

AS IRAQI RESISTANCE GROWS

Bush tries to sell 'endless war' to Asia

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By Fred Goldstein

The "endless war" plans of the Bush administration after Sept. 11 were to crush Afghanistan, destroy the regime of Saddam Hussein and quickly stabilize puppet colonial regimes in both countries. Bush wanted to use this momentum of military terror to move rapidly forward with a campaign of "regime change" and "preemptive war" directed against all governments and liberation movements that refused the dictates of Washington.

The momentum of this campaign, however, has been drastically slowed by the determined resistance of the Iraqi people to the brutal colonial occupation of their country, with more and more U.S. soldiers being killed and wounded on a daily basis and hatred for the occupiers spreading throughout Iraq.

But as Bush's poll numbers sink at home, under the impact of the growing U.S. casualty rate and the skyrocketing costs of the occupation, the administration's response is to go abroad to stoke up a war psychology at home and to rekindle support for its campaign of aggression and world domination.

Before Bush embarked on his trip to Asia, he set the political tone while appearing with Gov.-elect Arnold Schwarzenegger in San Bernardino, Calif. Bush declared "America is following a new strategy," according to the Oct. 17 New York Times. "We are not waiting for further attacks. We are striking our enemies before they can strike us."

Thus Bush was reiterating his "preemptive war" doctrine, and specifically laying the basis for expanded intervention in Asia. The Philippines and Indonesia were mentioned by name, but the

threat could easily be construed as broader in application, since Bush has described any number of countries as enemies—including Iran, Syria, Cuba, Libya and North Korea.

U.S. pressure on Korea

Bush went to South Korea to pressure the government there to send troops to Iraq and to get it to commit money for the Iraq occupation at the upcoming Madrid Donors Conference to take place on Oct. 23-24. The South Korean president, Roh Moo-hyun, agreed in principle. However, fearful of mass opposition, he made the timing and the number of troops conditional on "taking into account public opinion."

Bush also pressed the South Korean government to support his new initiative of getting the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—North Korea—to agree to destroy its nuclear weapons program in exchange for a multilateral security "guarantee" that the U.S. would not militarily attack Korea. This proposal is, on the surface, a partial retreat from the previous "no negotiation" hard line of the Rumsfeld-Cheney faction.

But it can also be seen as a maneuver by Bush and his administration to make the U.S. look "reasonable," when in actuality they are maliciously proposing something that is highly unacceptable to the North Koreans and lays the basis for further U.S. aggression. It's a way of avoiding the completely justifiable North Korean demand that the U.S. sign a non-aggression treaty, which would have to be ratified by the U.S. Senate.

The fact is that North Korea was invaded by the U.S. military

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This week ...



Dollars for change

We can't think of any time in recent history when the working class has been more disgusted with both the big corporations and their political representatives in Washington and the statehouses.

As we found out Oct. 4 when we distributed thousands of copies of Workers World to the big immigrant-rights march in Queens, N.Y., these low-paid workers are eager to hear from the left. And they are very interested in the movements that are resisting the Bush administration's disastrous drive for world empire.

WW newspaper is already an important resource for many different struggle movements here. Now the spread of the Internet has made our web page, emails and downloadable PDF version of the newspaper accessible to anti-imperialists all over the world. We get many letters and messages whose essence is, "Wow! We didn't know such a revolutionary newspaper existed in the United States!"

We think that many opportunities are opening up to infuse the struggles for jobs, education, housing and justice with a socialist perspective, one that rejects every form of bigotry and oppression. We want to make Workers World bigger and better to meet these challenges.

This issue that you're reading now is a special 16-pager put out for the major demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco against war and occupation.

You can contribute to this work by making a special contribution to the WW Fall Fund Drive. Our goal is \$60,000. That's what it takes to keep an office, produce the newspaper, mail it to subscribers and get it out to the public at picket lines, demonstrations and rallies and online. It would cost much more, but all the labor is free—donated by workers who deeply want to get a socialist message and analysis out to our class.

