

U.S. occupation of Iraq grows dirtier, anti-war forces get ready for Oct. 25

- ▶ UN not the answer
- ▶ D.C. and the \$87 B
- ▶ Protests to circle globe

PAGES 6, 7, 8, 11



DEFEND MUMIA!

Appeal turned down 5

DEFEND CUBA!

Bush tightens screws 8

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Belgian strike vs. Ford 10

Battle lines are forming

Union takes on big food chains

By John Beacham
Los Angeles

At 10:30 p.m. on Oct. 10, less than a week after their contract expired with Vons, Ralphs and Albertson's supermarkets, United Food and Commercial Workers' (UFCW) locals in Southern California went out on strike at Vons stores. The very next day, Ralphs and Albertson's—in a move they had been planning together for weeks—locked out the remaining workers. The bosses have been hiring scabs for weeks.

But the unions are well prepared for struggle. They printed up placards that read "Locked out" well in advance of the strike authorization vote. The UFCW workers are keenly aware of the viciousness of the bosses' demands.

More than 70,000 workers in the seven Southern California locals are under one contract with the "Greedy Big Three." Vons is owned by the mega-corporation Safeway. Ralphs is owned by food giant Kroger.

The supermarkets have been demanding that their highly multi-national work force cough up \$1 billion a year in payments for their health benefits, agree to freeze wages for two years, take cuts in Sunday and night pay, accept a two-tier wage and benefits scale—and much, much more.

Supermarket employees are barely making ends meet as it is. Many of the workers are single moms who simply cannot afford to make concessions to avaricious employers. The demands of the bosses would represent thousands of dollars in losses for each worker. Currently, a veteran clerk tops out at \$17.90 an hour—and it is rare these days for managers to schedule workers to come in for much more than 30 hours a week.

Grocery clerks work hard at providing food for entire communities across the country. The profits of each supermarket chain are derived from the toil and sweat of their employees. Employer-provided healthcare is a fundamental workers' right.

But even more than that, healthcare is really another form of

Continued on page 3



Striking grocery clerks in So. California

WW PHOTO: JOE DELAPLAINE

Mass uprising in Bolivia

By Alicia Jrapko

As of Oct. 15, massive demonstrations have engulfed La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, along with other cities, as Indigenous and working people demand the resignation of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada. He had announced plans to privatize national industries and basic services—a move that would hurt the mass of the people while enriching a few.

Despite the declaration of a state of siege by the president, the demonstrators have paralyzed La Paz. The most powerful unions of the country, under the Central Workers federation, are supporting the struggle and have declared a general strike. In the

city of Cochabamba, more than 40,000 workers are on strike and are organizing many types of militant resistance.

At least 50 demonstrators have been shot to death, many at close range by the military and police. The Catholic church and human rights organizations have called these killings a "massacre." Despite this repression, the three-week-old massive uprising has created a growing isolation of the president, even from others in his government. Vice-President Carlos Mesa has withdrawn his support from the president.

On Sept. 20, Sánchez de Lozada, a businessman, had

Continued on page 8

Subscribe to Workers World

Trial: \$2 for 8 weeks.
One year: \$25

NAME _____
PHONE NUMBER _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
WORKERS WORLD NEWSPAPER
55 W.17 St. NY, NY 10011 (212) 627-2994
www.workers.org

This week ...



How can the struggle for worldwide socialism be revived?

Featured speakers • Panel discussions • Workshops

SATURDAY & SUNDAY DECEMBER 6-7 • NYC

(PLACE TO BE ANNOUNCED)

Sponsored by **WORKERS WORLD PARTY**

For more information call **212-627-2994** or go to **www.workers.org**

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.
- Please send a card for me to the recipient of the gift subscription.

Give to the Workers World Fall 2003 Fund Drive

- I pledge \$ _____ to the Workers World 2003 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.

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

★ National

- Unions strike Calif. food chains 1
- Calif. recall vote solves nothing for workers 3
- Harlem event decries violence vs. women 4
- Richmond, Va., honors slave uprising of 1800 4
- Pa. court rules against Mumia 5
- FBI bugs office of Black mayor 5
- Newark rally: 'Oppression breeds violence'. 5
- How D.C. residents feel about the \$87 billion. 6
- Bush faces protests across the planet 7
- Rally for Palestine at Rutgers 7
- Bush announces anti-Cuba plans 8

★ International

- Privatization sparks mass uprising in Bolivia. 1
- WW editor speaks on Korea 6
- UN resolution on Iraq 9
- Ford workers in Belgium fight for jobs. 10
- How imperialism has used the UN. 11
- African AIDS activists: 'Less talk, more action' 11

★ Editorials

- Green alert 10

★ Noticias En Español

- Cómo el imperialismo ha usado a la ONU 12

WW CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

Sat., Oct 18

Free Stephen Funk. Hear Gloria Pacis, mother of Stephen Funk—a gay Filipino and U.S. Marine who is serving time in a military prison for refusing Bush's war of occupation on Iraq. Sponsored by the ANSWER coalition. 7 p.m. At Center for Inquiry, 4773 Hollywood Blvd. (2 blocks west of Vermont).

Every Friday

Workers World Party weekly meetings at 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 7. At 422 S. Western. Phone (213) 500-0529 for info.

NEW YORK

Every Friday

Workers World Party weekly

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: www.workers.org
Vol. 45, No. 42 • Oct. 23, 2003
Closing date: Oct. 15, 2003

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 Chediac, Pat Chin, Naomi Cohen, Shelley Ettinger, Teresa Gutierrez;
Technical Staff: John Beacham, Joe Delaplaine, Rebecca Finkel, 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. A searchable archive is available on the Web at www.workers.org.

Selected articles are available via e-mail subscription. Send an e-mail message to wwnews-on@wwpublish.com.

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.

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
baltimore@workers.org
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
269 S. Western Ave.,
Room 110,
Los Angeles, Calif. 90004
(213) 500-0529
la@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;
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;
seattle@workers.org
State College, Pa.
100 Grandview Rd.,
State College,
Pa. 16801
(814) 237-8695
Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 57300,
Washington, DC 20037,
dc@workers.org

Changing of the guard?

Recall vote solves nothing for workers

By Adrian Garcia
Los Angeles

The recall election results for California governor can be described as a changing of the guard—but only insofar as the person placed in charge of the capitalist class's machinery of oppression is concerned. The profit system, with its egregious practices, will continue to have a stranglehold over working people.

The ruling class in the state, as well as throughout the country, is diligently working at undermining the hard-won gains working people have acquired through struggle over the past 100 years. And that is going to continue to fuel resistance.

For while action star Arnold Schwarzenegger, a Republican, may have trounced incumbent Gov. Gray Davis with 48 percent of the votes in a race with 130 candidates, this was by no means a mandate to the bosses in the state to continue with their reactionary agenda of chopping away at jobs, healthcare, education and housing.

The people of California are simply reacting to the ruling class's persistent assault on their livelihood. California, the richest state in the union and the sixth-strongest economy in the world, currently faces a \$38-billion deficit. The politicians have been implementing severe budget cuts that will continue to have serious repercussions for the working people of the state.

Workers are in a fierce struggle

As always, the working class is expected to make the sacrifices necessary to weather the storm. The gap between rich and poor is expanding exponentially. The wealthy are relieved of taxes by both state and federal governments at the same time

that they are given free rein to exploit the workers. Workers throughout the state of California are in a fierce struggle to defend what little they possess.

For example, grocery workers in southern California voted on Oct. 11 to go on strike against the four biggest grocery chains—Vons, Pavilions, Albertsons and Ralphs. They are up against bosses who threaten to cut their health benefits and salaries. Under the bosses' terms, workers would be forced to pay for one half of their health coverage and be expected to wait two years before being considered for a raise.

The striking workers are receiving overwhelming support from the people.

The United Teachers of Los Angeles are in contract talks with the Los Angeles Unified School District and are attempting to prevent a cut in their health benefits. Public elementary schools have been given notice that funds for supplies have been exhausted; some schools have even received bills for money already spent.

Tuition hikes at public colleges and universities have been imposed two years running, seriously jeopardizing educational prospects for working class students.

Metropolitan Transit Authority mechanics in Los Angeles have gone on strike over healthcare disputes. Their fellow bus drivers are standing with them in their struggle, refusing to cross their picket lines.

Over a dozen clinics serving predominantly working people of color have been summarily closed within the past year, with little hope of ever opening again.

This crisis in California's economy reflects a crisis throughout the entire United States. The Los Angeles Times reported in its Oct. 12 issue that "public

universities around the nation remain so pinched for funds that they are cutting deeply into their academic offerings." Workers in every state are losing jobs at an alarming rate, while those who are working are fighting to maintain what they have. Meanwhile, the bosses are starting to report record profits again.

The poverty level for children, specifically those of color, continues to rise year by year and millions do not possess health insurance.

Bipartisan deception

The outgoing governor, Gray Davis, became extremely unpopular because he personified the corporate-driven greedy interests of a ruling class that has been instituting cutbacks and jeopardizing the welfare of working people. While Californians who voted for Schwarzenegger responded to his campaign promises to bring change, the chopping away of workers' gains will proceed unabated under a new face.

Capitalist politics manipulates images and personalities to deceive the people into believing that changing from a Democrat to a Republican or vice versa may alleviate the hardships they are experiencing. A very expensive media campaign—Schwarzenegger bought more than \$10 million worth of television ads—allowed an admitted sexual predator to be forgiven for his past "indiscretions" and be seen as a wealthy, white male who has changed his ways and will now champion the cause of the people.

On Oct. 9 Schwarzenegger presented his "politically diverse transition team" (Washington Post, Oct. 10). It includes George Shultz, former secretary of state under President Ronald Reagan, and San Francisco Mayor Willie L. Brown, a Dem-

ocrat, plus one of the "Terminator's" former directors, Ivan Reitman. It's an old bourgeois tactic—attempting to appease the concerns of the working people by promoting bipartisanship in the government. It will prove to be a sham when a people's movement asks for what it is entitled to.

It is imperative to mention that the Green Party's candidate for governor, Peter Camejo, garnered unprecedented support. After campaigning on a platform of taxing the wealthy and the corporations, instituting universal healthcare, and standing against the colonialization of Iraq, Camejo came in fourth with 18,845 votes.

Proposition 54, the so-called "Racial Privacy Initiative," was soundly defeated by a vote of 63 percent to 37 percent. Prop 54 was a veiled racist attempt to undermine civil rights and would have prevented government agencies from collecting race-based information or statistics throughout California. It would have deprived Californians of access to vital information, such as whether there was racial profiling by police, or that Black children are five times more likely than white children to suffer from childhood lead poisoning.

Among the proponents of the initiative was Ward Connerly, who was influential in outlawing state-supported affirmative action programs under Proposition 209. Connerly and his cronies believed that Californians were naive enough to fall prey to their reactionary scheme. They were mistaken.

The capitalist bosses are also mistaken if they believe that presenting a false hope in a gubernatorial candidate will quell the displeasure and outrage of the workers as they unite to fight the force that oppresses them. □

Unions strike Calif. food chains

Continued from page 1

wages. Healthcare benefits have been won at the bargaining tables of the past as one form of the over-all compensation that workers receive. Any cut in benefits must be offset by an increase in another area or it is nothing more than money taken right out of the workers' pockets and put right into the owners' pockets.

This has become an issue for workers all over the United States, organized and unorganized, as companies large and small try to cut benefits.

The permanent two-tier wage and benefit system that the Greedy Three are trying to get is really a massive wage cut for all future workers. The communities around these supermarkets are made up of the same immigrant and low-paid people, women and men, as the workers now going on strike. The fact that the UFCW is ready to struggle over this issue is at the center of why the community at large has come out in solidarity on the workers' side in this battle.

