

# Capitalism built on racism

# Reparations now!

## Growing movement demands compensation for centuries of slavery



Snow Hill, Ala.

WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

### Legacy of slavery & racism in U.S.

- Eyewitness report from Wilcox County, Ala.
- Black Reconstruction: The unfinished revolution

**SEE CENTERFOLD**

### Multinational unity against economic crisis

Layoffs, cutbacks, low wages and war are the bosses' response to the crisis of overproduction created by their greedy profit system. The workers and oppressed must carry out an independent fight for jobs and human needs. **4**

### U.S./Israel starve Palestinian children

A recent study on malnutrition is the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the cruel treatment of the Palestinian people, especially children, as they endure roadblocks, 24-hour curfews and other racist indignities under U.S.-backed Israeli occupation forces. **10**

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- Poor schools get poorer **5**
- Activists target war criminal Dick Cheney **9**
- Latin American economies in peril **10**

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WORKERS WORLD NEWSPAPER  
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Right now the Pentagon war machine, already grinding the Afghani population under its treads, is swinging its gun barrels toward the people of Iraq—who have endured a decade of impoverishment, illness and more than a million deaths as a result of U.S.-led economic sanctions. The brass in the Washington war rooms have also locked into their crosshairs the liberation struggle in Colombia.

### Workers World Party STATEMENT

Child malnutrition is soaring to emergency levels in Palestine as the Israeli settler state uses F-16 attack planes, tanks and missiles—all stamped “Made in the USA”—to wreak death and destruction on the Palestinians in their own land.

The United States has its eye on the prize in the Middle East: oil profits. But this imperialist goliath owes the peoples of the region a massive debt.

Bush and company boast that the United States is the richest country on the planet as they wage their imperial “endless” war to re-colonize whole parts of the globe. But it is class warfare, carried out against the workers and oppressed peoples on this continent and around the world, that has amassed that great fortune and concentrated it in the manicured hands of a tiny portion of the population.

Reparations are long, long overdue.

Workers World Party lauds the work of African American activists in this country who have used the capitalists’ own court system to lay bare the depth and breadth of corporation profits—then and now—garnered from the trans-Atlantic slave trade and from the economic system of slavery itself.

And Workers World salutes those who rally in Washington, D.C., on Aug. 17 to demand long-deferred reparations for the slave labor of generations of Black people in this country. Our members, of all nationalities, will swell the ranks on the National Mall.

This demonstration proves that the demand for reparations is growing louder and stronger. It takes place in the political capital of Capital, surrounded by the marble colonial mansions of power—including the White House and U.S. Capitol which were built with the sweat and toil of unpaid, enslaved Black laborers.

The landed aristocracy of the South got rich off the labor and blood of African peoples. And so did the merchant capitalists, bankers, traders and others who made obscene profits off the holocaust of the Middle Passage.

Reparations for slavery—yes! Though it is only a small measure of recognition of the crimes of slavery, justice delayed is justice denied.

The same wealthy capitalist scions owe reparations to Native nations for the robbery of land and enslavement of their peoples. The piecemeal theft of whole chunks of Mexico is still a huge unpaid debt. So is the virtual enslavement of Chinese railroad laborers and other immigrants who were worked for pennies from dawn to dusk until they dropped or died from exhaustion and hunger.

Once U.S. capital grew too expansive to be held within its own borders, it became an insatiable imperialist behemoth that ravaged the land, labor and resources of peoples around the world.

*Continued on page 10*

### Longshore workers flex solidarity muscles



Oakland, Calif., Aug. 12. See page 5.

WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL



## Workers World on the WWW

# Revolutionary Web site attracts 100,000 readers a month

By Leslie Feinberg

Gary Wilson may not hand you a print edition of this newspaper at a weekly plant-gate distribution. He may not have left the copy you are holding at a drop-off spot on your campus or nearby coffee shop.

But Wilson is instrumental in getting issues of Workers World out to tens of thousands of readers each week in "roadside" distributions on the information highway. Gary Wilson is our Web weaver for [www.workers.org](http://www.workers.org).

Everyone on the staff of this newspaper is justifiably proud of our Web site. Workers World newspaper is regularly read online by about 100,000 people a month. And thousands more get articles sent to them every week via e-mail.

The number of online readers from the United States and around the globe soars, Wilson explains, "during times of political crisis. That's when we get the most visitors to the site."

"In the month right after Sept. 11, when Workers World was almost the only source for a strong and consistent anti-imperialist viewpoint, we got a million hits."

"Part of the reason for the worldwide popularity is the strength of our international coverage, as well as our unwavering support for the struggles of oppressed nationalities, women, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people."

Workers.org has blazed new trails in cyberspace.

Wilson recalls, "Workers World newspaper has been available on the Internet, as far as I know, longer than any other Marxist publication in the world. It's been available on the Internet and through e-mail since the 1980s. And since the advent of the World Wide Web in roughly 1993, it has been available there, too."

The Internet allowed an exchange of single files, like articles, but no graphics. But the birth of the World Wide Web, mid-wifed by Internet browsers, added photos and other forms of graphic art into the mix.

Log onto [workers.org](http://workers.org). Today the site is vivid and colorful. The content is powerful and effortless to access, thanks to many, many hours of work bent over a keyboard in the glow of a monitor.

"The site is quite searchable," Wilson emphasizes, "which not all sites are. Workers.org is highly ranked by both Google and Yahoo. It is a popular site for left-wing news and views."

And the search engine for articles from back issues of Workers World is so easy to use, simply by typing in the word or phrase or name you're looking for more information about, that for many activists it has become the "communist Google."

"The archives of WW back issues on the Web site go back to 1996," Wilson notes, "but it's a complete record of all articles since 1998."

And those seeking writings by Workers World founder Sam Marcy will find most of his books and all of his articles dated from 1996-on at this cyber-site.

### Print your own issue at home!

Workers World newspaper scored another first recently, Wilson points out. "Our newspaper was the first publication on the left that I know of to make the entire edition available on the Internet in a PDF format." That means you can access and download the entire issue of the newspaper that looks just like the edition from the printer's presses: articles, photos, captions, ads for upcoming protests and new struggle publications.

"And that is currently the most popular feature on our Web site," Wilson continues. "People from all over the world—anywhere in the world—can get this week's issue of the newspaper that way. Prior to this, the only way to see the full printed edition with all the pictures and everything was to get it mailed."

He notes that WW is "very popular in Turkey, Pakistan, South Africa, China, Mexico, Spain and Japan. In

those and other countries, it would take an extremely long time—weeks, sometimes months, for the print edition to get there. Not only was the news outdated then, but you wouldn't get every issue because some would get blocked or mysteriously disappeared."

Today, "The PDF version is the way Workers World is read by many around the world and printed out and distributed. For example, there's a Marxist study group in South Africa that prints out PDF copies of WW every week for discussion."

Some other unique aspects of this Web site include another newly added feature: "We can accept subscription requests for the printed edition and donations by credit card."

Now you can drop in and, with a click or two of your mouse, buy a subscription as a gift for a friend or co-worker. You can give a prisoner a gift subscription that will probably be read by many; Workers World newspaper is passed from hand to hand on cell tiers until it's tattered.

Most importantly, you can strike a blow for liberation by donating your labor, in the form of donations, via this secure Web site.

It's easy to help build cyber-circulation, too. Create an automatic "signature line" on your e-mail: "Read Workers World newspaper! Visit [www.workers.org](http://www.workers.org)."

That way you can join Wilson, and other members and supporters of WW newspaper, as organizers who are taking the anti-capitalist movement to cyberspace.

## PROTEST DONALD RUMSFELD at the military-industrial complex's "festival of vultures"



**Monday, Sept. 16  
8-10 a.m.**

**Connecticut Ave. & Calvert Ave. NW  
Washington, D.C.**

## NO NEW WAR ON IRAQ

The military-industrial complex is holding its annual arms bazaar in Washington, D.C., to show off its latest weapons of mass destruction.

The featured speaker will be Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, the Bush administration's chief cheerleader for a new war against Iraq.

While money is being cut from schools, housing, health care and social programs, the Bush administration is increasing the military budget by \$50 billion.

### Money for jobs, education, health care and human needs —not for war and repression!

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If you would like to know more about WWP, or to join us in these struggles, contact the branch nearest you.

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## WW CALENDAR

### NEW YORK

**Sat., Sep. 21-Sun., Sep. 22**

Workers World Party Annual Conference. Spend a week-end learning, exchanging views and information, and networking with others who are fighting for socialism and liberation. If you're looking for analysis and a guide to action on how to turn back the militarist, racist tide coming from Washington and Wall Street, this is the place to be.

There will be plenary sessions, workshops, and many opportunities to share experiences with Marxist thinkers and fighters of all ages. Catch the spirit of a party that has been on the cutting edge of the struggle against capitalism since 1959. For info call, email or write Workers World Party, 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl., New York, NY

10011; (212) 255-0352;  
[ww@workers.org](mailto:ww@workers.org)

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Sat., Aug. 17**

Millions for Reparations Rally. For info toll free (866) 817-5729 or (212) 633-6646, email [info@MillionsForReparations.com](mailto:info@MillionsForReparations.com).

**Mon., Sep. 16**

Protest Donald Rumsfeld at the military-industrial complex "festival of vultures." No new war on Iraq. Money for jobs, education, and health-care—Not for war. 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. At Connecticut Ave and Calvert NW. For info contact International ANSWER (202) 332-5757 or (212) 633-6646 or [info@internationalanswer.org](mailto:info@internationalanswer.org).

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## WHY REPARATIONS?

# A look inside U.S. prisons

By Greg Butterfield

"In order for capitalism to continue to rule, any action that threatens the right of a few individuals to own and control public property must be prohibited and curtailed, whatever the cost in resources, whatever the cost in blood."

— George Jackson,  
"Blood in My Eye"

What's the relationship between the growing struggle for Black reparations and the plight of African American political prisoners and others in U.S. jails?

What about the more than 1,000 Arab and South Asian people detained after Sept. 11? Many of them were deported without trial or disappeared into the U.S. prison system. Do they have a connection to the reparations struggle?

The continued persecution of political prisoners shows concretely how the U.S. capitalist ruling class and government continue to deny the basic demands for Black freedom, and repress people who give voice to those demands.

Today the movement for reparations is targeting monopoly capitalists whose fortunes were built on the unpaid labor of African slaves. A generation ago, movements of Black people and other people of color challenged the capitalist system and its right to go on robbing and oppressing those whose ancestors built this country.

In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s the FBI used Cointelpro—the Counter Intelligence Program—to spy on, divide and smash civil-rights, Black liberation and other progressive movements.

Cointelpro was responsible for frame-ups, false testimony and snitching against supporters of these movements. It was responsible for jailing many of those identified as political prisoners today.

Under other names, this program has continued to the present day. It was strengthened by the "USA Patriot Act"

passed in the aftermath of Sept. 11.

