

# Arrested at last Find Trayvon Martin's killer guilty now!

By Monica Moorehead

The arrest on April 11 of George Zimmerman for the murder of Trayvon Martin is an important victory. Millions of people in the U.S., however, agree that the struggle for justice for Martin is far from over. Those who have come out into the streets chanting "I am Trayvon Martin" — and many of them are new to the movement — have come to understand exactly what it took to get Zimmerman charged with second-degree murder. And it wasn't putting their confidence in the racist Florida authorities.

It took the state of Florida 45 days to make an arrest of the wanna-be-cop Zimmerman, who fatally shot the unarmed teenager on Feb. 26. Zimmerman claimed that he felt threatened and that Martin looked "suspicious" because he was African American and wearing a hoodie.

Special prosecutor Angela Corey announced the murder charge at an April 11 press conference. Corey had been assigned to the case on March 14. Conviction for second-degree murder starts at a 25-year sentence up to life in prison without the possibility of parole.

The Statewide Prosecutor's office and the Sanford Police Department had initially refused to arrest and charge Zimmerman with Martin's murder. Their pretext was Florida's "Stand Your Ground" law, which protects those who claim self-defense if the so-called perpetrator is either wounded or killed.

Sanford, especially its police department, has a sordid history of blatant racism against the Black community.

Corey opened her press conference by praising her prosecutorial team, the governor and the police authorities. She failed to say what many saw as the most glaring omission: there would have been no arrest or charges against Zimmerman at all had it not been for the massive explosion of all forms of protests from below. These rallies, marches, sit-ins, teach-ins, walkouts and more — all demanded justice for Trayvon Martin in the form of arresting this bigot Zimmerman.

### Rulers fear mass rebellion

There were signs that sections of the ruling class feared the atrocity would lead to mass rebellions. For example, McDonald's, Kraft, Coca-Cola and Pepsi Cola — all companies that sell to a mass market — publicly stopped supporting the American Legislative Exchange Council. ALEC is the group behind the Stand Your Ground laws. Billionaire New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg started mobilizing mayors against this law.

Of course, other ruling-class sectors still support ALEC

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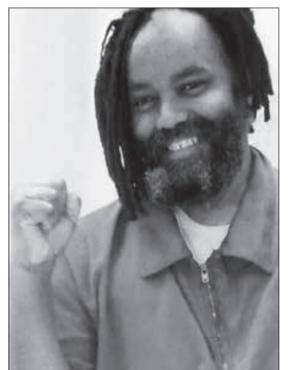
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# Militant LGBTQ youth confront Tea Party

**BOSTON**

Tea Party followers likely thought they could hold a virulently anti-gay rally on Boston Common on April 15 to freely spew their hatred. They were wrong.

Hundreds of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer activists and supporters shouted down Tea Party speakers for two hours and refused to back down despite the arrest of two protesters by the Boston police, who were there to defend the “free speech” rights of the anti-LGBTQ bigots. These same bigots openly displayed the racist Confederate flag and carried signs with racist slogans.

This LGBTQ protest was reminiscent of militant ACT UP actions held in Boston some 20 years ago. Wave after wave of youth marched up to and around the Tea Party stage, shouting at the speakers, “Tea Party bigots go away! Racist, sexist, anti-gay!”

A “Queer Army” banner was proudly carried by one youth group while a contingent of Black Block anti-fascists marched directly into the ranks of the all-white, Tea Party crowd. They were joined by dozens of militant LGBTQ youth. Two were arrested while their comrades surrounded the arresting officers, shouting, “Let them go! Let them go!”

A leader of one of the youth contingents was grabbed by the throat by one of the cops but was not arrested. The attack was posted on Flickr and on the Boston Globe website. Despite this assault, the youth went to the jail to



aid in bailing out the arrestees.

The protest chants rose to a thundering pitch when fascist, anti-gay bigot Scott Lively began to speak. In 2009, Lively, a white man, organized a group of right-wing, fundamentalist preachers to go to Uganda and influence the parliament there to propose legislation calling for the execution of gay people. Attacks on Ugandan LGBTQ activists and the subsequent killing of gay leader David Toka in January 2011 are a direct result of actions by Lively and other racist, anti-gay forces in the U.S. The LGBTQ movements in Uganda and worldwide have resisted Lively’s attacks and succeeded in defeating the bigoted legislation.

The protest was organized by Join the Impact/Boston, Queer Direct Action, Stop the Hate and Homophobia Coalition, and Stonewall Warriors.

— Report and photo by Gerry Scoppettuolo

# Unite against the war on women, April 28

By Sue Davis

On April 28, women will march and rally in state capitals and major U.S. cities against the recent attacks on women and in defense of women’s rights. This initiative, started by two women on Feb. 19 with a Facebook page titled, “Organizing Against the War on Women,” has caught fire with angry women all over the country.

Karen Teagarden in Michigan, one of the April 28 co-founders, told Workers World, “Desi and I met working on the Obama campaign in 2007, and we stayed in touch. We vent about our daughters and politics when something crazy is going on. First, it was the ‘Personhood’ amendment in Mississippi, then the trans-vaginal ultrasound bill in Virginia, then about no coverage for contraception. We kept asking: ‘Why isn’t anybody doing anything?’ So we said, ‘We should just do it. You build it and they will come.’”

The response was immediate. By the next morning, almost 500 women had asked to join and organize for April 28 in their states. As of April 15, the group has 21,300 members and organizing centers in all 50 states. “We’ve done it all virtually, using social media. It’s just wild,” added Teagarden.

Desiree Jordan in New York state, the other co-founder, summarized the goals of April 28 for Workers World:

“We’re demanding privacy, access, choice and equality for all women in all spheres of life.” Even though the founders were moved to act because of attacks on reproductive rights, they envision a much wider, ongoing campaign.

In the statement of purpose on [unitewomen.org](http://unitewomen.org), the campaign is devoted to defending and advancing women’s rights and civil rights, women’s economic equality and workers’ rights, voting rights, protecting women and children from violence and abuse, and women’s wellness, health and safety, in addition to reproductive rights.

Among its four basic action goals are “to inform women and men, the public, policymakers and media about issues from our life experience as women” and “to nurture intergenerational networks of women, so we can recognize and respond to the range of issues women experience across their lifespan and fulfill our full potential as women and as human beings in our society.”

National endorsements for the April 28 mobilization include such groups as the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, Catholics for Choice, the National Organization for Women, Code Pink — Women for Peace, and the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice.

To find out more about the April 28 event in your state, visit [unitewomen.org](http://unitewomen.org). □

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ALL OUT ON APRIL 24

# Occupy the Justice Dept. for Mumia

By Betsey Piette

Activists from around the world will gather in Washington, D.C., on April 24 to occupy the Justice Department and demand the full release of radical journalist and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Their motivation stems from the historic peoples' victory that removed Abu-Jamal from death row and stopped the state's repeated efforts to kill him.

Against a backdrop of the murder of Trayvon Martin and an all-out war against Black youth, this protest comes at a critical time.

On the occasion of Abu-Jamal's 58th birthday, protesters will link the violations in his case and fraudulent trial to the crises of mass incarceration, torture, the death penalty, police brutality and racist, vigilante violence in the U.S.

The civil disobedience action will demand an end to mass incarceration; end to solitary confinement and torture in U.S. prisons; end to the racist death penalty; hands off immigrants; free all political prisoners; and jobs, education and health care, not jails!

The action will also demand the release of other political prisoners, including the MOVE 9, Leonard Peltier, the Cuban Five, Sundiata Acoli, Russell Maroon Shoats and others.

Danny Glover, Frances Fox Piven, Norman Finkelstein and M1 of Dead Prez will be among those taking part in the civil disobedience action demanding a meeting with U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder to discuss police corruption and Civil Rights violations.

## Torture: 30 years in solitary

For nearly 30 years, Abu-Jamal was kept in solitary confinement on Pennsylvania's death row at SCI Greene. International human rights standards, including those signed on to by the U.S., consider more than 15 days in solitary confinement to constitute torture.

In 2001, U.S. District Court Judge William Yohn overturned Abu-Jamal's death sentence on the grounds of prosecutorial misconduct during the 1982 sentencing phase of the trial. Following this ruling, Abu-Jamal could have been transferred from death row to general population, but the Philadelphia District Attorney immediately appealed.

As a result Abu-Jamal was forced to remain on death row, and denied direct contact with family and friends, during the 10-year appeals process. Finally, in October 2011, the district attorney's final attempt to challenge Yohn's decision was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court, and in December Philadelphia District Attorney Seth Williams officially accepted the sentence of life imprisonment for Abu-Jamal.

Yet even after Abu-Jamal was transferred from death row at SCI Greene to SCI Mahanoy where he was to be placed in general population, the Pennsylvania prison system prolonged its torture by keeping Abu-Jamal in solitary confinement — the "hole"—for seven more weeks.

Supporters again mobilized. They held a press conference on Jan. 26 and traveled to Mahanoy to present 5,000 signatures demanding Abu-Jamal's release into general population. He was reassigned on Jan. 27, finally able to embrace his family and friends.

## Time to free Mumia

Now the fight is on to win Abu-Jamal's release from the prison system altogether. In addition to the April 24 action, peti-

tions requesting that the U.S. be held accountable for its violations of human and civil rights in Abu-Jamal's case are being filed with the United Nations Council on Human Rights and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Days before Abu-Jamal's release from death row, human rights activist Desmond Tutu declared: "Now that it is clear that Mumia should never have been on death row in the first place, justice will not be served by relegating him to prison for the rest of his life — yet another form of death sentence. Based on even a minimal following of international human rights standards, Mumia must now be released.

"I therefore join the call, and ask others to follow, asking District Attorney Seth Williams to rise to the challenge of reconciliation, human rights, and justice: drop this case now, and allow Mumia Abu-Jamal to be immediately released, with full time served." (freemumia.com)

## Role of police corruption

Widespread police brutality and corruption are key to understanding this case. During his years of activism, first as a student fighting racism in his high school, then as a member of the Black Panther Party, later as a world-renowned journalist, Abu-Jamal took on the issue of rampant police brutality in Philadelphia. He was brutally beaten by police at a rally against George Wallace in 1968, and was then targeted by both Cointelpro and Philadelphia officials.

The cops who shot, beat and arrested Abu-Jamal in 1981 for the shooting death of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner were under investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice. Within days of Abu-Jamal's July 1982 trial, 15 of the 35 police officers involved in collecting evidence in his case were convicted and jailed on charges of graft, corruption and tampering with evidence to obtain convictions.

Among the convicted officers was Alfonso Giordano, who led the crime scene investigation in Abu-Jamal's case. Yet the DOJ investigation failed to provide relief for defendants like Abu-Jamal who were convicted by the testimonies of these corrupt cops.