Vons, Albertson's and Ralphs are swimming in money.

Led by CEO Steven Burd of Safeway, Ralphs and Albertson's have been whining, in the press and to their employees, that they can no longer compete with Wal-Mart, which pays its non-union employ-

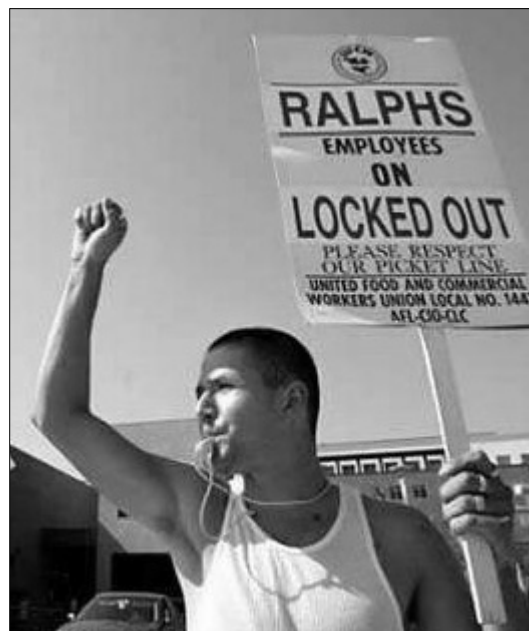
ees significantly less. This is an outrageous lie.

Wal-Mart has less than 1 percent of the food market in California and has not put even a minor dent in the Greedy Three's sales. In the last five years, sales have increased by 123 percent for Albertson's, 84 percent for Kroger and 32 percent for Safeway. Plus, all three combined have increased their profits from each dollar of sales by 4 percent, adding an additional \$500 million to their coffers each year.

During this same period, the bosses of these corporations have raised their own compensation 260 percent. The top 15 executives for the Greedy Three are, on average, making \$2.6 million a year. These same executives also control \$70 million in stock options.

Battle lines are forming

Teamsters drivers, who make all deliveries to the grocery stores involved, have agreed to honor the picket lines. According to the Oct. 13 Los Angeles Times, some drivers have been parking trucks down the block from the stores. This has been making it extremely difficult on the managers and unskilled scabs, who have to drive the trucks into the stores. At least



one major accident has been reported.

People are reportedly staying away from the Greedy Three in droves. They are doing their shopping elsewhere. The general response to the strike has been one of overwhelming support.

On Oct. 9, the seven UFCW locals in Southern California voted 98 percent in favor of a strike. The very next day they went out. Union representatives are calling it war.

On Oct. 10, federal mediators sat down with the employers and union representatives. They quickly learned that the two sides are worlds apart. All negotiations have been broken off.

As of Oct. 12, the grocery bosses have arrogantly declared in the media that they don't see negotiations resuming for weeks. And, according to the Los Angeles Times, "Wall Street has been pressuring grocers to trim labor costs."

Why are Wall Street and the Greedy Three attacking these workers when supermarket profits are on the rise? What do they hope to accomplish? And what will be the response to their cold-hearted calculations?

Recently, Verizon tried to attack workers' health benefits, but blinked when they saw the resolve of the workers. Yale University tried to squeeze its lower-wage workers with the same kinds of demands. What they got in return was an invasion and takeover of their town by sympathetic unions and labor activists.

On Oct. 4, 100,000 immigrant workers from all over the country converged on Queens, N.Y., to demand full rights for immigrant workers.

Could it be that Wall Street and the Greedy Three are underestimating the fightback of the workers? □

'Rape, Race and Social Justice'

Harlem event decries violence vs. women

Special to Workers World
New York

A program on "Rape, Race and Social Justice" brought an overflow crowd of about 400 people to the Harlem-based Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture on Oct. 10. The event, co-sponsored by the International Cross-cultural Black Women's Studies Institute, was part of the series known as "The Shabazz Conversations," named for Betty Shabazz, the wife of Malcolm X.

The program was hosted by the institute's Dr. Andree-Nicola McLaughlin, holder of the Dr. Betty Shabazz Distinguished Chair in Social Justice at Medgar Evers College.

A contributing editor of Workers World newspaper, Pat Chin, was one of the speakers, along with Joy Bostic, Executive Director of the African American Task Force on Violence Against Women, and Alton H. Maddox, Jr., an activist legal scholar and co-founder of the United African Movement which fought for justice for Tawana Brawley and her family.

People's Advocate Awards were presented to the three speakers. Chin accepted her award on behalf of the ANSWER coalition "and all the struggling people from Bed-Stuy to Africa to the Far East who have refused to be intimidated into silence." She called on the audience to join the tens of thousands who will demonstrate in D.C. on Oct. 25 to bring the troops home from Iraq.

Chin's talk analyzing rape as a weapon against women follows.

Throughout a great deal of history, since class antagonisms and male supremacy came to the fore, rape has been used against women. It's also been used as a weapon of war or by victorious soldiers over a conquered people to terrorize whole populations and to force civilians to flee home and village. Many of these wars have been



PHOTO: TASHIMA ALLEN

Participants in Schomburg Center program: Dr. Esther Hyatt, Pat Chin, Alton H. Maddox Jr., Dr. Andree-Nicola McLaughlin and Joy Bostic. The three honorees display their People's Advocate awards.

against Black and other people of color.

During wartime, women and children are at great risk of human rights abuses because of their lack of status in most societies. This continues to be a problem even though rape has been declared a crime under international law governing war conflicts.

Just this past spring, hundreds of Kenyan women won the right to sue the British Ministry of Defense for having been raped, for over 30 years, by British soldiers training in Kenya. Many women were in fact gang-raped, and the number could well exceed 1,000 as more women break through the cultural stigma of admitting to being rape victims.

Rape as a weapon of war has a long history. Ancient Rome was founded with the mass rape of the women of the Sabine tribe. When the city of Troy was sacked, many, many women were also raped. When Constantinople fell in 1453, women and young girls met the same fate.

At the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, which took place in this great "democracy" of ours, Native American women were raped and mutilated—just one example of many such atrocities.

The same thing happened when China's Nanking city fell to the Japanese, during the U.S. war against Vietnam, in Burma,

Iraq, Rwanda, in the former Yugoslavia on both sides of the barricades, and in countless other places.

The research I've done on this topic—which admittedly was not absolutely exhaustive, being a working person—places the origin of rape within the context of the rise of Western society, following the collapse of matriarchal society and the ascendancy of male supremacy thousands of years ago.

Rape was in fact part and parcel of the early coupling marriages of ancient times. A prospective husband would claim his bride by capturing and raping her in the new patriarchal system that reduced women to being private property. Often she would be gang raped, but only the male who instigated the attack could claim the victim as his bride.

The rape charge, on the other hand, has been falsely used in a racist manner in the United States to victimize Black men. It's also used as a weapon of war propaganda, by the U.S. and other imperialist powers, to demonize whole peoples, particularly if they resist U.S. corporate domination.

For example, according to "NATO in the Balkans," "Between the fall of 1992 and spring of 1993 sensational news reports claimed that at least 20,000 and up to 100,000 Muslim women had been raped

by units of the Bosnian Serb army."

While I'm sure we all agree that even one rape is one too many, the number of victims was greatly exaggerated by the imperialist powers to demonize the Serbian people. The highly inflated figure was, in fact, later revealed to be based on interviews with only four victims.

What also came out was the fact that German soldiers training for their military mission to Yugoslavia, of which Bosnia was once a part, staged mock executions and rapes of civilians. All this, while the supposed defense of women is used by the U.S. and its allies to mobilize armies, create confusion and galvanize blind hatred.

But U.S. troops do not protect women. An entire sex industry is created in every U.S. military operation. Tens of thousands of women are forced into sexual slavery and prostitution. Women soldiers also face rape and sexual abuse. But when reported, there are cover-ups and denials, which is true from the U.S. to Kenya.

We know that down through the ages this extreme form of sexist violence has spread cross-culturally, among different races, across class and even sexual and gender barriers.

A multi-faceted approach is needed to finally end the scourge of rape. It's a long-term struggle but it can be done. Many domestic programs face cutbacks, including many rape crisis centers. That's so George Bush can pay for the occupation of Iraq and other countries, many of which are populated by people of color.

This shows the importance of linking the movement for jobs, health care and decent housing at home—the full funding of necessary programs—to the struggle to end U.S. military occupations abroad and to bring the troops home now. This is the current project of the ANSWER coalition.

Community services for rape victims play a very important part in the effort to address their needs. And the socio-economic system that breeds poverty, rape, racism, war and other forms of bigotry must also be uprooted. □

Gabriel's Rebellion

Richmond honors slave uprising of 1800

Special to Workers World
Richmond, Va.

"Death or Liberty!"

That was to have been the rallying cry of Gabriel's Rebellion, a carefully planned but tragically aborted mass uprising against slavery in Virginia in the summer of 1800.

The slogan was painted on a simple, muslin-cloth banner that hung behind the speaker's podium at a public meeting held Oct. 10 in Richmond to honor Gabriel and all who struggled with him.

The meeting took place on the 203rd anniversary of Gabriel's execution. It was sponsored by the Defenders for Freedom, Justice and Equality, a largely African-American community group.

Keynote speaker Dr. Haskell Bingham, a college administrator, family historian and Gabriel's great-great-grandson, told the audience of more than 90 people the story of the rebellion.

On Aug. 30, 1800, thousands of enslaved Black people had been prepared to march into Richmond, seize the state armory and force Gov. James Monroe to declare an end to slavery.

Their leader was a charismatic, 24-year-old blacksmith named Gabriel, who was

influenced by both the Haitian and French revolutions. "Death or Liberty" was a Haitian slogan.

Because of Virginia's key role in the system of slavery and Richmond's status as the industrial center of the pre-Civil-War South, a successful slave rebellion could have changed the course of U.S. history.

As it was, a terrible thunderstorm the night of the planned uprising forced a one-day delay, which proved fatal to the effort. At least 27 co-conspirators were captured, tried and hung.

Gabriel was executed on Oct. 10, 1800, at the city gallows, located near downtown in a forbidding, low-lying area that also held the "Burial Ground for Negroes."

To this day, in a city known for its scores of memorials honoring pro-slavery generals and politicians, not a single sign or plaque marks the site of Gabriel's execution, or even the burial ground, now covered over by a privately owned parking lot.

At the meeting, held at an historic Black church 14 blocks from the burial ground, Defenders member Ana Edwards announced plans for a fundraising campaign to place a state historical marker at the site.

Also speaking were former City Council



WW PHOTO: SUSANNE KELLY

Speakers at Gabriel commemoration: Sa'ad El-Amin, Elizabeth Kambourian, Dr. Haskell Bingham and Phil Wilayto.

member Sa'ad El-Amin, who last year successfully introduced a council resolution honoring Gabriel as a "freedom fighter"; Elizabeth Kambourian, a Richmond historian who discovered the existence of the long-forgotten burial ground; and Phil Wilayto, a reporter who has written about both Gabriel and the burial ground for the African-American newsweekly Richmond Free Press.

Tara Plummer of the Defenders urged participants to attend the Oct. 25 anti-war

march in Washington, D.C., sponsored by International ANSWER and other organizations.

The meeting's participants then lined up behind the banner with the words "Death or Liberty" and marched to the burial ground, carrying the rebellion's defiant demand to the site of Gabriel's execution. There they laid a wreath in honor of all the rebellion's participants, and all the anonymous ancestors buried below the parking lot. □

Travesty of justice

Pennsylvania court rules against Mumia

By Monica Moorehead

Another shameful chapter has been written in the U.S. annals of injustice in the legal case of African American political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, still on Pennsylvania's death row.