Help spread the socialist message to the millions who need to know that another world IS possible, and that they can help bring it to birth. Make a contribution today.

Thanks for your support,

Deirdre Griswold
Workers World Editor

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March & rally 11 a.m. Civic Center, Grove & Larkin. For info (415) 821-6545.

Sun., Nov. 2
Workers World Party Forum:

Iran and U.S. Strategy in the Middle East. Featuring analysis by an Iranian activist. 5 p.m. At 2489 Mission St, room 28. For info (415) 826-4828.

PHILADELPHIA

Sat., Nov. 1
Rally and march to demand FREEDOM NOW for Mumia Abu-Jamal! 11a.m.-2:30 p.m. corner of 6th and Market Sts., Center City Sponsored by International Concerned Family and Friends.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sat., Oct. 25
March & rally 11 a.m. Washington Monument. For info (202) 544-3389 in D.C. or (212) 633-6646 in NYC.

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California food workers fight to save health care

By John Parker
Los Angeles

You can hear the solidarity beeps from motorists passing by striking and locked-out workers at their local Ralphs, Vons or Albertson's store—honking in solidarity with the over 70,000 striking United Food and Commercial Workers union members here in Southern California. However, it's noticeably quieter in the store aisles.

"By 10 a.m. there's usually many registers open, but this morning only one was open," locked-out UFCW picketer Karen Donaldson told Workers World on Oct. 16. She was talking about the usually busy Ralphs, with a two-story parking garage on Western Avenue.

Community solidarity has been strengthened by the Teamsters union. Its members refuse to drive trucks across the picket lines, and have threatened a solidarity strike.

Teamster officials said Oct. 13 that the union, which represents warehouse workers and tractor-trailer drivers, was preparing to expand its support of the grocery workers' strike. "It's going to happen," said Jim Santangelo, president of the Teamsters Joint Council 42 in El Monte. "That really affects the companies, big time."

The strike and lockout involve a work force that is predominantly Black, Latina/o and Asian workers with a high proportion of women. They began Oct. 11 with Safeway's, Vons and Pavilion employees, followed by lockouts from the employers at Ralphs and Albertson's.

The next day, a Sunday, UFCW picket lines surrounded nearly 900 Southern California stores.

"They're talking about cutting our benefits in half," said UFCW Local 770 President Rick Icaza. Fifteen thousand Local 770 grocery workers are on strike in Los Angeles County. "This could mean the loss of vision coverage, dental, even pension benefits. That's how Draconian this is."

The threats against health care inspired a mountain of support from other unions in addition to the Teamsters. Many hundreds attended two union solidarity rallies within one week.

The first one was at Vons Pavilion near Hollywood on Oct. 16. The second, nine days after the strike was first called, was



WWW PHOTOS: BOB MORRIS

even bigger. It took place in the Black community on Oct. 20.

At least six unions were represented at these rallies. Joining Icaza were Los Angeles County Labor Federation President Miguel Contreras along with representatives and rank-and-file members from the Teamsters, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Television and Radio Artists, Service Employees and other unions. All carried placards representing their unions.

At the first rally, while workers were rallying and hearing talks, members of the Community Action Project to Support Labor stood by the entrance of the Vons Pavilion discouraging shoppers from crossing the picket line. The group is a subcommittee of the Los Angeles chapter of the anti-war coalition ANSWER—Act Now to Stop War and End Racism.

These activists promoted solidarity with the UFCW workers with leaflets headlined "Community Support Needed." Union members at the rally received ANSWER volunteers enthusiastically, and a few union members grabbed leaflets to help distribute to passers-by and workers.

Crocodile tears

The Greedy Three are trying to justify their vicious attacks on the workers by crying

poverty. They took out a full-page ad in major newspapers including the Los Angeles Times, falsely stating that they are just asking \$5 a week for individuals and \$15 a week for families' health-care contribution. Regarding wages, the ad asserted, "a full-time food clerk in Southern California can earn as much as \$17.90 an hour. ... We've offered our current employees a wage increase plus two lump-sum bonuses."

