



HANDS OFF IRAQ!

Protests target war and racism
across the South: → ATLANTA
→ HOUSTON → RICHMOND

**Gearing up for JAN. 18-19
National March & Grassroots
Peace Congress
in Washington**

6-7

AFL-CIO, the 2002 elections & Homeland union busting

The labor movement contributed millions of dollars to Democratic campaigns. It bought nothing but a capitulation that strips 170,000 federal employees of their rights

EDITORIAL **10**

PENTAGON TERROR AGAINST AFGHANISTAN

As mass anger erupts,
the U.S. military cannot disguise
role as colonial occupier

9

VISIT WITH 'SON OF CUBAN REVOLUTION'

In California, an inspiring encounter
with an imprisoned anti-terrorist

8

U.S. threatens Zimbabwe

Bush wants a "regime change"
and is using the food crisis
as a pretext

10

UN vote paves way for Bush's war

By Fred Goldstein

Iraqi Ambassador to the United Nations Muhammad al-Douri announced on Nov. 13 that his government had accepted a Nov. 8 UN Security Council resolution on weapons inspections, while at the same time denying that Iraq has any weapons of mass destruction.

"This is part of our policy vis-à-vis to protect our country, to protect our nation, to protect our region also from the threat of war, which is real. And everybody knows it," said the ambassador. (New York Times Web site, Nov. 13)

One day earlier the Iraqi Parliament had recommended the rejection of the resolution, denouncing it as "provocative, deceitful and a preamble for war." (Reuters, Nov. 12) The resolution "seeks to create crisis" and it "violates international law and the sovereignty of this country," declared Parliamentary Speaker Saadoun Hammadi.

This sentiment undoubtedly reflects the feelings of the broad masses of Iraqi people. At the same time, the Parliament and everyone around the world fighting against war recognize that the Iraqi government has a gun to its head—a gun held by an imperialist super-power with more weapons than the rest of the world combined.

No time to slow down

The Iraqi government has the right to do what it chooses to maneuver with the U.S. government under such an unfavorable relationship of forces. But the anti-war movement in this country has the duty to escalate its mass mobilization. It should not be slowed down for one moment by any illusions that Iraq's acceptance of inspections will deter the White House, the Pentagon and the oil companies and giant corporations behind them from moving toward war.

Nor should anyone have believed for a minute that the UN Security Council resolution demanding inspections in Iraq was the Bush administration's attempt at "one more chance to avoid war." On the contrary, this bellicose, arrogant resolution was crafted in the Pentagon and the

White House and negotiated by Secretary of State Colin Powell with the express purpose of strengthening the hand of Washington in its war drive against Iraq.

Just two days after the UN resolution passed, the Washington Post and the New York Times published articles based on plans leaked by the Pentagon that call for the use of 250,000 troops to establish strongholds in northern and southern Iraq and create a pincer movement to take Baghdad. Whether or not these war plans correspond to what the Pentagon is really planning, their release was a message to the world not to think for one moment that the Security Council resolution had slowed down the war drive.

On Nov. 11 the Wall Street Journal carried an article reiterating Washington's plans for a military occupation of Iraq. "Officials expect the U.S. military would directly govern Iraq for at least three or four months," wrote the Journal. "A group of Iraqi exiles advising the State Department has drafted three lists for possible prosecutions [of Iraq leaders], ranging from a dozen members of Mr. Hussein's inner circle to 120 military and political leaders across the country."

"In a meeting of Mr. Bush's principal advisers," continued the Wall Street organ, "Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld argued the transitional administration should be headed by an American who reports directly to him"—presumably Gen. Tommy Franks, overall commander of the war.

The Journal did not mention previously announced plans for the U.S. military to take over Iraq's oil fields.

U.S. bombings of Iraq escalate

While the Security Council was voting, U.S. planes were escalating their attacks on Iraq. In a Nov. 11 dispatch Reuters news agency reported that "daily patrols of no-fly zones over Iraq by U.S. and British aircraft have become a dress rehearsal for war and a chance to dent Baghdad's military in a run-up to battle ..." The targets have

Continued on page 6

Million protest Bush's war plans

Nov. 9 protest in Florence, Italy, was the largest yet against the planned U.S. invasion of Iraq. See page 7.

INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER, TOSCANA

SUBSCRIBE
to **Workers World**
WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

Special trial subscription:
\$2 for 8 weeks \$25 for one year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PHONE NUMBER _____

WORKERS WORLD NEWSPAPER

55 W. 17 St. NY, NY 10011

(212) 627-2994

www.workers.org read it online

You're not alone

The nightly newscasts say you are. But if you're a regular reader of Workers World, you know you're not alone in wanting to see a mighty movement against capitalist war and oppression in this country.

Each week, we bring you the struggles that are buried, distorted and denied in the big-money media. Our photographers let you see the faces of the great rainbow of people, young and old, who are taking to the streets to prove that Bush has no mandate for his war on Iraq or his attacks on unions and civil liberties at home. Our reporters give you the flavor of the growing resistance, in communities big and small, at home and abroad.

You rely on this newspaper for information on what is coming next, what you can do to build the movement, and what resources are available to educate your friends and co-workers on the pressing issues of the day.

But now we have something to ask of you. It's time for you to let us know that we're not alone, either.

Workers World needs your help right now. Our subscription rate doesn't cover the cost of printing and mailing the paper, or the free subs we send to prisoners. And, just like the workers who have come to rely on this newspaper, we face difficult economic times. Rent and utilities are always going up, but wages are at best stagnant and jobs hard to come by.

Our regular supporters can't fill that gap, so we've launched a Fall Fund Drive to last three months. This year we need to raise \$100,000 because we're also coming to the end of our lease and must reorganize our editorial and technical offices.

You can help us reach that goal. Make a one-time donation or sign up to be a regular Supporter of Workers World newspaper. Parting with money isn't easy, but you'll have the satisfaction of knowing your hard-earned dollars are spreading the word about how to fight the corporate thieves and their power-drunk politicians.

Give to the Workers World Fall 2002 Fund Drive

Can you participate in the current fund drive?

- I pledge \$ _____ to the Workers World 2002 Fall Fund Drive.
- Enclosed is my first payment of \$ _____ I plan to finish payment by _____ (date).
- Enclosed is my total payment of \$ _____ to the Fall Fund Drive.

Join the Workers World Supporter Program

Supporters who contribute \$75 a year receive a year's subscription, a monthly letter and five free trial subscriptions. Sponsors who contribute \$100 also get a book published by WW Publishers. Sustainers also get five books or videos.

- \$75 Enclosed to become a WW Supporter. \$100 Enclosed to become a WW Sponsor.
- \$300 Enclosed to become a WW Sustainer. One time donation of \$ _____.
- Enclosed 1st monthly payment: \$6 (Supporter) \$10 (Sponsor) \$25 (Sustainer)
- Please send me more information about the Supporter Program.
- Payment by check. Total enclosed: \$ _____. Payment by credit card.

Credit Card Information

Total charge: \$ _____ Charge per month: \$ _____ Type of card: Visa MasterCard

Card Number _____ Expiration Date _____

Name as it appears on card _____

Please fill in your name and address below.

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ City/State/Zip _____ Email _____

Clip and return to **Workers World Newspaper** 55 W. 17th St., 5th Fl., New York, NY 10011

212.627.2994 ● fax: 212.675.7869 ● www.workers.org ● email: ww@workers.org

JOIN US. Workers World Party (WWP) fights on all issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples—Black and white, Latino, Asian, Arab and Native peoples, women and men, young and old, lesbian, gay, bi, straight, trans, disabled, working, unemployed and students.

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

National Office
55 W. 17 St.,
New York, N.Y. 10011
(212) 627-2994;
Fax (212) 675-7869
wwp@workers.org

Atlanta P.O. Box 424,
Atlanta, Ga. 30301
(404) 235-5704
Baltimore 426 E. 31 St.,
Baltimore, Md. 21218
(410) 235-7040
Boston 31 Germania St.,
Boston, Mass. 02130
(Enter at 284 Amory St.)
(617) 983-3835;
Fax (617) 983-3836
boston@workers.org
Buffalo, N.Y.
P.O. Box 1204
Buffalo NY 14213
(716) 857-2112
buffalo@workers.org
Chicago P.O. Box 06178,
Wacker Drive Station,
Chicago, Ill. 60606
(773) 381-5839;
Fax (773) 761-9330;
chicago@workers.org

Cleveland
P.O. Box 5963
Cleveland, OH 44101
phone (216) 531-4004
cleveland@workers.org
Detroit
5920 Second Ave.,
Detroit, Mich. 48202
(313) 831-0750;
detroit@workers.org
Houston
P.O. Box 130322,
Houston, Texas
77219 (713) 861-5965
houston@workers.org
Los Angeles
422 S. Western Ave.,
Room 114,
Los Angeles, Calif. 90020
(213) 487-2368
fax (213) 387-9355
la@workers.org

Milwaukee
P.O. Box 12839,
Milwaukee, Wis. 53212
milw@workers.org
Philadelphia
P.O. Box 9202,
Philadelphia, Pa. 19139
(610) 352-3625;
phila@workers.org
Richmond, Va.
P.O. Box 14602,
Richmond, Va. 23221
richmond@workers.org
Rochester, N.Y.
2117 Buffalo Rd., PMB.
303, Rochester, N.Y. 14624
(716) 436-6458;
rochester@workers.org
San Diego, Calif.
3930 Oregon St., Suite 230
San Diego, Calif. 92104
(619) 692-4496

San Francisco
2489 Mission St.
Rm. 28,
San Francisco,
Calif. 94110
(415) 826-4828;
fax (415) 821-5782;
sf@workers.org
Seattle
1218 E. Cherry #201,
Seattle, Wash. 98122
(206) 325-0085
State College, Pa.
100 Grandview Rd.,
State College,
Pa. 16801
(814) 237-8695;
jxb58@psu.edu
Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 57300,
Washington, DC 20037,
(202) 347-9300
dc@workers.org

This week ...



★ National

Another Sept. 11 3
National Day of Mourning. 3
Sacco-Vanzetti awards 3
Election was no mandate for war 4
Pro-LGBT sentiment in 2002 elections 4
Anti-war labor movement grows 5
U-Mass unions demand state funding of contracts . . . 5
Jan. 18-19 anti-war actions 6
Atlanta: Biggest demonstration in 30 years. 6
Forces rally in Richmond, Va. 6
Santa Rosa, Calif: 'No blood for oil' 6
Vets march against war 7

★ International

UN vote paves way to Bush's war 1
One million in Italy: No war on Iraq 7
Cuba rejects U.S. charges 8
Prison visit with Cuban hero 8
Who are the Cuban Five?. 8
U.S. terror tactics in Afghanistan. 9
U.S. threatens to intervene in Zimbabwe 10
Montreal and Quito anti-FTAA protests 11
U.S. to push NATO expansion at Prague summit . . . 11

★ Editorial

Homeland union busting 10

★ Noticias En Español

200.000 marchan en San Salvador. 12
EE.UU. hizo pruebas de gas nervioso en Hawai 12

WW CALENDAR

NEW YORK

Fri., Nov. 15

What the UN Security Council resolution means. Hear a Marxist analysis by Fred Goldstein, writer for Workers World newspaper. 7 p.m. At 55 W. 17th St., 5th Fl. For info (212) 627-2994.

Thu., Nov. 21

Rally: Wage war on poverty & racism, not on Iraq. Program includes: Rev. Herbert Daughtry, Ramsey Clark, Councilmember Charles Barron, Jasmin Cruz, Rev. Paul Mayer, Larry Holmes. Co-sponsored by MLK Jr. Peace Now Committee of the House of the Lord Church and ANSWER. 7 p.m. At House of the Lord Church, 415 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn. For info (718) 596-1991 or (212) 633-6646.

Sat., Dec. 7

Bedford-Stuyvesant War is Not the Answer Walk for Peace. Speakers include Larry Holmes of the ANSWER coalition, and others. Noon to 4 p.m. At Restoration Plaza, Fulton Street (between Brookly and New York Aves., Brooklyn. For info (718) 907-0578.

SAN FRANCISCO

Fri. & Sat., Nov. 15-16

National Conference on Civil Liberties, Democratic Rights, and the Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Sponsored by the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. At University of California at Berkeley, Dwinelle Hall. Fri. 6 p.m. registration, 7:30 p.m. opening session. Sat. 9 a.m. registration, plenary, workshops. Mass rally at 7:30 p.m. For info www.freemumia.org.