In Abu-Jamal's case witness coercion by the state and evidence tampering by police played a role in his conviction. The police even claimed they failed to perform standard tests to see if Abu-Jamal's gun had been fired or if he had gunshot residue on his hands.

## New period of struggle needed

In the 30 years that Abu-Jamal was confined on Pennsylvania's death row, and now in general population, a lot has changed. Globalization of the technological means of production has expanded capitalism's hold over the world's wealth and its exploitation of labor, including inside the rapidly expanding prison-industrial system.

The U.S. prison population has skyrocketed. With only 5 percent of the world's population, the U.S. has 25 percent of the world's prisoners. The U.S. is now the leading jailer in the world.

Author Michelle Alexander in "The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness" notes that the majority of young Black men in large U.S. cities are "warehoused in prisons" because their labor is no longer needed in the globalized economy.

Many states, including Pennsylvania, spend considerably more on building prisons than on educating youth. Prisons

are built while schools are closed.

The global capitalist economic crisis and its particular impact on youth have fueled the growing Occupy movement in the U.S. and general strikes throughout the world. In response, the capitalist state has intensified its campaign to restrain people and silence dissent.

The Occupy Wall Street protests, originating in response to the income disparity gap between the wealthiest 1% and the majority 99%, gained momentum when demonstrators took to the streets in September 2011 to protest the execution of Troy Davis. They were met with police wielding batons and pepper spray, and later coast-to-coast repression, under a campaign coordinated through the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

At the same time, passage of HR 347 (called the "anti-protest" or "criminalizing-protest" bill) and the National Defense Authorization Act opened the way for increased state repression and denial of First Amendment rights, while legislation in several states increased the scapegoating and detention of immigrants. State surveillance, profiling and mass incarceration of Muslims has expanded since 2001.

Abu-Jamal's removal from death row coincides with the dramatic shift of consciousness brought on by the OWS movement. The struggle for his release comes

alongside massive coast-to-coast protests calling for justice for 17-year-old slain Black youth Trayvon Martin.

While massive protests eventually forced Florida police to arrest Martin's killer, George Zimmerman, 45 days after Martin was killed, more than two dozen youth of color were killed at the hands of police or vigilante terrorists in the months surrounding Martin's death. Over 23 states in the U.S. have similar shoot-to-kill laws designed to protect vigilante racists like Zimmerman.

Critical to building the movement to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is linking the violations in his case and fraudulent trial to the issues of mass incarceration, the war on Black youth, growing state repression and the economic crisis that denies jobs and education for millions of youth.

The call for the April 24 Occupy the Justice Department protest notes the importance of solidarity: "On April 24, we will breathe life into the old labor slogan: 'An injury to one, is an injury to all.' On that day we will say that we are all Mumia, we are all immigrants, we are all Bradley Manning, we are all poor, we are all Palestinian, and we are all Troy Davis. ... On April 24, make a placard and write on it all of your grievances. They will be welcomed. Above all, on that day, bring your fighting spirit and your desire to create and live in a decent and different world." □

## Political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal

# Trayvon Martin – 'Everybody's child'

From a March 26 audio column recorded by Prison Radio at [prisonradio.org](http://prisonradio.org).

A youngster goes out for a snack, simply something to munch on and a sweet drink to wash it down with. A man nearby sees him and suspicion arises. In a matter of moments, the unarmed teenager is dead and the shooter calmly claims self-defense. The cops come, called by people who witnessed the transaction. They chat with the shooter, perhaps exchange information in the way usually done at a traffic accident, put in a call to the court and leave. Imagine the dialogue:

"Hey guys, it's self-defense."  
 "Yeah, looks like self-defense to me. Yeah, looks like a good shoot."  
 "Yep, the kid punched me."  
 "Hey, no biggie. Self-defense. Good shoot. You have a good night."

No arrest. No real investigation. Case closed for weeks.

Now, imagine the same events, but with a slight change of place. The shooter is an older, bigger Black man. The teenager is a white rap fan who wears a hoodie. He's unarmed, and he's lying face down in the street. How do you think the cops would have responded then?

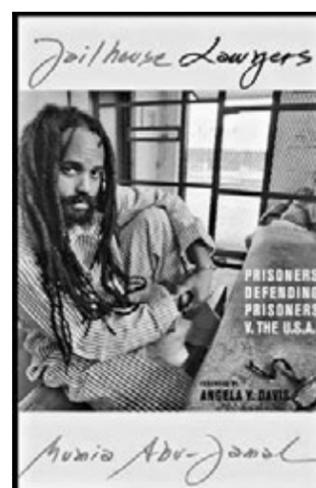
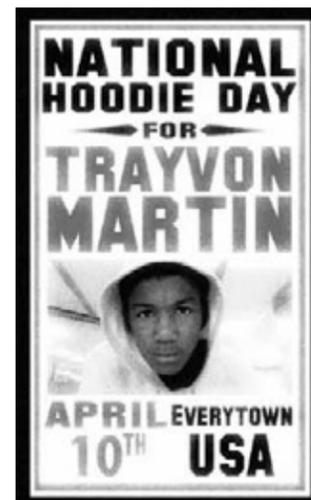
The fact is, you know how they would have responded. And it wouldn't have taken weeks. It would have taken minutes.

Who can doubt this? And what does

this say about the system? Everything you need to know.

Trayvon Martin is just a name you know now. There are many nameless, faceless Trayvons. And the real tragedy is, there will undoubtedly be more. For the system isn't broken. It's rotten.

From imprisonment, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal. □



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by Mumia Abu-Jamal

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# Moratorium law 'will take a struggle'

By Kris Hamel  
Detroit

April 12 was not about the legislation, although there has been and still is a crying need for a moratorium on foreclosures for homeowners throughout the U.S. It was not just about U.S. Rep. Hansen Clarke of Detroit having the political courage to introduce such a bill in the U.S. Congress. A law putting a national moratorium on foreclosures is past due and beyond necessary. Whole cities and neighborhoods around the country, especially in Detroit, cry out for relief: 7.5 million families have lost their homes to the banks since 2007, and 10 million more foreclosures are yet to come. ([responsiblending.org](http://responsiblending.org))

The rally and press conference April 12 announcing Clarke's bill were about struggle and building a movement against the banks and for the rights of workers and the poor.

Reporters and activists from many organizations gathered on Willie Delbridge's lawn in front of his home in southwest Detroit. Delbridge faces imminent eviction because his lender illegally sold his home to a hedge fund. Clarke's bill, called the "Save Our Neighborhoods Act of 2012," would give homeowners like Delbridge time to make the banks act

responsibly and work things out. The banks would essentially be given a three-year "time-out" in which to deal equitably with homeowners.

Speakers stressed that the fight against the banks is paramount, and it is time to move the struggle to a higher level. The Rev. Ed Rowe, pastor of Central United Methodist Church in Detroit, declared, "We're going to have to occupy the lobbies of these banks, because walking around the outside of them doesn't always make them listen." Rowe denounced all the politicians whose campaigns are "paid for by the 1% and the banks" and said it's "time to stop business as usual."

Clarke said his legislation "would allow most homeowners facing foreclosure to stay in their homes by suspending the foreclosure process for up to three years. Suspending foreclosures would encourage banks to agree to modify mortgages and make payments more affordable. At the end of the foreclosure suspension period, a court would reduce the



WW PHOTO: KRIS HAMEL

Attorney Vanessa Fluker with homeowner Willie Delbridge.

mortgage principal to the market value of the home."

Clarke stressed: "Don't count on Con-

gress or the President to put a moratorium on foreclosures. It's up to us. This bill is to generate a movement." □

# U.S. Supreme Court upholds humiliating strip searches

By Gene Clancy

Albert Florence stood against a biting wind in a darkened parking lot outside the car dealership where he works, striking back against the U.S. Supreme Court.

"It's gut-wrenching, because it doesn't make any sense," Florence said of the court's 5-4 ruling that his civil rights were not violated when he was strip-searched twice in 2005. This terrifying ordeal occurred when he spent six days locked up in county jails for an unpaid fine that he had, in fact, paid. ([nj.com](http://nj.com), April 7)

Florence, an African-American married father of four, angrily noted that the April 2 decision on the treatment of non-criminal detainees appeared to fall along political lines. "I read it. ... It seems political, which in all honesty, I think it is," Florence said.

Florence described his ordeal as "humiliating." "It made me feel like less of a man," he said. ([Guardian](http://Guardian) (UK)

The Supreme Court decision has put its imprimatur on recent actions by the U.S. government to deny civil and human rights to anyone whom they suspect of not falling in line with U.S. policies.

Writing in the *New York Times*, Naomi Wolf, a well-known political activist and author, states that the U.S. government "has shown considerable determination to intrude on citizens sexually. There's the sexual abuse of prisoners at Bagram — Der Spiegel reports that 'former inmates report incidents of ... various forms of sexual humiliation. Inmates were raped with sticks or threatened with anal sex.' There was the stripping of Bradley Manning in solitary confinement. And there's the policy set up after the story of the 'underwear bomber' to grope U.S. travelers genitally or else force them to go through a machine — made by a company, Rapiscan, owned by terror profiteer and former DHA czar Michael Chertoff — with images so vivid that it has been called the "pornoscanner."

([guardian.co.uk](http://guardian.co.uk))

Wolf puts it quite directly: "History shows that the use of forced nudity by a state that is descending into fascism is powerfully effective in controlling and subduing populations."

An ominous phrase in the recent Supreme Court decision was Justice Anthony Kennedy's use of the term "detainees" for "United States citizens under arrest." Some members of Occupy who were arrested in Los Angeles also reported having been referred to by police with the same term. Justice Kennedy's new use of what looks like a deliberate activation of that phrase is illuminating.

"Ten years of association have given 'detainee' the synonymous meaning in America as those to whom no rights apply — especially in prison. It has been long in use in America, habituating us to link it with a condition in which random Muslims far away may be stripped by the American state of any rights. Now the

term — with its associations of 'those to whom anything may be done' — is being deployed systematically in the direction of ... any old American citizen." ([guardian.co.uk](http://guardian.co.uk))

As for Albert Florence, he has vowed to continue his fight. He has other lawsuit claims pending for wrongful arrest and wrongful detention. He and his lawyer are also considering their options at the Supreme Court level. They intend to petition the high court for a rehearing of the case, a request some lawyers say is rarely granted.

"I don't give up on anything," Florence said. At the same time, Florence said he worries about the strip-search rule that's been sanctioned by his case. "I worry more so for my kids," he said. "It's something that I think we all — and I'm not talking about any particular race, or any particular class of people — but we all ... should kind of come together and try and fight this thing." ([nj.com](http://nj.com), April 6) □

## Farm workers:

# 'No more slaves, pay a living wage!'



A determined, multinational picket line was only a few yards away from the entrance of two Chipotle Mexican Grill restaurants on April 14 in lower Manhattan. Led by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers from Florida, lively chants with supportive musicians from the Rude Mechanical Orchestra! gave this spirited protest much strength.