UFCW Local 770 quickly took these lies to task on its web site. The union explained that regarding health care, the companies also want to increase co-payments, institute deductibles and place caps on payments for prescriptions and surgeries. All this would amount to a 50-percent cut in medical benefits that would shift almost a billion dollars in health care costs onto the workers over the term of the contract.

In addition, medical costs paid by retirees would increase by hundreds of dollars a month if the stores get their way.

Regarding wages, many of the employees earn less than \$10 an hour. Seventy-five percent of supermarket employees work part-time. These workers average \$312 a week.

In addition, management intends to slash wages for new employees. This would create a second tier of employees who would be paid much less than their co-workers, providing an economic incentive to replace current employees.

Regarding workers close to retirement, Ely Orozco, a member of Local 770 picketing at the Ralphs in Korea Town, told Workers World, "There are people who've

worked 10 to 30 years making these stores run smoothly and all they've worked for could be lost."

As if this is not enough, she said, Ralphs is now planning to build two additional stores in California and hire non-union workers. The UFCW would have to pay for the cost of organizing the shop once it was established as a non-union facility.

Because there is so much at stake, Orozco says, the members remain determined. "As a group we are willing to stay until we get a fair health contract because as union members we know that this is a worthy cause to fight for," she concluded.

Another excuse used by the grocery chains is that they are forced to make these cuts because of shrinking market share. However, the statistics don't support this. In the first place, over the past five years the big three's profits have increased by 91 percent. In addition, in Southern California the Ralphs, Albertson's and Vons alone claim about 65 percent of the total market share; the closest competitors are Stater Brothers with 4.8 percent and Smart and Final with 3.4 percent of the market.

Also, the supposed market shrink didn't stop Safeway CEO Steven Burd from receiving his annual salary of \$1 million with a bonus of \$258,000. He usually gets a \$1.1 million bonus but sacrificed and only took the lower amount. He made up for this, however, by taking over \$9 million in stock sales since Sept. 8.

By the way, Burd never checked out any bags in his career. He never held an hourly wage job at a supermarket. His career prior to Safeway consisted of buying and selling with the money made by others' labor.

'Organize Wal-Mart!'

The Rev. Jesse Jackson was cheered when he told UFCW workers and supporters at the Oct. 20 solidarity rally that this assault was not just about health care, but also about a Wall-Street-driven effort to bust the union. He led a thunderous chant that could be heard for blocks, repeated in



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Biggest civil rights lawsuit in history

Wal-Mart charged with sex discrimination

By Sue Davis

On Sept. 24 a U.S. District Court judge heard arguments on turning a case charging Wal-Mart with sex discrimination into a class-action lawsuit. If the judge decides in favor, the case would become the biggest civil-rights lawsuit in history—involving 1.6 million current or former female workers. Should Wal-Mart lose, it would have to stop its sexist practices, pay millions of dollars in compensatory wages back to 1998 and adjust wages going forward.

Six female Wal-Mart workers in different cities filed the lawsuit in 2001. They charge that the world's biggest private retail corporation paid them on average \$1,400 less than male co-workers and that they were overlooked or denied pro-

motions because of their sex.

Statistics show that women make up 65 percent of the current Wal-Mart sales force, but only 33 percent of managers. Only after the lawsuit was filed did the company begin posting job openings so all workers could apply.

Though she struggled for seven years for a promotion, plaintiff Christine Kwapnoski didn't get one until after the lawsuit was filed. She can document that she earned a nickel an hour more than a male counterpart who had half her experience. Lead plaintiff Betty Dukes, who's worked for Wal-Mart since 1994, says: "I saw a lot of men advancing; opportunities did not seem to be there for me. It's beyond my store in Pittsburgh." (Contra Costa Times, Sept. 25)

It's no secret that anti-union Wal-Mart is ruthless in its pursuit of profit. The number of lawsuits it has lost—for discriminating against African American men and people with disabilities, for example—is huge. In fact, the National Organization for Women has a Web page detailing cases, and Web sites like www.walmartwatch.com track the company's many unfair labor practices.