Workers World

55 West 17 Street
New York, N.Y. 10011
Phone: (212) 627-2994 • Fax: (212) 675-7869
E-mail: editor@workers.org
Web: http://www.workers.org/
Vol. 44, No. 45 • Nov. 14, 2002
Closing date: Nov. 6, 2002

Editor: Deirdre Griswold;
Technical Editor: Lal Roohk; Managing Editors: Greg Butterfield, John Catalinotto, Leslie Feinberg, Monica Moorehead, Gary Wilson; West Coast Editors: Richard Becker, Gloria La Riva; Contributing Editors: Joyce Chediak, Pat Chin, Naomi Cohen, Shelley Ettinger, Teresa Gutierrez; Technical Staff: Rebecca Finkel, Elena J. Peckham, Hank Sambach; Mundo Obrero: Carl Glenn, Carlos Vargas; Internet: Janet Mayes

Workers World-WW (ISSN-1070-4205) is published weekly except the first week of January by WW Publishers, 55 W. 17 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011. Phone: (212) 627-2994. Subscriptions: One year: \$25; foreign and institutions: \$35. Letters to the editor may be condensed and edited. Articles can be freely reprinted, with credit to Workers World, 55 W. 17 St., New York, NY 10011. Back issues and individual articles are available on microfilm and/or photocopy from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106.

Selected articles are available via e-mail subscription. Send an e-mail message to info@workers.org for details.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers World-WW, 55 W. 17 St., 5th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING

NOVEMBER 28, 2002



The 33rd annual National Day of Mourning will begin at noon on Nov. 28 in Plymouth, Mass.

A progressive tradition, the Day of Mourning is a solemn day of Native protest. At the Day of Mourning, Indigenous peoples from throughout the Americas speak of the history of their peoples and of current conditions faced by Native people. Day of Mourning is a day when Native people mourn their ancestors and the genocide of their peoples and the theft of their lands. They feel their strength in political action by marching through the streets of Plymouth and exposing the true history of the Pilgrim invasion.

National Day of Mourning will once again be dedicated to Native political prisoner Leonard Peltier.

Native and non-Native people are welcome to attend. For more information, see the United American Indians of New England Web site: <http://home.earthlink.net/~uainendom> or call 781-331-3690. □

BOSTON

Sacco-Vanzetti award presented to late WWP leaders

Special to Workers World

On Nov. 10 at the Community Church of Boston, the annual Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Award was presented posthumously to Boston Workers World Party leaders Jane Polley and Harry Landfield.

A packed crowd filled the Lothrop Auditorium to join in the celebration of the activist lives of Polley and Landfield, who were decades-long fighters against the ravages of capitalism and for socialism until their recent deaths. Rachel Nasca, a longtime leader of Boston WWP, accepted the award on behalf of the organization.

Since 1976, the CCB has presented the Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Award for "contributions to Social Justice to outstanding activists in the peoples' struggles." Past recipients include Leonard Peltier, Cesar Chavez, William Kunstler and Howard Zinn.

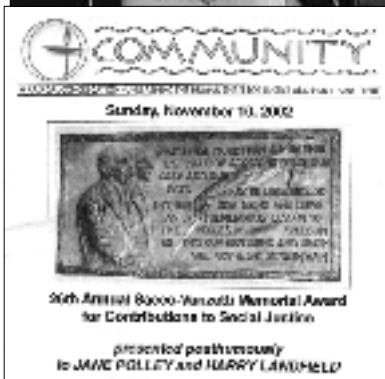
This activist church has a long and proud history of struggle. The CCB was founded in 1920, the year of Sacco and Vanzetti's arrest at the height of the notorious Palmer raids. The church participated in Sacco and Vanzetti's defense. The two Italian immigrant anarchists were executed by the U.S. government for their heroic stance against the repression of all workers, especially immigrants.

The church houses one of three existing castings of the Sacco-Vanzetti memorial bas-relief by noted sculptor Gutzon Borglum. The piece carries an inscription with Vanzetti's words on the last day of his life: "What I wish more than all in this last hour of agony is that our case and our fate may be understood in their real being and serve as a tremendous lesson to the forces of freedom so that our suffering and death will not have been in vain."



Harry Landfield and Jane Polley. WWP members and friends attend CCB award event honoring Jane and Harry.

WW PHOTOS: (BELOW) STEVEN GILLIS



Jane and Harry took these words to their hearts and to the streets. A video crew from Italy filmed the program, which will be included in a film to be shown in Europe and Japan. CommUnity Voices—Marta Rodriguez, Frank Neisser and Steve Kirschbaum—provided a musical presentation. □

BY MUMIA ABU-JAMAL
FROM DEATH ROW

Another 9/11 Other memories

Time marks the minds of us all. One need only mention "Sept. 11," and no more is required.

The mind races to images of fire, dread, death and devastation.

As we have noted elsewhere, that date has other meanings for other people, in other parts of the world: In Panama, for example, its mere mention evokes not planes slamming into gleaming towers of power and wealth, nor even the Middle East, but rather the dwellings of the poor, laid waste by the airplanes and land forces of the Americans, who staged an invasion of Panama to secure perpetual dominance over the Panama Canal, for which the barrios of El Chorrillo were pounded into powder.

Yet, history is not done with Sept. 11, for it stands as a date and time when Africans in a hostile America fought back against the dreadful human devastation of slavery, and fought for the bright light of freedom. It was dawn, Sept. 11, 1851, when a group of slave-catchers converged on a farmhouse in a little town called Christiana, in Pennsylvania's southeast corner. Present were the slaveholder Edward Gorsuch, his son, Dickinson, a U.S. marshal named Henry Kline, and several other armed white men. They thought they were out on just another day's work—the work of slavery—but they met five Black men and their wives who had no intention of giving up their freedom. Gorsuch made his demand, telling the Black ex-slaves, "You had better give up," adding, "[F]or I have come a long way this morning, and want my breakfast; for my property I will have, or I'll breakfast in hell."

William Parker, who ran away from a plantation some 12 years before, had no intention of turning over anybody, and called down to Gorsuch: "See here, old man. You can come up but you can't go down again," as Black historian, Ella Forbes, recounts in her stirring "But We Have No Country: The 1851 Christiana Pennsylvania Resistance" (Africana Homestead Legacy Publishers, 1998):

As the posse attempted to enter his house, Parker "met them at the landing; and asked, 'Who are you?' The leader, Kline, replied, 'I am the United States Marshal.' I told him to take another step, and I would break his neck. He again said, 'I am the United States Marshal.' I told him I did not care for him or the United States. At that he turned and went down stairs." [Forbes, 134]

Parker's position, in light of the passage and extension of the Fugitive Slave Act, which threatened all Black people whether fugitive or free with seizure and a passage into bondage, was simple. He said, "[T]he laws for personal protection are not made for us, and we are not bound to obey them ... [whites] have a country and may obey the laws. But we have no country." [Forbes, 110]

One of the Black men in the farmhouse began to weaken, a man named Pinckney, who said, "We'd better give up." His wife, Hannah, picked up a machete (called a "corn cutter") and grimly announced she would cut the head off of the first one who tried to surrender.

For a time, Parker and Gorsuch argued over the rightness of slavery, and each quoted the Bible to the other to defend their views, but each knew that words would not decide the argument. Parker's wife, Eliza, seeing the necessity of reinforcements, blew her horn to summon members of the Black neighborhood militia. As she sounded her horn the Marshal fired a pistol shot at her, but missed. As scores of militiamen appeared, the marshal withdrew, but the stubborn Gorsuch men remained. The elder said, "I'll have my property or die in the attempt." He tried. He died. When Dickinson tried, he was shot and wounded.

As night fell, Parker and two other Black men took to the Underground Railroad, en route north. U.S. President Millard Fillmore, who signed the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act into law, dispatched 45 Marines to Christiana, and they arrested scores of people. Thirty-six local Black men and five white Quakers were later tried for treason. The men, defended by the abolitionist congressman Thaddeus Stevens, were acquitted by a jury in 15 minutes!

Parker, meanwhile, like thousands of other Blacks, made way for Canada, after stopping off at the Rochester, N.Y., home of the great Black abolitionist, Frederick Douglass. Historians have considered the Christiana Resistance the first shots fired in the looming Civil War. Philip Foner has called it a "major harbinger" of that war.

Christiana proved that the fight for freedom in America would be a fight not merely with words, not merely on paper, but with blood. For millions of Americans of that day, September the 11th meant a day that could not and would not be forgotten. □



\$1 billion buys a lot of votes, but

Election was no mandate for war

By Deirdre Griswold

The election that just gave the Republicans a majority in the House and Senate also put more advertising revenue in the pockets of the media giants than ever before: \$1 billion was spent on political spot ads on television. This was twice the amount spent during the last midterm election four years ago—and even far exceeded the \$771 million laid out during the 2000 presidential election. What is now called the “political market” way outperformed the rest of the advertising business.

At the same time, coverage of the candidates and their platforms by the networks on their nightly news programs declined to just 2.3 minutes a night, compared to eight minutes in 1994.

So while news coverage of the midterm election was dropping by 72 percent, paid ads were taking over, according to the Center for Media and Public Affairs.

Many of these ads were funded by big corporations, especially in the pharmaceutical industry. They used deceit to confuse the voters. For example, “The Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America and the deceptively named United Seniors Association—largely funded by the big drug companies—spent more than \$12 million on television and radio ads such as one that lauded GOP nominee Jim Talent, who won the hotly contested Missouri Senate race, for backing a market-based prescription drug program.” (Washington Post, Nov. 10)

What is a “market-based prescription drug program”? It’s no program at all. There’s a real crisis, especially among the elderly, over the high price of prescription drugs. The only thing that will help is a program that puts people’s needs over the profits of the drug companies. “Market-based” means guaranteeing the pharmaceuticals fat profits.

If the older people in need of medicine

What factors lead to the record low voter turnout in the working class and oppressed communities?

who were induced to vote Republican by this kind of deceptive advertising were given a real choice, wouldn’t they take it? What if they could vote for a program to provide drug items to seniors for no more than \$2 a prescription? That would certainly enliven the election.

But the supposed “alternative” to the Republicans—the Democrats—dare not propose any such thing because they, too, are a party of, by and for the capitalist profit system.

The small country of Cuba has reduced infant mortality to the lowest in this hemisphere and has more doctors and nurses per person than any other place on earth, thanks to its truly socialized health system, which provides care to the people free. If, in the wealthy United States, the profits were taken out of the health-care industry, including prescription drugs, there would be no health-care crisis.

Blame war on the people

The Bush administration immediately claimed the vote in this election was a mandate for its planned war against Iraq. Tom Daschle, leader of the Democrats in the Senate, agreed with them.

It was a shameful effort on his part to cover up his own party’s capitulation to Bush in the congressional vote for war that had preceded the election. Blame the war drive on the people.

Most of them are so weary and turned off by capitalist politics that they don’t vote at all.

Even with all the money spent on this election—the California governor’s race alone cost \$90 million—only a little over 39

percent of the voting-age population voted. This was slightly more than the last midterm election, reflecting a well-financed and vigorous Republican campaign to get out the vote. However, among workers, especially from oppressed groups, the turnout was down.

The turnout of voters in wealthy areas was often twice that of working-class communities.

The traditionally low proportion of voters in the United States reflects many factors. One is that millions of people in the United States are not eligible to vote because they are not citizens.

Millions more are excluded—sometimes falsely, as was shown in Florida in 2000—because of felony convictions. In 2000, this kept 4.2 million people off the voter rolls. One-third were African American men.

The racist injustice system has replaced the poll tax as a mechanism for disenfranchising Black people.

Only about 12 percent of college students vote. Because they often live somewhere other than where they go to school, they would have to return home or cast absentee ballots—a cumbersome process. Most states do not have direct voting-day registration.

Millions of workers now move frequently to look for work as stable, full-time jobs become harder to find. They also are less likely to be registered.

Black turnout way down in Florida

Turnout was down in Jeb Bush’s Florida in those communities most angry over the

Democratic Party’s capitulation to the Bush forces in the 2000 election. The statewide turnout of Black voters, most of whom are registered Democrats, dropped from 72 percent in 2000 to only 43 percent this time, according to newspaper exit polls. The turnout of Republicans was up, however.

Many people who are against Bush’s war but have habitually voted Democratic are angry that their party failed to put forward a program very different from the Republicans. They know that there is a growing anti-war movement in this country, and think the Democrats should lead it, or at least make a bid for its votes.

The Democratic Party, however, has never been an anti-war party. On the contrary. It was Democratic presidents who started the Korea and Vietnam wars, the covert war the CIA waged against Afghanistan beginning in 1979, and the CIA-backed invasion of Cuba in 1961.