On Oct. 8, the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court issued a 12-page decision dismissing an appeal from Abu-Jamal. Submitted last Dec. 16, the appeal had challenged a Post Conviction Relief Act ruling written by Judge Pamela Dembe for the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas.

In Dembe's ruling of Nov. 21, 2001, she had said that the court could no longer hear new defense witnesses who had not been presented at the last PCRA hearing in 1995. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court, in upholding this decision, says a petition by Abu-Jamal to present new witnesses was "untimely" and that his lawyers should have filed it within a year

after the first judgment of sentence, which was on June 10, 1991. It was filed on July 3, 2001.

Abu-Jamal is accused of having killed a white police officer, Daniel Faulkner, on Dec. 9, 1981. In 1999, Arnold Beverly, who admits to being a mob hit man, confessed on videotape to having killed Faulkner. Based on this evidence, Abu-Jamal's appeal stated, according to the State Supreme Court, that the "PCRA court should have used its inherent power under common law to review his claims under Pennsylvania's writ of habeas corpus."

Abu-Jamal's petition stated that the original trial had been tainted with racism because Judge Albert Sabo, the presiding judge in the original trial and also at the 1995 PCRA hearing, had made a racist remark against Abu-Jamal in a private conversation overheard by a white stenographer, Terri Maurer-Carter. These legal and political arguments were also dis-

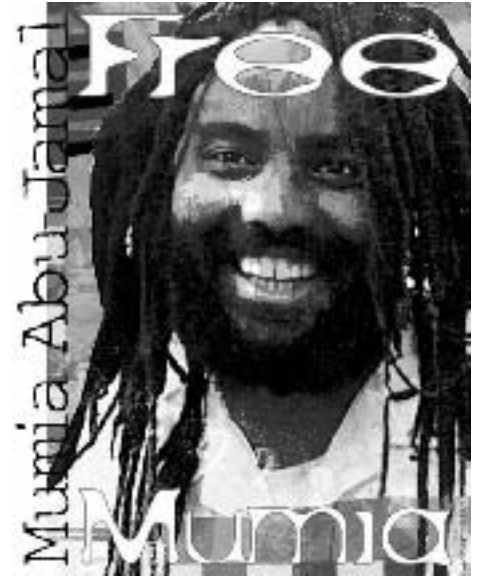
missed by the Supreme Court ruling.

Was this court just upholding the law in its Oct. 8 ruling? Legally, it could appear that way. But the ruling reflects a much deeper political motivation.

The Pennsylvania judicial system is working in cahoots with the Philadelphia police to legally lynch Abu-Jamal because he is a revolutionary who has been outspoken against police brutality and all forms of repression.

Recently, important rulings by the Pennsylvania courts have brought into question the legality of the death penalty in the areas of suppression of crucial evidence as well as the racist dismissal of Black jurors by prosecutors.

This should have shone a light on the sham of a trial that Abu-Jamal received. Yet he still faces the death penalty. Federal District Judge William Yohn overturned his death sentence at the end of 2001, but Yohn's ruling remains temporary and



could still be reversed, depending on how Abu-Jamal's appeals play out.

Despite these legal setbacks and persistent health problems due to inhumane prison treatment, Abu-Jamal continues to speak out against injustice at home and abroad with his insightful written and audio columns. As much as the racist ruling class seeks his silence, Abu-Jamal's anti-war voice will be heard at the Oct. 25 national protest in Washington, D.C., against the U.S. occupation of Iraq. Connect to www.prisonradio.org to hear Abu-Jamal's columns. □

Ashcroft dirty tricks?

FBI bugs office of Black mayor

By Betsey Piette
Philadelphia

With just weeks to go before the mayoral election, it has been revealed that the FBI planted an electronic "bug" in the office of John Street, the incumbent mayor of Philadelphia.

Many residents are voicing suspicion that the FBI's sudden surveillance of Street, who is African American, is but the latest in the Bush administration's bag of dirty tricks to disenfranchise the Black community and ensure the election of Street's white Republican opponent.

Over half the population of Philadelphia, the country's fifth-biggest city, is people of color. The election pits Street, a Democrat, against Republican challenger Sam Katz, who has strong corporate backing but has never been elected to office. Katz's campaign has been fraught with racist innuendo. His main theme is that the Street administration "has been rife with corruption and cronyism."

In September Katz claimed that a Street supporter attempted to firebomb a Katz campaign office in an African American community in North Philadelphia. However, the supposed evidence that a Molotov cocktail had been thrown through a window was "discarded" before police arrived.

The Republican City Committee has sent a mailing to white households urging voters to "Take Back the City."

Recently, Katz filed a complaint with the Philadelphia district attorney's office alleging that Street had received \$125,000 in illegal corporate contributions to his campaign. The Katz campaign has been falling behind, according to a poll released in early October that showed Street leading Katz by 8 percentage points. Katz has no concrete program for improving conditions for city residents.

The sophisticated electronic listening device was discovered in Street's office in a sweep conducted by Police Com-

missioner Sylvester Johnson. Johnson, also an African American, says he routinely sweeps the mayor's office for bugs, the last time in June.

Three police officers were part of the debugging team when the FBI device was found. Johnson said he fielded his first call from the media about the bug 20 minutes after he discovered it on Oct. 7.

The FBI claims Street is not a target of its investigation. However, it admits that bugging Street's office was part of a two-year inquiry into possible corruption in city contracts, including a \$13.6-million contract to maintain airport facilities made to a company owned by the mayor's brother, Milton Street. FBI investigators also searched the offices of Imam Shamsud-din Ali, the influential leader of Philadelphia's biggest mosque.

Ironically, on Oct. 12, the Philadelphia Inquirer reported on a 1998 study that found that minority- and female-owned firms had lost millions of dollars in local contracts because of white male patronage and cronyism under Street's predecessors. City officials had never made the study public. It assessed the way the city and nine quasi-city agencies, such as the school district, awarded municipal contracts. It reported "a labyrinth based on discrimination, ethnic favoritism and governmental inefficiencies that could well require [minority and women business enterprises] to participate in a corrupted process in order to gain any access at all to local government."

The Justice Department, which controls the FBI, has not called for investigations of previous city administrations for this blatant discrimination.

Critics of the FBI probe say it appears timed to inflict the maximum political damage on the re-election campaign of an African American mayor. They point to a pattern of racial and partisan bias in federal political corruption prosecutions in the early 1990s under the first Bush administration, and the attacks on African American mayors of other big cities, including Marion Barry of the District of Columbia, Sharpe James of

Newark, Coleman Young of Detroit and Wellington Webb of Denver.

Ed Rendell, now governor of Pennsylvania, openly bragged about giving city contracts to his supporters when he was mayor of Philadelphia. Yet he has never been the target of a federal probe.

Race has always been an issue in elections in the United States, where there is a long history of disenfranchising people of color. The 2000 presidential election scandal in Florida was just the tip of the

Newark rally says:

'Oppression breeds violence'

By Leslie Feinberg
Newark, N.J.

Hundreds rallied Oct. 4 in the heart of a working-class shopping district at Broad and Market in downtown Newark to amplify the message: "Fight homophobia and sexism."

Over the course of a four-hour street meeting, thousands of people stopped to listen. And they read a banner that stated "Oppression breeds violence" and called for an end to the U.S. military occupation of Iraq.

Those who packed inside the police barricades, which extended into a lane of traffic, and those who stopped to hear the neighborhood rally's demands were predominately African American. The street meeting, sponsored by the Newark Pride Alliance to Action, honored the lives of three Black lesbians slain here this year.

Sakia Gunn, 15, was stabbed on May 11. Shani Baraka and her partner Rayshon "Ray-Ray" Holmes were shot to death on Aug. 12.

The rally was imbued with anger, grief and the determination to reach out and speak directly to the community, to co-

iceberg.

Callers to an African American community radio talk show on WHAT-AM are asking how Arnold Schwarzenegger, who has no experience addressing issues affecting the working class and ethnically diverse communities, immediately became a "major candidate" for governor of California, while Al Sharpton's campaign for president is never treated seriously, despite his long-time involvement with community affairs. □

workers and neighbors, in order to build a grassroots movement with the power to effect social and economic justice.

The multinational roster of speakers included representatives from Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays, the Audre Lorde Project, the NAACP, community groups and churches, singers and poets, family members and friends of the slain women. Speaker after speaker reiterated the necessity of unity among Black, Latino, Asian, Arab and white people to combat racism and to stop violence and oppression at home and abroad.

Latona Gunn and Amiri and Amina Baraka, parents of the slain young women, took the stage together at the Oct. 4 rally. They called on the hundreds who gathered at the rally, and many more who stopped to listen, to unite behind the demand that the city fund a community center for lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans youths.

The Barakas, well-known anti-racist and anti-imperialist activists, stressed that the Pentagon war against Iraq is an example of the kind of violence that is justified and promoted by the rulers of this country. They demanded, "Bring our troops home, now!" □

How D.C. residents feel about the \$87 billion

By Pam Parker
Washington, D.C.

Last month the Bush administration asked for an additional \$87 billion to fund the occupation of Iraq. Soon afterwards, the president admitted that this requested amount may be just the beginning.

If workers are hoping that Congress or any of the "front runners" participating in the Democratic Party presidential primaries will do the right thing and turn him down, they are in for a disappointment. Not one of the leaders on the Hill or any of the leading candidates for the Democratic nomination has demanded that the U.S. end the occupation of Iraq and bring the troops home now.

In addition, the Senate Appropriations Committee has already unanimously approved the \$87 billion.

Also, if there is any doubt that the U.S. government has long-term plans to occupy Iraq, one need only look at the fact that \$2.2 billion of the budget is earmarked to finance military Reserve and National Guard unit deployments to supplement the already 200,000 troops in Iraq and Kuwait.

But support for this administration is plummeting as people start asking questions about the war and this government's policy of "pre-emption." Questions like: Why does the U.S. government need to import \$900 million worth of fuel into Iraq, a country that possesses the world's second-largest oil reserves?

Why would this government appear to be offering full health coverage, education and modernization of the infrastructure in Iraq while at the same time showing callous disregard to those same concerns from people in this country? Many in Congress suggest the remedy is that the people of Iraq pay the U.S. back for the destruction and pillaging of their resources.

How can the government ask for \$87 billion when there is already a projected \$535 billion deficit? Why must working people in this country bear the financial burden for a war that they did not ask for and do not support?

How can this administration claim that the war was in our national interest when everyone acknowledges that Iraq posed no threat to the U.S.? How could President George W. Bush have implied for two years that Iraq was involved with the Sept.

11 attacks and use it as justification for going to war against that nation, when he knew that they were not involved?

Many elders in the peace and justice movement have stated that the Bush administration's posturing and rhetoric is eerily reminiscent of the Nixon and Johnson administrations during the Vietnam War.

The truth—one that more and more of us have come to realize—is that this administration doesn't care any more about the people of Iraq or Afghanistan than it does about poor and working people in this country. This war is not for our protection and is certainly not for Iraq's freedom. The real goal of the policy of preemptive war is to grab power and wealth on the backs, and with the blood, of whoever is in the way. With regard to Iraq, they plan to privatize and sell off its vast resources to wealthy foreign interests.

The ruling class is finding it harder to hide its true intent as the world gets more technologically advanced—and so much better connected. At the same time capitalism is losing its ability to prop up a middle class to buffer it from the very poor.

Here in D.C.—a predominantly African

American and Latino city that's larger in population than the state of Wyoming—residents have no voting representative in Congress. The chasm between the very wealthy and the very poor grows wider each day. Cutbacks in jobs and services are made routinely, without the slightest bit of influence or consultation from D.C. residents.