It's not just a case of the government keeping those it has held for 20 or 30 years under lock and key. Political frame-ups are still going on—like the recent murder conviction of Imam Jamil Al-Amin (H. Rap Brown) in Atlanta.

The Jericho Movement, established by former political prisoners to fight for the freedom of those still behind the walls, currently lists 54 known political prisoners on its Web site. Many were members of groups like the Black Panther Party, the Black Liberation Army, the Young Lords Party and the American Indian Movement.

There are also thousands more who became political activists after being jailed, just as Malcolm X and George Jackson once did. The bloated Texas death row is a source of many political prisoners of this type. Those who become politicized in prison often pay the price of being denied parole or face new, trumped-up charges.

Many argue that all poor and working-class people in U.S. jails are really political prisoners of this racist and class-divided system.

The growth of the highly profitable prison-industrial complex gives even more weight to this broad definition. As other areas of the economy contract, it becomes a matter of economic and political urgency to jail more and more people for crimes of survival, or for no crime at all.

### Evidence or politics?

Mumia Abu-Jamal is probably the best-known U.S. political prisoner. This former Black Panther leader from Philadelphia became a renowned activist-journalist, but never stopped being a target for the FBI and local police. He was framed for the murder of a white cop in 1981 and sent to death row.

If it were simply a matter of law or evidence, Abu-Jamal would be walking free today. His trial was an unconstitutional sham. The evidence of his innocence, and of police tampering and intimidation of witnesses, has grown year by year.

For the rich and powerful beneficiaries of capitalism and white supremacy, Abu-Jamal's case isn't about guilt or innocence. It's about setting an example. If you resist, they are saying, we could put you on death row next.

But if their plan was to use Abu-Jamal's case to spread fear and passivity, they've failed miserably.

Far from being demoralized, Abu-Jamal has continued to resist every threat against his life and every petty harassment by his jailers. His articles and statements have played a pivotal role in educating a whole generation of activists about the nature of U.S. prisons, racism, imperialism and the right to fight back.

Abu-Jamal and his supporters have used his case to spotlight abuses of the legal system. He has helped make the United States an international pariah for its racist use of the death penalty.

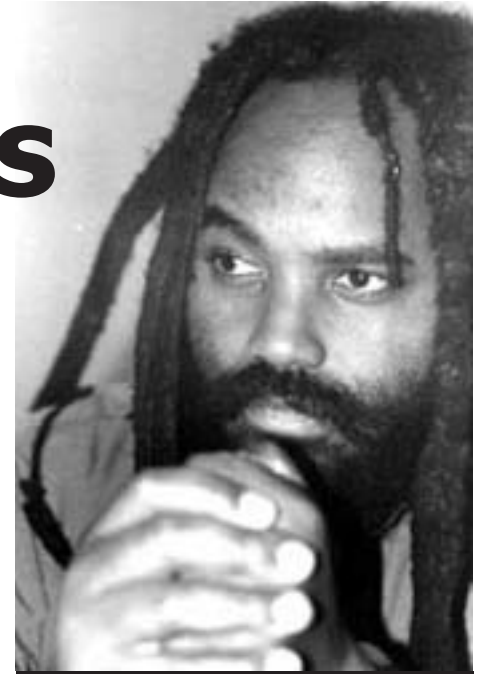
Last December a federal judge struck down Abu-Jamal's death sentence—but not his conviction—on a technicality. The judge refused to consider the overwhelming evidence of his innocence. A recent U.S. Supreme Court decision cast doubts over that ruling, and Abu-Jamal has not been removed from death row.

In July, two longtime political prisoners—Black activist Jalil Muntaqim (Anthony Bottom) of the New York 3 and ailing Native warrior Leonard Peltier—were denied parole.

Six Puerto Rican political prisoners and prisoners of war remain in U.S. jails for the "crime" of demanding independence and reparations for their homeland, the world's last official colony.

The MOVE 9, two of the Angola 3, Sundiata Acoli, Marilyn Buck, Marshall Eddie Conway, Mutulu Shakur, Eddie Hatcher, and dozens more remain imprisoned, though their spirits of struggle are unbroken.

Long campaigns have won some significant victories in recent years. In 1999, 11 Puerto Rican activists were finally released. Black Panther Geronimo Ji Jaga



**Free Mumia Abu-Jamal & all political prisoners!**

Pratt was freed in 1997 after more than a quarter-century in jail.

But for every Ramona Africa or Safiya Bukhari who has won her freedom, there are also casualties like Albert Nuh Washington and Merle Africa, who died still fighting for justice behind bars. Others are forced to live in exile, like Assata Shakur.

Among the recent detainees of Arab and South Asian descent are Palestinian political activists like the recently released Jaoudat Abouazza. A U.S. citizen, Abdullah al Muhajir (Jose Padilla), has been held for months without charges.

What will happen if the United States goes to war with Iraq? If parents whose children—Black, Latin, white, etc.—have been sent off to war dare to protest, will Bush and Ashcroft start rounding them up?

The struggles for reparations and political prisoners are really one and the same. Both are struggles against the national oppression and class exploitation engendered by capitalism. The intersection and unity of these movements will strengthen them and help them to grow.

To learn more about political prisoners, visit the Web sites [www.millions4mumia.org](http://www.millions4mumia.org), [www.jerichomovement.com](http://www.jerichomovement.com) and [www.freepeltier.org](http://www.freepeltier.org).

## Demonstrators say 'Free the MOVE 9!'

A "visual demonstration" called by the MOVE Organization and International Friends of MOVE Network was held Aug. 10 on the corner of Broad and Walnut

### Correction

In the Aug. 8 issue (WW Vol. 44, No. 31), the first two paragraphs of the "Zuni Pueblo, New Mexico Indian Nations Fight to Save Zuni Salt Lake" article should have read:

"Runners from the Hopi, Acoma, Taos and Laguna Pueblos led a protest at Phoenix's utility headquarters July 17 against a plan to strip mine Zuni Salt Lake sanctuary. They then ran 250 miles to Zuni Pueblo in New Mexico.

"Zuni Salt Lake is among Zunis' most sacred sites. Only a half-mile across and, during the rainy season, varying from a one and a half to four feet deep, it produces salt for personal and ceremonial use. The 187,000 acre area around the lake is a well preserved, ancient Neutrality Zone, which they traditionally shared with those pueblos, as well as the Navajo and Apache Nations."

streets in Philadelphia to call attention to the unjust imprisonment of eight MOVE members for 24 years. A ninth member, Merle Africa, died in prison on March 13, 1998.

Aug. 8 marked the 24th anniversary of the Philadelphia Police Department's "shoot-in" at MOVE's Powelton Village headquarters. During the police assault one officer, James Ramp, was killed, most likely by "friendly fire."

Then-Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo and District Attorney Ed Rendell pinned the blame on MOVE, a Black-led radical organization, while police conveniently destroyed all evidence by bulldozing the house and everything on the lot within hours of the shooting.

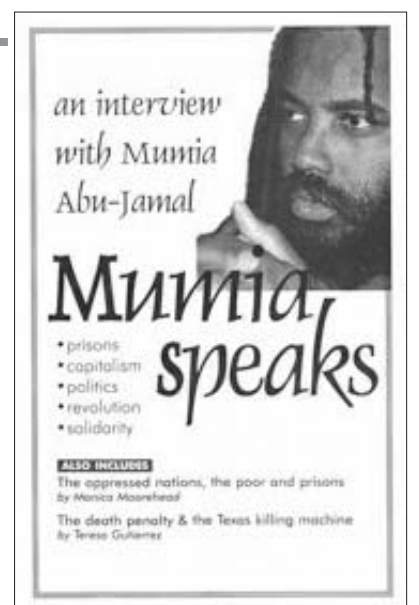
Since then, MOVE supporters have uncovered evidence of bullets having been fired from a house across the street. They are demanding that officials do the right thing and release the MOVE 9.

—Betsey Piette

### An interview with Mumia Abu-Jamal from death row

Columns by the Black journalist on prisons, capitalism, politics, revolution and solidarity. Additional essays on the prison-industrial complex by Monica Moorehead, Larry Holmes and Teresa Gutierrez.

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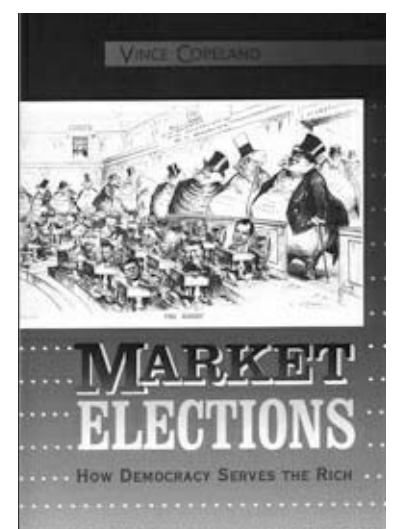
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## A united fight-back of workers and oppressed:

# The only sure-fire solution to economic crisis

By Fred Goldstein

The economic news coming out of the big-business media is full of trepidation about the prospects for another downturn in the U.S. economy, which could in turn tip worldwide capitalist stagnation into a global recession, if not depression.

To be sure, the current reports coming from the U.S. capitalist government's economic reporting agencies run from negative to ambiguous. But Marxists know that the bosses themselves do not know, and cannot know precisely at any given time, whether or not their own economy is headed for a major downturn or not.

They spend enormous sums of money collecting and analyzing economic data. Yet it is in the nature of the profit system of capitalist exploitation, and its modern form, imperialism, that they cannot know about a recession until after the fact.

That is because capitalism is driven by groups of billionaires who own the massive means of production, who meet behind closed doors, in secret from each other and from the masses of the world, to hatch their plans for production, based on each grouping's intent to maximize future profit.

Furthermore, even as they see the signs of a downturn, with government intervention they may be able to forestall it—but they cannot prevent it.

### Recession or slow growth—workers are hurting

Whatever the immediate future holds, the present economic situation adds up to increasing hardships on the working class. This poses the urgent need to prepare and organize a class-wide fight back.

On Aug. 11, US Airways announced its intention to file for Chapter 11 bankruptcy. The sixth-biggest airline in the country has negotiated concessionary agreements with the unions under the shadow of preparing for this bankruptcy. Now it is heading toward massive layoffs under its so-called reorganization for "profitability."

Two days later American Airlines announced layoffs of 7,000 workers as part of its reorganization for profitability, after showing huge losses. Six airlines have filed for bankruptcy and protection, laying off close to 100,000 workers, in the past year.

This problem preceded Sept. 11. The reason is a decline in profits due to over-capacity: too many seats available for the market.

Louis Uchitelle wrote in the Aug. 11 New York Times that the Commerce Department has issued new figures on wages and salaries indicating overall "stagnation" and a downturn for the workers. The stagnation, as he calls it, "results not only from meager wages, but also from cutbacks in hours, the disappearance of nearly 1.7 million jobs since March 2001 and the rise in the unemployment rate, which now stands at 5.9 percent."