"Chipotle, shame on you! Farm workers deserve rights, too!" resounded through the neighborhood. For in spite of it being one of the fastest growing U.S. restaurant chains, Chipotle bosses refuse to commit to the Fair Food Program.

This means making a commitment to farm workers' rights. Ninety percent of the tomatoes produced for New York come from Florida from November

through May. The mostly Latino/a tomato workers suffer subpoverty wages, no right to overtime pay or right to organize, and sexual harassment. The CIW recently forced Trader Joe's to agree to a Fair Food Program of paying a penny-per-pound premium for fairer wages and a strict code for better working conditions. Nine other corporate food retailers have signed on to this program.

Today's protesters sent delegations to speak to managers of the two Chipotles being picketed. Without an agreement for fairness or for possible negotiations yet, the protest was nevertheless resolute. For blocks this loud chant was heard: 'We'll be back! And we'll be stronger! We can't take it any longer!'

—Report and photo by Anne Pruden

## Fired for supporting students, Trayvon Martin

# Protesters demand teacher be reinstated

By **Abayomi Azikiwe**  
Editor, Pan-African News Wire  
Pontiac, Mich.

Students and community people marched and rallied April 16 at the Pontiac Academy for Excellence in Education to demand the school rehire teacher Brooke Harris, 26, who was terminated after her students participated in an educational project related to the struggle for justice for Trayvon Martin.

Harris, who was very popular with the students and the administration, was disciplined and later fired after she supported students who wore hoodies and raised a dollar each for the campaign demanding the arrest and prosecution of George Zimmerman, the only suspect in the killing of

Martin, 17, on Feb. 26 in Sanford, Fla.

At the demonstration outside the school, a picket line was set up and students emerged from school to participate. Parents of the students were also on hand to support their children as well as to demand that Harris be reinstated.

The Pontiac Academy is a charter school, and therefore the instructional staff is not unionized. Even though the administration at the school supported Harris, the superintendent of the private school district terminated her after Harris inquired why she was being disciplined when the entire project related to Martin was approved by the school administration.

The plight of Harris has drawn broad community support. At the demonstration, Rev. Charles Williams II, pastor of the historic King Solomon Baptist Church in Detroit, led the chants and addressed the students.

There were also representatives from the Michigan Emergency Committee Against War & Injustice, the American Federation of Teachers and the Michigan Council on American-Islamic Relations.

Participants pledged to attend the school board meeting April 17 to demand that Harris' termination be reversed. □



Brooke Harris

PHOTO: memphisrap.org

## Arrested at last

# Find Trayvon Martin's killer guilty now!

Continued from page 1

and the National Rifle Association's promotion of this vigilante law. But withdrawal from a pro-business group like ALEC shows that the mass-market corporations feared rebellions if Zimmerman was not charged with murder. The real possibility of such a rebellion led by Black and other oppressed youth weighed heavily on the racist, capitalist ruling class, which already has its hands full attempting to manage an unmanageable economic crisis.

Larry Hales, an organizer of the People's Power Tour, said in an April 11 press release issued by Occupy 4 Jobs, "What made this case so egregious is that Zimmerman was never initially arrested for the heinous crime against this teenager. In many cases, racist police and vigilantes are at least put on trial, even though 90 percent of the time they are given a slap on the wrist, resulting in very little jail time, or they are not convicted and are set free. The arrest of Zimmerman is one step in a long process of bringing about justice for Trayvon Martin and his family."

Now that Zimmerman is in custody, a media campaign has escalated aimed at sanitizing this killer. It has been reported that Zimmerman plans to plead not guilty at an upcoming bail hearing, claiming that he was the victim. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Before Zimmerman cut short the life of Martin, he had a history of making numerous, documented 911 calls complaining of Black males looking suspicious, including those as young as seven to nine years old.

Whenever Zimmerman's name is raised, guilty should be raised right along with it. Getting a conviction of Zimmerman is a justified, immediate demand that could potentially help keep this new movement of Justice for Trayvon Martin together. It won't be easy because his lawyer, along with the courts and police, will do everything possible to get him off.

### Building a movement for social justice

The murder of Trayvon Martin is not just about Zimmerman as an individual. It is about a double standard of justice — and sometimes more — that exists under capitalism for people of color. It is about how young Black and Brown people are racially profiled daily in this society, how they are judged as less than human. That's why the media encourage people to not give a damn if these youths are beaten,



PHOTO: JULIAN KILNER

Above, Larry Hales, Union Square April 10. Artists stand at mural before forced removal by the city.

PHOTO: MESSINA DELI



ELMSWOOD, N.J.

incarcerated or become homicide victims.

In an April 14 article entitled "Young, Black, Male and Stalked by Bias," Brent Staples, an African-American writer for the New York Times, writes: "Society's message to Black boys — 'we fear you and view you as dangerous' — is constantly reinforced. Boys who are seduced by this version of themselves end up on a fast track to prison and to the graveyard. But even those who keep their distance from this deadly idea are at risk of losing their lives to it. The death of Trayvon Martin vividly underscores that danger."

Staples goes on to provide the facts to show that "racial stereotypes play a powerful role in judgments made by ostensibly fair-minded people." These lead to longer sentences and more death penalties for Black defendants and for people of color who kill white people. He also quotes a professor who states that "virtually every aspect of life and material well-being is influenced by skin color, in addition to race."

This systematic bigotry was built into the handling of Trayvon Martin's murder.

### The system killed Trayvon Martin

What Staples' article did not try to show is that the capitalist system needs racism and other forms of special oppression to keep the 1% — the bankers and bosses — in power in order to extract profits from workers worldwide. Legal and extra-legal forces exist to accomplish this.

All these repressive forces are known to activists and revolutionaries as the state. They include the police, the courts, the prisons and, in a special way, the corporate media. These institutions unleash naked terror when the working class and especially youths face massive joblessness and alienation.

The authorities work in tandem with extra-legal terrorists, including racist vigilantes like George Zimmerman; like the neo-Nazis who recently shot five Black people in Tulsa, killing three; like the fascist-like militia in Arizona who recently killed two undocumented workers. These forces work hand-in-hand with state institutions. The Sanford police, for example, were wholeheartedly complicit in covering up Martin's murder when they first opted not to arrest Zimmerman.

The state upholds the ideology of the 1% based on centuries-old white supremacy that is institutionalized from the top down. Consider the popular "Saturday Night Live" show that trivialized Trayvon Martin's death with an April 14 comedy sketch. Consider the racist slurs against Martin on walls at predominantly white college campuses like Ohio State University. Consider an exit sign on an interstate in Michigan and a marine writing racist rants against Martin on his blog. These examples are just the tip of the iceberg.

In contrast, those who want to express solidarity with Trayvon Martin are targeted. Teacher Brooke Harris in Pontiac,

Mich., was fired from a charter school for organizing a fundraiser for Martin's family. Graffiti artists in Elmswood Park, N.J., were forced to take down a mural they had produced in Martin's honor.

The attacks on these individuals are meant to scare away others from taking a stand against racism. But this tactic has just galvanized whole new layers of people into taking a visible anti-racist stand.

This growing movement for social justice, led by Black youths and students, is reminiscent of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s first ignited by the 1955 lynching of another Black youth — 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi.

The big difference now is that this movement comes in the midst of an acute capitalist economic crisis. Calling for justice for Trayvon Martin will more and more bring about a demand for good paying jobs with benefits for Black, Brown, white and all youth.

In the April 11 press release, Larry Hales also said: "This case is more than about Trayvon Martin. He is the face of all Black and Brown young people who are racially profiled by police and vigilantes. This case is the tip of the iceberg of the war against Black and Brown youth, a war that includes growing incarceration, attacks on education, depression-level unemployment and more. We must continue to build a struggle for social justice so that victims like Trayvon Martin will not have died in vain." □

# Protests continue to call for Justice for Trayvon Martin

By Kathy Durkin

Protests have continued around the country demanding justice for the African-American youth, Trayvon Martin, who was gunned down by vigilante George Zimmerman on Feb. 26 in Sanford, Fla. The following are news reports from some of those actions that helped to pressure authorities to arrest Zimmerman on April 11.

Hundreds of protesters, mainly young Black people, rallied at Union Square on April 10 in **NEW YORK CITY** and then took to the streets despite efforts by the police to keep them on the sidewalk. The main chant was "NYPD, go the hell! Trayvon Martin! Sean Bell!" The police randomly arrested a young Black mother of two but were forced to release her an hour later. The marchers went to the Lower East Side and eventually ended the protest back at Union Square, where Occupy Wall Street has been stationed for the past few months. Bell is the young Black man who was shot to death in a hail of bullets while driving his car after attending his bachelor's party at a nightclub in Queens, N.Y. in November 2007. Go to <http://tinyurl.com/7cav6ox> to see video footage.

Californians in **PASADENA** and **RICHMOND** took to the streets to express their anger over the fatal attack on Martin as well as other acts of racist violence.

About 500 people gathered on the steps of Pasadena City Hall on April 10 to not only deplore the shooting death of Martin but also to protest the horrific killing of a 19-year-old African American, Kendrec McDade, who was fired at by police multiple times on March 24.

The local NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Lutheran Community Coalition organized the rally where McCade's family members spoke, along with representatives from Occupy the Hood in Los Angeles and various clergy and union members. Sponsoring groups asked the International Action Center to contribute signs for this and future rallies.

A spirited group of parents, students and union activists marched through the streets, calling for "Justice for Trayvon Martin," and ended up at Richmond City Hall on April 9. Mayor Gayle McLaughlin and several City Council members greeted them.

Eleanor Thompson, a community activist and leader of Social Progress Inc., opened the rally reminding the crowd, "Injustice anywhere is injustice everywhere." McLaughlin, a Green Party mem-



PHOTO: OCCUPY RIVERWEST

ber, and other speakers expressed their solidarity with the struggle for justice for Martin.

José Rivera is a member of the Richmond Progressive Alliance — which organized the demonstration — and is also affiliated with Occupy Richmond. He spoke about the racism and oppression he, as a young Chicano man,

experienced growing up in Richmond. "We have suffered more than 500 years of colonialism and oppression," Rivera stressed. He concluded, "We have to fight back."

## Midwesterners demand Justice for Trayvon Martin

Community organizations and clergy representatives attended the April 10 rally in **DETROIT** in solidarity with the family of Trayvon Martin in their campaign to win justice for their slain son.

The Rev. Charles Williams II convened the meeting at the historic King Solomon Baptist Church, in conjunction with the Michigan Emergency Committee Against War & Injustice. Williams invited participation by Brooke Harris, a Pontiac Academy teacher who was recently terminated from her job because she taught the students about Martin's death and was assisting them in a fundraising project to help his parents.

