colombianas en su lucha. Hasta Sarkozy exhortó a Uribe a reconsiderar su acción.

Los parientes de l@s cautiv@s de las FARC respondieron al anuncio de Uribe con críticas acerbadas. Un artículo en el Washington Post del 23 de noviembre reporta que, “Jo Rosano, la madre de Marc Gonsalves, uno de los estadounidenses, culpó a Uribe, diciendo que él había socavado los esfuerzos de mediación de Chávez y la senadora colombiana Piedad Córdoba, una izquierdista cercana a Chávez.”

“Ésta no es la primera vez que él ha saboteado esto, y no será la última,” dijo Rosano desde su casa en Connecticut. “Debería darle vergüenza, es todo lo que puedo decir. Los ojos del mundo están sobre él.”

### Las relaciones entre Colombia y Venezuela en crisis

Chávez criticó la decisión de Uribe, diciendo que este anuncio unilateral no estaba acordado. Puso en tela de juicio la sinceridad de Uribe por alcanzar la paz en Colombia. También acusó a la interferencia imperialista de ocasionar este fin tan súbito.

Uribe respondió con el ataque más feroz que ha expresado hasta ahora contra Chávez, acusándolo de perseguir un “proyecto expansionista” en Latinoamérica, y diciendo que Colombia “cerrará sus puertas” a este proyecto. También acusó a Chávez de “no querer la paz para Colombia sino que Colombia sea víctima de un gobierno terrorista de las FARC.”

El 27 de noviembre el gobierno venezolano retiró para consulta a su embajador en Colombia. Chávez también ha dicho que el comercio con Colombia podría afectarse.

Y lo más extraño fue que la Corte Suprema de Colombia acusó a la senadora Córdoba de “traicionar a la Patria” porque ella se había reunido con representantes de las FARC en su esfuerzo de mediar el intercambio.

Todo esto ocurre cuando el escándalo de las conexiones con paramilitares de los aliados de Uribe en el gobierno está en pleno apogeo.

También ocurre pocos días antes de la celebración del crucial referéndum constitucional en Venezuela el 2 de diciembre. Hay un amplio apoyo de las masas para el referéndum. Pero Washington está interviniendo al financiar organizaciones no gubernamentales (ONGs) que estimulan la violencia de grupos opositores, ayudando a las manifestaciones de “estudiantes” contra el referéndum que han recibido mucha publicidad en los medios masivos. Estos “estudiantes” son en realidad la representación de la oligarquía rica a través del sector comercial, religioso y opositor.

Las magníficas demostraciones de las masas en apoyo a Chávez sin embargo, han sido ignoradas por los medios corporativos en Venezuela y en los países imperialistas. □



Fernando González, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández y René González.

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