Of course, the exception is the D.C. progressive community, which has fought long and hard for progressive causes, be they local, national and international. We make our demands known in the only way that progressive people have ever been successful and that's by taking it to the streets.

While residents of the District of Columbia don't have voting rights—our license plates say "Taxation Without Representation"—we do have our feet and our loud voices. We plan to join others from around the country at the big demonstration here on Oct. 25 to demand an end to the occupation of Iraq. We want the vast wealth and resources of the world to be used to fund human needs such as jobs, education, housing and healthcare for all the people. □

WW editor speaks on Korea

The following is excerpted from an Oct. 11 article written by Abayomi Azikiwe, editor of Pan-African News Wire, based in Detroit.

One of the principal targets of the Bush administration's foreign policy has been the socialist government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, commonly known in the United States as North Korea.

The actual history and achievements of this nation have been ignored. Most stories written about the DPRK in the corporate press attempt to vilify the political character and social vision of the ruling Workers' Party of Korea, which has maintained power in the country since 1948.

A rare glimpse into the present situation in the DPRK was presented here on Oct. 11 at a Workers World Party meeting. Monica Moorehead, a managing editor of Workers World newspaper, lectured on her visit to the Korean peninsula and China during July.

Moorehead spoke about the atmosphere on the plane traveling into the DPRK. "When we exited the plane, there were no lights on at the airport," she said. "The United States has refused to allow fuel and oil shipments to go to the DPRK and this has created a tremendous crisis for them.

"This is why the DPRK was forced to resume its nuclear energy program in order to provide electricity and energy for the whole country. It certainly wasn't

because of what the U.S. is saying: this absurd idea that North Korea wants to attack the United States and the world," Moorehead said.

"Our Korean guides informed us that every family receives a regular ration of food based on the number of people in a household. Every Korean is guaranteed the basic essentials of life, and you can't say that about the situation in the U.S. Here you see all the grocery stores stockpiled with food, but if you don't have the money to buy, you could starve," she pointed out.

Moorehead pointed to the fact that education and medical services in North Korea are free. Maternity leave is guaranteed under Korean law for up to one year. She contrasted these social benefits, which endure despite the DPRK's great difficulties, to the present decline in benefits for workers inside the United States.

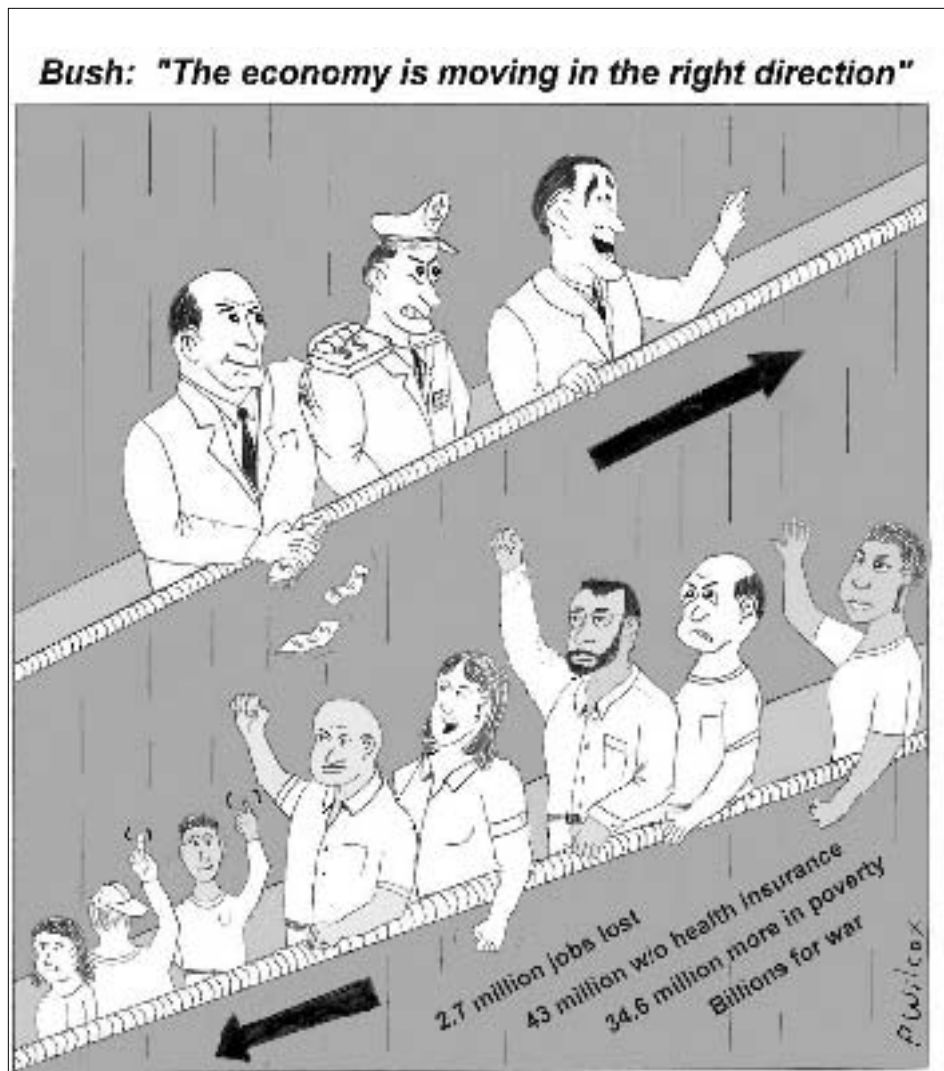
During the Korean War, 5 million people were killed and most of the infrastructure of the DPRK was destroyed through U.S. bombing.

"The U.S. has 11,000 nuclear warheads around the world," she said. According to Moorehead, "If the U.S. was not bogged down in Iraq they would have already carried out military action against the DPRK. It is still very much on their radar screen, they have publicly admitted as much. Our sisters and brothers in the DPRK will be looking to us to do our part to get U.S. imperialism off their backs so they can continue to build a society that they want and need.

"They also wish to continually reach out to the huge mass movement in South Korea for reunification with the North. And if it was not for the U.S., the country would have been reunified many, many years ago." □



WW PHOTO MAGGIE VASCASSENNO
Monica Moorehead in Pyongyang, DPRK.



BRING THE TROOPS HOME

SATURDAY
OCT 25
MASS MARCH
11 am • Washington Monument
(17th St. & Constitution Ave. NW)

A.N.S.W.E.R. COALITION
(ACT NOW TO STOP WAR & END RACISM)
www.internationalANSWER.org
e-mail: info@internationalanswer.org
DC 202.544.3389 NY 212.633.6646

World support for Oct. 25

Bush faces protests across the planet

By John Catalinotto

What happens to a worldwide anti-war movement when it is faced with a long-term military occupation?

If it is to play a role, it becomes part of the resistance. Its role is to help make the occupation impossible to sustain.

The world anti-war movement showed it was still active last month when over 200,000 people in over 40 countries came out for the Sept. 26-28 demonstrations to end the occupation of Iraq and Palestine.

Now this world movement is looking to the United States for the next event. On the initiative of the ANSWER coalition, a united movement here has set the next national demonstration for Oct. 25 in Washington and San Francisco. While there is no international body to call for a coordinated protest, activists in at least a dozen other countries are joining the call.

These activists are all aware that continued resistance by the Iraqi population—including armed guerrilla actions, mass protests and over-all refusal to accept the occupation regime—has continued to chip away at support for the war within the United States.

The Bush administration appears shakier than at any time since Sept. 11, 2001, with internal squabbles breaking out into the open.

120 cities sending buses to D.C.

ANSWER reports that buses are coming from 120 U.S. cities to Washington for the protest. United for Peace and Justice, co-sponsor of the demonstration, is mobilizing, too, and others are publicizing the events.

To join in putting pressure on the Bush gang, anti-war forces in countries from Japan to the Philippines and from Spain and Britain to the Middle East have called actions—either to coincide with the U.S. demonstrations on Oct. 25 or to take advantage of the opportunity to confront President George W. Bush himself.

Last month anti-war coalitions in Japan and the Philippines announced plans to protest Bush's presence. The war president plans to pop in and out of the Philippines on Oct. 18. Later that day

he will go on to Thailand where, on Oct. 20-21, he will attend the annual meeting of leaders of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation organization in Bangkok.

Bush will also visit Singapore, Indonesia and Australia on Oct. 21-23. There, more protests are likely.

A leader of the Anti-War Joint Action Committee in Japan said: "[Prime Minister Junichiro] Koizumi's administration plans to send advance troops of the Japanese Self Defense Force in November, and then dispatch the main body of troops to Iraq in December. This will be agreed with Bush at the Japan-U.S. summit [APEC] meeting. I think the demonstrations of Oct. 17-25 will be very important."

Another group, called World Action, has called a demonstration in Tokyo on Oct. 25 to coincide with the U.S. rallies.

Confronting imperialist 'donors' in Madrid

The government of Jose Maria Aznar in Spain has been a co-conspirator in Bush's war drive, along with the Tony Blair regime in Britain and that of Silvio Berlusconi in Italy. In all three countries, millions came out earlier this year to try to stop the war.

Spain is hosting a so-called Donors' Conference on Oct. 23-24 in Madrid. There, various imperialist countries and

international bodies will decide how much they will allow Washington to squeeze out of them to pay for the U.S. occupation of Iraq.

The anti-war movement there, which is publicizing the U.S. demonstrations, has called for protests for an entire week, with a focus on the Donors' Conference itself.

In Italy, an estimated 300,000 people took part in the annual Peace March from Perugia to Assisi on Oct. 12. In this pacifist march with religious overtones, many carried banners calling for an end to the occupation of Iraq, along with the ever-present rainbow peace banners.

On Oct. 25 groups in northeastern Italy will demonstrate at Camp Ederle, a military base targeted by many protests before and during the war on Iraq. A day earlier the three Italian union confederations will hold a four-hour general strike aimed at the Berlusconi government's attack on workers' rights and pensions. For the unions, the war issue is right below the surface. Berlusconi's decision to extend Italian troops' stay in Iraq another six months has deepened the anger.

An organization of U.S. citizens living abroad has called protests for Oct. 25 in Munich, Germany, and Paris. The organization, American Voices Abroad, also has affiliated groups in Berlin;

Beirut, Lebanon; Prague, Czech Republic; Amsterdam, the Netherlands; and Montpellier, France.

A Norwegian organizer reports that a poll showed 61 percent of the people there support bringing the troops home. A demonstration set for Oct. 25 in Oslo and five other Norway cities is gaining momentum.

The Edmonton Coalition Against War and Racism is one of the groups in Canada organizing an Oct. 25 action. It brought out 18,000 people last March 22.

In Ypres, Belgium, a "Peace Race" on Oct. 25 will focus on fighting the occupation. In Britain on Oct. 24, the Stop the War Coalition will protest before a courthouse against the trial of an anti-war activist charged for bringing high-school students on a bus to a demonstration last spring.

After Oct. 25, the next big European action will be in Paris on Nov. 15 during the European Social Forum. In Britain, it will be on Nov. 20 when tens of thousands are expected to confront Bush during his "war summit" meetings with Blair, who has been exposed as a liar regarding the alleged dangers posed by the Saddam Hussein government last winter.

The protracted occupation is producing protracted protests. □



PHOTO: MARA VERHEYDEN-HILLIARD



WW PHOTOS: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Speakers at Rutgers rally, clockwise from top left: British anti-war activist Tariq Ali, Elias Rashmawi of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, and Rutgers student organizer Charlotte Kates.