Abayomi Azikiwe of MECAWI also

spoke, and so did Martila Jones, the grandmother of seven-year-old Ayana Stanley Jones, who was fatally shot by Detroit police on May 16, 2010. The suspected police officer has not gone to trial nearly a year after he was indicted.

A rally and march for justice for Trayvon and Bo Morrison was held on April 10 in **MILWAUKEE**. Morrison, an African-American youth, was killed by white homeowner Adam Kind, in Slinger, Wis., under the racist Castle Doctrine, which is similar to Florida's Stand Your Ground law.

The rally was held at the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. statue on Martin Luther King Drive and featured a program of community speakers, followed by a march to the Fifth District police station. Speakers included retired State Rep. Annette 'Polly' Williams, the Rev. Willie Brisco, Vel Phillips, Oshiyemi Ad-elabu and Brian Verdin.

The Coalition for Justice for Trayvon and Bo Morrison organized the demonstration. It calls for the prosecution of Martin and Morrison's killers, the abolition of racist vigilante laws, an end to the attacks on

African-American, Latino/a and all communities of color and more. Many organizations comprise the coalition, including Occupy the Hood, Peace Action WI, the National Black United Front, Occupy Milwaukee, the WI Bail Out the People Movement, Africans on the Move, Students for a Democratic Society, the Nation of Islam Muhammad Mosque #3, Voces de la Frontera, the Milwaukee Brotherhood of Fire Fighters, the Milwaukee NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, WI Jobs Now, the Latin American Solidarity Committee, the International Action Center, the Gay/Straight Alliance of Rufus King High School, Occupy Fond du Lac and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 82.

Workers World members and supporters joined in all of these activities.

Thanks to Abayomi Azikiwe, Judy Greenspan, Monica Moorehead, John Parker and Bryan G. Pfeifer for contributing news to this article.



Youth identify with Trayvon Martin.

WW PHOTO: JUDY GREENSPAN

## New movement for people's power

By Steven Ceci  
Baltimore

The movement that began when thousands of people filled Baltimore's streets on March 26 has taken its next steps by protesting at the site of the proposed youth jail on April 10 and marching to City Hall to continuing organizing for justice.

These actions were led by the newly formed Justice 4 Trayvon Martin, Maryland Local Organizing Committee.

The Rev. Cortly "C. D." Witherspoon, Baltimore president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, proclaimed at this rally, "Trayvon Martin continues to be our North Star and a martyr for the modern-day struggle for freedom. What we accomplished on March 26 was much bigger than one protest. For one evening we shut down City Hall and downtown Baltimore, including the convention center and the circus.

"Through our sheer numbers and determination," Witherspoon continued, "we proved what the power of the people

can do. We do not intend to go back."

Sharon Black, organizer with the All Peoples Congress and Occupy 4 Jobs Network, added, "We will continue, as we vowed from the steps of City Hall, to build a movement that will win justice for all the Trayvons of this country. Our next step will be to join the April 24 Rally at the Justice Department on Mumia Abu-Jamal's birthday. We will also be forming a statewide response network that can come to the defense of the people. And young people must be the backbone of this effort."

Organizers of the Baltimore effort pointed out that 56 percent of the state's youth are unemployed and that racism and police abuse are rampant. To underscore this, the committee has been in touch with the family of a young man who was partially paralyzed in a police shooting in West Baltimore and also with the victims of a brutal police attack on a jobs protest in East Baltimore.

Committee members contend there is tremendous anger building from below



**BALTIMORE** March 26 protest.

WW PHOTO: SHARON BLACK

due to rampant joblessness, racism, foreclosures and general poverty.

Witherspoon said, "The political establishments, both local and national, have proven to be bankrupt; they have done

virtually nothing to protect or serve the people. It's time for the people to organize themselves and to build people's power. That's part of what March 26 was about — the people rising up." □

## Arizona anti-immigrant bashing

# School Board fires head of Mexican-American Studies

By Paul Teitelbaum  
Tucson, Ariz.

The Tucson Unified School Board, in a 3-2 vote, ousted the director of the Mexican-American Studies Program on April 10.

Program Director Sean Arce co-founded the MAS Program in 1999 and developed it into one of the most successful programs in the district. In 2004, the Mexican-American Studies Department was combined with the Pan-Asian, African-American and Native-American Studies Departments to create the new Ethnic Studies Department. This made the Tucson district the only K-12 public school district in the U.S. with an Ethnic Studies Department.

During the two-and-a-half-hour public comment period prior to the vote, people defended Arce and the program and lambasted the racist cowards on the board. Not one comment was made against the program. Community activist Isabel Garcia expressed the anger and outrage of the people when she told the board, "I believe you prefer our children in prison than graduating from these high schools."

Board Superintendent John Pedicone, an opponent of the Ethnic Studies Program, offered no explanation for Arce's firing, saying only that his contract was not renewed "for a number of reasons." (Arizona Daily Star, April 11) Arce had refused to go along with the board's plan to gut the MAS Program, removing all its substance but leaving the name intact. His firing was in retribution for his tireless defense of ethnic studies. It is also seen as a warning to any other teacher who does not bow to the board's dictates.

Hundreds of supporters of the program filled the board meeting room and overflowed into the streets. They saw the director's firing as a continuation of the racist war that has been declared against the MAS Program and the Latino/a people by the state of Arizona. Since 2006, when then-Superintendent of Schools Tom Horne unleashed the racist campaign to shut down Ethnic Studies, the community has fought back and defended the program against the most vicious lies and slander.

In 2010, within days of passing the racist, anti-immigrant SB1070 law, the state legislature passed HB2281, which outlawed Ethnic Studies in Arizona and targeted Tucson's Mexican-American Studies Program in particular.

In January the Tucson Ethnic Studies Program was declared in violation of HB2281. Within weeks textbooks were banned and removed from the classroom, and teaching Latino/a and Indigenous culture became a crime.

### Racists step up attacks, acting openly

It did not go unnoticed that the firing of Sean Arce occurred on the National Day of Justice for Trayvon Martin. The demonization of Latino/a youth and their culture, the denial of the right of oppressed peoples to study their history, and the political lynching of the MAS Program's founder all emanate from the same racist system that led to the murder of Trayvon Martin. The slow dismemberment of the Ethnic Studies Program by the Tucson School Board is another symptom of this racist poison.

Two migrant workers were murdered on April 9 outside the small town of Eloy, Ariz., when a truck transporting migrants was ambushed by a group of armed vigilantes. The mainly Latino/a town of Eloy is home to not just one but four for-profit prisons run by the private profit-making Corrections Corporation of America. It is one of the areas where known vigilante groups, like the Border Guardians and Minutemen, roam the desert.

In Pinal County, Arizona, which borders on Mexico, neo-Nazi J. T. Ready, of the so-called National Socialist Movement, has announced his bid to run for sheriff. Ready's Facebook page features photos of him and his armed militias on patrol in the desert. Not only has Facebook allowed the page to remain online, but local media soft-sell Ready as an acceptable candidate.

The state of Arizona is preparing to fund an armed, all-volunteer state militia that would patrol the border. Senate Bill 1083 would create the Arizona Special Missions Unit. This is nothing more than putting the racist Minutemen and Border Guardians on the state payroll.

The racist legislators promoting this militia are spewing venom about "an invasion" and "international criminal activity" in a further attempt to whip up racist anti-Mexican and anti-immigrant "frenzy." (statepress.com, Feb. 16)

As the economic crisis deepens, impoverishing more and more workers, racist atrocities occur with increasing frequency. The state relies on this rac-

ism to keep people divided and distracted from the true cause of the crisis: the capitalist profit system in decay. That is why, without a shred of evidence, a school program that empowers Latino/a youth is ferociously set upon and targeted for destruction, while an ambush and murder by armed vigilantes is treated as just another homicide. This is why a neo-Nazi like J. T. Ready is portrayed as an acceptable candidate for sheriff.

Workers and oppressed communities need to build unity and solidarity and fight back against the racists, their henchmen and the crumbling capitalist system that is the cause of it all. □



Old map shows original boundary of Mexico with land owned by Mexican people.

## CHICAGO

# Racist killer cops on the loose

By Eric Struch  
Chicago

It took the state 45 days to arrest racist killer George Zimmerman for his Feb. 26 killing of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin. This refusal and delay of responsibility on the part of the state has been taken as a green light by racists to carry out an open season on African Americans. Violence is up dramatically against Black people across the U.S.

Rekia Boyd, 22, was shot in the head March 21 by an off-duty police detective in Chicago's west side Lawndale community. The cop was aiming at Antonio Cross, 39. The cop reportedly identified himself to the group Cross was walking with and then shot at them 10 times, hitting Cross in the hand as he raised his arm to protect himself. Boyd, who was across the street, was fatally hit in the head.

Police accuse Cross of threatening the cop with a gun, but eyewitnesses say all Cross was carrying was a phone. In an ABC Channel 7 interview, Cross said, "I want people to know that I didn't have no gun. She [Boyd] didn't have no gun. I want people to know that girl was killed for nothing."

The cop that shot Boyd actually lived in the same neighborhood. He had reportedly threatened a group of neighborhood residents the day before, screaming at them, "What do I have to do to get some peace, quiet, and respect? Shoot someone?" Prosecutors only charged the cop with assault, a misdemeanor, because the gun used in the killing allegedly could not be found.

Hundreds of protesters rallied outside the killer cop's apartment on March 27 demanding justice for Rekia Boyd. The group included Boyd's mother and Antonio Cross. The killer cop refused to come out of his apartment and has not spoken to the media. His name has yet to be released.

### Howard Morgan, Darrin Hanna

Then there is Howard Morgan, a 61-year-old Black former cop, who was most recently employed as a detective for the Burlington Northern Santa Fe railroad. After leaving work back on Feb. 21, 2005,

Morgan was pulled over by four white Chicago cops and shot 21 times in the back. The cops then picked up Morgan's gun, turned him over, and shot him another seven times. Amazingly, he survived.

For the crime of surviving this murderous police assault, Morgan was charged with four counts of attempted first-degree murder, three counts of aggravated battery with a firearm, and one count of aggravated discharge of a firearm. Cops and prosecutors always seem to charge their victims with the crimes that they themselves are guilty of perpetrating.

Before his trial in 2007, the state crushed Morgan's van before any forensic tests could be run on it. During the trial, the state could only produce three of the 28 bullets he was hit with. The jury acquitted him of the two counts of aggravated murder and one count of aggravated discharge of a firearm, and was hung on the five remaining counts. A mistrial was declared.

In violation of his constitutional rights, Morgan was tried on the same charges and found guilty this April 12. He was sentenced to 40 years in prison. Go to FreeHowardMorgan.com to sign the petition.