In the year after the fourth quarter of 2000, "\$94 billion in pay disappeared, with \$9 billion recovered in a mild rebound so far," Uchitelle continued.

By the numbers, this means that the working class as a whole lost \$85 billion in pay in the last year and a half. And during the so-called recovery, the bosses are trying to protect their profits by holding wages and hours down, shifting health-care costs to the workers, and layoffs.

On the question of health care, an area

in which the profit system vitally affects the workers and their families, the consumer advocacy group Families USA estimated that in the last year more than 2 million families lost their health insurance, bringing the number to 41 million. (New York Times, Aug. 12)

And those who still have health insurance faced 11-percent rate increases last year, much of which was passed on to the workers by the bosses. Workers face a 13-percent increase this year.

This intolerable burden loaded on the workers by the profit-gouging health-insurance giants and bosses who won't pay is one of the most vicious aspects of the modern, high-tech economy. With all its modern drugs, medical instruments and diagnostic methods, health care is run on a for-profit basis, only used to treat those who can pay or have insurance.

Hunger is another indicator of the growing poverty caused by low wages, unemployment, under-employment, high housing costs and all the other methods the capitalists have of reaping profits and keeping the working class down.

This was underscored in a report by the New York City Coalition Against Hunger. The report indicated that "more than 1 million city residents depend on hard-pressed food pantries and soup kitchens for their basic needs." (New York Times, Aug. 9)

In the very shadow of Wall Street where trillions of dollars are traded back and forth every day—in the financial center of the great free-enterprise profit system where the lords of capital rake in the profits wrung from the peoples of the world—exploitation and oppression keeps one in every eight people dependent on food aid just to survive.

### Build a multinational, working-class fight back

There are many examples that show how the growing crisis of capitalism is already a menace to the workers and the poor, and how it falls most heavily on Black, Latino, Asian, Native and Arab peoples, and immigrant workers especially—the lowest paid and least protected.

But the most important conclusion that can be drawn from all the statistics and warnings is that a mighty fight-back must be organized. The Bush administration has adopted a program of war, racism and repression as Washington's answer to the developing crisis.

Bush, with the compliance of the entire capitalist media, has demonized Saddam Hussein, conjured racist images of Middle Eastern peoples and Islam, declared that it is the right of the Pentagon to go any place, any time to intervene in any oppressed country on the phony grounds of the "war against terrorism."

Bush, who together with his brother—Florida Gov. Jeb Bush—and the Republican Party apparatus stole the election through the wholesale racist exclusion of Black voters, has promoted racism at home and abroad to divide the people, justify repression and prepare for war.

The first step in organizing a united struggle against the real enemy, the rich bosses, is for white workers to give a firm rebuff to racism and for all workers to reject super-patriotic chauvinism.

What is needed is to force the bosses and

The tendency for the economic system to fluctuate through cycles of boom and bust, more or less severe, bringing unemployment, misery and dislocation to the mass of the people, is inherent in the system of private property in the means of production—capitalism

their government in Washington, including the pro-big-business, racist Democratic Party leadership, to declare that the working class is legally entitled to every single penny that they put into their pension funds. These funds represent trillions of dollars in wages in the form of the future consumption funds of workers and their families.

Just because millionaires and billionaires gambled with those funds does not change the fact that if they don't return what they owe the workers, it is plain theft—hundreds of millions of hours of labor worked for nothing.

The labor leadership, instead of preaching about finding "responsible corporate leadership," should concentrate on mobilizing to recover what legally belongs to the workers. The AFL-CIO should never have abandoned the fixed-benefit pension plans to begin with and agreed to the financiers' 401(k) gambling scheme. But now it is time to make up for it by mobilizing to make the rich and the government return the workers' hard-earned wages recklessly squandered by brokers and investors in the Wall Street casino called the Stock Exchange.

It is high time to demand free, quality health care for all. It is time to assert that food is a right. That a job is a right. That affordable housing is a right. It is time to build an independent multinational working-class movement to meet the capitalist crisis head on—not to be afraid to oppose the war; not to be afraid to fight racism, to raise women's rights, lesbian, gay, bi and trans rights, the rights of immigrant workers, or in general represent the oppressed and exploited.

Such a movement would be based on the common recognition that the working class is the fundamental class in society because it has created all the wealth. It must resist being forced to bear the brunt of a crisis brought on by the mad speculation and wild investment schemes of the financial aristocracy and the billionaire magnates of industry.

### Capitalist profit system at root of problem

If the economic crisis deepens, there will be a host of solutions offered to solve it. But the truth is that capitalism cannot be cured of crisis.

The tendency for the economic system to fluctuate through cycles of boom and bust, more or less severe, bringing unemployment, misery and dislocation to the mass of the people, is inherent in the system of private property in the means of production—capitalism.

A most popular and appealing solution

to the crisis is to have the capitalist government spend money to put buying power in the pockets of the workers and for businesses to raise wages and thus keep them going. To be sure, wages should be raised and workers should fight for benefits and social services from the government to get relief from the hardships imposed by capitalism. But this will not, and never has, been able to stave off a capitalist crisis, even during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

This "solution" is based on the under-consumption theory. According to this theory, the crisis is caused by production outstripping consumption under capitalism. It is indeed inevitable that production outstrips consumption under capitalism, and this precipitates a crisis. But this does not explain the inevitability of the crisis—it is merely a description of it.

The contradiction between consumption and production, which results in over-production and a glut of commodities that cannot be sold, is rooted in the anarchy of production, not in consumption. What appears as a crisis of consumption originates in capitalist production.

Anarchy of production is inherent in capitalism. Ruthless, often violent, competition is an absolute law of capitalism. The plans of the capitalist monopolies are not made for or by the capitalist class as a whole or for society as a whole. They are made by separate groupings of finance capitalists in struggle against each other and against all their imperialist rivals abroad.

Each grouping plans on the basis of expanding its own sales and profits. Each grouping races to the scene where a profit can be made to try and conquer market share and garner maximum profit. There is no stopping them from competing to build capacity in anticipation of future profits.

By the same token, when the market is glutted with commodities because this feverish competition has produced vast overcapacity and prices and profits begin to fall, nothing will compel them to continue investing.

The crisis of consumption and the anarchy of production are absolutely inevitable outcomes of the profit system—the private ownership of the vast, socialized, interconnected system of global production by a tiny handful of billionaires who have no connection with the actual creation of wealth. It is the international working class and peasants that actually create the wealth of this world with their sweat and toil.

The only way to overcome this contradiction is for the workers to abolish private property, take over the economy and run it for human use, not for profit—that is, by creating socialism.



# National study: Schools for poor communities under-funded

By Betsey Piette  
Philadelphia

Less than a month before a special session of the Pennsylvania legislature will consider reducing property tax, the main source of the state's school funding, a national study found that the difference in per-pupil spending between rich and poor districts in the state is the fourth highest in the country.

The report by Education Trust, a non-partisan group, found that the states of New York and Illinois had the greatest disparity in per-student funding. In New York state schools teaching the poorest students receive \$2,152 less per student from state and local government sources than schools with the fewest needy students. The report also noted that New York state schools with the most students of color took in \$2,034 less per student than those with the fewest.

While New York has made some efforts to reduce its funding gap, Pennsylvania's

has been growing as so-called reform policies have concentrated on privatization and "choice" vouchers, while fighting numerous lawsuits alleging that the state-funding formula discriminates against poor and students of color. The Education Trust report showed that Pennsylvania's per-pupil gap between districts with the lowest level of child poverty and those with the highest was \$1,248. But it also concluded that Pennsylvania has one of the lowest state shares of total school spending: 38 percent.

While refusing to address funding disparities, the state has insisted that all students and districts hold to the same high academic standards. Under the Educational Empowerment Act passed last year, Pennsylvania has taken over 11 low-performance districts, including Philadelphia, claiming they failed to meet state standards. While the state gave the Philadelphia School District an additional \$80 million over its regular subsidy as part of the takeover, the city's

per-student spending remains below the state average.

In December the state replaced the Philadelphia School Board with a state-appointed commission that quickly moved to privatize several of the city's low-performance schools, despite widespread opposition. Students who protested the planned privatization, including blocking entrances to commission meetings, were threatened with lawsuits.

Forty Philadelphia public schools are due to be privatized this fall. Twenty of these will be turned over to the financially troubled for-profit Edison Schools, Inc. The state has insisted that all \$80 million of additional school aid go directly to the newly privatized schools, including Edison's.

Opponents charge that this only serves to give the private schools an unfair advantage over the low-performance public schools. Lawsuits challenging the state's takeover charge that the deal seems designed to benefit Edison stockholders

more than the district's students.

Meanwhile, in the neighboring Chester Upland School District, Edison just finished the first year of a five-year contract and is now laying off employees while asking the district for \$2.3 million more in consulting fees.

In early August Edison's stock closed at a new low of 56 cents per share, compared to \$38.75 in February 2001 when it first negotiated the Chester Upland contract.

State takeover and privatizing schools will only make the funding situation worse. State officials, especially in the Ridge and Schweiker administrations, claim that how education money is spent is more important than how much is spent. But Kati Haycock, director of Education Trust, concludes that the country will never increase the academic performance of low-income and students of color unless the fund gap issue is addressed. "In too many states, we see yet again that the very students who need the most get the least," she said.

## OAKLAND, CALIF.

# Longshore workers flex solidarity muscles

In Oakland, Calif., on Aug. 12, close to 1,000 members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), their families and supporters held a militant union meeting in front of the Oakland Federal Building on the evening before negotiations were scheduled to resume with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA).

The purpose of the rally was not only to show how support for this critical union struggle is growing, but also to send a clear message to the Bush administration to back

off. Labor Department officials have threatened to bring in the National Guard to operate 29 West Coast ports if the union goes on strike.

This protest made it clear that the ILWU was not backing down. Teamsters Local 70 President Chuck Mack asserted that Teamsters would not only honor ILWU picket lines, but would join them, too.

Protests also took place that day in Portland, Ore., and at six other ports.

—Story and photo by Bill Hackwell



# WW/PVN Youth premier new video



By Matthew Schwartz  
New York City

The Workers World/Peoples Video Network Youth Camp Program premiered its new video on Aug. 10. The group consists of 11 youths ranging from 6 to 18 years of age. Jobari, Lucha, Aasim, Shanyce, Dalia, Anthony, Mallory, Najja, Katele, Shani and Amaan traveled to Gulla Island, Ga., last year to document stories of former slaves that have been passed down through generations.

This year, the students returned to the Peoples Video Network offices in Manhattan to learn how to edit the footage, as well as do more advanced camera and microphone work under the supervision of trained PVN members.

With the assistance of adult members,

the youths shot, edited, and presented the film in a display of talent and professionalism that is not often seen with people in their age group. The program was emceed by 16-year-old Jobari.