On closer look, it is clear that the vote, even while it favored Republicans, was not a mandate for war. Take the Senate race, for example. Four Senate seats changed hands from one party to the other, three of them moving over to the Republican side. Of the three Democrats who lost their seats, only one had voted against the war—Paul Wellstone of Minnesota—and he died in a plane crash just before the election. The other Democratic senators who were up for re-election and had voted against the war resolution all retained their seats.

The manipulation of the public for election purposes has never been greater or cost more money. That will not change the fact, however, that the vast majority of the population in no way participated in ratifying the Bush administration’s war drive. There is every reason to expect that the grassroots anti-war spirit, seen in mass demonstrations in October, will continue to grow. □

Pro-LGBT sentiment expressed in 2002 elections

By Leslie Feinberg

Post-election punditry and Republican swaggering are intended to convey the impression that virtually the whole population in this country, rather than the political establishment itself, slid to the right.

In fact, gay-baiting was slung by politicians representing both elephants and donkeys in electoral races in Arizona, South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, North Carolina, Florida, Texas, New Mexico,

Montana and New Jersey, according to a Nov. 7 Human Rights Campaign news release.

But of the some one-third of the electorate that did cast their votes, many demonstrated an open-minded spirit of solidarity on important social referenda in several states that will have an impact on the lives of lesbian and gay, bisexual and trans people in this country.

Voters in Ypsilanti, Mich., rebuffed a reactionary amendment to the City Charter

that would have excised “sexual orientation” from the non-discrimination ordinance as well as barred gay people from protection in any future measures passed by the city. Unofficial results put the win at a whopping 64 percent to 36 percent.

In Tacoma, Wash., voters pulled the levers down to defeat Initiative 1, which would have stripped sexual orientation and gender identity from the anti-discrimination law passed by the City Council in April.

A progressive ordinance that bars dis-

crimination on the basis of sexual orientation in jobs, housing, credit and public accommodations squeaked by, 51 percent to 49 percent, in Westbrook, Maine.

Seventy-three percent of those who went to the polls voted to add a similar amendment to the Sarasota, Fla., charter. Only 23 percent opposed the measure.

In fact, the only discouraging word was heard in Nevada, where voters passed a ballot measure that attempts to bar same-sex couples from marriage recognition and rights. □

MARKET ELECTIONS: HOW DEMOCRACY SERVES THE RICH



Every four years, big money chooses the presidential candidates. Their war chests filled to the brim, they are then packaged by the media as “the people’s choice.”

It’s U.S.-style democracy-of the rich, by the rich and for the rich.

In this fascinating tour through the history of U.S. presidential elections, Vince Copeland explains the devious art of capitalist politics.

List price is \$18, at



Trans Liberation beyond pink and blue

By Leslie Feinberg

Trans Liberation is the phrase that has come to refer to all those who blur or bridge the boundary of the sex or gender expression they were assigned at birth: cross-dressers, transsexuals, intersex people, Two Spirits, bearded females, masculine females and feminine males, drag kings and drag queens. In this inspiring collective of speeches and new writing, Leslie Feinberg argues passionately for the acceptance of all trans peoples—and for the absolute necessity of building coalitions between all progressive political groups.

Beacon Press, Leslie Feinberg, 1998, hardcover, non-fiction, 148 p.p.,

List price is \$20.00 but at leftbooks.com it’s 55% off, only \$8.99

As Bush savors election victory

Anti-war labor movement grows

By Milt Neidenberg

Hardly any attention has been paid in the media to the labor movement's role in the Nov. 5 elections and how labor will be affected in their aftermath. The AFL-CIO, except for a few defections to Republican candidates, went all out to defeat the Bush administration. It failed. Much can be learned from defeats; maybe these leaders will do some heavy soul searching in the stormy period ahead.

One fact stands out. The AFL-CIO's support for the Democratic Party and its liberal wing cost dearly. Republican and Democratic campaigns alike buried the issue uppermost in workers' minds: the economic crisis. Waging war against Iraq along with homeland security and the so-called war on terrorism overwhelmed the electorate. The AFL-CIO's top leaders got entangled in the capitalist web.

Millions of the multinational work force—people of color, women, youths and seniors, unemployed, lesbian, gay, bi and trans workers, the poor—stood on the sidelines as the Democrats succumbed to the blitz by Bush and his billionaire supporters. Only 39 percent of eligible voters pulled the levers in this lackluster election.

The workers expected a vigorous campaign to take on the greedy, profit-driven moguls. It didn't happen.

AFL-CIO National Political Director Steve Rosenthal, who directed labor's election strategy, ignored all these critical factors in explaining labor's setback. He offered a tepid criticism of the Democrats: "Overall, a lot of the building blocks you need to put together Democratic victories just weren't there in a lot of states. ... Republicans gave their voters a reason to go out and vote and the Democrats did not."

Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO leadership tried to overcome the fruitless, do-noth-

ing Democratic campaign. Led by AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, they put on a massive push using union power, money and other resources to get out the membership to support the very same Democrats who had failed their constituencies—labor, African Americans, Latinos, women and the rest of the workers.

They contacted each of the 13.5 million members at least four times. They deployed 750 full-time political organizers across the country, handed out 20 million leaflets and arranged transportation to the polls for tens of thousands of workers.

In Las Vegas alone, they tracked over 10,000 union households a day with high-tech PalmPilots and then downloaded the data every night into a central computer. They followed this up with an army of door knockers to get out the vote to elect "labor-friendly" Democratic candidates. A password-protected web site made this campaign available to many other cities.

In late May, the AFL-CIO General Executive Board levied an increase of four cents, making a total of 10 cents, on each member of the 66 affiliates to build up the organizing and electoral funds. How many millions of dollars were spent has not been announced, but the labor movement was totally outspent by its Democratic "friends" and billionaire Republicans.

Now the Bush administration intends to turn back the clock on many of the laws that labor fought for and won over decades of struggle. Corporate America has begun to target the labor movement. A Wall Street Journal headline on Nov. 8, only three days after the Bush victory, gloated: "Big Labor

Could Pay Price After GOP Gains." The article cited only a few of the labor-friendly laws still on the books that have to go.

The Fair Labor Standards Act is one. It protects workers' rights with many regulations. Employers want to lengthen the 40-hour week to the "good ol' days" before unions were organized. They want to weaken the Family and Medical Leave Act that gives workers as much as 12 weeks of unpaid leave for health and related problems. The bosses want these workers on the job. Forget about their health and safety and that of their loved ones.

Then there is the concern that the International Longshore and Warehouse Union is too strong. Options include placing dock workers under the auspices of the Railway Labor Act. That would make government intervention against the union easier than using the Taft-Hartley Act. An ILWU spokesperson quoted in the Journal said these threats "are unlikely to succeed."

There is a resistance emerging from below that could take the glow out of the Bush electoral victory. The Wall Street tycoons' shameless conduct has infuriated millions of workers. They identify the Bush administration with the obscene wealth that has been ripped off at their expense.

New York Times labor writer Steven Greenhouse, who has extensive ties to both labor and management, wrote in an Oct. 29 article that "the ebullient mood of American workers during the 1990s boom has evaporated over the last two years, a victim of recession, rising unemployment, a hobbled stock market and scandals at WorldCom, Enron and

other corporations."

In the piece, headlined "The Mood at Work: Anger and Anxiety" and published a week before the election, Greenhouse warned his liberal capitalist constituents that workers are fed up with the direction of the economy and that major class struggles may soon break out:

"Most workers surveyed said they would vote to join a union. ... Workers are voicing a sense of anger, even betrayal toward top executives. ... They're asking people to make sacrifices ... [while they're] feeding at the trough to enrich themselves."

Opposition to the Bush billionaire clique and their lies about Iraq, homeland security, and the so-called war on terror is growing. A sector of the organized labor movement and a significant number of AFL-CIO labor councils have taken up this attack. From the Washington State Federation of Labor to the second-largest Teamsters union in the country to the Albany Central Labor Council, many unions, too numerous to mention, have passed anti-war resolutions with overwhelming votes.

They oppose the Bush strategy to feed the war drive and the military-industrial complex with billions of dollars that could go toward desperately needed social and economic programs.

As the anti-war labor movement grows, the labor bureaucracy will feel the pressure to change direction. They have reached a crossroad. The AFL-CIO must break with the two-party system and the warmongers who speak for different wings of the capitalist bosses. The labor movement's destiny lies with the millions of anti-war activists and their many constituencies that include anti-racist, anti-globalization fighters, youths, seniors, women, and others. In the stormy period ahead, there is no other way. □



Walkouts planned as

U-Mass unions demand state funding

By Bryan G. Pfeifer
Amherst, Mass.

On Nov. 6, over 200 rank-and-file members of the campus's five unions chanted, "Fund the contracts or we won't work," at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

The workers were responding to Acting Gov. Jane Swift's July veto of pay raises for thousands of union members at all 28 state colleges and universities. They demanded that the U-Mass System Board of Trustees help get their contracts funded.

All unions at the 28 campuses have organized in a coalition called Higher Ed Unions United.

U-Mass President William M. Bulger has not pressured Massachusetts House of Representatives Speaker Thomas Finneran to permit a vote this fall to override Swift's veto. Instead, Bulger has focused on "entrepreneurial" activities—like securing more Pentagon and corporate contracts for the U-Mass system—as well as attempted union busting.

Unions at campuses in Massachusetts bargain separate contracts with each campus administration. The contracts are then passed on to the governor for consultation. When the legislature votes in the necessary funding, the governor approves the contracts.

Traditionally, once the legislature

allocated funds for the contracts, the governor signed off on them. Swift is believed to be the first Massachusetts governor to have vetoed contract funding for campus workers.

Beginning outside in the rain and marching in to the elegant room where the trustees were holding their meeting, the rank-and-file and their supporters sang civil-rights-era songs and chanted, "Hey, hey, ho ho, Billy Bulger's got to go," "No contracts, no peace," and, "Stop the threats, stop the lies, we are strong and organized." Some union members wore bright yellow shirts with the message: "Promises broken."

Presenting a stack of petitions with over 7,700 signatures from higher-education workers and students, Massachusetts Society of Professors President Ronald Story declared, "To our knowledge, this is the largest multi-campus petition drive in the history of American university systems."

This "represents a new militancy in the U-Mass community, one that is likely to grow and expand," added Story, one of three union presidents to address Bulger and the trustees.

University Staff Association President Donna Johnson said that membership in the clerical and technical workers' union has dropped from 1,200 to 1,000 due to budget cuts, lack of funding and forced early retirements. She said this

results in more work with no increased pay; meanwhile the cost of living, especially rent, skyrockets.

Johnson said some of her members are homeless because their wages don't cover expenses. She demanded that the trustees and Bulger immediately help get the contracts funded, start filling lost positions, and guarantee that students, staff and faculty have sufficient resources to do their jobs correctly.

Service Employees Local 509 represents 1,000 workers. Local 509 President Thomas Coish, himself a campus worker for over two decades, said members feel "a real sense of distrust and betrayal" and most feel the university is in a crisis. But they're not giving up.

"The general feeling is we're going to give [Bulger] one more chance to work with us to get the contracts funded," added Coish.

The AFSCME chapter on campus, with over 1,000 members, has voted to authorize its leaders to call a walkout. Two other campus unions, the Graduate Employee Organization with over 6,000 members and the United Staff Association, have given Bulger a "no confidence" vote.

Over a dozen members of the African/Latino/a, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American affairs student organization ALANA were also in attendance demanding that affirmative action at the university be restored. They also demanded that the

vice-chancellor of ALANA affairs—fired in June for fighting the gutting of oppressed students' advising services and cuts in other support programs that stripped many cultural components—be reinstated.

Labor Studies graduate student Jose Perez received applause when he demanded of the trustees, "Stop the racism."

Building on previous actions including a first-ever all-union membership meeting Sept. 18 and picketing administration meetings and administrators' homes, plans are in the works for campus-by-campus walkouts and possibly a system wide-one during final exams in December if the contracts aren't funded.

"This refusal to fund our contracts isn't simply about the revenue shortfall. It's union-busting, pure and simple," declared a U-Mass Rank and File newsletter distributed at the Nov. 6 action.

"Its targeted union-busting-higher ed workers were the only public sector workers to not get their contracts funded. Are we, the workers of U-Mass, going to let this act of union-busting stand?"

For more information on support activities visit www.geouaw.org, www.uaw2322.org, call (413) 545-5317 or email Umassrankandfile@yahoo.com.

Pfeifer is a graduate student in the Labor Studies Department at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

'Biggest anti-war protest in 30 years'

By Dianne Mathiowetz

On Nov. 9, several thousand people filled the downtown streets of Atlanta as chants of "No War on Iraq" resounding off the tall buildings.

Organized by a broad coalition of student, religious and community justice groups called the Georgia Peace Coalition, this was the largest anti-war protest to take



place in Atlanta in 30 years.