There have been demonstrations in solidarity with Morgan in front of the Cook County court on the South Side of Chicago, including one organized by Chairman Fred Hampton Jr. of the Prisoners of Conscience Committee, himself a survivor of a Chicago cop death squad attempt on his life.

Darrin Hanna, a 45-year-old African-American resident of North Chicago, was beaten to death in his own home last November by North Chicago cops. He was tasered 11 times and beaten so severely that he had six open wounds on his face. An audio recording of the beating reveals that Hanna begged the cops to stop. He died of his injuries a week later.

Gloria Carr, Hanna's mother, has repeatedly demanded an investigation into her son's murder and that the cops who viciously beat her son to death be fired. She has been harassed and her home has been vandalized.

Hanna's family and their allies plan a march on the North Chicago police station and City Hall on April 21. □

## Tulsa, Okla.

# Neo-Nazis on rampage

Two white supremacists — Alvin Watts, 33, and his roommate, Jake England, 19 — went on a shooting spree in Tulsa, Okla., on April 8, Easter Sunday. The pair went looking for Black men to shoot in Tulsa's predominantly African-American north side. They have been charged with three counts of first-degree murder, two counts of shooting with intent to kill, and five counts of malicious harassment.

England claimed his actions were revenge for the 2010 shooting death of his father by Pernel Jefferson, an African-American man. Jefferson was not charged in that incident, as investigations showed that he acted in self-defense after being

attacked by Carl England.

For many in Tulsa's Black community, the April 8 killings were a painful reminder of the attempt by racist whites to annihilate the Greenwood neighborhood there in 1921. From May 31 to June 1 of that year, the relatively prosperous area — known as the Black Wall Street — underwent a brutal, sustained assault by racist mobs. Some 800 African Americans were admitted to area hospitals; 6,000 were arrested; 10,000 were made homeless, and 35 blocks with 1,256 homes were burned to the ground. Three hundred Black people were killed.

— Eric Struch

# What baseball's Ozzie Guillen & the Cuban Five have in common

By Cheryl LaBash  
Washington, D.C.

How could a fair trial be possible in Miami for supporters of socialist Cuba? That is what organizers of the "5 Days for the Cuban 5 April 17-21" in Washington, D.C., are asking after Florida Marlins' baseball manager Ozzie Guillen was pilloried by the big-business press for a seemingly respectful comment about former Cuban President Fidel Castro. The recent Time magazine interview of Venezuelan-born Guillen sparked a firestorm of the same Miami-based hatred faced by the Cuban Five during their 2000-2001 trial.

Suspended for five games and fearful of losing his job, Guillen was forced to retract his statement at an April 10 press conference, saying he was "down on his knees." He even pledged to never speak about politics again. Right-wing Cubans in Miami are spearheading a campaign to have Guillen fired.

In an April 11 press release, the International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5 pointed out: "The avalanche of criticism and complete intolerance surrounding statements from Florida Marlins' manager Ozzie Guillen in Time magazine certainly demonstrates how anyone who says any comment even remotely favorable to Cuba will be viciously attacked by right-wing anti-Cuban circles in Miami. This is a clear example as to why

## 5 Days for the Cuban 5 in Washington, D.C.



Gerardo Hernández Nordelo, Ramón Labañino Salazar, Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez and Fernando González Llort. René González Sehwerert, while recently released, is still being forced to remain in the U.S. against his will.

the Cuban 5, who infiltrated right-wing exile groups in Miami in the mid-nineties to stop their plans for violence against the island, and who ended up serving lengthy sentences in U.S. prisons, couldn't have possibly received a fair trial in Miami."

Committee spokesperson Alicia Jrapko said: "Those groups in Miami, who have made careers out of howling about the lack of freedom of speech in Cuba, have now fully exposed themselves in the case of Ozzie Guillen. They have shown that it is they who will not tolerate a person's opinion if it does not line up with their backward way of thinking about Cuba. If he could be so vilified and forced to repent it shows there is no way the Cuban 5 could receive a fair trial in that city. ...

"The Cuban 5 were arrested in 1998 and although they made no threats or injury to anyone and there was no transfer of

U.S. government documents or classified material, the Cuban 5 were convicted on conspiracy to commit espionage charges and sentenced originally to four life sentences and 77 years in U.S. prisons."

On Aug. 9, 2005, a three-judge panel of the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta overturned all five convictions, which were later reinstated. In their unanimous decision the panel "commented on the political atmosphere that exists in Miami: 'Here, a new trial was mandated by the perfect storm created when the surge of pervasive community sentiment, and extensive publicity both before and during the trial, merged with the improper prosecutorial references.' These federal judges affirmed [that] 'the perception that these groups could harm jurors that rendered a verdict unfavorable to their views was palpable.'"

**FRI., APRIL 20: 'Obama Give Me Five'**  
Festival Center, 1640 Columbia Rd., NW. 6 p.m.  
1) Lift the blockade of Cuba,  
2) End the travel ban,  
3) Free the Cuban Five,  
4) Remove Cuba from the list of countries that sponsor terrorism,  
5) Return Guantanamo to Cuba.

**SAT., APRIL 21**

**1 p.m. picket/rally at the White House**  
For information, visit [www.thecuban5.org](http://www.thecuban5.org)

The April 11 press release also quoted Lawrence Wilkerson, Colonel, U.S. Army (Retired) and former chief of staff to Secretary of State Colin Powell: "The only reason there is such a hue and cry over Guillen's remarks is the deadly stranglehold over Miami politics maintained by hard-line Cuban-Americans. This same deadly stranglehold ensured the Cuban Five were railroaded to jail with sentences their 'crimes' did not in any way warrant."

Florida is also where George Zimmerman — the confessed killer of unarmed Black teenager Trayvon Martin — was allowed to roam free for 45 days before national mass outrage forced local and state authorities to arrest him on a second-degree murder charge on April 11. To see the full schedule of events and activities, plus a list of endorsers, for "5 days for the Cuban 5" go to [www.thecuban5.org](http://www.thecuban5.org). □

## Letter to the Editor

### A Cuban revolutionary on

# The U.S. mercenary invasion of Playa Girón

Dear friends,

Next April 19, we will be commemorating the 51st anniversary of the Girón Beach victory when we defeated the mercenary invasion of our country.

Today we, the people and our Revolution, are stronger in our revolutionary ideas and we are convinced that socialism is the only way out.

The strategy of the United States in its desire to destroy the Cuban Revolution embraces all the possible fronts: political, economic, ideological and military.

In the first months of 1961, the wave of counter-revolutionary terror increased. They tried to destroy industrial and agricultural facilities, harvests, communication facilities, schools, hospitals, etc. They multiplied the attacks against leaders and revolutionary militants, mainly against Fidel Castro, and landings of counter-revolutionary groups took place.

On the morning of April 15, 1961, the airports of Ciudad Libertad, San Antonio de los Baños and Santiago de Cuba were bombarded. Taking advantage, as is their habit of artful procedures, they disguised their airplanes with the badges of the Revolutionary Air Force of Cuba, to give the impression that an internal rebellion was taking place in the Island.

The main objective was to destroy the modest Cuban air force, to impede what would be used against the imminent invasion.

The following day, April 16, when saying goodbye at the bereavement of the victims of the bombing, and before an immense concentration of armed militia, Fidel declared the state of alert. Understanding that the action of April 15

was the prelude to the invasion, he then proclaimed the socialist character of the Revolution. This way, the men that would face the enemy hours later would already be fighting consciously for socialism.

On the dawn of April 17, the mercenary invasion took place, named by its organizers, "Operation Pluto." The invader contingent was coordinated by Brigade 2506, with more than 1,500 men and five ships of war of the United States and escorted by other naval units, also North American. They disembarked at two points on the Bay of Pigs (Girón Beach and Long Beach), with the purpose of establishing a beachhead and constituting a provisional counter-revolutionary government.

They chose the place well, but they didn't keep in mind two factors: the indissoluble unity between the people and their Revolution, and the strategic capacity and tactics of Fidel Castro and of the leaders of the Revolution.

During the invasion, the mercenaries exhorted the Cubans to surrender, but these men responded vigorously: "We don't surrender! We are for Homeland or Death!"

The revolutionary forces faced with heroism the mercenary brigade, their naval units, tanks and airplanes. And seizing their weapons, in less than 72 hours the enemy was defeated, exactly on April 19, 1961. Five days later, the U.S. president, John F. Kennedy, openly admitted the full responsibility of the government of the United States for the invasion of Cuba.

The victory of Girón Beach consolidated the trust of the Cuban people in

their own forces; it corroborated the value of the internationalist solidarity; it increased the prestige of the Cuban Revolution on the whole planet; and it reaffirmed the directing role of Fidel Castro. And as he himself said: "After Girón, all the towns of America were a little freer."

I wish all the very best in your struggle.

**In solidarity y abrazos,**  
**Ildefonso Gustavo Díaz Sandoval**

April 13, 2012

## MUNDO OBRERO

# Lucha interior del Partido en China

Continua de página 12

proletariado. Desde luego, se cometieron excesos durante ese período. Pero los excesos no fueron la esencia del proyecto. La esencia era el intento de "asaltar los cielos" como Marx se refirió a la meta de los comuneros de París. La esencia era que los/as trabajadores/as chinos/as gobernarán directamente y tomarán su destino en sus propias manos. Ninguna difamación de la Revolución Cultural puede borrar estos buenos propósitos.

Nadie puede suponer por un momento que esto sea lo que esté sucediendo ahora. Pero todo el mundo en China que apoya a la clase trabajadora y el marxismo debe estar preguntándose: ¿cuál es el camino para recuperar el proyecto del pasado? ¿Cómo pueden los/as trabajadores/as y el campesinado chino volver al modelo socialista que una vez tuvieron?

Deng Xiaoping y sus descendientes políticos en China justificaron su programa llamado "socialismo de mercado" basán-

dose en que China necesitaba del mercado capitalista y la tecnología capitalista para desarrollarse. Dejando a un lado la validez de esa aseveración, el hecho es que China se ha desarrollado enormemente. Ahora es la segunda economía más grande del mundo. La clase obrera ha pasado de 30 millones a más de 450 millones. China está compitiendo con el imperialismo en el campo de la tecnología de vanguardia.

Toda justificación de la necesidad del capitalismo para seguir desarrollándose se ha visto socavada por los avances económicos de China. Los intereses de los/as trabajadores/as han sido sacrificados/as despiadadamente al contraponerlos a la necesidad del desarrollo. La tarea ahora es encontrar el camino de regreso. Cuando se buscan modelos para retornar China al camino socialista, el camino de la Revolución Cultural es un camino glorioso. No es necesario conservar el mismo nombre o hacer una copia del original. Lo más importante es revivir su esencia revolucionaria. □

# Cuba on top of 'VI Summit of the Americas'

By Berta Joubert-Ceci

Once again, as during the 2009 Summit of the Americas, the recent VI edition of the outmoded Summit finished without a declaration. According to the Summit's bylaws, such a declaration must be unanimous.