Twelve-year-old Anthony read a poem that he wrote, his own version of Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous "I Have A Dream" speech, in which he dreamt for a world with peace and without war. Other WW/PVN youth members gave reports on their trip, as well as other political struggles.

Ten-year-old Shanyce officially thanked members of PVN and Workers World Party for all of their support during the project.

Those interested in seeing the video or arranging a public showing can contact the Peoples Video Network via their Web site at [www.peoplesvideo.org](http://www.peoplesvideo.org) or by phone at (212) 633-6646.

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# REPARATIONS

## Black Reconstruction: the unfinished revolution

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

*The following is excerpted from a talk given by Pratt, a poet and Southern anti-racist activist, at a Workers World meeting in New York on Aug. 10.*

The economic consequences of slavery for African Americans did not end with the Emancipation Proclamation.

"Reconstruction" in the Southern United States—the period from 1865 to 1880—was a revolutionary period in which freed slaves struggled for legal, social and economic equality with their former owners. This "unfinished revolution" was stopped by a counter-revolution that followed in 1877.

The counter-revolution's consequences endured legally until the civil rights movement of the 1960s—and economically to this day.

In 1865, Union troops began to move into the defeated slave states of the Confederacy. Under the auspices of a few Union generals, freed slaves began to occupy and farm independently some of the land owned by the white slavocracy.

For instance, the 10,000-acre plantation of Jefferson Davis, former president of the Confederacy, was declared a "home colony" for freed slaves under the protection of a Black regiment. The land was farmed cooperatively and the newly freed people set up a self-government.

An even more widespread re-distribution of land took place under Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman's orders in the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia. There, 40,000 freed women and men settled and worked the land as their own. (Allen)

The ability to claim and farm land was central to freedom for Black people after slavery. Most lived in the rural South. There were few towns and few non-agrarian jobs available, and most Black people were farm workers. After emancipation, they needed land simply to survive—to feed themselves and their families—and to move out of servitude.

But the Southern white slavocracy, though defeated militarily, was determined

not to be subdued economically. Immediately after the war and the passing of the 13th Amendment that formally emancipated all slaves, the Southern white governments of the former slave states began to pass a series of laws that attempted to return freed slaves to a de facto bondage.

### 'Black Codes'

Beginning in Mississippi in 1865, these so-called "Black Codes" appeared to grant Black people certain legal rights, such as the right to marry, for the first time. In reality the Codes "were promulgated to control a newly fluid Black labor force." (Encyclopedia of Southern Culture)

Through these laws, the Southern plantation owners attempted to keep freed slaves bound to their land, in a kind of legal peonage. Their aim was to prevent freed slaves from becoming free labor, people able to sell their labor power as workers.

The codes were designed to control virtually every aspect of the lives of newly freed Black people. For instance, some statutes forbade freedom of movement and "migration" into a state unless the person entered into a work "bond" with a landholder. In Mississippi, as well as other states, every freed slave and everyone of African heritage had to have written evidence of a work contract.

Language in the contracts specified that contracted Black workers were to be known as "servants" and contractors as "masters." If a work contract was not possessed or was not in exact legal order, vagrancy laws were invoked to arrest the Black worker. The state or county then "hired out" the worker.

Any justice of the peace could declare someone a vagrant and have her or him arrested. In some states, any white man, officer or not, could arrest a Black person.

There was virtually no redress in the legal system. In North Carolina, for instance, Black people were allowed a status in court only in cases that did not involve white people. (DuBois)

Passing the Codes was an attempt to continue slavery. In the post-war landscape this meant an attempt to impose the most extreme form of wage slavery possible.

The Codes generally prohibited firearms

to the freed slaves—many of whom had fought with and in the Union Army for their own liberation.

### Resistance to re-imposition of slavery

But just as enslaved Africans had fought back from the moment they were kidnapped and landed on the shores of the New World, newly freed Black people resisted the re-imposition of slavery.

In the revolutionary period of Reconstruction, they developed new tools of resistance—the Union Leagues with their local councils, armed citizens' militias, and people's assemblies that developed into state Constitutional Assemblies in the late 1860s.

These were their defense against the violence of "White Terror"—extra-legal vigilante forces that the slavocracy organized to beat back the emerging social, economic, and political independence of the freed Black population. (Allen)

This intimidation, occurring in every county, town, village and state of the old Confederacy, included the founding of the Ku Klux Klan by Nathan Bedford Forrest, a former slave owner and Confederate general.

For the 10 years after the end of the Civil War there was battle after battle in the countryside and small towns of the South, as the African American population, and some white allies, tried to liberate their land.

Every act toward freedom was a struggle. One witness recounted Black people in Mississippi, marching to the voting polls "after the manner of soldiers, armed with clubs and sticks, some of them with old swords and pieces of scythe blades." (Allen)

The control of the larger state legislatures, public resources and economic destinies depended on these smaller battles.

But the greatest significance in these struggles lay in the fact that the battle of African Americans for their bourgeois democratic rights—the right to vote, to testify in court, to form civil contracts such as marriage—was completely, inextricably and openly linked to their fight for economic justice. If they could not win re-distribution of land, through outright occupation or through reparations legislation such as the "40 acres" grants proposed by abolitionists like Thaddeus Stevens, then newly freed Black people would have no material basis for survival and no way to stand against the seizure of their newly won rights by a resurgent slavocracy.

For the Southern slavocracy was not fighting these battles alone. Northern capital had its own agenda in the waging of the

Civil War and also in the establishment of peace.

For instance, in a Northern newspaper the education of freed slaves was praised as an opportunity for textile manufacturers to "organize at our own doors a colony—so to speak—that will be worth more to us than any of England's most flourishing dependencies."

The federal government gave away millions of acres of land—that could have gone to freed slaves—to the expanding railroad interests in the South and in the West. This included public land confiscated from former slaves who had settled on it as free public property. (Allen)

The military defeat of the Southern planters ended the national struggle over who would control the future of land expansion into the West. There would be no more Missouri Compromises over whether a state would enter as "slave" or "free"—and thus over which financial interests would have an advantage there.

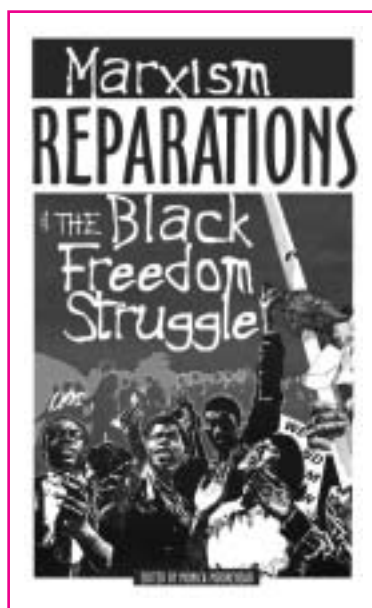
### Defending big landowners

With the surrender of the South, Northern interests rapidly backpedaled away from supporting the freed African Americans. "To expropriate the land of the [former] slave owners (many of whom had financial ties to the merchant capital, etc., in the North) was also to question the legality of all huge land ownership. And at this very moment the big capitalists, especially the railroad companies, were getting land by the millions of acres from Congress, swindling the white masses as well as the Indians [Native Americans] in the process." (Vince Copeland)

Black historian W.E.B. DuBois succinctly summarized the "counter-revolution of property" by saying: "How, after the war, triumphant industry in the North coupled with privilege and monopoly led an orgy of theft that engulfed the nation and was the natural child of war; and how revolt against the anarchy became reaction against democracy, North and South, and delivered the land into the hands of an organized monarchy of finance while it overthrew the attempt at a dictatorship of labor in the South."

*Next: Sharecropping and segregation.*

*Sources: Encyclopedia of Southern Culture; The Unfinished Revolution: A Voice from Harper's Ferry, introduction by Vince Copeland; James Allen, "Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy 1865-1876"; W.E.B. DuBois, "Black Reconstruction in America, 1860s-1880s"; Jacqueline Jones, "Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present."*



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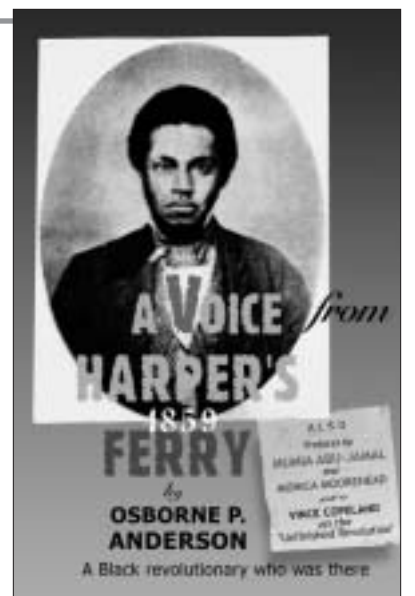
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# NOW!

## Alabama's Black Belt: Legacy of slavery, sharecropping and segregation

By Consuela Lee  
Snow Hill, Ala.

"We are expecting the lowest scores (Stanford Achievement Test) to come from predominantly Black schools in the Black Belt."

—Ed Richardson, Alabama State Superintendent of Education (2000)

I was 12 years old when I silently vowed to return home to Snow Hill, Ala., in Wilcox County, after I finished college to help educate children. As a young person I was concerned that I was miles ahead of my schoolmates in basic academic skills and general knowledge. Most of my classmates were children of sharecroppers and were needed by their parents to help sow and gather crops. Consequently the school year was well underway when these students reported to class.

I returned home in 1980 to revitalize my alma mater, Snow Hill Institute, founded and built by my grandfather, William J. Edwards. The school was started in 1893; it had been closed in 1973 because of a desegregation edict.

Edwards, born on the R.O. Simpson Plantation in 1868, survived a childhood of abject poverty and illness. He attended Tuskegee Institute where, during his senior year, he registered for a class taught by Booker T. Washington. Dr. Washington exhorted his students, upon graduation, to go back home and help elevate the social status of Black people through education and vocational training.

Edwards did just that—and with the help of Tuskegee Institute and Dr. Washington bought close to 2,000 acres of land, rich in timber, for an excellent boarding school for Black youth, grades 1-12.

The school began to decline after Edwards' principalship ended in 1925. By 1973, it had lost its great purpose and academic excellence. The state of Alabama had taken charge of the academic programs in 1927.

During the summer of 1980, 45 children



Consuela Lee with her students, the Albrittons, in Robert Yard, Wilcox County, Ala., 1985.

registered for music classes at Snow Hill Institute for Cultural Arts and Heritage. My goal was to reopen the school as an arts and educational facility. At first, I could not understand the dialect the children were speaking. Educationally, the children could not answer simple questions nor clearly say their names. There still exists today serious neglect in the state of Alabama's obligation to educate and protect our children!

In fact, the state government cares more about the economic interests of the corporations that are exporting timber out of Wilcox County and elsewhere at record numbers without paying restitution to the Black residents who live on the land.