The demonstrators assembled at the Martin Luther King Jr. Center and marched to Centennial Olympic Park across from Cable Network News headquarters.

Many students from elementary to college age came in groups with their banners; whole families marched together with parents and grandparents pushing strollers; veterans from WWII, the Korean, Vietnam and Gulf wars were present along with members of the Arab and Muslim communities and elected officials such as US Representative John Lewis.

The Atlanta chapter of the International Action Center collected hundreds of signatures on the "Vote No War" referendum. Plans for similar protests are already under way in other Georgia cities such as Savannah on Dec. 14. All this activity is evidence that the groundswell of opposition to Bush's war plans is growing. □

Forces rally in Richmond

Chanting "One, two three, four, we don't want your racist war, five, six, seven, eight, no more violence, no more hate!" close to a thousand people rallied and marched in Richmond, Va., on Nov. 9 against any U.S. war in Iraq. They came from Charlottesville, Tidewater area, Fredericksburg, several campuses around the state and elsewhere.

This was the largest anti-war rally in Richmond since the Vietnam era.

Speakers represented Food Not Bombs, the Little Flower Catholic Worker collective, the Muslim Student Association, Richmonders Against War and Racism, Free

Palestine Now, homeless activists, the Better Days Collective, National Organization for Women and others.

Several speakers echoed, "November 5 is not a mandate for war!" The speaker from RAWR urged people to sign the "Vote No War" petition and to go to Washington, D.C., on Jan. 18-19 for the demonstration and grassroots Peace Congress.

The demonstrators then marched through downtown, spoke outside the office of the racist daily newspaper, and marched to the state capitol for a final rally.

—Sue Kelley

UN vote paves way Bush's war

Continued from page 1

changed from anti-aircraft batteries to command and control centers and bunkers. "The new tactics were on display when Lt. Eric Doyle and Lt. John Turner, of the VFA 115 fighter attack squadron, each dropped two massive 2,000-pound JDAM satellite-guided bombs. Their target was described as a reinforced concrete command bunker near Talil, 160 miles south of Baghdad."

The resolution, which grossly violates the sovereignty of Iraq, is a massive violation of the UN Charter and international law. Every signatory is a party to the infringement of Iraq's sovereignty, its right to self-determination and to self-defense. But the Bush administration, with the tireless efforts of Secretary of State Powell and his faction in the ruling class, achieved a 15-0 vote in order to claim an international mandate for its planned war of unprovoked aggression.

By passing this resolution, the Security Council has put the Iraqi government in the excruciating position of having to choose between agreeing to open up its country to massive imperialist intrusion and face provocation and eventual war, or refuse to open up and face immediate attack. Thus, the so-called "multilateralists" in the ruling class have maneuvered to further isolate Iraq while setting the stage for a war in which Washington will be on stronger ground.

A cover for provocation

The resolution is laden with language

that gives the Bush administration legal cover for every imaginable provocation to start a war. The Pentagon had the decisive role in crafting the fundamentals of the resolution.

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Vice President Dick Cheney were opposed to going to the UN in the first place. When they lost that battle, they were opposed to putting forth any resolution at all and wanted to simply tell the UN that Iraq was in "material breach" of UN resolutions and that the U.S. was going to war.

When Bush decided to shove a resolution down the throat of the Security Council, all factions in the administration agreed upon so-called "red lines" for inclusion. According to the Washington Post of Nov. 10, these included the declaration that Iraq was in "material breach" of a 1991 resolution declaring a cease-fire. The resolution demanded "harsh new inspection guidelines" and, says the Post, promised "serious consequences" for defiance, "a code word for war."

Among the crucial points in the process was getting the French imperialists to go along. No one has revealed what oil concessions in the post-invasion period were promised to the government of Jacques Chirac. But Washington gave the French face-saving language by agreeing to another meeting to "consider how to respond" if Iraq did not comply with the draconian demands of the resolution.

"Secretary of State Powell," according to the Post, "said that the United States would not be 'handcuffed' by what the Council



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

Santa Rosa, Calif.: 'No blood for oil'

On Nov 10, anti-war rally that drew over three thousand demonstrators.

March in Houston

By Gloria Rubac
Houston

Members of the Nation of Islam Mosque #45 joined with Act Now to Stop War and End Racism and other anti-war activists here on Nov. 9 in a march and rally that condemned the role of the U.S. and multinational corporations in the Middle East.

ANSWER activist and leader Njeri Shakur told the crowd gathered at the mosque, "Congress doesn't represent the people. Look around you. We are African, Latino and white, young and old and we say, 'No war!'"

NOI Minister Robert Muhammad led hundreds from the mosque into the march, saying, "I am pleased that we have joined together today to condemn Bush's plans for the innocent people of Iraq."

At a rally in a predominately African American neighborhood park, passers-by

honked and waved and flashed the peace sign. Several joined the rally.

The multi-national crowd represented communities most affected by the war buildup: Arabs, Latinos, Muslims, youth, workers, African Americans and students. A group of high school students from Katy, an outlying Houston suburb, drove almost 50 miles to join the march. They had found out about it on the Internet and were thrilled to be at their first protest.

Lucha Rodriguez, speaking for the Texas Death Penalty Abolition Movement, told the crowd, "Bush's contempt for international law and utter disregard for the poor and defenseless now epitomizes his foreign policy as well as his domestic policy. Many of us in the Abolition Movement in Texas joined the 200,000 in D.C. on Oct. 26. We know the fight to stop the death penalty is inexorably linked to the fight to stop imperialist war." □

did or did not do." But "in return for these concessions, the United States got what an official called 'a lot of little triggers' for possible future action by the Security Council and future military action by the United States."

Some of the "little triggers" are, in themselves, flagrant provocations.

Right to kidnap Iraqi officials and their families

For example, referring to the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency, provision 5 of the resolution states that the Security Council "DECIDES that Iraq shall provide UNMOVIC and the IAEA immediate, unimpeded, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all, including underground, areas, facilities, buildings, equipment, records and means of transport which they wish to inspect, as well as access to all officials and other persons whom UNMOVIC or the IAEA wish to interview in the mode or location of UNMOVIC's or the IAEA's choice ... further decides that UNMOVIC and the IAEA may at their discretion conduct interviews inside or outside of Iraq, may facilitate the travel of those interviewed and family members outside of Iraq, and that, at the sole discretion of UNMOVIC and the IAEA, such interviews may occur without the presence of observers from the Iraqi government."

The resolution also declares that "UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the

right ... to seize and export any equipment, materials, or documents taken during the inspections, without search of UNMOVIC or IAEA personnel or officials or personal baggage."

Thus Washington's agents in the inspections teams can virtually kidnap Iraqi officials and their family members, do with them what they please; seize any materials they want, doctor them as needed, and produce "evidence" of "violations" and declare war.

The resolution is replete with bellicose statements, declarations that Iraq has a proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, has relations with terrorism, is a threat to the security of nations, etc., ad nauseam.

As such this resolution is most of all an expression of the determination of U.S. imperialism to eradicate the very conception of sovereignty for Iraq, and by extension, all oppressed countries. It is a resurrection of the colonial rights of the Great Powers to openly impose their will upon the peoples of the Middle East. Except that this time, instead of the British and French imperialists being in charge of dividing up the region, as they were after World War I, it is the U.S. oil magnates, bankers and industrialists, represented by the Pentagon, who are declaring themselves the supreme power.

Why France, Russia, China voted

The attempts by the French, Russian and Chinese governments—all members of the

Momentum builds for anti-war actions January 18-19 in DC

By Sarah Sloan
Washington, D.C.

The Oct. 26 National March on Washington of 200,000 people launched major new campaigns to build opposition to a U.S. war in Iraq. Most notable are the People's Anti-War Referendum and projected mass actions in Washington, including a Jan. 18 National March and a Jan. 19 Grassroots Peace Congress.

The ANSWER coalition reported in an email circulated on Nov. 7 that momentum was growing for the two days of activities, which take place on the weekend of the Martin Luther King holiday.

"Buses, vans and car caravans are being organized from communities, high schools and campuses all over the East Coast, South

and Midwest," says the coalition email. "More than 150 cities organized transportation to be at the protest of 200,000 in D.C. on Oct. 26—and those organizers left the protest pledging to continue to mobilize for an even larger turnout on Jan. 18-19.

"Millions of people outside of D.C. watched the rally on C-Span or listened to it on Pacifica Radio's live coverage. Many more found out about it through other media coverage—including a major article that appeared in the Oct. 30 edition of the New York Times—a much better article than the biased article that appeared on Oct. 27 after the Times received thousands of angry phone calls and emails. They are now beginning to organize. Some 50,000

people have registered on the VoteNoWar.org web site. This is in addition to the tens of thousands who have filled out paper ballots/petitions on Oct. 26 and in the days since.

"ANSWER offices around the country are daily being contacted by organizers and volunteers whose commitment to mobilize makes us confident that Jan. 18-19 will be a massive outpouring of opposition to war in Iraq."

Organizers of the Jan. 18-19 actions and People's Anti-War Referendum are not only calling on all those who oppose a new war in Iraq to be there for the next protest. They are asking everyone to become organizers, to help get the word out, raise consciousness about the real U.S. motives and bring all the people they can to D.C.

People wanting to cast a vote against the war can join the People's Anti-War Referendum by going to www.VoteNoWar.org. Besides registering in the referendum, they can download a referendum sheet to collect the signatures of others. The site encourages visitors to send information about the referendum to their friends and add a link to their own web sites.

The Jan. 18-19 Call to Action plus information about endorsing, finding transportation from different areas of the country, and downloading a flyer can be found at www.InternationalANSWER.org.

Those interested can also call (202) 544-3389 or email dc@internationalanswer.org for more information. □

One million in Italy, say: 'NO to Bush's war on Iraq'

By John Catalinotto

A vast sea of humanity surged through the beautiful Italian city of Florence on Nov. 9 to denounce Washington's intention to wage war on Iraq.

The protest was the high point of the Nov. 6-10 European Social Forum, which drew over 30,000 social and anti-globalization activists from all over Europe to discuss pressing social questions and prepare for actions. Other hundreds of thousands, mostly from Italy itself, joined for the Nov. 9 protest.

Organizers said 1 million had demonstrated. The authorities said 500,000. The truth is either figure was much more than the number expected—and enough to swamp Florence, normally a city of 300,000 residents along with many tourists.

Workers World spoke about the demonstration with John Gilbert, a U.S. expatriate and union activist teaching in Florence. Gilbert was one of the General Confederation of Labor's (CGIL) security force of 4,000 volunteers at the demonstration.

"The media had waged a campaign for days warning that demonstrators would

destroy the art of the city. Many of the shopkeepers boarded up their shops. The ones that stayed open did lots of business, and nothing was destroyed.

"Our security force was at the end of the march. The last contingent was of CGIL unionists, maybe 120,000 strong. As we marched nothing was left behind but the police," said Gilbert.

The crowds carried demands for social justice and slogans like "Drop Bush, not bombs" and "Bush=Hitler, [Italian Prime Minister Silvio] Berlusconi=Mussolini," referring to the two World War II fascist leaders.

The beauty is in the streets

Writing of her view of the demonstration, former member of parliament Angeles Maestro of the United Left of Spain noted: "Beauty with the face of the people, of all ages, different countries, was not seen in the museums this day. It occupied the streets of one of the loveliest cities in the world with a peaceful force representing the massive presence of hundreds of thousands of people.

"It tore down walls of prejudice and ignorance and declared before all the pow-

ers dominating the world, before all the politicians and the great majority of the media, that the war can be stopped."

Reports in the German daily newspaper Junge Welt said there was a large presence of people from Greece at the demonstration.

Speaking about the European Social Forum, a continuation of the Social Forums held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and elsewhere, Gilbert estimated that about 3,000 came from France, 2,000 from Britain, over 2,000 from Germany, 1,000 from Spain, hundreds from Hungary, Poland and the rest of Europe, as well as hundreds from Africa, Asia and North and South America.

They discussed questions "touching on war, labor, immigrants' rights, the environment and social justice."

This ESF took a step forward in uniting the anti-globalization movement with the struggle against this imperialist war. Its position, however, is not unequivocally

against the war, but is contingent on the fact that the U.S. administration is isolated diplomatically and acting unilaterally. While drawing broad participation, the social forums have been dominated by social-democratic forces in the past. For example, groups engaging in armed struggle, like those in Colombia, were barred from the Porto Alegre forum.

After the Berlusconi press had baited the ESF for "terrorism" and for threatening to tear Florence apart, much of the media remarked on how peaceful the half-million to a million people were.

They were in the street, taking direct action of symbolic character to express their opinions. Such an action outweighs elections and diplomatic maneuvering.