No matter how bad Wal-Mart's record may be, paying women less than men for comparable work is standard operating procedure under capitalism. Department of Labor statistics for 2002 show that median weekly earnings for all women were \$530 compared with \$609 for men. Earnings specifically for African American and Latina women are even lower.

But don't think the bosses cut a better deal for women managers and professionals. On the contrary, the gap between men's and women's earnings widens as the rungs of the corporate ladder get higher. Managerial and professional men were paid on average \$1,058 per week in 2002 compared with \$756 for women.

The case against Wal-Mart holds huge potential. A victory could be used by unions, women's organizations and social-justice groups to demand equal pay for all women workers. What's needed to win such a victory are mass demonstrations before and during the trial. There's nothing like the workers' righteous anger to frighten the likes of Wal-Mart's billionaire owner Sam Robson Walton into paying up. □

Natural allies in the making

Labor and the anti-war movement

By Milt Neidenberg

“Happy days are here again”—so say Wall Street and the Bush administration. In September, the Federal Reserve Board reported a jump in industrial output and a spike in auto production, along with increases in defense and space equipment production.

The increases gave the military-industrial complex a tremendous boost in profits as the Pentagon continued to spend money at a reckless pace on the Iraq War and other imperialist conquests.

The recent \$87-billion “supplemental” appropriation is intended to give a shot in the arm to industrial expansion. Approved overwhelmingly by both capitalist parties, it sends a strong message that George W. Bush and his war-mongering class are in the Iraq occupation to the bitter end.

This obscene amount, added to the billions already spent, guarantees giant corporations like Halliburton, Bechtel and others long-term profits that will divert funds so necessary to run social programs here.

U.S. troops will stay longer to protect those investments and nullify the right of the Iraqi people to run their economy. Many more GIs will die for this shameful war profiteering.

Profits are rising among many Fortune 500 corporations, particularly in defense and related military-oriented subsidiaries. The financial institutions that bankroll the military-industrial corporations will prosper, reflecting one of the reasons the stock market is once again an attraction to greedy investors with a boom mentality.

These investors are overlooking the underlying conditions that led to the 1987 stock market crash and the 2000-2001 collapse. Capitalist overproduction, huge corporate debt and enormous government borrowing have led to a \$7-trillion debt. Pentagon spending will only add to these huge deficits.

Speculative risk investments called derivatives, amounting to \$140 TRILLION—more than 10 times the total value of the Gross Domestic Product—loom over the entire economy.

Consumer spending remains unpre-

dictable, except for excessive credit card use, as long-term unemployment and current layoffs remain high. And poverty is growing among all sectors of the work force, particularly among people of color and teenagers.

“U.S. Overcapacity Stalls New Jobs and Surplus of Boom-Era Factories Has Industry Loathe to Hire,” announced the front-page headline of an Oct. 19 New York Times article by Louis Uchitelle, a prominent economic analyst. The well-documented article stated: “Not since the severe recession of the early 1980s has capacity use in manufacturing stayed so low for so long a time, government data show. ... On average, manufacturers are using less than 73 percent of capacity. ... This is true with a vengeance.”

Workers are being pushed to the limit, increasing productivity and glutting markets here and abroad. And the U.S. faces shrinking world markets in the face of global resistance. Militarism, war and permanent unemployment are the ruling class’s solution to these devastating contradictions.

War in Iraq, war at home

In fact, the Wall Street/corporate optimism is based on the brutal, relentless assault by the Bush administration that continues to dump the economic crisis on the backs of the organized and unorganized, the jobless and the poor.

How can this ruling class “solution” be otherwise? This capitalist class is caught in the vise of the Iraq War that is going badly and an economy whose fundamentals are out of control. Resistance among sections of the labor movement is growing, particularly among the lower-paid, multinational, service-oriented work-force.