According to a recent series of articles in the Birmingham News, Wilcox County has one of the highest percentages in the categories of poverty and infant mortality, poor education, a high rate of poor, single mothers, and inadequate health care and unemployment in Alabama. The News series labeled Wilcox County and other Black Belt counties "Alabama's Third World." (Download <http://www.al.com/specialreport/birminghamnews/?blackbelt.html>)

Slavery, sharecropping and segregation

are the shameful hallmarks of the history of this area. In his book "Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt," Edward cites: "In the 1920s and 1930s, Black children were allotted 35 cents per child for education while white children received \$15 per child."

"Keep 'em ignorant!" is the battle cry of those who control Black Belt schools. I came to the sad conclusion, long before the News articles were printed, that there is a carefully planned death

sentence for Black children.

This genocidal policy is sponsored by the state of Alabama, abetted by school administrators and school boards. This policy includes poorly trained teachers, unworkable computers, libraries stocked with books seldom used and months wasted teaching "how to pass" the SATs. There are

very few, if any, ongoing music or other arts classes.

This death sentence accelerated with the closing of Snow Hill Institute, a national historic site that had the glorious history of academic achievement plus the indomitable and lasting spirit of a Black man who not only built an educational landmark but brought his people out of the bondage of sharecropping into the independence of landownership.

The state of Alabama, and the corporate timber interests it is subservient to, have kept the Black community in semi-slavery conditions. Reparations must be paid for the crimes committed against the multi-generations of Black people in Alabama's Black Belt.

For more information on the restoration struggle of Snow Hill Institute, write to Consuela Lee, P.O. Box 100, Furman, AL 36741. To read Edwards' "Twenty Five Years in the Black Belt" online, download <http://docsouth.unc.edu/edwards/edwards.html>



Snow Hill, Ala., 1993.

WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL



Snow Hill farmer, 2001.

WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

### Racism in health care featured in Marxism class on reparations



Sahkinah Rasheed talked about the impact of racism on the health of the African American population in the United States at an Aug. 10 Workers World Party class on Marxism and reparations for Black labor in New York City. Rasheed is pictured above (center) with other discussion leaders, Monica Moorehead (left) and Minnie Bruce Pratt (right).

Rasheed, a health care worker, explained how the terrible stress of oppression, racist double-standards in the delivery of treatment, economic inequality and lack of health insurance take a terrible toll on African Americans.

She demanded reparations, in the form of free quality health care, for all.

—Story and photo by Leslie Feinberg



## Cointelpro Italian style

# Cops framed anti-globalization movement in Genoa

By John Catalinotto

The Italian cops are proving that when it comes to repression, they can act just like the FBI did with its Cointelpro program.

In the 1960s and 1970s the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program targeted progressive movements in the United States and led to the deaths and unjust imprisonment of many Black, Latino and Native liberation organizers, while disrupting the work of anti-war and pro-socialist organizations.

At the time the notorious rightist J. Edgar Hoover led the FBI. Local police and the FBI used wiretaps with little restraint, even on acknowledged civil-rights leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. They planted informers and provocateurs. They planted "evidence" of crimes and conspiracies.

The U.S. government is not the only capitalist state that uses these tactics.

Indeed, some cops in Italy have just admitted that Cointelpro-type tactics were exactly what they used in July 2001 to try to justify the brutal, murderous police riot against 250,000 anti-globalization demonstrators at the G8 summit.

Besides the outright murder of anti-capitalist youth Carlo Giuliani, the most vicious assault of the cops in Genoa last year was a raid on the Diaz school. There, hundreds of activists—most of them militant and anti-capitalist but ideologically pacifist—were staying.

In an attempt to break the growing movement, police raided the school. They beat the mostly young demonstrators, severely injuring over 60 and arresting 93.

Cops held the protesters for days, depriving them of sleep, sexually harassing them, even beating some unconscious.

Many of the cops involved were pro-fascist, even forcing the youth to sing phrases from songs that celebrated Mussolini's fascist rule that led Italy to ruin in World War II.

The police claimed they found two Molotov cocktails—homemade bombs—at the school. They showed these at a news conference as proof their victims were "violent." Italy's rightist Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi charged then that the raids proved that the school harbored violent anarchists.

But now, on July 30, an Italian cop has admitted that police planted the Molotov cocktails.

"I brought the Molotov cocktail to the Diaz school. I obeyed the order of one of my superiors," the 25-year-old officer told prosecutors carrying out an investigation. He said the petrol bombs were planted in the school to justify the police raid.

It is not clear exactly which cops gave the orders. About 80 are under investigation for crimes, including torturing of demonstrators.

There is also a question as to how high up in government the crime is rooted. Deputy Prime Minister Gianfranco Fini is head of the neo-fascist National Alliance Party. Demonstrators and progressive organizations say they have evidence he played a role in the police riot. They demand that he resign.

# Protesters demand: U.S. out of Colombia



BAY AREA

WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

Opponents of U.S. intervention in Colombia rallied Aug. 7 to protest the inauguration of Avaro Uribe as the new president of Colombia. Uribe, whose campaign was supported by Washington, has longstanding ties to right-wing paramilitary death squads.

Over 100 people came to the traditional anti-war rallying site at Powell and Market streets in San Francisco. Demonstrators condemned the Bush Administration's recent authorization of \$1.7 billion in aid to be used directly against popular revolutionary organizations that are trying to free Colombia from the yoke of imperialism.

The protest was called by the Committee for a New Colombia and endorsed by a number of

Bay Area organizations, including the International ANSWER coalition and Workers World Party.

In New York City, the Committee to Stop U.S. War in Colombia under the auspices of the International Action Center rallied in front of the Colombian Consulate on 57th St. The Colombia Action Committee, Social Justice in Colombia Committee and others joined the protest. Several television and radio stations covered the event.

Hector Castro, a labor unionist from Colombia living in the U.S. because of paramilitary death squad threats, spoke at the rally.

—Teresa Gutierrez  
and Bill Hackwell



NEW YORK

PVN PHOTO

# Ramsey Clark: 'Act against coming war in Iraq'

By G. Dunkel  
New York City

Over 200 people came out on a hot August night in New York City to hear former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark say, "It is time for people to stand up, speak up and act—to stop the coming U.S. assault on Iraq."

Clark put war threats against Iraq in the context of U.S. involvement in Colombia, Venezuela, Equador, Peru and especially Palestine, where Washington supports Israel's attempts to crush the Palestinian people. He also brought up Afghanistan, so assaulted by the United States that "to get married there is to risk a U.S. bombing attack."

The International Action Center sponsored the Aug. 13 meeting at the New York

Joint Board building of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Brian Becker, a spokesperson for the International ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) coalition, outlined plans for an internationally coordinated day of local protests Oct. 26 and a major mobilization in Washington in October or November.

Sara Flounders of the IAC, who chaired the meeting, explained: "Sanctions are a true weapon of mass destruction. In the 12 years that they have been applied to Iraq, they have caused the death of over 1.5 million people."

Some of the suffering caused by war comes home. Citing a recent study, Flounders reported that "Of the 700,000 GIs who served in the Gulf during the war, the Department of Veterans Affairs is paying

compensation to 370,000 of them because they are suffering from Gulf War Syndrome."

Migiwa Kanazawa, an IAC activist, spoke about commemorating the U.S. nuclear attack on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on Aug. 6 and 9, 1945.

She said: "Dropping nuclear weapons on those cities was not intended to end

World War II but to start a new war, the one we call the Cold War."

A photo exhibit from Japanese progressives about the effects of the nuclear attack lined the walls of the meeting hall. According to Kanazawa, the display had been rejected by the Smithsonian Museum in Washington as "too gruesome," but it was really rejected for being too revealing about U.S. war crimes.



WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL



# DICK CHENEY: War criminal, corporate thief

By Richard Becker  
San Francisco

At an early-morning Aug. 7 demonstration here, protesters chanted, "Dick Cheney, war criminal—Dick Cheney, corporate criminal." They were right on both counts.

Cheney was indicted and convicted by an independent International War Crimes Tribunal for his role in directing the slaughter known as the Gulf War in 1991.

As Secretary of "Defense" in the first Bush administration, Cheney played a key part in planning and executing the attack on Iraq. The battle plan included intentionally destroying Iraq's water, electrical, sewage, transport and food systems in violation of international law.

Most of Iraq's civilian infrastructure was destroyed in the 1991 war, which was preceded and followed by a total economic blockade of the country. The sanctions, imposed by the United Nations Security Council and enforced by the U.S. military, have killed more than a million Iraqis.

Before he was appointed to head up the Pentagon, Cheney represented the oil and mining interests of Wyoming in Congress for several terms. In the House of Representatives, Cheney was an extreme right-winger, known for his racist, sexist, anti-gay, anti-union and pro-military positions.

Today, to no one's surprise, Vice President Cheney is leading the charge for a new all-out war against Iraq. Who stands to benefit most from such a war? Big Oil and the military-industrial complex—powerful interests which find a near-perfect melding in the person of Cheney himself.

## The revolving door

The shuttling of generals, admirals and other officials between the Pentagon and the big military contractors is so commonplace that it has its own title: the "revolving door." Military brass and civilian officials regularly use their influence to award lucrative sweetheart contracts, often amounting to hundreds of millions or billions of dollars, to favored corporations.

Then, when they retire from government "service"—usually with lavish pensions and benefits—these same officials hire on with the same big contractors.

Cheney's career is an excellent example of this process, which is as routine as it is corrupt.

Beginning in 1992, Cheney's last year as secretary of defense, the Pentagon awarded a contract to Brown & Root, a subsidiary of Halliburton Corp., for \$1.2 billion to provide "rapid troop support" mainly in the Balkans. An extension of the contract from 1999 to 2004 is projected to cost at least \$1.8 billion.

Pratap Chatterjee of CorpWatch described the 1992 contracts as part of "a new scheme to privatize operations of the U.S. military that were drawn up by Halliburton itself under contract to Cheney in 1992." (CorpWatch, May 2)

In 1995, two years after he left office, Halliburton hired Cheney as its new chief executive officer.

Halliburton is the world's biggest oil services company. It ranks 71st among the Fortune 500 biggest corporations. It has oil drilling and maintenance operations all over the world, including Angola, Algeria, Brazil, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Russia, Central Asia and the Middle East.

Halliburton acquired Brown & Root, one of the biggest military construction companies, in the early 1960s, and later another big construction firm, Kellogg. Brown & Root profited immensely in Viet-

nam, building landing strips, roads, military bases and other infrastructure for the U.S. war.

Kellogg, Brown & Root (KBR) is today the unit of Halliburton that executes most of its military contracts.

With Cheney's connections, KBR nearly doubled its military contracts—to \$2.3 billion in his five-year tenure as CEO. Cheney appointed his former Pentagon chief of staff, David Gribbin, as Halliburton's lead lobbyist in Washington. In 1999-2000, the company received \$1.5 billion in federal loans and insurance subsidies.