The arrogant gang around the Bush White House appears poised to launch a war, which will no doubt turn peaceful opposition to plans for slaughter into furious anger at imperialist war and the forces that order it and carry it out. □

Security Council who could have exercised their veto power—to argue that their acquiescence in this resolution is in the interests of preventing the war are just a subterfuge to mask collaboration with and/or capitulation to the dictates of Wall Street.

The French and the Russian oil magnates and industrialists have interests in Iraq that they are seeking to protect. Neither one of them prefers war, because they are both weak powers. But they are both afraid of being frozen out if the U.S. government succeeds in conquering Iraq and gaining total control of the oil and other commanding positions in the Iraqi economy. If Washington goes to war, they each want to protect their cut of the loot.

As for the government of the People's Republic of China, its vote is a shameless betrayal of internationalism and a cynical display of bourgeois power-politics style diplomacy. The PRC leaders long ago gave up the historic internationalist position pursued by the Chinese socialist revolution in its earlier stages. It is no accident that international solidarity with the oppressed peoples struggling against imperialism has been increasingly abandoned as the "reformers," advocates of the so-called "socialist-market" economy, gain a greater grip on power.

And it is no accident that this new level

of collaboration with Washington coincides with the 16th Party Congress, where the entry of capitalists into the Communist Party of China has been officially sanctioned and rationalized with a false doctrine. The deepening inroads of capitalism and the erosion of socialist institutions at the expense of the masses of workers and peasants goes hand and hand with growing reaction in foreign policy.

This runs directly contrary to the anti-colonial sentiments and class interests of the Chinese masses. Hopefully they will find a way to resist the growing tide of capitalism and return China to the socialist road in the wake of the open reaction displayed at the 16th Party Congress and in the Security Council.

This latest resolution, a virtual declaration demanding Iraq's total subordination to imperialism, is an illustration that the United Nations is composed of governments and states that overwhelmingly represent propertied classes. These governments are either imperialists or dominated by imperialism and, as such, can never become the instrument to oppose imperialist war.

Only the mobilization of the movement, and ultimately of the working class and the oppressed at home and abroad, can stay the hand of the war makers. □



Vets march against war

This year, for the first time since the Vietnam War, anti-war contingents marched in at least two of the Veterans' Day parades on Nov. 11. In New York a group of about 50 men and women from Vietnam Veterans Against the War and Veterans for Peace marched up Fifth Avenue with banners and signs against Bush's planned war on Iraq. In San Francisco a "No war for oil" contingent marched in the parade. The media there commented on how small the Veterans' Day parade was in comparison to the huge anti-war march on Oct. 26 that drew nearly 100,000 people.

Unlike parades in the 1970s that turned into angry confrontations between supporters and opponents of the war, no incidents were reported this time. There was scattered applause for the anti-war contingent in New York.

Veterans' Day in the United States has

long been used by politicians and the military not just to commemorate the dead but also to beat the drums for war, and this year was no exception. President George W. Bush used the occasion to rally support for his expansionist designs.

But elsewhere, the anti-war movement marked the day with meetings and protests.

Rev. James Bevel, director of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s historic 1963 March on Washington, told a Veterans' Day anti-war protest at the University of Illinois in Urbana: "We have to be honest when someone is out to murder someone to steal oil, as opposed to when there is a threat against our security as a sovereign nation. It is obvious that Bush is carrying out the hate policy of his father against the Iraqi people, based upon some oil deal that went sour."

—Deirdre Griswold

Cuba rejects U.S. charges against its diplomats

The following is a Nov. 6 statement issued by Cuba's Foreign Ministry on the recent expulsions of its diplomats by the U.S. government.

On Nov. 1, the head of the Cuba Bureau of the U.S. State Department presented a diplomatic note to the head of the Cuban Interest Section in Washington, stating that officials Oscar Redondo Toledo and Gustavo Machín Gómez, both first secretaries at our mission, had been declared "personas non grata" as a result of alleged Cuban intelligence activities in the United States, and giving those comrades 10 days to leave that country.

The very U.S. officials who presented the note acknowledged that they had no evidence at all of the slightest involvement in intelligence activities on the part of our diplomats. Similarly, it should be noted that Machín is the official who attends to the U.S. business sector and his efforts in favor of eliminating regulations restricting economic relations between Cuba and the United States have greatly annoyed the anti-Cuba mafia and its allies in Washington. In the case of Oscar Redondo, he has been highly involved in our labors to refute the State Department's slander and lies regarding our country's inclusion on the list of nations sponsoring terrorism and its false accusations on the alleged production of biological weapons in Cuba. Moreover, he has developed respectful and friendly exchanges with former high-ranking U.S. military officials now functioning as academics in the defense sector.

Both colleagues were undertaking absolutely legal tasks of a political and diplomatic nature there and were totally respectful of U.S. laws. They are not guilty of anything at all, but are the victims of a useless and senseless repression.

In addition, the U.S. Mission to the United Nations presented a further diplo-

matic note to the Cuban mission to that organization accusing two of its officials of having exceeded the bounds of official conduct and of having been involved in activities affecting the United States of America. One is Francisco González García, our mission's adviser on issues related to the 4th UN Commission—specifically those linked to the Information Committee—and the other is Carlos Augusto Suanes Flexas, second secretary and likewise in charge of issues related to Palestine, decolonization and peace-keeping operations in the 4th Commission. The note asked for information refuting these charges to be presented within a period of 66 hours; in the case of it not being supplied or lacking conviction, their immediate exit from the United States was requested. Of course, our government decided not to respond to this infamous request, convinced that it was a political decision taken beforehand and thus no argument would change that decision.

On Nov. 4, our Mission to the UN was notified that the two officials had 10 days from Nov. 1 to leave the United States.

The U.S. government, with the most sophisticated intelligence apparatus in the world, has absolutely no moral authority or any justification whatsoever to endorse these asseverations against our diplomats.

On the other hand, the Cuban government has sufficient and documented evidence of the subversive, interfering and counter-revolutionary labors being undertaken by U.S. Interest Section officials in Havana, in open violation of all the precepts established in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

The U.S. government knows that we can present ample evidence of its constant acts of espionage and subversion against Cuba.

For the Cuban government and people, the identity of the person behind these absurd and irrational lies, their objective and their particular timing is very clear.

Mr. Otto Reich, in charge of Western Hemispheric Affairs in the U.S. State Department, and a representative of the anti-Cuban mafia to the U.S. government, resorted to these and other desperate measures just a few days before the mid-term elections in the United States, with the objective of generating a new escalation of irrational hostility toward Cuba that would worsen the already complicated state of relations between both countries. Above all, he is obsessed with halting the unstoppable advance of forces within the United States opposed to the policy of aggression and attacks on Cuba.

With the proverbial political dishonesty repeatedly demonstrated since his appointment to the U.S. State Department, Mr. Otto Reich is deluding himself into thinking that with actions of this kind, full of cynicism and deception, he can halt the impressive advance of wide sectors of the U.S. people who are increasingly advocating the normalization of relations between Cuba and the United States.

For this individual and his acolytes in Washington and Miami, the final resort in an effort to halt the march of history is systematic lies and crude provocations like those just perpetrated against our diplomatic officials.

Incapable of responding to the challenge of Cuba's foreign minister, Mr. Reich has decided to continue lying. More than 144 hours have gone by since that challenge was made without receiving the most minimal response from the U.S. authorities, and now a fresh provocation is being mounted.

We hold the U.S. government fully responsible for the actions of irresponsible characters like Otto Reich, only interested in advancing their obdurate personal agendas in detriment to the legitimate interests of the U.S. people. Cuba has the right to respond and it will do so at the appropriate

time, using the political and diplomatic instruments at its disposition. We will not lose sight of the provocative nature of this act. We will not forget that the U.S. people have absolutely no responsibility for these crazy acts.

We will continue developing all types of relations with the U.S. people. The expulsion of our diplomats will not prevent Cuba's message from being heard in the United Nations; it will not prevent our truths from reaching all kinds of people in the United States interested in maintaining a frank and open dialogue with Cuba, beyond any philosophical or political differences.

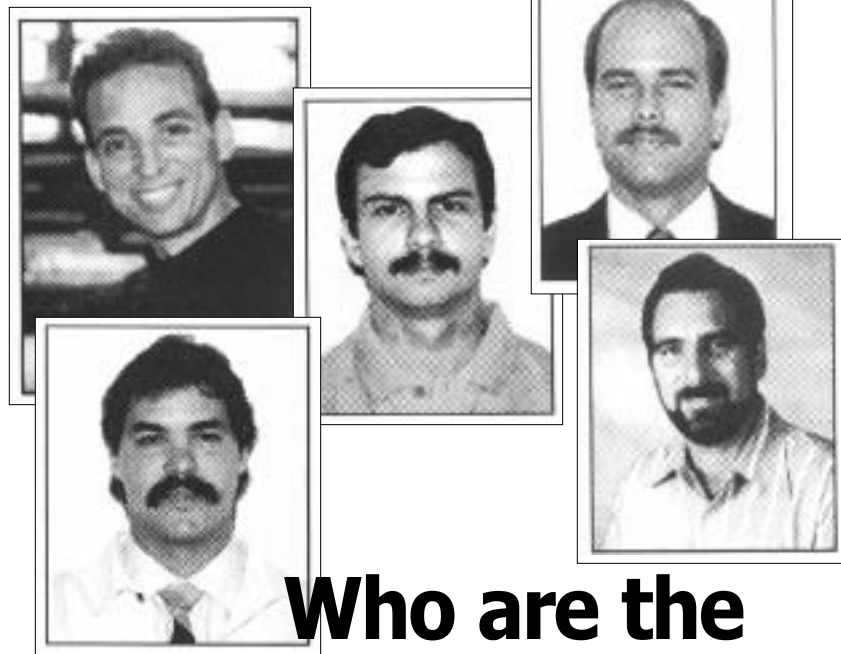
These actions will not prevent us from continuing to denounce the U.S. government's refusal to negotiate cooperation agreements proposed by Cuba to combat terrorism, drug trafficking, person trafficking and illegal immigration. It will not prevent us from continuing to expose the double standard demonstrated by the U.S. government in its entire anti-Cuban policy.

Once again the U.S. government is demonstrating its gross manipulation of the issue of its relations with Cuba for electoral ends, in open contradiction to the disposition of the U.S. people to improve relations between both countries.

As always, Cuba will respond with firmness, dignity and intelligence to these new provocations that cannot detain the definitive and inevitable collapse of the U.S. policy of hostility and aggression toward Cuba, and much less the advance of the Cuban Revolution in attaining the new goals marked out by our people in the economic, political, cultural and social terrain.

Cuba totally rejects these fallacious and shameless charges against its diplomats.

Actions such as these do not intimidate and will never intimidate the Cuban people. □



Who are the Cuban Five?

They are five Cubans who were trying to stop the ultra-right terrorist groups in Miami from carrying out violent actions against the people of Cuba... Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, René González and Fernando González, acting in defense of their people, were living in Miami, monitoring these terrorist groups to prevent future violence.

But because the U.S. government - through the CIA - has played the principal role in funding, training and arming the ultra-right Miami mafia, the FBI targeted the five Cubans instead of arresting the terrorists.

This is the only reason that the five Cubans are in prison. They were framed up in a political witch-hunt and railroaded by the U.S. in a 7-month trial in Miami, where it was impossible for them to have an impartial and fair trial.

Falsely charged with espionage on the U.S., in reality, the five brothers' mission was to follow the activities of the right wing to prevent harm to innocent people. After their arrest by the FBI in September 1998, they were convicted June 8, 2001 and sentenced December 2001.

—Excerpted from freethethefive.org

Prison visit with Cuban hero

Lompoc is long way

By Alicia Jrapko and Bill Hackwell
Lompoc, Calif.

Like many prisons in California, the Federal Penitentiary in Lompoc is in an isolated area far from urban centers. It sits on agricultural land where crops and flowers once grew and cattle grazed. Fast-food chains and hotels today distinguish the town of Lompoc.

The area around Lompoc is also known for Vandenberg Air Force Base. It is a sprawling military site from which the United States secretly launches intercontinental ballistic missiles to practice shooting down targets over the Pacific Ocean.

Most family members visiting prisoners in Lompoc travel long distances and stay here in the town. The great majority happen to be poor. It is a sacrifice for them to come.

Lompoc is not just one prison, but a complex of federal detention facilities that range from a minimal camp to a maximum-security prison. Gerardo Hernandez is imprisoned in the latter.

It is a difficult place to find. It sits at the end of a road that goes no further.

On our way to the prison we asked ourselves how it could be possible that five people who were fighting to prevent terrorist attacks against their country of Cuba were now languishing behind prison walls.