At a time when the Bush administration is losing popularity among the laboring masses, strikes, marches and rallies are occurring in the labor movement. They appear to be isolated events but signify a growing class consciousness.

On Oct. 4, over 100,000 immigrants, organized by a group of AFL-CIO leaders of service-oriented unions, took to the streets to express their resistance to immi-

grant-bashing, racism and repression. They demanded jobs and the right to organize and join unions. Some traveled throughout the country gathering support for the rally in Queens, N.Y. These workers know that the war against Iraq is not in their interests.

Strikes and work stoppages raise the banner of unity. This unity can spill over to workers here and abroad. The strike/lockout involving 70,000 United Food and Commercial Workers in southern and central California, including Los Angeles, against the three largest grocery chains with 859 stores, has spread to 44 stores in West Virginia, Kentucky and southern Ohio. (New York Times, Oct. 14)

The work stoppage at Ford in Genk, Belgium, is a splendid example of the solidarity that has been spreading in Europe. Strikes, work stoppages and demonstrations in Latin America, Asia and elsewhere, are getting attention and support from other sectors of the labor movement internationally.

Strikes are schools of class warfare

Strikes and work stoppages arise out of the inherent nature of capitalism—a bosses’ system of exploitation of the working class.

The economy is so fragile that labor strikes in this period, at a time of U.S. imperialist expansion and preemptive war, can undermine the economy and divert the ruling class from its objectives.

A strike is an important part of this development even though it may be a reaction to unacceptable demands made by the employers. The strike weapon educates the rank-and-file workers—who have nothing to sell but their ability to labor—to understand that their strength lies in withholding that labor, because it produces all the wealth.

The strike breaks through the smoke-screen of lies and demagoguery—the bosses and the workers are one big happy family”—that the employers use as they

try to take back every economic and social gain the unions have won over years of strikes and struggles.

As a strike becomes effective, the employers call on the capitalist government to use all its powers to break the will of the workers, who have the legal right to withhold their labor. From national strikes that stop interstate commerce to local stoppages, the employers and the government will conspire to break it up by using any anti-labor law, injunctions, arrests and scabs to starve the workers out and frame up the leaders.

Union yes, war no

Today, the U.S. union movement needs allies to change the relationship of class forces in the face of a formidable enemy. In a period of imperialist wars, the unions are in battle against their parasitical employers, who grab obscene salaries, bonuses, stock options, and lifetime guarantees of health care and pensions.

In a war economy, every strike and work stoppage becomes a political struggle. The anti-war movement and the labor movement need each other.

Will the AFL-CIO leaders, who have ignored the consequences of the Iraq War on the workers and the oppressed—a war that is inextricably tied to the war at home against labor—join in that struggle? This remains to be seen.

On Oct. 25, tens of thousands of anti-war protesters, and possibly even more, will converge on Washington, D.C., San Francisco and other cities to demand that the Iraq occupation end and the troops be withdrawn.

The critical issue: Will the anti-war movement—which has grown so strong and is dedicated to the fight against racism, repression and U.S. military domination of other peoples—turn its face to the strikes and struggles of the multinational working class?

Herein lies the challenge in the days ahead to develop the revolutionary process that will end economic disasters and capitalist wars. □

SOLIDARITY: spelled G-E-N-K



PHOTO: SOLIDAIRE (WWW.PTB.BE)

The work stoppage at Ford in Genk, Belgium, is a splendid example of the solidarity that has been spreading in Europe. Strikes, work stoppages and demonstrations in Latin America, Asia and elsewhere, are getting attention and support from other sectors of the labor movement internationally. Above: 15,000 workers and supporters march to defend Ford jobs in Genk, Belgium, on Oct. 18.

California food

Continued from page 3

loud refrain: “Organize Wal-Mart.”