The three main issues on the 2012 Summit's agenda were including Cuba in the Summit; the Argentinean demand to return Las Malvinas islands (which the British colonialists call the Falklands); and the legalization or decriminalization of drug use to combat drug trafficking. The United States and Canada opposed all three proposals.

Held in Cartagena, Colombia, the Summit was a meeting of heads of states of the member countries of the Organization of American States. The OAS meeting showed a consensus of the Latin American and Caribbean nations to include Cuba and to strongly reject the U.S. and Canada's only dissenting voices.

This outcome shows the impact that the ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance of the Peoples of Our America) countries are having in the region. Even right-wing leaders

like the host, Colombia's President Juan Manuel Santos — who is the U.S.'s closest ally — had to reject the U.S. exclusion of Cuba. They had to consider the possibility that they would be excluded from the region's economic trade after continuing to side with the U.S.

Santos' words reflected these fears: "In today's world that road [excluding Cuba] is not justified. It is an anachronism that keeps us anchored to a Cold War era already outdated for several decades. As it would be unacceptable to hold another hemispheric gathering with a Haiti still suffering, it would also be [unacceptable] without the presence of Cuba." (telesurtv.net)

Latin America, although impacted by the worldwide financial crisis, has fared much better than its northern neighbors, the U.S. and Canada. In general, the policies adopted by the progressive governments of the region on behalf of the masses and the diminishing reliance on the U.S. economy, have helped to protect their countries from a protracted crisis.

Ecuadorean President Rafael Correa had decided long prior to the Summit not to participate. His public statements

strongly denounced the U.S. blockade against Cuba and exposed the futility of these gatherings, which he considers a waste of time and resources that only serve for a photo opportunity.

Correa had said many times that as long as Cuba is not present at these Summits, Ecuador will not attend. He considers these meetings useless because they do not address the real problems in the region.

President Daniel Ortega from Nicaragua also protested Cuba's exclusion by not attending. Instead, he hosted a Day in Solidarity with Cuba in his country. Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez also skipped the Summit to continue a series of cancer treatments in Cuba, sending Exterior Minister Nicolás Maduro in his place.

Maduro and Bolivian President Evo Morales led the strong condemnation of Cuba's exclusion on behalf of the ALBA. Except for the U.S. and Canada, the other members stated that if Cuba does not participate in the next Summit, neither will they.

U.S. President Barack Obama, for the first time at one of these Summits, stayed

to listen to all the presentations. U.S. presidents usually leave after they speak. This, however, did not mean that he was more interested or conciliatory. Rather, it was an attempt to "wash" his country's image in the face of the Latin America and Caribbean bloc demands and the thoroughly embarrassing incident days before the Summit, involving Secret Service and military officers. A dozen Secret Service officers were sent home after a scandal in a hotel which exposed the routine misbehavior of U.S. forces abroad: heavy drinking and prostitution.

Obama thus had to listen to Brazilian President Dilma Rouseff, who demanded that the U.S. treat economic powerhouse Brazil as an equal.

This might well be the last OAS Summit. As President Correa has said, "This is not a time of changes, but a change of times." The countries south of the Río Grande have devised several other mechanisms, like the ALBA, CELAC, Mercosur, etc., which make the OAS an obsolete imperialist apparatus not welcomed in the region. Latin America and the Caribbean have spoken and said, "USA Out!" □

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# The misuse of the word 'socialist'

Is President Barack Obama a "socialist"?

Anyone, like the editors of Workers World, who really is for a socialist revolution and an overturn of capitalism would answer, "Far from it."

The far right in the U.S., however, and that includes most of the Republican Party these days, calls Obama "socialist." These forces want to end Social Security, unemployment insurance, Medicare and Medicaid and any vital benefits that the workers and poor won through struggle in the past. They also mislabel these benefits "socialist" as part of their attack.

We discuss this rightist campaign against Obama here only to point out how it distorts the conception of what "socialist" means.

The idea of socialism has been confused even more lately by the political affiliation of the French politician and banker, Dominique Strauss-Kahn. This vile individual was the leading candidate of the "Socialist Party" for president of France. That is, he was leading the pack before he quickly fled New York just ahead of rape charges made by a woman immigrant from Africa. Now he is being investigated in France for alleged connections with a prostitution ring.

The media often mention the Socialist Party affiliation of this thoroughly unsavory character. This makes it even more important to clarify what the "Socialist Party" really is.

Parties by this name have influence in most southern European countries. They have often led governments, until recently in Portugal, Spain and Greece, and earlier in France. In northern Europe, these parties are usually called "Social Democrat" and in Britain, the Labor Party.

Their only connection to real socialism, however, is historical. The forerunners of most of these parties were founded in the 19th century and were then connected with the movement to

overthrow capitalism that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels initiated.

As World War I began, these parties' leaderships betrayed socialist internationalism by supporting their own capitalist ruling classes during this imperialist war. Better elements resisted. After the war, these parties split into Communist parties that supported the Russian Revolution and "Socialist" parties that attacked it. The "Socialists" promoted pro-worker reforms but opposed revolution. They supported the imperialist designs of their own capitalist ruling class.

Following World War II, these parties often administered the government to preserve and expand capitalism. They did pass some laws — for example, providing government-paid health care — that benefited workers between 1945 and 1989. In that period, the European capitalist class feared competition from the Soviet Union and the pro-socialist countries in Eastern Europe, in China, etc.

Since the end of the Soviet Union, however, these parties have been unable to even defend these benefits for workers against the rapacious and triumphant capitalists. Instead, they have administered austerity programs, made concessions to anti-immigrant groups and backed imperialist wars. Without yet dropping the name, "Socialist," they have become simply a more moderate version of the openly pro-rich parties, much like the Democratic Party here.

When Workers World describes someone or some party as socialist without quotes, this means they are for taking the means of production — including land — out of the hands of the capitalist ruling class and having it owned publicly. They would oppose imperialist wars and all forms of racism and oppression. Neither Obama nor the French Socialist Party — even without Strauss-Kahn — fits this definition. □

# Koreans announce new leader

By Deirdre Griswold

The leading bodies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have shown great confidence in the youth of their country. They have picked a young man in his twenties to assume the highest responsibilities of the state, the army and the party.

On April 15, Kim Jong Un was officially named the supreme leader of the DPRK, assuming the posts of first secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea and first chairman of the National Defense Commission. That date coincided with mass celebrations to mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of Kim Il Sung, who had led the Korean people through decades of successful struggle against both Japanese and U.S. imperialism.

With the elevation of Kim Jong Un, the DPRK has completed its transition to a new leader after the untimely death in December of Kim Jong Il, who had guided the country for 18 years after the loss of Kim Il Sung.

The new leader, speaking to the mass celebrations in Pyongyang, the capital, reiterated themes of the greatest importance to the Korean people: the commitment to continue a strong defense of the country, and the building of a prosperous economy that can meet the needs of all the people.

The DPRK is a socialist country. Its wealth is not controlled by private capitalists but belongs to the people. It provides free education to the highest levels as well as free medical care for all. However, it had to pull itself up by its own bootstraps after the Korean War of 1950 to 1953, when the U.S. attacked the northern half of the Korean peninsula and demolished

almost all of the housing, industry, bridges, ports and other structures the people had built up.

While the Pentagon used many types of weapons in the war, the level of napalm use alone shows the fiendish nature of this assault: U.S. forces dropped an average of one quarter of a million pounds of napalm bombs on the DPRK for every day of the war. (GlobalSecurity.org) Parts of the north to this day are still trying to recover from the damage to the ecosystem created by napalm-ignited forest fires.

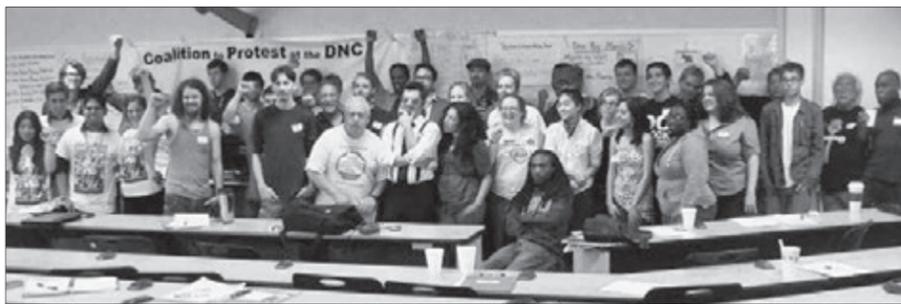
Everyone in north Korea has family who fought and suffered in that war. They understand the great need to have a deterrent to another military intervention. They have poured their energies into rebuilding the country and also making it invulnerable to another imperialist attack.

Even under peaceful conditions, it requires a mighty effort by any country once subject to colonial rule to reshape its economy from one that was developed by foreign capital in order for these exploiters to extract raw materials and labor for their own benefit into one that is developed mainly through the people's own initiative in order to supply the needs of the nation.

When the country must allocate much of its resources to defense and also is prevented from normal commercial intercourse with the world by imperialist-imposed sanctions, the task of development becomes even more challenging.

The people of the DPRK, united behind the Workers' Party and its leaders, have met that challenge many times. The elevation of Kim Jong Un, who comes from a long line of revolutionary fighters, is assurance that this tradition will continue. □

# Banks focus of DNC protest



WW PHOTO: BRYAN G. PFEIFER

On April 14, key activists representing labor, community and student organizations from across the U.S. gathered in Charlotte, N.C., for the National Organizing Conference of the Coalition to Protest at the DNC. Conference participants resolved to call for a major "March on Wall

Street South" on Sept. 2 in Charlotte, the world headquarters of Bank of America and numerous other banks and corporations. Look for a full report on this and other developments from the conference in a future issue of Workers World.

—Ben Carroll

# 'Left Front' contests election



PHOTO: FRÉDÉRIC MOREAU DE BELLAING

100,000 in Paris, March 18.

A "Left Front" candidate in the upcoming elections in France has provided a way for voters to express an anti-racist and pro-99% position at the polls. Perhaps even more important, some election rallies for the candidate, Jean-Luc Mélenchon, have turned at least partially into anti-racist demonstrations.

A rally on March 18 in Paris to coincide with the anniversary of the 1871 Paris Commune drew more than 100,000 people — to everyone's surprise. This strong outpouring, shown here, served as a response to the pro-fascist candidacy of the National Front, which campaigns against all foreigners in France and especially Muslims and Africans.