Rally for Palestine at Rutgers

Despite one of the most vicious campaigns in recent years by Zionists and rightwingers, over 300 committed activists from around the U.S. attended an outdoor rally in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle on Oct. 11 at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J. The rally was part of the Third National Conference of the Palestine Solidarity Movement (PSM), which has been waging a strong campaign for divestment from Israel, especially on college and university campuses across the country.

The conference wound up its three days of proceedings determined to build a unified and principled movement. Both the conference and outdoor rally were held in the spirit of resistance to Israeli tanks which, at that very moment, were destroying hundreds of homes and neighborhoods in Rafah, Palestine.

In an effort to silence and intimidate the Palestine Solidarity Movement, national Zionist organizations—including the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and the Anti-Defamation League—along with state and local groups spent tens of thousands of dollars to bus into New Brunswick some 5,000 to 7,000 Israel supporters to hold a counter-event, termed "Israel Inspires."

The university canceled facilities that had been contracted for the Palestine Solidarity Conference. Other venues were also canceled after threats and intimidation and a systematic campaign to get the media to announce that the conference would not happen. However, the conference was moved to a nearby hotel, where it was held despite all the pressures.

The conveners resolved to unify the PSM, maintain the centrality of divestment as its anchor, and protect its founding principles that had been set in Berkeley, Calif., in 2001. In addition to setting an action plan and an open mechanism of implementation, the conference also resolved to propose to the movement at large that the Fourth National PSM Conference be held in Northern California.

—Sara Flounders

END THE OCCUPATION

SATURDAY OCT 25

SAN FRANCISCO MARCH & RALLY
GATHER 11am • CIVIC CENTER
Grove & Larkin, Civic Center Bart

For info call **ANSWER**
in **SAN FRANCISCO** at **415-821-6545**
in **LOS ANGELES** at **213-487-2368**
www.ANSWERLA.org

Bush announces new anti-Cuba plans

By Gloria La Riva

"Clearly, the Castro regime will not change by its own choice. But Cuba must change."

With this overt threat to the Cuban Revolution, George W. Bush on Oct. 10 declared new measures against Cuba and a plan to increase prosecution of people from the U.S. who visit the island.

Flanked at the White House by Miami-based anti-Cuba counter-revolutionaries, Cuban appointees to his administration, and Secretary of State Colin Powell, Bush announced "several new initiatives intended to hasten the arrival of a new, free, democratic Cuba."

For his announcement, Bush picked the date in Cuba's history when Carlos Manuel de Céspedes declared the young nation's struggle for independence from Spain in 1868. Yet U.S. plans for Cuba include neither independence nor sovereignty, but the same colonial oppression it is imposing today on the people of Iraq.

Using the menacing rhetoric and sneer that have become his trademark, Bush said he will re-enforce restrictions on people who visit Cuba.

He promised to stop "illegal" travel of those who go without a U.S.-issued license, or who don't qualify for the very limited exemptions permitted by the government.

Bush failed to mention that in March he shut down virtually all permitted travel to Cuba. He banned cultural-exchange licenses that have allowed universities, sports teams and cultural groups to send thousands of individuals to the socialist island.

Today he went further, also discrediting the legal means to travel as "too often used as cover for illegal business travel and tourism," and implied there would be harassment of this sector as well. "We're cracking down on this deception," he said, with future inspections and investigations by the Department of Homeland Security.

The travel ban—imposed since 1962—clashes sharply with the reality that growing numbers of U.S. citizens are going to Cuba. The number reached 180,000 last year, 80 percent of whom were of Cuban descent. Tourism is now Cuba's leading economic sector. For the first quarter of 2003, Cuba announced a 19-percent increase over the same period last year—a record 770,000 tourists, many from Europe and Canada.

The intent is to inflict economic damage on Cuba and to prevent people in the U.S. from seeing the reality of Cuban socialism. In the name of promoting democracy, Bush is denying the people of the U.S. the democratic right to see Cuba for themselves.

Since January 2001, when Bush took office, more than 1,200 U.S. citizens have been threatened with fines for violating the travel restrictions. This is twice the number of fines imposed during the Clinton administration.

Bush's second proposal, which he called "improvements" in processing Cubans who want to leave Cuba, is designed to promote more illegal and dangerous emigration from Cuba.

The U.S. has only issued a tiny fraction of the 20,000 entry visas it agreed to grant annually in the 1995 U.S.-Cuba Migratory Agreement. From October 2002 to February 2003, the first five months of the treaty's latest calendar year, only 505 visas were given by the U.S.

How can Bush now promise to "improve the method through which we identify refugees, and redouble our efforts to process Cubans who seek to leave"?

His rhetoric can best be understood in relation to the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, a U.S. law which accords only to Cuban immigrants the right to U.S. residency and financial assistance, no matter how they get here. By granting a minimal number of legal entry visas while the CAA remains in effect, the Bush administration

opens the door to more illegal entry to the U.S.—and more potential disasters as people take to small boats or even hijack vessels and planes.

Recently, the Miami Cuban ultra-right community has accelerated its demand on Bush that he abrogate the migratory agreement, setting the stage for a confrontation with Cuba over this matter.

Subversion and propaganda

Third, Bush announced that he is setting up a commission to promote a "free" Cuba, headed by Colin Powell and Mel Martinez, another Cuban with right-wing credentials. This adds a new operational bureaucracy to U.S. imperialism's efforts at "regime change"—that is, counter-revolution—in Cuba.

Finally, Bush declared an increase in U.S.-generated radio and television propaganda broadcasts to jam and interfere with Cuban broadcasts.

In another significant political attack on Cuba, Roger Noriega at a U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on Oct. 2 renewed the lie that Cuba is engaged in a biological weapons program.

Noriega is Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs. During Jimmy Carter's visit to Cuba in May 2002, the administration made the same accusation of "bioterrorism," but the former U.S. president discounted this false charge against Cuba.

In response to Noriega's charge, Cuba said on Oct. 5 that "Once more, this individual has shamefully lied in order to try to link Cuba with bioterrorism. Cuba is calling on the U.S. administration to demonstrate that it is not shamefully lying, and to present the minimal amount of proof to back up these mendacious accusations that our country is developing biological weapons."

After Bush's speech, the Cuban government denounced the U.S. schemes as "a vain attempt to neutralize the growing iso-

lation and international condemnation of U.S. policy on Cuba, and a broad-based questioning of U.S. governmental hostility towards our country in the United States itself.

"Cuba is once again exposing to the world these new provocations and aggressive actions on the part of the neofascist U.S. government which, as confirmed in Bush's own words, are part of a plan to defeat the Cuban Revolution.

"The transition dreamed of by Bush and his Miami mafia acolytes will never occur in Cuba. Our country is in transition, yes, but in a transition towards more revolution, towards a more just society, towards a society where men and women can attain the full development only offered by socialism."

The International Action Center in the U.S. issued an unequivocal statement of support for Cuba: "Despite 44 years of aggression by the U.S. government," it said, "Cuba has survived and achieved remarkable social and economic gains for its people.

"Now the Bush administration dreams of doing what no other president who preceded him could do, destroy the Cuban government and take back a former colony through force of occupation, as it is trying to do to the Iraqi people and their country.

"Bush's aims of more economic strangulation run contrary to the U.S. people's real interests. We demand the unconditional and immediate lifting of the blockade, an end to the aggression against Cuba and for the full right to travel there. Of course, this will require a movement by the people of the U.S. that can push Bush back."

Some say that Bush's speech was intended mainly to cater to the Miami Cuban right-wing vote in the 2004 elections. But it is important not to dismiss the harm and threat that each new aggression can pose for the people of Cuba. □

Privatization sparks mass uprising in Bolivia

Continued from page 1

announced a multimillion-dollar project to export natural gas to the United States and Mexico through the port of Patillos in northern Chile. For poor Bolivians, this project means nothing. They know they will never benefit from this transaction and they oppose the stealing of their natural resources by transnational corporations. The Bolivian people do not have sophisticated arms, but they are a conscious and determined people who have fought many struggles.

Sánchez de Lozada was forced to suspend his plans to export the natural gas. But for the people of Bolivia who are in great motion right now, that is not enough.

History of resistance

In April 2000, the Bolivian people defeated a water privatization project, forcing the San Francisco-based Bechtel Corp. to leave the country. The struggle against Bechtel was a huge victory for the Bolivian masses and the people of Latin America.

Known by the Bolivian people as "El Gringo," Sánchez de Lozada was educated in the U.S. He has invested in several Bolivian and Chilean corporations. While

the president lives in the lap of luxury, the great majority of Bolivians struggle every day to feed their families.

This unpopular president, who received only 22.5 percent of the electoral vote and whose rating in the polls has now dropped to 8 percent, enjoys the support of the Bush administration, which has made enormous efforts to secure fuel supplies in the region. Sánchez de Lozada represents the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, which is neither revolutionary nor protective of Bolivia's national interests.

Sánchez de Lozada has continued the legacy of brutal repression against the Bolivian people that started in 1985 when

the people began resisting neoliberal policies forced on the country by U.S.-dominated international banks.

When Sánchez de Lozada announced this new project of ripping off Bolivia's natural resources—which by rights belong to the Bolivian people—workers, peasants, students, teachers, unemployed and some sectors of the middle class immediately asked for his resignation.

This project was supposed to be led by the Pacific LNG consortium, which included Repsol-YPF, Pan-American Gas and British Gas, a subsidiary of the British Petroleum Co. Its CEO recently acknowledged that these companies would make

more than \$1.3 billion from the deal.

Evo Morales, an elected representative and leader of the Movement for Socialism (MAS), has asked for the immediate resignation of Defense Minister Carlos Sánchez Berzaín, accusing him of being responsible for the recent military massacre.

Morales surprised everyone during the last presidential election when he came very close to becoming the first Indigenous president of Bolivia. Morales also represents the union of farmers who grow coca leaf and opposes the current U.S. "drug war" policy.

The coca leaf has been used by Indian

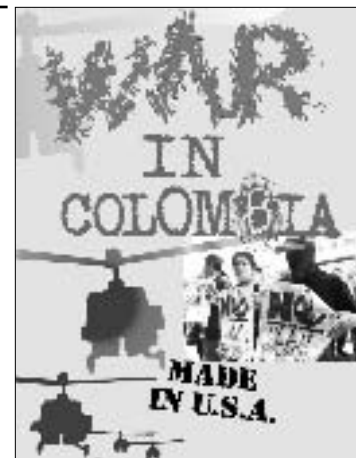
WAR IN COLOMBIA: Made in the U.S.A.

powerfully counters the Pentagon and the media propaganda with facts about what's really happening in Colombia. In this book the reader will find the truth about:

- the almost 40,000 Colombians who have died in the last decade;
- the more than 2.5 million who have been displaced;
- the broad sectors who are heroically fighting inhumane policies mandated by the transnational corporations like Coca-Cola;
- the background history of the struggle;
- perspectives from the FARC-EP and the ELN insurgencies, trade unionists and human rights activists.

Published by the Intn'l Action Center. List price \$19.95.

At [left books.com](http://leftbooks.com) it's 20% off, only \$15.95



UN resolution on Iraq

A fraudulent cover for occupation

By Fred Goldstein

The Bush administration may finally get its Security Council resolution dubbing the U.S.-British colonial occupation a "UN multilateral force." The resolution would leave the U.S. in military command and with absolute political authority over Iraq for the indefinite future.

Washington has apparently been able to strong-arm enough support from the seven dependent members of the Security Council that, along with the U.S., British and Spanish votes, it will get the 9 or 10 votes sufficient to pass its long-sought resolution. The French, Russian and Chinese governments have signaled that they will not veto, according to reports.

With mounting U.S. casualties and the Pentagon military unable to stop the Iraqi resistance or control the situation on the ground, plus the skyrocketing costs of the occupation, the French and German imperialists and the Russian counter-revolutionary capitalists have sought to take advantage of the U.S. predicament.