That's a 15-fold increase over the five years before Cheney took over. (CorpWatch, May 2)

Cheney's personal rewards were enormous. In 1998 alone, he received \$4.4 million in pay and benefits. He, like so many other corporate executives, received lucrative stock options. And like President George W. Bush, he managed to cash them in just before the company's stock plummeted in price.

In May and August 2000, at a time when Halliburton was still selling for more than \$50 per share, Cheney was paid \$23.6 million for his stock. After Cheney got out, the stock plunged. Today it is selling for around \$13.

In recent weeks it has been revealed that while Cheney was CEO, Halliburton's stock price was artificially maintained by fraudulently inflating its bottom line. This was achieved by counting as income bills that customers, including the U.S. government, refused to pay: \$89 million in 1998; \$98 million

in 1999; \$113 million in 2000. These amounts were mainly for cost overruns.

In May, the Securities and Exchange Commission announced that it was investigating Halliburton and its auditor, the now-infamous Arthur Andersen Co., for "aggressive" bookkeeping.

What Andersen did for Cheney and Halliburton was similar to what it did for Enron and many other corporate executives: devise ways to fraudulently keep the stock price up until the executives could cash in their stock options. As the capitalist economy turned down, and lacking the kind of insider information available to CEOs, ordinary investors—including many workers' pension funds—were left holding the bag.

In 1996, Cheney did a promotional video for Arthur Andersen in which he praised the auditing giant for going "beyond the call of duty." What "beyond the call of duty" means for a bookkeeper is not too hard to figure out.

## Cheney returns to Washington, Halliburton stays at the trough

In January 2001, Cheney returned to Washington as George W. Bush's vice president. On Dec. 14 of the same year, Halliburton subsidiary KBR was awarded a unique contract called by the Pentagon a "Logistics Civil Augmentation Program" or LOGCAP.

The contract is described in Pentagonese as a "cost-plus-award-fee, indefinite-delivery/indefinite-quantity service." Translation: a contract that has no

time, material or dollar limits, with profits figured as a percentage—usually 9 percent—added onto the amount spent.

In other words, the more that KBR spends, the more the company makes in profits. This is a common feature of Pentagon contracts.

Initially, the contract for the Navy is for five years and for the Army a highly unusual 10 years. It makes KBR the only private supplier of Army logistic services over the next decade.

"It is close to unprecedented for the government to have given so much of the solution to one contractor," is how Prof. Steven Spooner of George Washington University, who specializes in federal contracting, describes the Halliburton contract. (Boston Globe, Aug. 5)

The Pentagon did not consider any other bidders for LOGCAP, a fact that might seem a little surprising given that KBR and Halliburton were under investigation for defrauding the military on earlier contracts. To settle that case, KBR paid \$2 million to the Army for work it billed but never carried out at Fort Ord, Calif.

And that's just the tip of a gigantic iceberg. In February 1997, a General Accounting Office investigation revealed that KBR was billing the Army for plywood at \$85.98 per sheet that cost \$14 in the United States, for a project in Hungary. KBR's estimate for the contract in 1996 was \$191 million; by the next year it had risen to \$461 million. (Chatterjee, May 2002)

Halliburton/KBR are directly profiting from the so-called "war on terrorism," in which its former CEO is such a driving force. KBR is building and maintaining new bases in Central Asia, and, under contract with the Navy, was paid \$37 million to build 816 detention cells at Guantanamo Bay for prisoners captured in Afghanistan.

Both Bush and Cheney are unquestionably guilty of corporate fraud and insider trading as defined in the "Corporate Responsibility" Act that Bush signed July 30. The fact that they still occupy plush offices rather than jail cells is due to their privileged position in class society.

But what Cheney's story shows is that the problem is not just corrupt individuals, but a thoroughly corrupt system.



## Early morning protest slams VP

By Bill Hackwell  
San Francisco

More than 500 protesters gathered outside San Francisco's Fairmont Hotel at 8:00 a.m. on Aug. 7 to denounce Vice President Dick Cheney as a war criminal and corporate thief. This was the first public speaking appearance in several months for Cheney, who has been in virtual hiding.

The corporation that he formerly headed, Halliburton, is under investigation for fraud and other corrupt practices while Cheney was its chief executive officer. Halliburton profits heavily from both oil and military contracts.

Despite the fraud investigation, the company has been awarded huge new government contracts recently, including an

unprecedented 10-year contract to provide logistical support to the U.S. Army.

Cheney is also widely believed to be leading the charge for a new war against Iraq. As secretary of defense in the first Bush administration, Cheney was a major player in the 1991 Gulf War.

A spirited rally was held across the street from the Fairmont Hotel. Speakers included: Richard Mead, president of International Longshore Workers Union Local 10; Gloria La Riva, president of the Typographical Sector of Media Workers Local 39521 and a representative of the International Action Center; Monica Enriquez, Committee for a New Colombia; Alicia Jrapko, National Committee to Free the Five Cuban Political Prisoners in the U.S.; Riva Enteen, program director of the Na-

tional Lawyers Guild-Bay Area Chapter; and Richard Becker of the IAC and International ANSWER coalition.

The "Other Dick Cheney," a radical impersonator, and fellow members of the San Francisco Mime Troupe staged a street theater performance throughout the protest satirizing Cheney's involvement in corporate corruption.

Inside the hotel, several protesters disrupted the vice president's speech, chanting "Cheney—corporate crook" before being escorted out.

The demonstration was sponsored by the International Action Center, Global Exchange, the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and other organizations, and was widely covered by local and national media.



# Reparations now!

Continued from page 1

Today, the movers and shakers from Wall Street to teak-lined corporate boardrooms are outraged by another move for reparations: that by the government of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe to expropriate and redistribute the vast tracts of land concentrated in the hands of wealthy white farmers.

But the centuries of colonial and imperialist pillage are still draining the lifeblood from the economies of African countries. U.S. capitalist globalization represents armed robbery on a worldwide scale.

Yankee imperialism owes the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa reparations.

The ledgers of U.S. banks are filled with columns of "national debt" that the barons of finance capital claim oppressed countries owe them. But U.S. big business has kept these countries technologically under-developed, manipulated their agriculture for export, held down prices for their goods on the world market, and stolen their land, labor and resources.

For almost half a century the Cuban people have been economically strangled by the illegal U.S. blockade of their island.

Cancel the debt of the downtrodden, of course. But then let the imperialist reparations begin.

Here in the belly of the beast, forced labor in the prison-industrial-complex—disproportionately people of color—puts the fortune back into the Fortune 500. As the adage says, "What is the crime of robbing a bank compared to the crime of owning one?"

## Arresting the crimes of capitalism

All the wealth funneled to the ruling classes—from the slavocracy to the robber barons of capitalism—represents more than money. It is capital. Capital is a social relationship between exploiter and exploited.

The profits wrung from kidnapped and enslaved African peoples, for example, created an economic accumulation of capital that provided the foundation for today's ruthless exploitation of workers and oppressed peoples across this country and around the world by U.S. capitalist industry and finance.

Under capitalism, workers are not paid the full value of the fruits of their labor. The unpaid portion—the surplus value—is stolen from pay envelopes and appears instead as profits in the accounting books of corporations and banks.

Of course, any white worker in this country, told by his or her boss that he or she would not receive a paycheck at all, would ask co-workers, union, family and friends to close ranks to help get justice.

Now the struggle for a modicum of payment to Black workers in this country—as recognition of a crime against the humanity of the peoples kidnapped from Africa to toil as unpaid slave laborers—is a fight that every working person in the United States has a stake in.

The unity shown by white workers in pressing this demand will help strengthen and revitalize the labor movement at a time when Wall Street wants the working class to shoulder the deepening capitalist economic crisis. Solidarity in the battle against racism is key.

A victory in the battle for reparations from the bosses will contribute to awakening the consciousness of millions of working people in this country about the underlying crime of capitalism. Every worker can understand that unpaid labor is theft—whether slave or wage-slave labor.

And it will help spur on the movement to overturn capitalism and replace it with planned production to meet human needs and wants.

That's what socialism is.

Socialism means overturning the private ownership of industries, banks and commerce that were built with collective labor.

Socialism means wresting the wealth produced by the class that works shoulder to shoulder out of the hands of the 1 percent who claim to own it all. Socialism returns that wealth—that vast pool of unpaid labor—to society for free education and health care, child care, affordable housing and to raise the standard of living of all.

Socialism is the ultimate reparation.

## LATIN AMERICA

# U.S. bailouts expose economic, political collapse

By Andy McInerney

The Bush administration has desperately intervened to try to bolster the capitalist economic system in Latin America. On Aug. 4, the U.S. government authorized an emergency \$1.5 billion loan to Uruguay's crippled banking system. Days later, on Aug. 7, the International Monetary Fund approved a massive \$30 billion loan package for Brazil—the world's 10th largest economy.

The IMF loan is the biggest bailout in the fund's history. The United States is the biggest donor to the IMF, a conglomerate of international banks and lenders, and would certainly have had to approve a bailout of this magnitude.

The two loans have a dual purpose. On the one hand, there is the economic goal: preventing the economic crisis that is sweeping Latin America from further damaging U.S. bankers and corporate heads.

On the other hand, the political goal is to give the ruling classes in Latin America a respite from massive, growing protests aimed at the IMF—and, increasingly, against the U.S.-backed ruling classes themselves.

The loan to Uruguay came after runs on the South American country's banks led to a four-day bank shutdown. Protests bubbled over into sackings of stores and clashes with police.

U.S. Ambassador Martin Silverstein announced the bailout "immediately after Uruguay's parliament passed legislation that would freeze bank deposits and cut government spending to meet conditions set for the loan," the Deutsche Presse Agentur reported Aug. 5.

The massive bailout for Brazil's banks was announced as the value of the Brazilian currency, the real, plummeted. In the past year, the real has lost 20-40 percent of its value. During the last week of July, it fell to 3.25 reals to the dollar—the same exchange rate as the hobbled Argentinean peso.

Financiers worried that both Uruguay and Brazil would default on the foreign debt if emergency aid were not approved.

The biggest winners from the Brazil bailout were not in Brasilia, Sao Paulo or Rio de Janeiro. They were sitting in their Wall Street boardrooms. According to cbsmarketwatch.com analyst Paul Erdman, the big U.S. banks Citigroup and FleetBoston have investments and loans in Brazil to the tune of

some \$20 billion.

"Brazil has also been a big magnet for American industrial investment," reported the Aug. 9 New York Times. "General Motors and other car companies have sunk billions into factory expansions, and a Brazilian meltdown would turn those into white elephants."

The other aspect of the recent round of bailouts is political. The social misery caused by over a decade of IMF- and U.S.-imposed austerity measures and privatizations throughout the continent is beginning to find expression in mass movements and political challenges.

Argentina's political establishment collapsed amid mass protests in December. That country's ruling class is still trapped in a vise between the demands of U.S. bankers and growing mass protests.