When we approached the main gate a guard stopped us, speaking to us any-

mously through a microphone from a tower. The guard asked us why we were there and what was in our car. Big warning signs spelled out all the things we could not bring onto the federal property.

After we were allowed to park, we went to a waiting room where the authorities checked to make sure the background check on us had been approved. After that, we were required to complete individual forms and go through a screening and security process that included being stamped on the hand with invisible ink. Before we could get in, we had to leave everything, including paper and pens, in a locker. The only thing visitors to Lompoc prisoners can bring in are rolls of coins to be used to buy food from vending machines, and the desire to see their loved ones.

As we waited in small groups between metal gates surrounded by rows of rolled razor wire, no one could forget where they were. The sound of the sliding door slamming behind us as we were allowed in made a hollow, definitive sound.

We entered a big room where small tables were lined up in rows with family members on one side and prisoners on the other. There was no mistaking who is who. All the prisoners were in khaki uniforms.

The great majority of people in that room were Black and Latino.

Beneath each table there is a panel that prevents any touching. Personal contact is a gray zone at Lompoc, prohibited by prison

AFGHANISTAN

U.S. terror tactics deepen

By Leslie Feinberg

Afghan police have fired on protesting students in Kabul, killing as many as six and seriously wounding dozens more. The clashes came as thousands were protesting because electricity and water had been cut off to their dormitory for a week.

The demonstrations began on Nov. 11, when the students marched to the palace of Hamid Karzai, the president installed by Washington after it attacked Afghanistan and ousted the Taliban regime. Students said the police attack was unprovoked and that four died in the hail of bullets. The government claims students had thrown rocks—certainly no excuse for firing on them—and admits to only one death.

The next day the protests continued. A report from Kabul by the Irish RTE News says students reported two more deaths when the protests resumed the next morning, bringing the total to six.

This bloody suppression of the students gives the lie to the rosy public relations effort to prettify life in Afghanistan under U.S. occupation.

Bush, his generals, and the media establishment that amplifies their message around the world have tried to market their military onslaught as a battle “against terrorism.” The bonus was supposed to be the liberation of the Afghani people.

However, the Pentagon’s actions in this war, toward civilians and prisoners alike, are those of imperialist occupation troops, not a liberation army.

The people of Naray recall the recent raid by U.S. soldiers in their mountain village. (Associated Press, Nov. 4) It began at twilight with the terrifying thunder of Black-

hawk helicopters setting down in a tornado of dust. Troops from the 82nd Airborne Division of the Army piled out.

U.S. troops had passed through Naray before; they had never been attacked and the people put up no resistance. Yet the soldiers rounded up the villagers and separated the women and men in compounds of the local mosque. When an entire wedding party in festive clothes arrived at the mosque, they were ordered to sit down. All were threatened that if they moved, the helicopter gunships would kill them.

To terrify the population, mortar teams discharged illumination artillery rounds into the night sky and fired explosive shells into the mountainside.

The soldiers tore up people’s humble homes, upending trunks of clothing, overturning bins of flour and chopping up the plaster walls. According to the AP report, “Cash, passports and pictures of anyone with a gun were collected in a trash bag.”

Cash. Now there’s a dangerous weapon that needs to be impounded for security reasons.

Five people, including the village elder, were interrogated throughout the night. Col. David Gerard boasted, “They talk a lot better after some sleep deprivation; makes them feel sorry for themselves.” Later the five were loaded into helicopters with bags over their heads and taken away. No reason given.

Nothing was found except a few AK-47s, which many, many Afghani people have in their homes.

As the warships lifted up, chopping the air with their roar, they left anger below. “They came rushing into our homes, they kept us prisoner all night, and we were cold



Getty Images, a photo agency, distributed this photo of U.S. military personnel in a plane with detainees in Afghanistan. The source is unknown.

and hungry,” said Noorbad Shah. “We had no bad will against the Americans, but now how are we supposed to feel?”

Where the real terror awaits

Prisoners are transported 8,000 miles across the Atlantic Ocean from Afghanistan to Camp X-Ray, a U.S. naval base in the Caribbean. Several electronic images of the detainees strapped into a half-sitting, half-prone position on the floor of a C-130 plane were leaked to news organizations the week of Nov. 8. The men’s hands are bound behind their backs, legs chained, heads hooded.

Earlier photos showed prisoners on their knees on the tarmac at Guantanamo, Cuba. They were deprived of sensory input, their eyes and ears covered by hoods and earphones.

In a stunning display of sophistry, Defense Department officials have ordered the media to censor photos of prisoners, arguing that it is the photographs themselves, not the brutal treatment they document, that violate the Geneva Convention on treatment of prisoners.

As of Oct. 23, reports the Washington Times, about 70 percent of the 598 prisoners are Afghani, Saudi and Yemeni; a small number are Pakistani. The newspaper adds that even more cells are being constructed “to house suspected terrorists from 43 countries.”

Suspected. This is Bush’s endless war. The brass at the Pentagon vow to imprison the great majority “indefinitely.”

“House” is a diplomatic word to describe conditions. U.S. journalist Jeffrey Kofman described the tiny chain link cells open to the elements, with just a foam mat, two towels and a chamber pot. “It was a far more bare-bones facility than frankly I expected to see. They say they will be holding the detainees in cells, but really they are cages.” (BBC News, Jan. 16)

The tropical camp, bordered by bales of razor wire, is cold at night, lit up with halogen floodlights, and swarming with mosquitoes in the day.

Marines and military police run the facility. CIA and military intelligence officers conduct repeated intense interrogations. Leaks about torture can’t be confirmed because the military exerts iron control without civilian scrutiny. Military officers told journalists they wouldn’t even be allowed to bring tape-recording devices to record the sound of a plane landing. (Fox News, Jan. 11)

A limbo where no law exists

Even bourgeois law, whose main purpose is to protect the property-owning classes, is a casualty in this untrammelled military aggression.

The U.S. high command refuses to grant prisoner-of-war status to the prisoners it takes in this war. The Pentagon labels the detained with the military double-speak “unlawful combatants,” and thereby strips them of the limited protections established by the Geneva Convention.

A panel of three British judges delivered a surprisingly strong ruling the week of Nov. 8. They stated that the detention of prisoners at Camp X-Ray “appears” to be a violation of international law as well as the right of habeas corpus won centuries ago in England with the Magna Carta. The panel, roughly similar to a federal appeals court in the United States, ruled in the case of a 23-year-old detainee who has been held at Guantanamo for 10 months.

Geoffrey Robertson, a prominent British attorney and human-rights expert, told the New York Times in a phone interview that the court was trying to send a message to influence a case pending before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. That court is scheduled to hear arguments on Dec. 2 in an appeal of a July ruling that was an important legal victory for the Bush administration.

In the July ruling, Judge Colleen Kollar-Kotelly decided that the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo is formally outside this country’s sovereign territory, so the prisoners can be denied rights under the U.S. Constitution and have no right of appeal to federal courts.

Not U.S. territory? The base was established in 1903 after Marines hit the shores of Guantanamo during the 1898 Spanish-American war at the birth of U.S. imperialist expansion.

After the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the new government demanded the U.S. relinquish the base and respect Cuba’s sovereignty. But President Dwight Eisenhower refused. Washington continues to pay annual “rent,” set a century ago at 2,000 gold coins—about \$4,000. The Cubans refuse to cash the insulting check.

Setting up a military prison on the tiny portion of land the United States claims as its own on the island of Cuba is also a Yankee imperialist threat to the population trying to build socialism there as the U.S. attempts to re-colonize the planet. □

from Havana

rules, dictated by the guards in the room.

We were assigned a table and waited for Gerardo to appear. It was not too long before the door opened and Gerardo almost bounced toward us.

Despite the oppressive environment he welcomed us with an embrace as if we were entering his home. It was at that moment that we understood why he is considered a hero of the Cuban people.

During the next five hours of casual conversation with Gerardo, we could not help but think that here was a son of the Cuban revolution and a follower of the example of Che Guevara. He remains a humble, sincere, generous and dignified human being who believes that a safer, better world is possible—even as he faces a double life sentence plus 80 months.

The time flew by. Our talk ranged from our childhoods and our families, to current international politics and the possibility of war, to discussion about the work of the National Committee to Free the Five. Over and over, Gerardo expressed his gratitude to all the committees around the world that are helping in the struggle to free the five prisoners, and also to the people who send him and the others scores of letters every day.

At 3 p.m. all the visitors had to leave the room and the prisoners were sent back to their cells. Loved ones embraced as we all said our goodbyes. It seemed like time stopped for a minute as everyone strained



Bill Hackwell, Gerardo Hernández and Alicia Jrapko

to remember the details of what the other looked like to store in memory until the next visit.

Gerardo has not been afforded even this small moment of human contact with his wife. After granting a visa to Adriana to visit Gerardo in August the U.S. government, in a cruel and sadistic maneuver, stopped her in Houston, interrogated her for hours, and then expelled her from the country.

As we left, just before the door closed, Gerardo reminded us of his strength and determination as he smiled to us and clenched both fists. We left with the feeling that Gerardo as well as René, Ramón, Fernando and Antonio are political prisoners who do not belong behind bars. It is more imperative than ever to continue our work so that one day they can walk out to return to their homeland.

Alicia Jrapko and Bill Hackwell are members of the National Committee to Free the Five in San Francisco.

workers world editorial

Homeland union busting

The Democratic leaders in Congress have thrown the working class a body blow by agreeing not to block a Republican bill creating a Homeland Security Department that would strip 170,000 federal workers of union rights and/or Civil Service protections. Both houses of Congress are now expected to quickly approve the bill and send it on to Bush for his signature.

The bill would consolidate 22 existing federal agencies and their employees under the new department in the largest reorganization of the federal government since World War II. At present, 50,000 of these workers are in unions, most of them represented by an AFL-CIO affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees. The others are covered by Civil Service rules and regulations.

The AFGE Web site explains that under the Bush plan, "if a manager arbitrarily downgrades your position and pay, passes you over for a promotion you truly deserve, or fires you because he or she doesn't like your political beliefs, there will no longer be a union or civil service law to protect you. It will be 'their way' or the highway."

The Bush administration, which everyone knows is intimately tied to some of the most rapacious billionaires in the world, is using the climate of terror it has cultivated since 9/11 as a cover for good-old-fashioned union busting. It argues "homeland security" will be jeopardized unless the new department has "flexibility" in hiring and firing. The union says that this is nothing but "doublespeak for management freedom from unions who advocate fairness and taxpayers who demand that federal managers answer for their actions. Just ask the 1,000 Department of Justice employees who petitioned for union representation and then, on the same day, under an Executive Order signed by President Bush, were stripped of their union rights and civil service protections—all in the name of national security."

AFGE President Bobby L. Harnage said in answer to the administration, "Union membership has never been inconsistent with national security. The right of federal employees to engage in collective bargain-

ing has never undermined homeland security. Federal employees, their families and their unions are adamantly opposed to any effort to use the tragic events of Sept. 11 to advance stalled but longstanding efforts to bust federal unions."

The Democrats who caved in said they got the bill drafters to add a few weeks of federal mediation before the new personnel rules go into effect, but the administration can overrule that. In effect, this is the most virulent piece of anti-labor legislation in decades.

Even the New York Times of Nov. 13 explained that "The agreement gives the Bush administration a free hand to jettison Civil Service rules in promoting and firing workers in the new agency and allows the president to exempt unionized workers from collective-bargaining agreements in the name of national security."

The capitulation came just days after an election where the unions had poured millions of dollars of their members' dues money into the campaigns of Democratic politicians.

The working class in the U.S. makes up the overwhelming majority of the population. It has the skills and experience to run society on its own, for the benefit of the people and not the profiteers, without needing to take orders from any other social class. Yet it gives the appearance of being weak. This apparent paradox reflects the huge gap between consciousness and reality, and specifically the urgent need for the workers to become as conscious of their own class interests as the exploiters are of theirs.

The rulers have become masters of deception, but they will be seen to have feet of clay once the workers are in motion. It is those who claim to defend and protect the workers who are weak, because they have one foot in the political institutions of the ruling class. It is time for militant unions to map out an independent program of struggle that looks to the great reservoirs of working class strength that have yet to be tapped. Such a struggle will surely burst forth as this government of, by and for the billionaires continues its merciless assault on the workers and oppressed of the world. □

ZIMBABWE

U.S. threatens to intervene

By G. Dunkel

The U.S. government is using hunger as an excuse to threaten Zimbabwe with military intervention. The maneuver is similar to when Washington used the 1993 food crisis in Somalia as a pretext to carry out a military invasion.