Washington was compelled to go to the UN for a resolution as a condition of getting outside troops and money. Its rivals have sought to use the UN as a wedge to get into Iraq and break the U.S. stranglehold on the occupation. To this end they demanded a UN resolution that would give early "sovereignty" to an Iraq provisional government and a "central role" to the UN in shaping the political and economic process of "reconstruction" in Iraq.

Washington won't budge on substance

At the moment, it appears that Washington gave nothing of substance and that the French, Germans and Russians have had to acquiesce in allowing the Bush administration's resolution. It declares that the puppet Governing Council—appointed by and run by Paul

Bremer—and the Coalition Occupation Authority will "embody" the sovereignty of Iraq, while the UN will play a "vital role," such as training police, supervising elections and so on.

The resolution spells out a protracted, purely hypothetical process by giving the Governing Council until Dec. 15 to come up with a constitution. It then establishes an electoral process that presumably leads to elections and an Iraqi government. In the meantime, the U.S. occupation has sole governing authority.

No one has explained how the Governing Council can "embody the sovereignty" of Iraq while Bremer and company have sole governing authority. The resolution, as such, is utterly contradictory on its face. It is a fraudulent cover for the U.S. occupation. It will ultimately be an embarrassment to any government that votes for it.

The French, Germans and Russians have been offering amendments but Washington has been stonewalling on anything of substance. The three powers say they will not oppose the vote. They are apparently fearful of deepening the split with the U.S. imperialists. They have to live with the fact that the Pentagon has control in Iraq. If there is any hope of them getting in on the ground, to further inflame relations would make it more difficult in the future. Should they actually vote for the resolution, it will be a signal that secret deals have been made to cut them in on the spoils.

'Sovereignty' under imperialism

The world movement must be absolutely clear on what this struggle over so-called Iraqi "sovereignty" means. In the context of Iraq it is a strictly legal concept, as far as the imperialists are concerned. Sovereignty, to the French, German and Russian governments, means governmental status. Governmental status gives

the legal right to negotiate arrangements with other governments and with foreign corporations. Right now, all that authority resides in the U.S.-run occupation authority. Once a so-called "sovereign" regime is declared in Iraq, the other imperialists will have the opening to deal with the government.

Sovereignty, in this limited legal sense, has nothing whatever to do with sovereignty in its political meaning of a government able to determine its own affairs, or in the sense of national independence or self-determination. Any Iraqi regime created under the aegis of imperialism, whether by the "unilateralist" U.S. government or the "multilateralist," UN-sponsored group, including the French, German and Russian corporate robbers, would be financially, economically, militarily and politically dependent on the great powers. The legality is a figleaf. It is about the sovereign right to make a deal—at the expense of the Iraqi people.

Fight over how to subjugate Iraq

The struggle between the Bush administration and sections of the U.S. ruling class over bringing in the UN also arises out of the fierce and growing resistance faced by the U.S. military and the enormous costs of the war. The broad struggle boils down to two camps: those critics of the Bush administration who want the occupation and the subjugation of Iraq to succeed, but feel it is worth making concessions to get help, and those in the Bush administration who want help but are not willing to make any other than atmospheric concessions.

There is a third position, which is causing a war within the Bush administration. It is the position of Donald Rumsfeld—and possibly of Dick Cheney—that wants no concessions. It does not want to acknowledge the need for any humiliating reliance on other imperialist powers for support. It does not want any infringement on the Pentagon's role or to legitimize the role of the United Nations in Iraq.

This position has been pushed back, at least for now, with the elevation of National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, the State Department, the CIA and the Treasury Department to an oversight role of the occupation, under the rubric of the Iraq Stabilization Group.

The opposition to the Bush administration was typified in an editorial in the Los Angeles Times on Oct. 10 entitled "Tone-Deaf on Iraq": "U.S. troops have learned that Iraqis greet a foreign occupation army with rocket-propelled grenades, not flowers. And that was before the latest slap: the proposed addition to the occupation forces of perhaps 10,000 soldiers from Iraq's former colonial master, Turkey. ...

"The U.S. should shift from military belligerence, going it alone and lecturing global allies to employing diplomacy to get them into the Iraq mission. ... If Washington doesn't change, the U.S. role in Iraq could be even more lonely, costly and bloody."

To be sure, the Pentagon is desperate to get other countries' troops in harm's way so that U.S. soldiers don't take the brunt of the Iraqi resistance. With the introduction of Turkish troops, the colonialist triumvirate is complete: the power that for 400 years had a despotic empire in the land that is now Iraq joins with Britain, the colonial power of the 20th century, and the U.S. superpower, which is seeking to colonize Iraq in the 21st century.

U.S. begins Israeli-style collective punishment

This is a formula guaranteeing resistance. Witness the car-bombing of the Turkish Embassy. Zaki Chehab, political editor of the Arabic television station al-Hayat-LBC, summed up his findings of a survey of the Iraqi resistance in the Oct. 14 edition of the London Guardian:

"The Iraqi suicide bomber who yesterday attacked the U.S.-frequented Baghdad Hotel was the fourth member of the Iraqi resistance to kill themselves for the cause. The bombing came only three days after last week's suicide attack on a Baghdad police station that left at least eight people dead. From the meetings I have had with resistance fighters in different parts of Iraq, there is no doubt that there will be many more such attacks to come."

Chehab met with fighters in Ramadi, Mosul, Tikrit, Fallujah, Samarra, Baghdad and other places. He cited U.S. killings at checkpoints, arbitrary mass arrests, wild shootings, body searching of women, invasive home searches, collective punishment, the conviction that the U.S. is there for oil, and the hated idea of being occupied as the common threads stoking the resistance.

According to Chehab, the various currents in Iraq have united for resistance. In Ramadi, the resisters "defined themselves as nationalists." In Tikrit, the fighters interviewed were loyal to Saddam. In Fallujah and Mosul, Islamist forces predominated. In each area there were ideological differences among the fighters. But despite this, the struggle is uniting them.

"In the back streets of Mosul, soon after the fall of the city, I came face to face with a group of armed men, shouting and firing shots in different directions. I asked them who they were: some introduced themselves as former Baathists, others said they belonged to Islamist organizations ... they all took their orders from the same committee in the city, which was headed by a group of religious leaders. I later found there were similar relationships in Fallujah and Samarra."

As the resistance grows, the U.S. grows more frustrated and more brutal—despite Bush's remarks that "things are going well."

Patrick Cockburn, writing in the London Independent of Oct. 12, revealed that the U.S. military is beginning to act like its Israeli clients. "U.S. soldiers," wrote Cockburn, "driving bulldozers, with jazz blaring from loudspeakers, have uprooted ancient groves of date palms as well as orange and lemon trees in central Iraq as part of a new policy of collective punishment of farmers who do not give information about guerrillas attacking U.S. troops."

An area of crops a kilometer long was destroyed and 50 families lost their livelihoods in Dhuluaya. When Sheikh Hussein Ali Saleh al-Jabouri went with a delegation to the nearby U.S. base, the officers described what happened "as punishment of local people because 'you know who is in the resistance and do not tell us.'"

What the Israelis had done by way of collective punishment of Palestinians is now happening in Iraq, added Sheikh Hussein.

Asked how much his lost orchard was worth, one of the farmers, Nusayef Jassim, replied, "It is as if someone cut off my hands and you asked me how much my hands were worth." □

populations all over Latin America for thousands of years. In leaf form, coca is a mild stimulant that does not produce toxicity or dependence, according to the American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse. After cocaine is extracted from the leaf by processors, 85 percent of the profit from the drug is made by dealers living inside the U.S. The coca growers receive a small fraction of the money, just enough to keep their families above the starvation line.

The U.S. government, under the pretext of the war on drugs, wants to spray the area with toxic chemicals that poison the land and the people. This would destroy the only resource Indigenous people have, without providing them any alternative. It has prompted an important movement in Bolivia in defense of the small farmers.

U.S. support of Sánchez de Lozada

Condoleezza Rice, the Bush administration's national security advisor, has given strong support to the repressive president of Bolivia, saying, "We have to support the constitutional government of Bolivia."

The U.S. State Department also voiced support for Sánchez de Lozada, saying that it "will not support any regime that arises from undemocratic means."

Once again, the Bush administration has exposed its duplicitous policy toward



the region. It could care less about "supporting constitutional governments." When the popular and constitutionally elected president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, was almost ousted by a military/business coup, the U.S. was the first country to recognize the new and completely unconstitutional "president"—who was overthrown within a few hours by huge mobilizations of the people.

The outcome of the struggle in Bolivia will be determined by the strength and organization of the people's movement and the support this heroic uprising receives from progressive forces worldwide, including inside the U.S. □



Green alert

Greenpeace is on trial and everyone concerned about defending the right to dissent and demonstrate has a stake in the verdict.

The U.S. government is criminally prosecuting the entire organization, explains the organization's Executive Director John Passacantando, "for the free speech activities of its supporters."

Greenpeace, Inc. itself—the whole U.S. entity—is being indicted for a peaceful protest in April 2002. At that time, two Greenpeace activists approached a ship called the Jade off the coast of Miami which was reportedly carrying illegally imported mahogany from the Brazilian Amazon. Their clothing and boats were clearly marked "Greenpeace." They brought aboard a banner reading, "President Bush: Stop illegal logging." They stress that they made clear—by their appearance, words and actions—that they were carrying out a peaceful protest.

For their work on this issue, the organization noted, Greenpeace received praise from the government of Brazil and from the European Union.

But the Bush administration, through the U.S. Attorney's office in Miami, slapped the environmentalist group with a landmark indictment. The government dug up a little-known 1872 law written to discourage owners of boarding houses from soliciting sailors on ships returning to port.

If convicted, a corporation like Greenpeace can't be locked up behind bars. But it can be put on probation, which would force the group to report to the government about its activities. And the organization's tax-exempt status would be imperiled. Greenpeace also faces a \$10,000 fine. The government has balked at Greenpeace's demand for a jury. The trial is slated for December.

Legal experts and historians say this prosecution may not be unprecedented. They point to legal harassment of the NAACP in the 1950s and 1960s. But unionists and community groups, progressives and revolutionaries need to stand tall with Greenpeace to push back this outrageous assault on the right to protest. An injury to one is an injury to all! □



PHOTO: SOLIDAIRE

Members of Workers Party of Belgium hold solidarity meeting in front of Ford plant in Genk, Belgium.

International solidarity is key

Ford workers in Belgium fight for jobs

By John Catalinotto

A struggle for jobs unfolding in Belgium will affect workers throughout the global capitalist economy, especially auto workers.

Union confederations and community and political groups are mobilizing in Belgium in an attempt to save thousands of jobs at the Ford automobile factory in the town of Genk. They plan a mass march on Oct. 18, expected to draw tens of thousands of workers and supporters.

Since Oct. 1, when Ford announced that 3,000 of the 8,300 jobs at the plant would be cut, there have been two 24-hour walk-outs—on Oct. 6 and Oct. 10. Workers have blocked deliveries at the plant gates, burning tires and debris.

With Ford workers facing 12,000 layoffs throughout North America and Europe, the workers at Ford-Genk are on the front lines of a major class battle.

Belgium has both a French and a Flemish-speaking population. Genk is in a mostly Flemish area. Many of the workers at the Ford plant are immigrants, the largest groups from Italy and Turkey.

The entire region has been plagued by unemployment for decades. Ford is the last major factory in the area. A Philips Electronics plant closed in 2002.

Along with the 3,000 jobs at the plant, another 2,000 to 3,000 jobs at sub-contractors would disappear. This loss of jobs would depress the entire region. And it is likely that Ford would soon close the entire plant.