Revolutionary insurgencies are challenging Colombia's ruling class and its grip on power.

President Hugo Chávez is steering Venezuela out of the orbit of U.S. exploitation as millions of poor and working people challenge that oil-producing country's economic elite.

Huge, militant mobilizations have swept Peru and Paraguay.

In Bolivia, only political machinations in that country's Congress prevented Evo Morales of the Movement to Socialism party from winning the presidency. Morales' popularity grew in direct proportion to the number of times the U.S. ambassador denounced his candidacy.

And in Brazil, the economic lynchpin of Latin America, polls show that two leftist presidential candidates have all but overshadowed the traditional political elite. The prospect that the reins of power could slip out of trusted pro-imperialist hands in such a crucial country is already causing U.S. financiers nightmares—two months before the elections are set to be held.

The strings attached to the recent \$30 billion IMF loan show that this prospect was high on U.S. bankers' minds. Eighty percent of the loans would be paid in 2003—after the presidential elections—and only then on the condition that the new government not increase social spending.

Despite the bailouts, the convergence of economic crisis with growing political consciousness on the part of the working class ensures that capitalist rule in Latin America remains vulnerable.

# Israel starving Palestinian

By G. Dunkel

The Israeli occupation is deliberately inflicting mass hunger on the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza as a form of collective punishment. The surprising source for this information is a branch of the U.S. government, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Collective punishment is a violation of international law.

USAID has just released a report documenting how U.S.-supported-and-financed Israeli actions in the West Bank and Gaza have produced some of the highest rates of malnutrition in the world among Palestinian children and women of child-bearing age. The report can be found online at [www.usaid.gov/wbg/reports/Nutritional\\_Assessment.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/wbg/reports/Nutritional_Assessment.pdf).

Gregg Greenough of the Johns Hopkins University Schools of Medicine and Public Health, one of the researchers, said at an Aug. 5 news conference in Jerusalem that the level of Palestinian children suffering from acute or chronic malnutrition is equivalent to that found in Chad and Nigeria, and higher than in Bangladesh and Somalia.

Greenough said that the overall malnutrition level for the West Bank and Gaza Strip "is considered an emergency by most humanitarians and public-health officials."

The Israeli government, which offered its own medical experts in a separate news conference, did not challenge the findings of the USAID report.

Yael Dayan, a Knesset legislator from the Labor Party, which is part of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's government, told the Christian Science Monitor Aug. 7: "There are many other reasons besides Israeli policies for this situation. This is a result of the policies of the Palestinian Authority. They need to stop the terrorism. The military measures are aimed only at protecting the lives of Israeli citizens."

But the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz reported Aug. 4 that a staff for "Economic Warfare Against the Palestinians" operates inside Sharon's office. Shlomo Gazit, a former chief of military intelligence, said border closures and embargoes of the West Bank and Gaza are intended to create hardship for the Palestinian civilian population as well as "prevent terrorism."

The report makes clear that massive unemployment caused by the Israeli occupation, embargoes and roadblocks, is the main reason for the suffering of Palestinian children and adults. Over half of Palestinian families have no income and have to sell their belongings to buy food.

One-third of those surveyed had trouble buying even the cheapest foods like rice and pasta because they lacked cash. Protein-rich foods like meat and

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# Movements defy privatization policies

By Alicia Jrapko

Despite all of the U.S. corporate media's efforts to conceal the deepening economic and social crisis in Latin America, they can no longer hide it. Articles in major newspapers now cry out for a "clearer" U.S. policy toward the region, reflecting a split in the ruling class here over how to respond to the crisis engulfing the entire continent.

Although some economists still claim the region needs more "free-market" economic policies, others now admit that U.S. neoliberal policies—privatization, cutbacks, throwing open the market for U.S. products, prioritizing debt service to the banks—have worsened Latin America's huge gap between rich and poor.

After almost 30 years of neoliberal policies in the region, a small elite enjoys enormous wealth, while poverty across Latin America stands at over 40 percent.

The crisis that first erupted in Argentina

has spread throughout the region, particularly in the Southern Cone. But the U.S. government and big business's main concern is to stem the growing tide of popular resistance and uprisings.

That's why Washington abruptly changed its "no loans" policy for struggling economies in the region and says it is now willing to permit some International Monetary Fund loans.

On Aug. 7, U.S. Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill urged a speedy IMF pact for aid to Argentina. Just 10 days earlier, O'Neill had publicly suggested that aid to the region could "end up in Swiss bank accounts."

The same day O'Neill made his about-face, the IMF announced a \$30 billion loan to Brazil. Before that, Washington granted Uruguay a \$1.5 billion emergency loan to keep its banks afloat.

## Resistance to privatization

U.S.-backed privatization policies face enormous challenges from peoples' move-

ments throughout the region.

After five days of rebellion against plans to privatize two power plants in Arequipa, Peruvian President Alejandro Toledo was forced to declare a state of emergency and agree to suspend the sell-off.

In Paraguay, rebellions opposed to free-market policies forced President Luis Macchi to declare a state of emergency.

In Mexico, poor peasants mobilized and stopped President Vicente Fox's plan to build a new airport on their lands outside Mexico City.

In Uruguay, people responded to the banking crisis by expropriating goods from supermarkets. Unions protested the government's decision to close the banks for a week.

Meanwhile in Brazil, the region's largest economy, the currency's value continues to drop. Will rebellion spread there next?

For the most vulnerable people of Latin America, the gigantic amount of foreign debt in the region amounts to super-ex-

ploitation. The austerity plans imposed on local governments by the IMF and World Bank in exchange for more loans means cutting jobs and basic benefits like health care, education, retirement and social security.

More loans are not the answer for economic recovery in these countries. It's a Band-Aid solution that will only put them further in debt and produce more austerity for the great majority of people.

There is a growing movement in Latin America to cancel the entire foreign debt. After all, the Latin American countries really owe nothing to foreign banks, which have profited from centuries of imperialist plunder of the region.

Just as U.S. big business and the government should pay reparations to the families of former slaves, imperialism should also be held responsible for paying reparations to the Latin American working people for all the stolen natural resources and labor.

## Turkey's political crisis PART 2

# U.S. allied with military to suppress resistance

By Cemile Cakir and Frank Neisser

*Part 1 appeared in the Aug. 8 issue of Workers World.*

In 1950, a right-wing party, the Democrat Party (DP), won the Turkish elections. Its leader, Adnan Menderes, became prime minister. Menderes said that he was going to turn Turkey into a "little America." At that time Harry Truman was president of the U.S. and his doctrine was to "help" underdeveloped countries become U.S. satellites.

The first thing Menderes did was send soldiers to aid the U.S. war against north Korea. The U.S. established many bases in Turkey aimed at the USSR.

Washington and Wall Street also started to make loans to Turkey. The total interest on these loans became much greater than

the principle. It became an avalanche.

Turkey's politics were based on U.S. Cold War politics. During Menderes's term, every kind of opposition was prohibited, including some actions of Ataturk's Republican Populist Party (CHP).

At that time, power was shared by the capitalist class, some pre-capitalist groups and feudal landlords. It was no peaceful coexistence. The war among these classes continued openly until the capitalist class won decisive battles with the workers in the 1980s and firmly established its domination.

In 1960, the Turkish army took over the government from Menderes's corrupt regime and hanged him. The army established a new constitution and allowed certain freedoms to organize. Under these conditions, it was possible to distribute socialist literature, and leftist and Marxist-Leninist groups began to grow. When the left started to grow very quickly, the right wing started to organize some groups against the left.

Mehmet Eymur, a former leader of the secret police agency, the National Intelligence Organization (MIT), used to keep his own Web page. On it he explained what went on behind closed doors. He wrote that the CIA founded two organizations in the late 1960s: the first one in the Turkish army, and the second one among civilians.

In reality, he wrote, these organizations decide who will be prime minister, or ministers, or governors in big cities, like Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir.

Eymur wrote: "Even though Bulent Ecevit used to be against this kind of contra organization in the 1970s, he was chosen by them."

The Turkish Army took over the government again in 1971 to eliminate the pre-capitalist groups from the government and to crush the rising leftist groups. Even though three revolutionaries were hanged, and many members of leftist groups were killed, the left continued to rise.

After 1975, there was a civil war between leftist groups and right-wing nationalist fascist groups. At that time there were two important parties. The first was the CHP, whose leader at that time was Bulent Ecevit, the current prime minister. The second one was the MHP, a nationalist-fascist right wing party, which currently

shares the government with Bulent Ecevit. MHP members and leaders have killed a lot of leftists and social democrats, including CHP members.

In the mid-1970s, with Ecevit as prime minister, Turkey removed some U.S. bases and also occupied Cyprus.

But the time since 1980 has been a succession of military regimes and right-wing governments largely under military control. The Turkish military served to crush the left and enforce International Monetary Fund policies and U.S. interests.

## 1980 military coup

Before 1980, the Turkish government and IMF had made an agreement to bring down workers' salaries in return for a loan. All government-owned economic enterprises were to be privatized. Because the Turkish unions were powerful, it was almost impossible to carry this out. Then army General Tahsin Sahinkaya came to the Pentagon to discuss taking over the government.

With the Pentagon's blessing, the army did take over the government. All political parties, civil organizations and even most unions were shut down and their leaders went to jail, including Bulent Ecevit and Alpaslan Turkes, the leader of MHP.

During this junta's rule, more than 200 people were hanged, hundreds more were killed and thousands were imprisoned. Every kind of leftist organization and leftist book was banned. The army leaders eliminated every part of the constitution that allowed people to organize.

Kenan Evren, the chief of the Turkish army, became president. The government started to help ultra-right Muslim organizations against the leftist movement. They gave these organizations money and power. The Turkish secret police intelligence organization had used MHP members as paid killers against the Turkish leftists and the Armenian organization ASALA.

The 1980s and 1990s saw a succession of right-wing coalition governments. At the same time, the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) opened a guerrilla war against the Turkish government for an independent Kurdish state.

This liberation war of the Kurds changed the face of every Turkish political party. Social democratic parties leaned to the right,

including the CHP, which was founded again after the 1981 Junta, and DSP, which was founded by Bulent Ecevit. He said that he didn't want any leftists in his party. DSP's doors were closed to every kind of left politics even though it has "left" on its name.

Center-right-wing parties became ultra right, like the True Path Party (DYP) and the ANAP.

The MHP nationalist fascist party members worked with the Turkish army against the Kurdish guerrilla war. Also, its members and leaders were in the criminal gangs known as mafia.

After other parties' coalitions failed, in 1999 the current three-party government was established: DSP, ANAP and MHP. But it has a lot of contradictions. There are conflicts over aligning more closely with the U.S. or with the European Union. There are conflicts over the governmental changes EU membership would require, including an end to the death penalty and severe economic austerity measures.

There are also contradictions between the parties with strong mafia connections and non-mafia capitalist groups. Another contradiction is between the extreme right wingers and the slightly more moderate groupings.