The candidates most likely to make it

past the first round on April 22 are the current president, Nicolas Sarkozy, and the candidate of the "Socialist" Party, Francois Hollande. Sarkozy is a vicious rightist who employs racism and xenophobia almost as much as the National Front. Hollande, though nominally socialist, has a program much like the Democratic Party in the U.S., that is, he is essentially pro-capitalist and supports all of France's imperialist intentions.

While it is almost impossible for the Left Front to make it to the second round, it is possible for it to win more than 10 percent and a moral victory against the racist National Front and to provide a pole for popular mobilization against racism and austerity.

—John Catalinotto

"With the capitalist system demonstrably unfair, it is useful, indeed refreshing, to see a Marxist analysis of globalization and its effects on working people. Fred Goldstein does exactly that."

Howard Zinn, author of A People's History of the United States

## Low-Wage Capitalism

Fred Goldstein

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## Corruption charges vs. Bo Xilai a smokescreen as

## Right-wing goes on the offensive

By Fred Goldstein

The campaign of vilification to destroy Bo Xilai is an all-out attempt by the top leadership of the Communist Party of China to put up a smokescreen concealing a right-left political struggle over the deepening economic and political penetration of capitalism at the summits of Chinese society.

Bo has been charged with violations of discipline. Corruption charges against him are being contemplated. His spouse, Gu Kailai, has been charged with “intentional homicide” in connection with the death of British businessman Neil Heywood.

A front-page editorial appeared in the People’s Daily of April 12 and was carried in every Chinese media outlet. It called on the people “to maintain a high level of ideological unity with the CPC Central Committee with Hu as the general secretary, and hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics.”

The editorial adds, “We should strive to safeguard the favorable situation concerning China’s reform, development and stability, make new achievements in building a moderately prosperous society in all aspects, and speed up the socialist modernization drive, thus to welcome the 18th CPC national congress.”

This was followed by an avalanche of charges, innuendo and so-called exposures of corruption by Gu Kailai.

What is clear from this unprecedented attack is that the top leadership of the CPC is terrified of having a political and ideological debate about the future course of China either in the Central Committee or in front of the masses of people. Bo Xilai’s Chongqing model — raising the living standards and social benefits of the workers and peasants and reviving Maoist culture — are the real issues.

The capitalist reform-minded factions in the leadership were faced with the spreading popularity of Bo’s model and his emphasis on “socialist values,” along with his crackdown on corrupt party and government officials and business people in league with criminal elements. This earned him a host of enemies.

One China expert has put the case succinctly: “It’s about whether to reform or not reform,” said Zheng Yongnian, who directs the East Asia Institute at the National University of Singapore. (New York Times, March 21)

### Monumental issue facing China

This is the issue underlying the present campaign of political annihilation. The leadership has chosen the course of evading the monumental issue facing China: whether to take longer strides toward a full-scale restoration of capitalism, or to hold the line and try to repair some of the damage done to the masses and the socialist system by the unleashing of capitalism for more than 30 years. These are issues of supreme importance to the Chinese workers and peasants and to the entire working class of the world.

Yet the CPC leadership has reduced the struggle — which is between, on the one hand, Bo Xilai and all those in his political current, and on the other, the faction led by outgoing Premier Wen Jiabao that urges the party to “further open up and reform” — to a narrow and diversionary question of corruption. By doing so they have swept under the rug the agenda of the right-wing, the Gorbachevs of China.

### The agenda of the right

That agenda includes undermining the state banks and the state-owned enterprises, integrating China’s banks more completely into the world capitalist financial system, further unleashing the financial power of private capital, pushing for a form of bourgeois democracy, and allowing bourgeois elements greater authority within the state.

The world imperialist establishment knows what is at stake in China.

The world capitalist system is gasping for breath, trying to keep its head above water as it struggles fruitlessly to extricate itself from the great crisis that began in 2007. It was the collapse of the USSR and Eastern Europe in 1989-1991 that gave the faltering capitalist system a lease on life. Just as the first jobless recovery of U.S. capitalism in 1991-1992 was dragging the workers and the system down, the collapse of the USSR allowed them 17 more years of economic expansion.

Today the world bourgeoisie is looking anxiously at

China with similar hopes. But it is not just looking. It is working overtime to deepen the transformation of China into a capitalist state. The world capitalist system has been teetering on the edge of a renewed crisis since the so-called “recovery” in 2009. The system is plagued by an excess of capital, insufficient markets and perennial overproduction. As finance capital sees it, a surge into China would serve to bring vast profits to the global capitalist system and alleviate its crisis.

The capitalist ruling class is making a full-court press at the critical juncture of a change in the leadership of the CPC. Bo Xilai, who was scheduled to become a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, stood in their way.

In a previous article, we referred to a report issued by the World Bank called “China 2030.” It was co-authored by the Development Research Center, an organ of China’s State Council.

A commentary on the report carried in The Economist of Feb. 28 noted: “The DRC is an influential organization which supplies the government with policy advice. The finance ministry was also involved. A deputy prime minister, Li Keqiang, who is expected to take over as prime minister from Wen Jiabao next year, is thought to have played an active role in arranging this co-operation between officialdom and the bank.”

As the World Bank itself noted in a Feb. 27 release: “The report makes the case for the government to redefine its role — to focus more on systems, rules and laws — to boost efficient production, promote competition, and reduce risks. It recommends redefining the roles of state-owned enterprises and breaking up monopolies in certain industries, diversifying ownership, lowering entry barriers to private firms, and easing access to finance for small and medium enterprises.

“Reforms should include commercializing the banking system, gradually removing interest rate controls, deepening the capital market and further developing independent and strong regulatory bodies to support the eventual integration of China’s financial sector within the global financial system. Financial reforms in the next two decades should be decisive, comprehensive and well coordinated, following a properly sequenced roadmap. A priority is to liberalize interest rates according to market principles.”

### Road map to counterrevolution

This is the so-called “reform” roadmap to full-scale capitalist counterrevolution.

It is no wonder that the world capitalist press has become an enthusiastic participant in the struggle against Bo. The New York Times, the Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal are carrying breathless accounts of every charge against Bo, Gu and their son. Bear in mind that the legal proceedings, the flow of information and control over the means of communication in China are entirely in the hands of a grouping of authorities politically hostile to Bo. They are bent on his destruction because of his opposition to deepening the role of the capitalist market at the commanding heights of the Chinese economy. Yet every accusation, every bit of gossip, every innuendo and unproven charge is repeated verbatim by the mouthpieces of world capitalism.

Whatever the facts of Bo’s case, if they will ever be known, nothing can override the fact that corruption and privilege are widespread in China at the highest level. The children of high party officials have been schooled in prestigious Western institutions ever since the beginning of the Deng Xiaoping era. Other party officials have personally benefited from economic development. To unleash a highly publicized national campaign against “corruption,” as is being done in the case of Bo and Gu, is totally arbitrary and politically motivated at a crucial moment of a change in the leadership and the upcoming 18th Party Congress.

The New York Times of April 12 admitted as much: “The disclosure of the charges against the Bos was carefully scripted, and apparently timed, to dispense with Mr. Bo well ahead of a planned turnover of Communist leaders and the 18th Party Congress this autumn.”

Conspicuously absent in the capitalist media is any

criticism of “authoritarian methods” that the scribes of the ruling class are quick to use when they perceive an attack on one of their allies in China. Not a word about “freedom of the press” in the wake of the orchestrated attacks on Bo and Gu that have blanketed the media. Not a word of indignation about “censorship” when the CPC authorities admitted that they had shut down 42 Web sites and censored 210,000 online comments on this case since mid-March. (New York Times, April 14) The authorities have disallowed the word Bo or anything related to it on the Internet.

The great Washington and Wall Street promoters of “democracy” in Syria, Iran, Libya, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, and everywhere else where they want to overthrow the government, have not a word to say about the “democratic rights” of the Bo grouping to have their voices heard by the Chinese people.

Where are the pious voices of the “human rights” organizations, the ones that will let out a hue and cry on signal if some bourgeois dissident who wants to destroy communism root-and-branch is attacked or punished by the Chinese authorities?

Where are the workers’ rights organizations that,

whether or not they are well meaning, should be in a bloc with the Bo faction against the right? After all, as party secretary for Chongqing, Bo fought to alleviate the harsh conditions that had been imposed on the workers and peasants by economic growth linked to the development of the capitalist market.

To be sure, Bo was not opposed to capitalist relations in principle; he has been a follower of the so-called “market socialism” model.

But his promotion of expanding

the economic and social benefits of the workers and peasants and his promotion of “socialist values” was favorable to them, compared to the reactionary program of letting the capitalist market prevail, a position upheld by Wen Jiabao and Bo’s accusers.

Wen Jiabao appears to be the architect of the anti-Bo campaign. We will deal with the question of his political origins and alignment in the political struggle in China at a later point. Suffice it to say for now that his political history includes showing sympathy for the counterrevolutionary uprising at Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Wen opened up the public attack on Bo at what was billed as his last public press conference on March 14, a day before the announcement of the removal of Bo and after the conclusion of the National People’s Congress. Wen warned that “now reforms in China have come to a critical stage. ... Without successful political reform, it’s impossible for China to fully institute economic reform and the gains we have made in these areas may be lost, and new problems that popped up in Chinese society will not be fundamentally resolved, and such historical tragedies as the Cultural Revolution [1966-1976] may happen again in China.” (UPI.com, March 15)

Wen said he had addressed the topic of political structural reform in China on many occasions in recent years, giving his views on the topic in full and in detail. He said his long-standing interest in political reforms came from “a strong sense of responsibility.”

Over the last month, the question of a return to the Cultural Revolution and the revival of Mao has disappeared from the discourse. The subject has been changed to corruption. In fact, a month later, on April 14, Wen wrote a lead article for the Central Committee journal Qiushi calling for a campaign against corruption and exposing the names of the corrupt.

The struggle opened up against the Cultural Revolution, but it has switched to one against corruption. While everyone should want to root out corruption, this smacks of fear of raising the Cultural Revolution in particular and Maoism in general as issues to be debated, particularly in front of the masses. They might very well take sides with the revival of socialist values and get a glimpse of the role the workers can and should play in shaping and reviving socialism and Chinese society.

To be continued.

Goldstein is the author of “Low-Wage Capitalism” and “Capitalism at a Dead End.” More information about Goldstein and the books is available at [lowwagecapitalism.com](http://lowwagecapitalism.com). The author can be reached at [fgoldstein@workers.org](mailto:fgoldstein@workers.org).



A cultural presentation in Chongqing,

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## Lucha interior del Partido en China

PART 3

# El modelo Chongqing vs. Guangdong

Por Fred Goldstein

La expulsión de Bo Xilai como Secretario del Partido Comunista de Chongqing llega en un momento de intensificación de las contradicciones, las presiones y los antagonismos en China. Refleja tres décadas de un avance constante del modo de producción capitalista y una peligrosa erosión del marco socialista establecido por la gran Revolución China de 1949.