Mark Bellamy, the principal deputy assistant secretary of state for Africa, made the threat explicit and tied it to U.S. policy on Iraq when he spoke during a panel discussion in early November on "Famine and Political Violence in Matabeleland" sponsored by the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Matabeleland is the southwest part of Zimbabwe, adjacent to South Africa. Bellamy plays a major role in developing U.S. foreign policy for Africa.

Zimbabwe is the country in southern Africa hardest hit by the current drought. Nearly 6.7 million of Zimbabwe's 12 million people face starvation in the coming months. The imperialist argument is that Zimbabwe needs the white farmers to offset starvation.

It has been documented that these farmers are growing cash crops like tobacco, not the food staples that could feed the country. The British imperialists and the white farmers control 96 percent of the Zimbabwean economy.

A United Nations World Health Organization conference held in Hobart, Australia, in August reported that an estimated 15 million people in southern Africa face starvation and that 300,000 would die before March 2003 from starvation and related diseases.

At the Washington panel discussion Bellamy said: "We may have to be prepared to take some very intrusive, interventionist measures to ensure aid delivery to Zimbabwe. We have disturbing reports of food being used as a political weapon by the Mugabe government, of food aid being diverted and food being denied to millions of opposition supporters.

"For the sake of those hungry people it may be necessary for us to undertake intrusive delivery and monitoring of food. The dilemmas in the next six months may bring us face to face with Zimbabwe's sovereignty."

He added that President Robert Mugabe is "holding his people hostage the way Saddam Hussein is holding his people hostage."

The Herald, a newspaper in the Zimbabwe capital city of Harare, reported Bellamy's interview under the headline "U.S. plans to invade Harare." The Herald quoted Zimbabwe Defense Forces Commander Gen. Vitalis Zvinavashe as saying the U.S. government is plotting to use the southern African nation's mounting food crisis as a pretext for interfering in and perhaps even invading Zimbabwe.

"They are using food as a ploy to directly control NGOs [non-governmental organizations] distributing food and disregard the laws of Zimbabwe," Vitalis said.

While State Department spokespeople pooh-poohed the idea of an invasion, they did concede that some kind of "direct delivery of food" is under consideration.

Back in August, Assistant Secretary of

State for African Affairs Walter Kansteiner, Bellamy's boss, said at a news briefing: "We do not see President Mugabe as the democratically legitimate leader of the country. The election was fraudulent and it was not free and it was not fair."

When specifically asked if he was calling for "regime change," Kansteiner responded: "The political status quo is unacceptable. ... The question is: What are the tactics that we can use to work with those inside Zimbabwe as well as their neighbors to encourage a more democratic outcome?"

South African Communist Party on Zimbabwe

In a statement released shortly after the March 2002 elections in Zimbabwe, the South African Communist Party said: "The instability in Zimbabwe must be seen against the background of deepening poverty, unemployment, land hunger and general social distress after a decade of punitive structural adjustment measures demanded by the IMF and World Bank. ... We condemn and reject the self-serving recklessness with which Western countries, Britain in particular, are demanding sanctions and the isolation of Zimbabwe as if the problems in Zimbabwe are limited to the difficult conditions which prevailed in the two-year run-up to the elections."

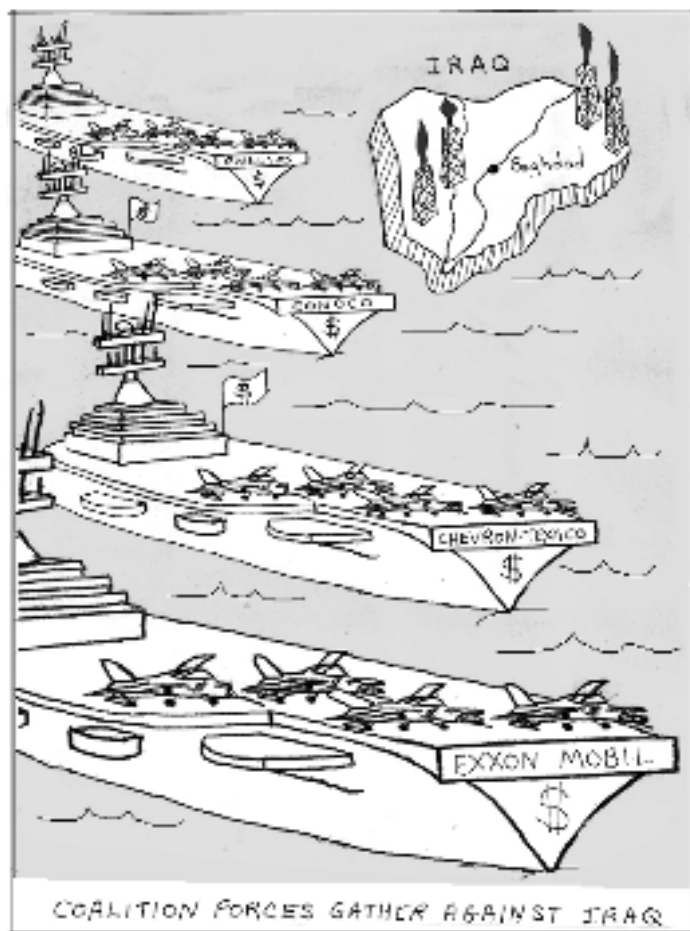
The SACP statement went on to say that "the long delayed resolution of the land question remains absolutely central in Zimbabwe. ... Productive use of the land by the people is the key grievance, essence and original demand of the people of Zimbabwe and their struggle against colonialism."

The land question has been a burning issue in Zimbabwe ever since Cecil Rhodes' agents tricked King Lobengula of the Ndebele into agreeing to a mining concession in 1889. The next year the British Army occupied what they called Rhodesia. They gave 3,000 acres of prime land to each British settler.

The land question was one of the most contentious issues in the Lancaster House negotiations that settled 14 years of armed struggle in Zimbabwe in 1980. While the new Black government was allowed to buy land from "willing" white farmers, the Lancaster House agreement barred expropriation of land that the colonialists had violently seized in the 19th century for at least 10 years. As part of the agreement, Britain agreed to fund the purchases and laid out \$44 million until 1988—when it stopped, claiming it didn't like how the Zimbabwean government was acting.

In 1991, Zimbabwe amended its laws so it could begin expropriating white-owned land. Due to heavy pressure from the white farmers and from an International Monetary Fund structural-adjustment program, it didn't start seriously addressing the issue until a few years ago.

Successful land reform in Zimbabwe could lead to land reform in Namibia, where 4,000 white farmers dominate commercial agriculture—and especially in South Africa, where 60,000 white farmers control 87 percent of the land and 14 million Black farmers try to scratch out a living from the barren remains. □



CARTOON: PAUL WILCOX

Czech communists resist

U.S. to push NATO expansion at Prague summit

By Heather Cottin

With a summit on NATO expansion set for Nov. 21 and 22 in Prague, leaders in the Czech Republic are hurriedly assuring Washington that they are its best friends in Eastern Europe. This is ominous for the people of countries now in line to join the U.S.-dominated military alliance. Reuters reported Nov. 11 that NATO Secretary-General George Robertson has "left open the possibility of a role for the alliance in a military strike on Iraq, saying this would be among options considered at a summit in Prague."

Meanwhile, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia has called for an anti-NATO summit of European parties on Nov. 19, and an anti-NATO demonstration in Prague the next day.

At a meeting last spring in Reykjavik, Iceland, NATO passed a U.S.-sponsored resolution that said the alliance "must be able to field forces that can move quickly to wherever they are needed." This decree "was done by stealth, but everyone was conscious of its significance," said a Western European ambassador to NATO. (Washington Post, Nov. 5)

So the next stage is expansion, and not just in terms of NATO membership. Washington hopes to use troops from other NATO countries to help patrol the world—from Afghanistan to Iraq and beyond. For Washington, the Eastern European countries especially are modern colonies expected to supply young workers as cannon fodder.

The Prague summit may add as many as seven new members—Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia—to NATO. Washington plans to create a "multinational rapid deployment force of about 21,000 troops that would allow NATO to operate quickly and effectively against new enemies far from Europe," reported the Post.

Washington hopes for "a military action against Iraq [to] provide an early test of sentiment for operations well beyond Europe." That translates into using NATO for U.S. expansionist plans outlined in the Bush Doctrine.

NATO's history and role

The NATO military alliance was primarily seen as a threat to the USSR and its Eastern European allies. However, it also was meant to defend Western European capitalism against popular workers' uprisings. Right after World War II, such uprisings and even Communist electoral victories in France, Italy and Greece were conceivable; such a possibility emerged again in Portugal in 1974-1975.

Throughout NATO's history, Washington portrayed it as a defensive alliance. A senior Bush official recently admitted, however, "the goal of territorial defense of Europe is no longer relevant."

So is that the end of NATO? No. NATO is now bigger than ever.

What is NATO's current function? Can it be used to support the U.S. ruling class's "endless war" expansionist goals?

The United States used NATO in the breakup of Yugoslavia, specifically in 1993-1995 in Bosnia, and then in the full-fledged bombing assault on Yugoslavia in 1999. That operation, on territory outside the

boundaries of any NATO country, was unprecedented.

Havel's role in the new NATO

Czech President Vaclav Havel was portrayed in the West as the gentle leader of a "velvet revolution" when the socialist regime there was overthrown. But Havel has publicly embraced not only the expansion of NATO but also U.S. plans for a war on Iraq.

One of Havel's opponents, Czech Sen. Richard Falbr, commented: "He is always the first president to back up what Bush says. His statement [supporting the war in Iraq] is nonsense and on a par with his remark that Yugoslavia was bombed for humanitarian reasons." (Postmark Prague, Oct. 1)

Havel plans to send a thousand Czech soldiers trained in biological and chemical warfare to the war. (Jordan Times, Oct. 22) The Bush-Rumsfeld strategists want no consultation with these NATO allies, just "contributions."

Czechoslovakia broke up into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993, while Havel was president. He quickly launched a series of "market reforms." In the more industrialized Czech Republic, a capitalist layer of society grew rich. In Slovakia, the poorer half of the former Czechoslovakia, poverty went from 7.8 percent in 1993 to 13.4 percent in 1999. And it continues to rise in both republics as unemployment grows and social services are stripped away. Unemployment is now close to 20 percent in Slovakia and 9.4 percent in the Czech Republic. (Postmark Prague, Oct. 1)

Privatization campaigns in both republics have closed everything from schools to factories. With the Czech Republic already in NATO, and Slovakia as well as other formerly socialist nations in the East slated to join at the Nov. 21-22 summit, the population faces increasing misery as public money goes toward military spending.

Comeback for Czech Communists

These developments have bred resistance. In last June's Czech elections, the Communist Party, the only parliamentary party to increase its support, polled 880,000 votes, or 18.5 percent—an increase of 220,000 since 1998.

The party has opposed Czech membership in NATO and in the European Union. The EU's "free trade" policy allows the free flow of capital, but not of workers. Czech workers attempting to flee joblessness at home have been hounded out of Western Europe.

In the September elections in Slovakia, Communists won 11 seats in Parliament.

September floods in the Czech Republic were catastrophic. Rebuilding has gone slowly. Public trust in Havel is at an all-time low: 40 percent.

But Havel barrels on, driving the Czechs into penury as the new ruling class enriches itself on fat military contracts. The summit on NATO expansion only serves to highlight the Prague government's total submission to Washington's demands.

In a visit to the United States, Havel and Czech Defense Minister Jaroslav Tvrdik promised Czech support for the U.S. "missile defense" program. Tvrdik offered Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld the possibility of locating a base for this "Star

Wars" system on Czech territory, according to Radomir Silber of the CPBM.

The U.S. government has offered to enforce security at the NATO summit with as many as 250 U.S. troops and 15 U.S. planes to be flown over Prague airspace between Nov. 15 and 30. Communists in the Czech government voted against this violation of Czech sovereignty, to no avail.

Czech officials are making police-state preparations against the thousands of protesters who have vowed to come to Prague to say no to NATO expansion. They are calling in 12,000 police officers to suppress demonstrations.

Much of the Czech public supports resistance to NATO, according to the Prague Post of Oct. 24.

NATO expansion spreads misery

The Prague Summit is a boon for the defense industry. The merchants of death will be advertising their latest weaponry.

Lockheed Martin, BAE Systems, Boeing, EADS and Volkswagen will sponsor the summit. Northrop Grumman wants to sell NATO its expensive new radar system. A spokesperson for EADS, a Czech firm affiliated with a Texas military contractor, said, "This should be a good opportunity ... to support the next stage of NATO expansion." (Prague Post, Nov. 6)

NATO expansion won't improve the lives of the people of Eastern Europe and the former USSR. Workers there have experienced a 10-fold increase in poverty since the fall of the socialist regime. Reduced spending on health, education and other social programs, the end to subsidized housing, and rising unemployment are devastating the population.