Between 1993 and 2000, the Ford Motor Co. made \$56 billion in profits. Now facing a drop in sales worldwide and especially in Europe, Ford wants to dump all its losses on the workers.

A few thousand workers pitted against a giant transnational monopoly like Ford is an uneven battle. The workers can only win such a battle if it is turned into a political struggle that mobilizes the entire population. And it needs international solidarity and support.

Belgium has a government led by the Socialist Party. Though this party is called socialist, in reality it manages the capitalist Belgian economy for the bosses, both local and foreign. It has never taken on a monopoly like Ford. But to keep some support from the workers, this government has promised to create 200,000 jobs to relieve the high unemployment in Belgium. So it is caught in a contradiction

between words and deeds.

The Workers Party of Belgium has intervened in this struggle on the side of the threatened Ford workers. In a statement calling for international solidarity, the WPB points out that "Ford-Genk had signed a collective bargaining agreement with the trade unions in October 2002. This agreement should guarantee the maintenance of 9,000 jobs at Ford until 2006.

"Ford-Genk had also concluded an agreement with the government of the Flemish Region (the north of Belgium) for 900 million euro (\$1.05 billion) worth of investments in Genk. It concerned the start-up of four simultaneous production lines: for the new Mondeo, the Focus, the Galaxy and the Cross Over." In return, the Flemish regional government handed Ford 53 million euros—that's \$62 million—in tax breaks.

"Ford must be forced to respect the two agreements it signed. With all its energy, the Workers' Party of Belgium and militant trade unionists will fight for this, together with the workers."

Solidarity from U.S. workers

In response to the appeal for international solidarity, some members of the United Auto Workers in the United States have sent the following statement to the workers at Genk:

"In the spirit of international solidarity, as UAW members in the U.S., we wish to salute your splendid and creative struggle to challenge the Ford dynasty. Your determination to fight the layoffs at the Genk Ford plant is an inspiration to UAW ranks here, who face massive layoffs and plant closings due to the four-year UAW contract signed with the Big Three auto tycoons and their suppliers.

"Their decision to close plants and lay off thousands of auto workers worldwide can be stopped only by building international solidarity and organizing creative resistance. Your struggle in Genk is a significant contribution to this development. We stand with you in this fight for economic and social justice, and will do all we can to contribute to this worthy perspective."

The statement was signed by Martha Grevatt, UAW Local 122, Cleveland, Dianne Mathiowetz, UAW Local 10, Doraville, Ga., and David Sole, president, UAW Local 2334, Detroit.

Solidarity messages can be emailed to foerd@gvhv.be. □



SUBSCRIBE TO WORKERS WORLD

SPECIAL TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION

\$2 FOR EIGHT WEEKS (NEW SUBSCRIPTION)

\$25 for one year

Name _____

Phone number _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Workers World Newspaper

55 West 17 St. NY, NY 10011 (212) 627-2994

Security Council has the power

How imperialism has used the UN

By Fred Goldstein

This is the third and final article in a series by Goldstein on the debate in the anti-war movement over the role of the United Nations.

Another basis for the progressive image of the United Nations is that it has served as a valuable forum for many anti-colonial struggles and for condemnation of the great powers. During the late 1950s and 1960s, during the tumultuous period of decolonization, 80 formerly colonial countries joined the United Nations, make it more difficult for the imperialists to continue to use the organization for colonial and counter-revolutionary intervention.

The UN General Assembly's prestige rose as it became an important forum for many struggles and causes—including those against South African apartheid; Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau; the U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico; the U.S. embargo of Cuba, and many other struggles.

In 1975 Yasser Arafat spoke at the podium of the General Assembly, Zionism was officially condemned as racism, and the Palestine Liberation Organization was recognized as the representative of the Palestinian people.

U.S. and British imperialism had given open and covert support to apartheid for decades. But once they decided to make a strategic retreat in South Africa, under the relentlessly growing national liberation struggle led by the African National Congress, they consented to UN sanctions against the apartheid regime. The same thing happened in the case of southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.

While the UN acquired an anti-colonial reputation based on its use as a forum, on the ground it was only the liberation struggles of the masses that forced colonialism to retreat. The UN did nothing to end the Zionist occupation of Palestine. Nothing was done to stop Portuguese colonialism. Nothing was done to end the embargo on Cuba or to loosen U.S. colonialism's grip on Puerto Rico. No material assistance was given to any national liberation struggle, no material resistance to any imperialist power.

During the 13 years of genocidal colonial war in Vietnam—with carpet bombing, napalm and phosphorous bombing, massacres of civilians and countless other war crimes—the UN never initiated any action against Washington. When Washington, Paris, London or Bonn wanted to pursue aggressive designs, they either used NATO or carried out their intervention unilaterally.

Security Council in charge

The Security Council, dominated by the imperialist powers, held tight strings on any decisive military or economic intervention under the aegis of the UN.

The organization's structure and rules carefully reserve the ultimate authority for the imperialists. The General Assembly has the right to "consider and make recommendations on the principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security." In many other spheres it "may discuss," "initiate studies" and "consider" various matters. (UN summary of the functions of the General Assembly, www.un.org)

But the real authority lies with the Security Council, and ultimately with the permanent powers holding the veto. "Under the Charter, all Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council ... the Council alone has the power to take decisions which Member States are obligated under the Charter to carry out." (UN summary) And to make it explicit, the Security Council has jurisdiction over the Military Staff Committee, Peacekeeping Operations, Inspections, War Crimes Tribunals and other decisive instruments of forceful and aggressive intervention.

As for humanitarian intervention with food, medicine, education and development aid, this of course is a wholly progressive function. The countries that receive such aid are totally entitled to it. But the truth is that this aid is really recycled—a miniscule fraction of the wealth stolen from these dependent countries, which have been impoverished by corporate plunder under the protection of the very same imperialist powers that dominate the UN.

For example, contributions to the entire World Health Organization for the year 2002 came to about \$400 million. Yet, according to the UN Development Report itself, 1.3 billion people live on \$1 a day. A billion people have no access to clean water. To cope with these problems, a thousand times the WHO budget would be just a start, especially considering the AIDS epidemic.

This disproportion is the same for UNICEF, the World Food Project, the World Development Project and other agencies.

The fact that these progressive functions are attached to the UN does not make it any less an instrument of imperialism. This is precisely why these progressive functions are so miniscule and strangled, subject to the budgetary limitations imposed by Washington and other big imperialist powers that are the organization's principal donors.

The return of the UN as an instrument of aggression has coincided with the collapse of the USSR and the decline of the anti-colonial struggle.

Sam Marcy, the founder of Workers World Party, wrote before the outbreak of the Gulf War, during the first George Bush's administration:

"The truly progressive anti-war forces in this country have to explain that the UN is a cover for an alliance of all the imperialist countries, extending from Tokyo to Denmark. Their aim is to redivide the world's resources, to deliver a death blow to OPEC as an economic organization and even more to the political independence of the Middle East. They seek to reassert imperialist dominance, divide the booty derived from the sweat and blood of the oppressed peoples everywhere, and redistribute it in accordance to the new world relationships. That's what the struggle is about.

"It would be all to the good if the problem of U.S.

imperialist aggression throughout the world could be solved peacefully and justly through the United Nations. Indeed, it would be a very easy and welcome solution. ...

"[But] it is only the progressive, widespread and relentless intervention of the masses on a truly gigantic scale which can stop the mad adventure of the Pentagon, the military-industrial complex, the banks and the Bush administration. The latter is nothing more than what Marx described: the executive committee of the ruling class." (Workers World, Nov. 8, 1990)

Those words, written in anticipation of the first invasion of Iraq and the role of the UN in imposing sanctions, apply as much today as they did in 1990—except this time the European imperialists are trying to use the UN, after Washington discarded it. □

PART 3

The prestige of the UN General Assembly rose as it became an important forum for numerous struggles and causes. But the real authority lies with the Security Council, and ultimately with the permanent powers holding the veto.

The fact that progressive functions are attached to the UN does not make it any less an instrument of imperialism.

African AIDS activists tell U.S. official: 'Less talk, more funds!'

By Leslie Feinberg

Close to 100 African HIV-positive activists shouted down a U.S. official at a conference in Kenya Sept. 26. She was trying to defend Washington's role in the fight against the AIDS epidemic.

This was the second protest at the week-long conference by the Pan-African AIDS Treatment Access Movement. PATAM members disrupted a Sept. 24 World Bank news conference to demand "less talk and more drugs."

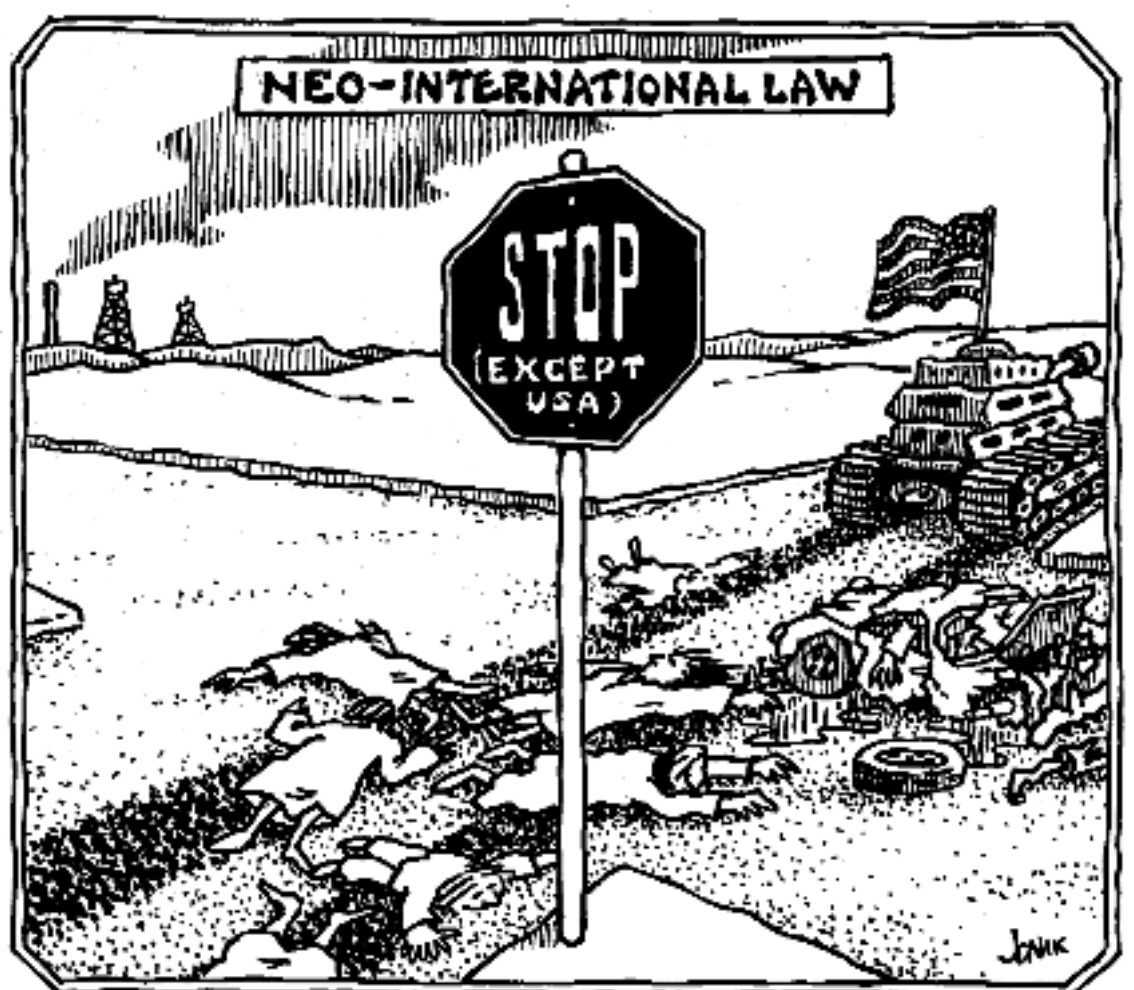
At the closing ceremony of the conference two days later, as Leslie Rowe, a diplomat from the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, took the dais to boast about U.S. funding efforts, demonstrators strode toward the podium waving placards, shouting and jeering. The conference organizers were reportedly visibly panicked and police were ordered on standby. However, no arrests resulted.