But these three parties have met in the same coalition and worked in relative harmony until this time. None of them, nor any of the parties in Parliament that are competing to replace them, can bring independence from the dictates of the U.S. and the IMF. The same applies to the proposed new party and to the political forces outside the coalition, including the pro-Islamic party that is leading in the polls.

It would require a thoroughly anti-imperialist, socialist party to solve the crisis.

Bush's plan has been to invade Iraq and he needs Turkey's help, not only to use the air base at Incirlik, but also every kind of help. When the Turkish government said no to the U.S. plan to invade Iraq, the CIA had to look for a way to eliminate this opposition to U.S. policy. So seven ministers resigned.

The coalition government can't last. Turkey needs a new government. The U.S. also needs a new Turkish government. Whatever form that government takes, it will bend to the U.S. until it is replaced by a genuinely popular, anti-imperialist force.

## children

fish were out of reach.

The only reason many people have been able to survive is thanks to community gardens and solidarity committees that have been set up.

Of course, even for those with money, 24-hour-a-day curfews and roadblocks make it difficult to get the necessities of life. Local merchants have difficulty getting the supplies they need.

There is nothing to suggest that this report will cause the Bush administration to change its policy of all-out support for Israel—which serves as a military outpost for U.S. interests in the oil-rich Middle East. Washington gives Israel \$15 million a day in military and economic aid, day in and day out, year after year, to use as it wants to crush the Palestinian people.

If the United States wanted to do something to stop the starvation of Palestinian people, it could threaten to turn off the aid spigot and stop the flow of money and military aid that keeps Israel afloat.

Instead the USAID report merely makes the record, points out the tragedy and attempts to buff Washington's image a bit by throwing a little light on the vicious and inhumane practices of the Israeli Defense Forces.



## Mumia Abu-Jamal desde la celda de los condenados

# Harriet Tubman: mujer guerrera

**“Yo comencé con esta idea en mi cabeza, ‘Hay dos cosas a las que tengo derecho, la muerte o la libertad.’”**

—Harriet Tubman

Por Mumia Abu-Jamal



a la casa donde trabajaba, como 4 días después, ella fue golpeada y azotada por un hombre.

Luego, ella regresó a su hacienda, se llamaba Harriet, ya no era esclava de la casa, sino esclava del campo. De

Nacida en una familia esclava en Tidewater, Maryland (o cerca de) el año 1821, una pequeña niña color café “Araminta” no parecía que pudiera estremecer al mundo.

Los esclavos le llamaban “Minta”, o “Minty” cuando era una bebé, pero en la “peculiar institución” llamada esclavitud, la niñez no duró mucho.

Fue a la tierna edad de 5 años cuando “Minta” fue alquilada a una mujer blanca para “trabajo doméstico”. En su primer día, antes del desayuno, la niña recibió cuatro latigazos en su cara. Para cuando llegó a los 7 años de edad, ella se fugó, cansada de su maltrato. Ella estaba cansada y con tanto miedo de ser capturada que se escondió en un chiquero y allí peló con los cerdos por su comida. Cuando ella regresó

jóven, ella trabajó duro para salir de la casa de su esclavitud y aún no contenta con su propia libertad, ella decidió a regresar a las plantaciones para llevar a otros de la esclavitud. Tan exitosa fue su hazaña que se convirtió en una leyenda para la esclavitud y una espina en las costillas de sus esclavistas. Los dueños de las haciendas ofrecieron recompensas de hasta \$40.000 en dólares de los años de 1850 por su captura, viva o muerta.

En las casuchas de los esclavos, un susurro de su nombre (“Moisés”) o el tarareo de una canción espiritual hablaba de su presencia y su misión—libertad. Ella llevó a más 300 almas hacia el norte y forjó una amplia red de informantes por todo el territorio de esclavos.

Ella encolerizó tanto a los esclavistas que ellos pasaron el Acta de Esclavos Fugitivos el cual delegaban a todos los blancos para que persiguieran o capturaran un ex esclavo (o escapado), en cualquier parte de los Estados Unidos.

Para Harriet, eso significaba que la esclavitud llegaba a la frontera con Canadá. Entonces ella comenzó a llevar a la gente hasta allá por su libertad.

Ella tomaba su trabajo muy en serio. Cuando un cautivo, cansado, con miedo o con hambre, quería regresar a la vida que conocía, él se encontraba frente a la pistola que Harriet tenía en sus manos y una oferta que no podía rechazar: “Sigue con nosotros o mueres.” No había regreso.

Cuando la Guerra Civil estalló, ella dejó su hogar en el Oeste de Canadá y regresó a hacer todo lo que pudiera contra la burocracia esclavista. Con sus contactos en el país de los esclavistas, ella dio datos importantes de inteligencia al Ejército de la Unión, y ella personalmente encabezó varios asaltos contra objetivos de la Confederación.

Uno de los asaltos más famosos fue el de Combahee River, en junio de 1863. Sus contactos en las plantaciones en la costa de Carolina del Sur reportó la posición de minas flotantes en el río Combahee para obstruir a la Naval de la Unión. Bajo su

guía, las minas fueron removidas, las vías férreas y los puentes fueron destruidas y los recursos más apreciados de la burocracia esclavista—los cautivos—fueron liberados desde el mismo corazón de la Confederación. De hecho, más de 800 de los esclavizados fueron cedido pase en bascos de la Unión. Esto deleitó a “Moisés” infinitamente, como luego ella recordara: “Yo nunca ví tal escena. Nos reímos y reímos y reímos. Aquí tu vez una mujer con un valde en su cabeza, lleno de arroz humando como si recién lo sacara del fuego, un jóvenito colgando de sus espaldas... Una mujer trajo dos cerdos, un blanco y un negro; los subimos a todos; le llamamos al cerdo blanco Beauregard [un General sureño], y al negro Jeff Davis [Presidente de la Confederación.] Algunas veces la mujeres llegaban con gemelos colgando de sus cuellos; parece que nunca había visto tantos gemelos en mi vida...”

Parece que ella amó a alguna pocas cosas más que la visión de su gente, libre. Ella fue un soldado por la libertad. Sus palabras, encendido por un corazón valiente, ha resonado através de los siglos, “Yo he visto sus lágrimas y suspiros, y he escuchado sus quejidos y yo daría la última gota de mi sangre en mis vena para liberarlos.”

### EDITORIAL

## ¿Seguridad para quién?

El plan para crear un nuevo Departamento para la Seguridad de la Patria podría llamarse mejor el Departamento de Seguridad para las Grandes Empresas. Hay más en la propuesta del Presidente George W. Bush que curvas en los derechos civiles y el saqueo de los Estatutos de Derechos.

Hay otra meta en la propuesta que eliminaría los derechos de los obreros y destruiría a los sindicatos.

Mientras que Bush está muy ocupado hablando sobre patriotismo, la destrucción de los sindicatos laborales es parte importante de su agenda escondida. La fuerza laboral del gobierno federal es sindicalizada en su mayoría. El rompimiento de los sindicatos de esta fuerza laboral debilitaría a la labor organizada tanto en la industria como en las oficinas y no solo en el gobierno.

El Departamento de Seguridad de la Patria sería el tercer departamento más grande en términos de las cifras de empleado federales, después del Pentágono y El Buró de los Veteranos. La propuesta de la creación de un nuevo departamento por Bush sería la combinación de 22 agencias federales con 170.000 empleados.

No sería en si un nuevo departamento sino colocar agencias federales existentes bajo nuevos reglamentos. Y la nueva regla que la administración Bush dice ser tan esencial que no aceptaría el nuevo departamento si esta no es escrita en la página 25 del la propuesta de 35 páginas.

En la Sección 730 la la fraseología es ambigua; aquí dice que el secretario tendría “flexibilidad” en la dirección del personal que sería “contemporario” y “basado” en los principios de empleo público de mérito y habilidad.”

Esto es en el lenguaje de abogados que tiene por objetivo esconder su significado real. Pero el significado real es claro para la administración Bush y los políticos del Congreso.

Para ponerlo en lenguaje sencillo esto quiere decir que el nuevo Secretario de Seguridad de la Patria debe recibir la autoridad de prohibir la membrecía en sindicatos laborales en el departamento y rehusaría todos los derecho de servicio civil que los obreros federales ya han ganando.

Esto sería la creación de un nuevo departamento que vendría a ser la operación más grande de destrucción de sindicatos creada por la Casa Blanca desde que la administración de Reagan lanzó su ataque contra los controladores de tráfico aéreo en 1981.

La Federación de Empleados Gubernamentales y otras organizaciones laborales han estado protestando fuertemente. Este significado debe hacerse muy claro para todos los obreros.

Es hora de exponer la realidad del nuevo Departamento de Seguridad para la Patria que no es nada más que otra estafa tipo Enron por los operadores de las grandes empresas en la Casa Blanca y el Congreso. Su agenda escondida es la de romper los sindicatos y debilitar los derechos de los obreros, incluyendo en la industria privada y las oficinas a lo largo y ancho del país.

## ¡Ordene comandante!

Por Antonio Guerrero

Guerrero es uno de los Cinco Cubanos, que están en las prisiones federales en Florence, Colorado en los Estados Unidos. El se encuentra en prisión por defender heroicamente a su pueblo, Cuba, contra los ultra derechistas terroristas en Miami. Guerrero comenzó a escribir poemas poco después de su arresto en septiembre de 1998.

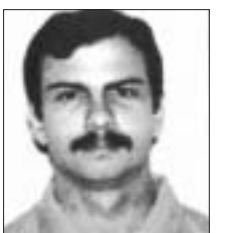
Este Revolucionario, que ha guiado  
Las rutas de la Historia por el honor  
sagrado, con sólida esperanza;  
este incansable hombre, que encendió  
la aurora decisiva y necesaria  
con el fuego nacido en sus entrañas;  
este invicto soldado, que cabalga  
sin miedo hacia el sol de la muerte  
contra el vidrioso polvo del alma,  
viene y trae en sus manos un corazón  
gigante, ofreciéndolo al mundo.  
Y es que, este conductor intachable,  
es tierra en la tierra y es pueblo en el pueblo,  
es justicia ante el odio y es paz ante la guerra.

Yo le digo: ¡Fidel, nuestra bandera  
Jamás se caerá de nuestras manos!  
¡Ordene Comandante! ¿Qué batalla?  
La victoria será inevitable.

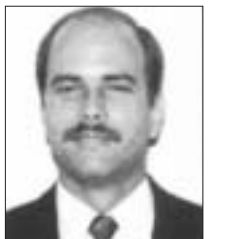
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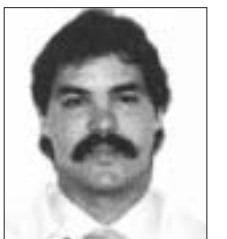
Antonio Guerrero



Fernando González



Gerardo Hernández



Ramón Labañino



René González