Miluse Besvodova, 46, of the impoverished Czech village of Kostelec, has been

unemployed for over a year. "Under communism, there were jobs for everyone and everything was cheaper," she said. (Prague Post, Nov. 6) Her anger reflects the deteriorating conditions of all Eastern Europe and the former USSR, where infant mortality and tuberculosis rates have skyrocketed.

The leaders of now-capitalist Eastern Europe mouth platitudes about joining the war against terrorism, but the newly expanded NATO actually has one purpose: to carry out the imperial designs of U.S. corporations. The oil, gas, fertile fields, gold, lead, uranium, cheap labor, and multitude of other riches of Eurasia and the Middle East are ripe for the picking if NATO can sweep through any region at will.

However, anti-NATO sentiment is strong in all Europe, East and West. In the Czech Republic and elsewhere in the East, there is mounting opposition to capitalist regimes ready to support Washington's endless war policies with the lives of European working-class youths. The Bush administration may hope to bring NATO into its imperialist schemes, but knows it will have difficulty getting the people of Eastern Europe to fall in line.

In Slovenia, anti-NATO activists from all over Eastern Europe met from Nov. 7 to 10. They said "the existence, functioning and expansion of NATO" are "a part of the logic of war that underlies the system of globalized capitalism and ensures the maintenance of a gravely unjust world order. We regard NATO as one of the instruments of the global neo-liberal politics of coercion and exploitation of human beings and the natural environment in the interests of the global ruling class." □

MONTREAL AND QUITO

Anti-FTAA protests hit Western Hemisphere

By April Lahne
Montreal, Quebec

On Oct. 31, between 10,000 and 20,000 people marched through the streets of Montreal to protest the heinous trade bill that we know as the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA).

The FTAA representatives were holding a meeting in Quito, Ecuador where an estimated 20,000 people, many of whom were Indigenous people and farmers, also held an anti-FTAA demonstration that was met with not only teargas on the part of riot police but by the military. This violence on the part of the repressive state did not succeed in stopping the protesters from gaining entrance to the FTAA negotiations.

The FTAA bill is scheduled to be ratified in 2005. FTAA bureaucrats are pushing to have the deal signed by 2003. If this goes through, it will affect all 34 capitalist countries in the Americas except for Cuba.

The Montreal demonstration was primarily a student strike and was part of a broad action aimed at showing an undeniable solidarity of people throughout the western hemisphere who are actively working to defeat the FTAA like those in Quito.



This event shows the power that people have when united. The hemispheric strike said in a huge way to the rest of the world that the people of the Americas do not want the FTAA! This action is only the beginning! For more information on how to create a larger network for future hemispheric action, contact the Canadian Federation of Students Quebec at www.cfs-fee.ca □

Nuevas detalles emergen sobre guerra bioquímica

EE.UU. hizo pruebas de gas nervioso en Hawái

Por Deirdre Griswold

¿Si las Fuerzas Armadas de los Estados Unidos hicieron pruebas del gas nervioso letal sobre sus propias tropas, entonces que otros crímenes horrendos cometiera contra el pueblo, acá y en otros países?

El Pentágono ha revelado poco a poco información sobre el Proyecto 112, su programa de armas biológicas y químicas durante los años 1960 y 1970.

Hasta los resúmenes que está divulgando al público son evidencias de conducto criminal. ¿Pero qué corte va a acusar a la “o tú estás con nosotros o en contra de nosotros” maquinaria gigantesca e implaceable militar?

Las detalles son escalofriante. Por ejemplo, en abril y mayo de 1967, en un proyecto con el nombre clave “Roble Rojo”, el Departamento de Defensa condujo una prueba del gas sarin —uno de los gases nerviosos más mortífero inventado— en el Bosque Estatal Alta Waiakea en la isla hermosa de Hawái. El 1 de noviembre un reporte de la Prensa Asociada informó que “las personas haciendo la prueba explotaron un proyectil de artillería de 155

mm lleno de sarin para estudiar como dispersara el agente nervioso en un bosque tropical.”

Gente indígena de Hawái ha luchado hace mucho para recuperar el control de su isla de los Estados Unidos, que los agarró en 1893.

¿Para donde fue este gas? ¿Fue absorbido en el ecosistema? Los efectos de exposición a sarin en el plazo largo aún no han sido determinados, admite el Pentágono. Otra prueba ocurrió en el bosque Olaa, también en la isla grande de Hawái, precisamente un año antes, en abril y mayo de 1966. Con nombre en clave “Hoja Amarilla”, involucró la detonación de unas 20 “bombitas” llenas de la bacteria Bacillus globigii (BG) que pertenece a la misma familia del bacilo que causa ántrax. “Aunque en aquella época los oficiales consideraron que el BG era inofensivo”, reportó la PA, “investigadores determinaron después que puede ocasionar infecciones con peligro para la vida en gente con el sistema de inmunización ya debilitado”.

Originalmente la prueba había sido programada para la Zona del Canal, pero el Pentágono dice que “consideraciones in-

ternacionales” lo forzó a trasladar la prueba a Hawái. En ese momento, existía un movimiento popular creciente por la soberanía sobre la Zona del Canal. En febrero y marzo de 1963, aviones de los EE.UU. habían rociado BG en una área cerca de la Reserva Militar del Fuerte Sherman en la Zona. Esa operación tuvo el nombre en clave de “Big Jack, Fase A”. ¿Había una Fase B? ¿O es posible que el movimiento panameño militante y joven lo pudo parar?

El 23 de mayo de este año, el Pentágono divulgó documentos revelando que había rociado “agentes nerviosos y biológicos vivos sobre barcos y marineros durante experimentos de la época de la Guerra Fría para probar la vulnerabilidad de la Marina a guerra tóxica”. (New York Times, mayo 24) Los documentos describieron 12 pruebas llevados a cabo en el Océano Pacífico entre 1964 y 1968 que expuso cientos de marineros a los venenos.

La publicación de esta información se dio después de que veteranos enviaron montones de quejas sobre su salud a sus representantes. El Pentágono dice que no sabe si los marineros le dieron su “consen-

timiento” a las pruebas o no.

Tres de las pruebas utilizaron sarin o VX. En todo se cree que habían planificado 113 pruebas secretas como parte del Proyecto Peligro a Bordo y Defensa. Algunos utilizaron químicas inofensivas, mientras que otras utilizaron químicos y gérmenes mortíferos. El Pentágono ha identificado a 5.000 efectivos involucrados en las pruebas en el mar y unos 2.100 más involucrados en pruebas en la tierra, dijo Dr. Jonathan Perlin del Departamento de Asuntos de Veteranos.

¿Quién sabe que pueda estar haciendo el Pentágono en este momento, mientras se moviliza para aún una guerra más?

Muchos veteranos de las guerras en Corea, Vietnam, el Golfo y Yugoslavia tomaron parte en las movilizaciones nacionales anti guerra del 26 de octubre. Algunos están sufriendo de lo que se llama el Síndrome de la Guerra del Golfo. Oposición a la guerra entre los servicios militares está destinada a extenderse mientras que los horrores de una guerra imperialista por todos los afectados se hace más ampliamente reconocido. □

200.000 marchan en San Salvador

Gigantesca protesta golpea a la privatización

Por Leslie Feinberg

Fue la más grande protesta en la historia del país. Por lo menos 200.000 salvadoreños cerraron la ciudad capital de San Salvador el 23 de octubre en su segunda marcha en apoyo a la huelga pro cuidados de salud ya en sus 34 días.

Virtualmente en una sola voz la masiva manifestación demandó la destrucción del plan de privatización que el Presidente del país, Francisco Flores, ha prometido echar a andar. Los manifestantes demandaron que Flores firma la legislación progresista que prohíbe la privatización del sistema de cuidados de la salud.

Los sindicatos de los trabajadores de la salud, junto con el Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Farabundo Martí, escribieron la propuesta ley que establecería la responsabilidad del estado para hacer accesible el trato de la salud de mejor calidad para todos los salvadoreños más cerca a sus hogares, sin importar su habilidad de pago. Bajo el peso de la presión popular, la Asamblea Legislativa aprobó la el proyecto de ley. Pero Flores se ha negado y ha prometido vetar la legislación.

La gran protesta del 23 de octubre contra la privatización de las industrias que el obrero organizado ha construido y que los trabajadores y campesinos necesitan—incluyendo el trato de la salud y la electricidad—concentró el 4% de la población.

El impacto de la privatización en muchos niveles de la población se pudo ver por quienes se tomaron las calles el 23 de octubre. La protesta incluyó a doctores, en-

fermeras y demás trabajadores de la salud, pacientes, estudiantes y profesores, trabajadores del sector público, vendedoras, jubilados, choferes de autobuses, trabajadores del azúcar y café, campesinos y grupos de religiosos, legisladores del FMLN y las comunidades de representa y grupos del movimiento progresista salvadoreño, según reportajes del Comité en Solidaridad con el Pueblo de El Salvador de Nueva York, (CISPES).

Obreros de la salud marchan con pacientes

Muchos trabajadores de la salud salieron de sus trabajos y muchos de los pacientes se les unieron en la manifestación de ira, que hospitales enteros fueron cerrados. Pero cuando los manifestantes trataron de encontrarse en afuente barrio donde vive el presidente, ellos se encontraron con la policía armados con armas automáticas. La policía cerró la ruta hacia el área de más afluencia económica con alambre de púa, dos carros armados y cañones de agua. Un helicóptero del ejército sobre volaba y el olor de gas lacrimógeno se sentía en el aire.

No todos los que intentaron marchar en la capital llegaron. Tres barricadas policiales en otras partes de El Salvador detuvieron a muchos autobuses en caravanas. Cuando los policías regresaron a 12 autobuses de manifestantes en el Puente de Oro, la gente se tomó el puente en protesta.

Al mismo tiempo, miles de campesinos cerraron tres de la mayores arterias de

transportación hacia la capital y la carretera hacia el aeropuerto. Su protesta también incluía el Acuerdo de Libre Comercio entre E.U. y Centro América y el Area de Libre Comercio de las Américas.

Aún algunos rompeshuelgas se unieron

Flores planea permitir a las corporaciones transnacionales, como las repugnantes organizaciones de salud en los Estados Unidos, a sacar ganancias de los hospitales públicos dejándoles sin fondos.

Según el reporte de CISPES, “Líderes sindicales se refieren al plan como “Pagar o Morir”, ya que haría de la salud un lujo para los privilegiados con la capacidad de pagar.”

En respuesta, los sindicatos de doctores y otros trabajadores del Instituto de Salvadoreño de Seguridad Social (ISSS), la cadena de hospitales, han cerrado toda la cadena de todo el país.

El gobierno retuvo los salarios de los trabajadores después de haber logrado una decisión judicial que hacía ilegal a la huelga. Pero porque muchos empleados en huelga marcaron sus entradas pero se rehusaron trabajar, la administración detuvo sus salarios—incluyendo a rompeshuelgas que había cruzado las líneas. Las medidas de inanición resultaron en docenas de rompeshuelgas abandonando sus puestos y uniéndose a la marcha.

La primera marcha que apoyó a los trabajadores en huelga, el 16 de octubre, concentró a más de 50.000 proveedores, sus

pacientes y partidarios en las calles contra la privatización. Pero las barricadas policiales detuvieron la marcha de los manifestantes hacia el Palacio Presidencial.

El 12 de octubre, se estima que 28.000 salvadoreños habían bloqueado carreteras, puentes y cruces fronterizos en 11 puntos estratégicos del país contra la privatización del ISSS como también contra el CAFTA y el Plan de Puebla Panamá.

En el corazón del PPP es la privatización de la infraestructura—particularmente la generación y distribución de la electricidad—en un super trato que llevaría las ganancias a las arcas de Estados Unidos.

El 22 de octubre, el gobierno destituyó ilegalmente a Alirio Romero—el Secretario General del Sindicato de Electricistas, STSEL—y cuatro otros activistas. El STSEL ha estado al frente de las batallas contra la privatización y el PPP. Desde marzo 29 miembros del STSEL han estado perdiendo su empleos.

Líderes sindicales están exigiendo que el gobierno detenga los despidos, que re emplee a los trabajadores y de fin a los planes de privatización de la electricidad y firme la ley que prohibiría la privatización del cuidado de salud.

Si el gobierno se rehusa a responder positivamente a estas demandas, los líderes sindicales han prometido unirse a la huelga de los trabajadores de la salud con un llamado a una huelga nacional por los trabajadores de la electricidad. En palabras de Romero, los trabajadores “apagarán las luces en todo El Salvador.” □