Activists' signs read "AIDS treatment now!" and "Generic drugs now!" They drowned out Rowe with songs and chants

that demanded the United States provide adequate funds to meet the public health emergency affecting tens of millions on the poorest continent in the world. Centuries of colonial plunder have drained, devastated and impoverished Africa and its people while enriching the imperial powers, including the United States.

Today, of the 42 million people with AIDS worldwide, 29.4 million live in Africa, according to the United Nations AIDS agency. Yet only 1 percent of the some 4 million Africans who need anti-retroviral drugs receive them, according to Doctors without Borders in a report issued at the conference.

It's no secret that Washington—Republican and Democrat alike—is spending tens of billions of dollars in "aid" for the Middle East and Africa. But it's earmarked for troop deployment and the occupation and theft of land, labor and resources for the benefit of big capital. By comparison, Bush's aid to Africa is a drop in the bucket. □



De Palestina al Congo:

Cómo el imperialismo ha usado la ONU

Por Fred Goldstein

Ante el colapso de la aventura imperial de la administración de Bush que se ha convertido en una lucha para salirse de ese atolladero, Washington se ha visto forzado a pedir ayuda. La Casa Blanca y el Pentágono nunca pensaron que se enfrentarían a una fuerte resistencia de guerra de guerrilla y a un odio y resentimiento nacional ante tan prolongada ocupación militar. Esperaba que su campaña de “golpe de sorpresa” les entregara una población pasiva y obediente.

El proverbio que dice “Cuidado como tratas a la gente en tu viaje hacia arriba, porque los encontrarás de nuevo en tu viaje hacia abajo” ahora se aplica directamente a la difícil posición en que se encuentra Washington. Habiendo calificado despectivamente a Francia y Alemania como la “vieja Europa”, e insinuado que la ONU es “irrelevante”, Bush ha tenido ahora que pedirles ayuda.

Esto ha creado un debate sobre el papel que juega la ONU y si sería progresista el que esta asuma un mayor papel en Irak. La confusión llega en parte por la negativa del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU de aprobar la guerra en marzo de este año. Esto condujo a la falsa idea de que Francia, Alemania y Rusia están de alguna manera contra la guerra y por lo tanto la intervención de la ONU podría ser beneficiosa al pueblo de Irak.

Una reflexión sobre toda la muerte, sufrimiento y destrucción causadas por la Guerra del Golfo patrocinada por la ONU en 1991 y los 12 años de sanciones aprobadas por el Consejo de Seguridad, así como la actitud completamente permisiva del Consejo de Seguridad hacia los bombardeos persistentes en las zonas de “no vuelo”, debe ser bastante para acabar el debate sobre un posible papel de la ONU en Irak.

Pero desde una perspectiva mucho más amplia, la ONU ha cultivado la imagen de un humanismo pacífico y de neutralidad que ha sido usada por muchos años como cubierta para llevar a cabo intervenciones imperialistas unilaterales.

La ONU creada para un imperio

La ONU fue concebida durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial y negociada por el entonces Presidente Franklin Delano Roosevelt, cabecilla del nuevo imperio estadounidense en ascenso, y por el Primer Ministro Winston Churchill, cabecilla del imperio británico en deca-

dencia. Ellos se vieron forzados a integrar a la Unión Soviética a las negociaciones. No solo había sobrevivido la destrucción de Hitler, sino que el Ejército Rojo suplió por las guerrillas soviéticas venció al ejército Nazi y persiguió sus fuerzas diezmadas haciéndolas retroceder a Berlín. Los imperialistas franceses fueron incluidos en las negociaciones una vez que los Nazis fueron vencidos. El régimen títere chino de Chiang Kai-shek también fue incluido en el círculo central.

La ONU fue parte del esfuerzo de dirigir al mundo por el imperialismo estadounidense y su socio menor en Londres. Fue ubicada en Nueva York, cerca de Wall Street y de Washington D.C. Simbólicamente, John D. Rockefeller Jr. donó \$8.5 millones de dólares para comprar el terreno.

Sus primeros 50 miembros fueron en su mayoría las victoriosas potencias europeas, dependencias de la comunidad británica y de los Estados Unidos y 20 de sus estados clientes latinoamericanos. El campo socialista tenía cuatro miembros. No hubo representación alguna de la lucha anticolonial.

Fue fundada oficialmente en octubre de 1945, dos meses después que el Presidente Harry Truman ordenara que dos bombas atómicas fueran lanzadas sobre el Japón. La fundación de la ONU se dio al mismo tiempo del establecimiento del Fondo Monetario Internacional y del Banco Mundial de Desarrollo, con dominio estadounidense. De esta forma el gobierno de los EEUU entró al escenario mundial como una súper potencia económica y nuclear. El objetivo de Washington era el de utilizar la organización de la ONU para presionar a la Unión Soviética y controlar al mundo.

ONU como cubierta para intervención en Palestina, Corea y el Congo

Virtualmente cada una de las intervenciones políticas, económicas y militares de gran envergadura llevadas a cabo por la ONU ha sido al servicio del imperialismo. Su primer acto fue la división de Palestina y la creación del estado sionista de Israel. De hecho, el primer subcomité creado por la ONU fue la UNSCOP (por siglas en inglés), el Comité Especial de la ONU sobre Palestina.

El asunto de Palestina fue puesto en la agenda de la ONU en 1947 por los británicos, a instancias de Washington. El imperialismo británico se retiraba de su

promesa de formar un estado sionista porque había sido debilitado por la Segunda Guerra Mundial y no estaba en condición de bregar con las rebeliones en sus propias colonias. La UNSCOP, la cual no tenía ni un solo miembro árabe o africano, recomendó que el Mandato Británico en Palestina fuera dividido para dar el 55% del territorio al estado sionista. Esto luego fue aprobado por la Asamblea General dominada por los Estados Unidos.

El gobierno soviético, desafortunada y trágicamente, no bloqueó este acto. Este violó la solidaridad internacional y reconoció a Israel.

Los sionistas, con el apoyo financiero y político de los EE.UU., continuaron con su lucha para confiscar mucho más allá del 55% de la tierra, creando así 750.000 refugiados palestinos. De esta manera, mientras los pueblos oprimidos comenzaban su lucha contra el colonialismo, la ONU estaba siendo utilizada por Washington para establecerse en el Medio Oriente, rico en petróleo.

Poco después, la ONU fue empleada como organismo político madre de una coalición del capitalismo mundial, encabezada por los EE.UU. para forzar a retroceder la revolución socialista en la península coreana. Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, las fuerzas progresistas y socialistas en el sur, organizadas en los Comités para la Preparación de la Independencia Nacional, se iban preparando para la unificación del país bajo un régimen de liberación nacional. Temiendo una Corea unida y socialista, Washington intentó dividir el país erigiendo un gobierno títere en el sur y organizando elecciones fraudulentas, después de haber suprimido a los comités populares.

Siguiendo el ejemplo palestino, los EE.UU llevó la cuestión a la ONU en 1947 y creó la Comisión Temporal de la ONU sobre Corea. Este organismo pronto reconoció el régimen títere en Seúl como el único gobierno legal en Corea, rechazando por completo el gobierno socialista en Pyongyang. Montado por el estadounidense Gen. Douglas MacArthur, el régimen de Syngman Rhee por años lanzó provocaciones contra el norte. Finalmente, la guerra brotó en junio de 1950. El Presidente Truman rápidamente pidió un mandato de la ONU para una invasión devastadora y una guerra para destruir el gobierno socialista. Cinco millones de coreanos murieron y en el norte no quedó un edificio de más de dos pisos.

Mientras el movimiento anticolonial se propagaba rápidamente por África, Bélgica fue presionada a otorgar la independencia política al Congo el 30 de junio de 1960. Cuando el líder nacionalista Patrice Lumumba asumió el puesto de Primer Ministro, los colonialistas belgas simulaban un motín en el ejército, promovieron la separación de la provincia Katanga, rica en minerales, y en julio, envió sus tropas. Su meta era desestabi-

lizar el nuevo régimen y retomar el país con el pretexto de que los congoleños no estaban listos para gobernarse.

La cuestión fue presentada al Consejo de Seguridad. Al principio Lumumba pensó que podría recibir ayuda de la ONU. Pero cuando la ONU envió una fuerza militar al Congo, se rehusó a parar los invasores belgas. Entonces Lumumba pidió ayuda a la Unión Soviética y al campo socialista.

Aunque la misión de la ONU en el Congo era supuestamente neutral, era dirigida primero por Ralph Bunche y luego por Andrew Cordier, los dos fueron oficiales del Departamento de Estado. Cuando los soviéticos y otras naciones del campo socialista se prestaban a enviar ayuda, las fuerzas de la ONU bloquearon los puertos y aeropuertos para prevenir la llegada de sus barcos y aviones. Lumumba no pudo mover sus tropas para prevenir la desarticulación del Congo. Al final él fue asesinado. Y cuando se había desvanecido el humo, el General Mobutu y las fuerzas pro-imperialistas habían tomado el control de país.

El único país en la historia que se salió de la ONU fue Indonesia. El primero de enero de 1965, el líder nacionalista, Presidente Sukarno sacó a su país de la ONU después que la ONU aceptó como miembro al régimen neocolonial de Malasia, el cual estaba auspiciado por el imperialismo británico. Amenazado con la pérdida de ayuda de los Estados Unidos, Sukarno hizo su famosa declaración: “¡Los EE.UU. se pueden ir al infierno con su ayuda!”

Con la Guerra de Vietnam en ascuas, el odio contra los EE.UU. aumentaba en Asia. Y cuando Sukarno sugirió que debía existir una ONU antiimperialista, Washington lo tomó muy en serio porque señalaba la posibilidad de que se produjera otro levantamiento masivo en la región. La República Popular China ya había entrado en una etapa revolucionaria y los vietnamitas estaban luchando por alcanzar su liberación total.

La posibilidad de un rompimiento con la ONU sobre una base antiimperialista intensificó las preparaciones de la CIA para tumbar a Sukarno y destruir al Partido Comunista de Indonesia, el cual era el partido comunista más grande fuera de los países socialistas. Para noviembre de ese año, la CIA y el ala derecha de las Fuerzas Armadas encabezada por el General Suharto, habían asestado un golpe y comenzado una masacre que cobraría las vidas de un millón de personas.

Las fuentes de información para este artículo incluyen “Nuestras Raíces Están Aún Vivas” (Palestina), “La Guerra Fría y sus Orígenes, 1917-1960” y “El Fin de la Era Americana (Corea); “La Unión Soviética y el África Negra (Congo); “Los Dilemas del Comunismo Tercermundista” e “Indonesia: el Segundo Crimen Más Grande del Siglo XX (Indonesia). □

Subscribete a Mundo Obrero

\$2 por 8 semanas de prueba \$25 por un año

Nombre _____ Telephone _____

Dirección _____

Ciudad / Estado / Código Postal _____

WW Publishers, 55 W. 17 St., NY, NY 10011