El liderazgo del partido comunista chino está colmado de conflictos. Por un lado están las presiones de las crecientes clases capitalista y media en China, así como de los bancos imperialistas, representados por el Banco Mundial. Por otro lado está el creciente descontento de millones de obreros/as y campesinos/as.

Además, a medida que crece el sector estatal de la economía, se expande también el lado capitalista. El capital se expande automáticamente a través de la acumulación de ganancias. El sector estatal, sin embargo, se expande como un asunto de política consciente y el crecimiento absoluto de la economía. Su crecimiento refleja la magnitud de las tareas que los bancos estatales y las empresas están llamadas a realizar.

La lucha por controlar el desarrollo planificado de la sociedad manteniendo soberanía sobre la economía China inevitablemente choca con el crecimiento de las contradicciones internas del desarrollo capitalista y la influencia infecciosa del capital financiero global.

Los líderes del PCC están intentando planificar ferrocarriles de alta velocidad, comunicaciones avanzadas, hospitales, centros de salud y ayuda para el desarrollo rural a fin de cerrar la brecha entre el altamente desarrollado este y el subdesarrollado oeste. Están introduciendo tecnología más ecológica y otras industrias estratégicas a la vez que mejoran el sistema de seguridad social para las 1.300 millones de personas. Al mismo tiempo, tienen que preocuparse por el desarrollo de la inflación, las burbujas inmobiliarias, la crisis económica capitalista mundial, el aumento de la desigualdad en las riquezas y el clamor de los elementos burgueses para que se hagan reformas “democráticas”, lo que sería un canal para la organización política abierta de la clase capitalista y sus partidarios de la clase media.

Al madurar estas contradicciones y antagonismos, la cuestión de cuál será la manera de avanzar en China se torna cada vez más apremiante.

### Chongqing versus Guangdong

En el período reciente, han surgido diferencias en el liderazgo en la controversia sobre el llamado modelo de Chongqing versus el modelo de Guangdong. Bo Xilai ha sido identificado con el modelo de Chongqing, que ha estado bajo intenso fuego desde su derrocamiento.

Chongqing es el municipio más grande de China y quizás del mundo. Tiene una población de 33 millones de habitantes y se encuentra en el interior occidental de China. Es uno de los cuatro municipios gobernados centralmente en China; los

otros son Beijing, Shanghai y Tianjin. Tiene un área rural de 23 millones de campesinos/as y una población urbana de 10 millones de habitantes. Millones de agricultores/as son empleados/as como trabajadores/as migrantes en la ciudad.

Guangdong es la provincia más grande de China, con 104 millones de personas. Un tercio de la población, 36 millones, son trabajadores/as migrantes. Está en la costa oriental y es el sitio del delta del río Perla, donde el giro hacia las reformas de mercado y la “apertura” permitieron por vez primera el establecimiento de zonas económicas especiales. Capitalistas extranjeros de los países imperialistas, así como de Hong Kong, Taiwán y Corea del sur invierten fuertemente allí y han creado una gran industria de manufactura con bajos salarios orientada hacia las exportaciones.

Bo Xilai se convirtió en secretario del partido de Chongqing en 2007. Inició una política de acentuar el papel dominante del Estado en la economía junto con el mercado capitalista. Bajo su régimen, la mitad del presupuesto de Chongqing se gastaba en la atención de salud, vivienda, pensiones, educación y otros servicios públicos. (¿“Uno o dos modelos chinos”? Consejo Europeo de Relaciones Exteriores, Centro de Asia, noviembre de 2011) Alrededor del 87 por ciento de su reciente crecimiento fue en el sector estatal.

El Gobierno se ha comprometido construir 800.000 unidades de viviendas a bajo costo con alquileres en un 40 por ciento por debajo de las tasas del mercado y un límite de bajos ingresos para la elegibilidad. (Bloomberg Businessweek, 22 de marzo) Los apartamentos pueden pasar a ser propiedad después de cinco años, pero no se pueden poner en el mercado. Las unidades se construyen en el centro de la ciudad, cerca de las viviendas de ingresos más altos para evitar la formación de guetos.

El Gobierno de Chongqing también dedica 300 millones de yuanes (47,6 millones de dólares) para educación, salud y vivienda en la zona rural. Además, ha desarrollado una política para permitir y alentar a la población rural emigrar a la ciudad, pero al mismo tiempo equilibra con una política para desarrollar nuevas áreas agrícolas. En el sistema de China llamado “hukou” de permisos de residencia, todo el mundo tiene un hukou rural o un hukou urbano. Los/as residentes urbanos/as tienen derecho a prestaciones sociales como salud y educación a precios subsidiados por el Gobierno.

Chongqing fue la primera ciudad en China en desarrollar este programa de transición de rural a urbano. Su objetivo era permitir a 10 millones de agricultores/as obtener permisos urbanos. (“Bo Xilai y el modelo Chongqing”, Instituto del Asia oriental, Vol. 1, N° 3)

### ‘Cultura roja’ frente a más ‘apertura’

Políticamente, Bo inició lo que él llamó “cultura roja”. Esto incluía alentar y organizar el canto de canciones de la época de Mao e interpretaciones de óperas de la época de la Revolución Cultural. Puso fin a los anuncios comerciales en las estaciones locales de televisión, remplazándolos

con lecturas maoístas y otras lecturas e interpretaciones. Enviaba consignas de Mao a los/as usuarios/as de teléfonos celulares en la ciudad. Y llevó a un grupo de 1.000 cantantes a Beijing para cantar canciones maoístas.

Bo recomendaba que estudiantes y trabajadores/as del Gobierno pasaran tiempo en las zonas rurales para que adquirieran experiencia sobre la vida de las masas.

Bo inició una ofensiva contra los mafiosos y los funcionarios corruptos del partido y del gobierno. E inició esto con un llamado a las masas para que enviaran “cartas de denuncia”.

El modelo de Guangdong por otro lado, enfatiza el mercado capitalista como la fuerza dominante en el desarrollo. Shenzhen es la ciudad que Deng Xiaoping visitó en 1992 cuando declaró la “apertura” de China a la inversión extranjera. Fue la primera zona económica especial. Desde entonces la provincia ha sido conocida como el área donde el mercado capitalista prevalece sobre la planificación y las empresas del Estado.

El actual secretario del partido en Guangdong, Wang Yang, fue nombrado en 2007. Había estado en Chongqing, pero Bo Xilai tomó su lugar. Wang ha defendido abiertamente la superioridad del mercado capitalista al asignar recursos. Ha seguido una política de “gobierno pequeño”. (Wall Street Journal, 14 de marzo) La política de Wang es de más “apertura” y “reformas”.

Guangdong ha sido el sitio de numerosas huelgas y rebeliones de trabajadores/as. Más de 200 huelgas tuvieron lugar en el delta del Río Perla el año pasado, comenzando en mayo con los/as trabajadores/as de la Honda cerca de Guangzhou. (The Economist, 26 de noviembre de 2011)

Wang predica democracia, pero la orientación de clase de su democracia fue ilustrada por una elección local experimental que autorizó en la ciudad de Duan en septiembre del año pasado. Según The Economist, menos de 7.000 habitantes locales les fue permitido votar, mientras que fueron privados de su derecho a votar 60.000 trabajadores/as súper explotados/as que habían llegado desde otras provincias.

### ‘PIB rojo’

Antes de que Bo fuera expulsado, él y Wang eran candidatos al Comité Permanente de nueve miembros del buró político del PCC. Hubo una lucha abierta entre ellos. Bo planteaba un “PIB rojo”, es decir, que el desarrollo económico debía estar subordinado al bienestar de las masas. Sus diferencias surgieron públicamente en una famosa polémica encerrada en una analogía llamada “cortando el pastel”. El “pastel” era una metáfora para el PIB, la producción total de bienes y servicios del país.

El 10 de julio del año pasado, Bo dijo que una “partición mejor del pastel” tiene prioridad sobre “hacer el pastel más grande”. Al día siguiente Wang respondió que “para hacer el pastel más grande, todavía debemos concentrarnos en el desar-

rollo económico”. En otras palabras, que superar la desigualdad tiene menor prioridad que la producción y las ganancias. (“Bo Xilai y Wang Yang: líderes futuros de China?” Jeffrey Hays, factsanddetails.com, actualizado en marzo de 2012)

La izquierda política en China ha apoyado la causa de Bo y tenía grandes esperanzas para su ascenso al Comité Permanente. A raíz de su destitución, muchos sitios de izquierda en el Internet fueron cerrados durante un mes. La lucha está envuelta en secreto, y es muy difícil para las masas o revolucionarios/as y progresistas dentro de China, así como de fuera, obtener cualquier tipo de imagen precisa.

Pero está claro que las fuerzas de Bo que favorecen al modelo de Chongqing están orientadas a obstaculizar más incursiones del capitalismo en China e invertirlo, si es posible. Las fuerzas que apoyan a Wang y al modelo de Guangdong quieren ampliar el camino capitalista.

### Bloque de centro-derecha contra Bo

La tarea inmediata en la lucha actual es hacer retroceder la derecha y la contrarrevolución. Sin embargo, al alinearse contra Bo, el centro del partido está en un bloque con la derecha. El centro está temeroso de la reactivación maoísta y una atmósfera izquierdista. El temor es que esto podría fusionarse con las masas descontentas y tomar la forma de no solo una lucha económica contra la desigualdad, sino una lucha política en contra del camino capitalista. (El año pasado China reportó 180.000 “incidentes”: protestas, huelgas y rebeliones.) Pero el ala derecha es contrarrevolucionaria y quiere llevar al poder a la clase capitalista.

La verdad es que el modelo de Chongqing, aunque sin duda es preferible al capitalismo del libre mercado y lo reaccionario del modelo de Guangdong, es solo una medida provisional en el mejor de los casos. Todavía conserva al mercado capitalista como fuerza significativa. Y el capital crece a través de la acumulación de ganancias. Además, 93 de las corporaciones globales de Fortune 500 están operando en Chongqing.

Revivir la cultura maoísta es un paso en la dirección correcta. La lucha contra la desigualdad también es un paso en la dirección correcta. Pero lo que es más importante es revivir el espíritu de lucha de los/as trabajadores/as que fue propagado y dirigido por Mao.

### El modelo de la Revolución Cultural

Antes de que Bo fuera expulsado, el primer ministro Wen Jiabao atacó a Bo y advirtió sobre los “horrores de la Revolución Cultural”. ¿Cuáles fueron precisamente estos “horrores”? La esencia de la Revolución Cultural era movilizar y capacitar a los/as trabajadores/as para que pudieran dirigir la sociedad socialista, en el espíritu de la Comuna de París. El objetivo era expulsar a los funcionarios privilegiados de sus cómodas posiciones de autoridad y establecer una dictadura revolucionaria bajo la autoridad directa del