Wal-Mart has become the darling of Wall Street and the Bush administration. It reflects the aspirations of many companies. This giant chain has brutally subjected its work force to poverty wages without health care, pensions or other benefits.

While Wal-Mart has not yet invested in the Los Angeles area, the Greedy Three food chains hope to use the Wal-Mart model to force the UFCW to accept drastic concessions.

This is the strategy of Wall Street and the giant food chains. The banks that invest in these companies need to assure their investors that the company is determined to reduce labor costs as much as humanly possible, driving conditions for workers down to virtual slavery.

Since so much attention is being given to the great Wal-Mart model it’s probably appropriate to tell a warm and fuzzy Wal-Mart story:

Mittie Funderburk, 52, injured her back in 2000 while moving photo-lab merchandise in the San Angelo, Texas, Wal-

Mart. Two months later, growing numbness in one of her legs immobilized her, forcing her to report the incident. Her doctor prescribed surgery, and a second doctor, selected by Wal-Mart, concurred. However, Wal-Mart fought the claim for months.

Eight months later the company finally allowed the surgery, in April 2001. However, the delay in surgery had probably caused more serious problems and by January Funderburk was immobilized by pain. She went on medical leave. After several epidural pain blocks failed to work, two doctors advised more extensive surgery. Although Texas’ State Workers’ Compensation Commission and its Independent Review Board sided with Funderburk three times, Wal-Mart has, through appeals, successfully delayed a court decision on the surgery and the case is still pending.

Last June, Wal-Mart terminated Mittie Funderburk because she had been off work for more than a year, even though her doctor advised her not to go back to work without the surgery.

The state of Texas finally agreed to pay for her spinal-fusion surgery in July, cost-

The \$2-trillion rat hole

What is, versus what could be

By Deirdre Griswold

What's \$87 billion? It's become more a symbol than a number. It's a shortcut for saying that the government ignores people's needs here in the United States while spending huge sums on the conquest and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Will it be the last little straw that buckles the camel's back like a ton of bricks?

You hear it mentioned when another piece of the infrastructure crumbles, or state workers are laid off or further inroads are made into vital services. When the news media ask people on the street for their comments, they angrily bring up the \$87 billion.

It's a lot of money. It comes to \$300 for every single person in the United States. Any worker told that the government was not going to spend that money and would give it back to them in a refund would consider that a very special day.

\$87B tip of iceberg

But actually, that \$87 billion is just the tip of the iceberg.

It refers to a "supplemental" appropriation passed by Congress on top of the already huge military budget for the coming year.

Here's the breakdown on military spending for fiscal years 2003 and 2004:

For FY2003, which covered the period of the massive assault on Iraq, Congress approved a Pentagon budget of \$364.4 billion. But in April of this year, it gave the war makers another \$62.4 billion in a "supplemental" bill to cover the Iraq war.

Now comes FY2004. It took all of 25 minutes on Sept. 17 for the conference committee that reconciles the House and Senate versions of the military spending bill to approve an even larger appropriation than last year: \$368.2 billion.

Then, adding insult to injury, the Bush administration said that wasn't enough. They needed more for the occupation and "rebuilding" of Iraq and Afghanistan. So they got the generous guardians of the public treasury to slip them another "sup-

plemental" \$87 billion. Add the two together and you get \$455.2 billion for FY2004.

If you add up the Pentagon budgets for both years, plus the "supplementals," the total comes to \$882 billion. Do the math on that and you'll see that, over these two years, the average family of four is expected to pay about \$12,160, or more than \$3,041 per individual, for war.

What could be done with the money

The hard-working and increasingly low-paid people of this country have many other things they could do with that money. Like getting your teeth fixed, or paying on your student loans so your bank account isn't seized by the IRS, or paying down your credit card debt.

But instead, this government of, by and for the rich will be using it to build submarines, fighter jets and missiles.

Last January, before the war started, Yale University economist William D. Nordhaus predicted that a war with Iraq could cost the economy a total of \$1.6 trillion over the next decade. (Washington Post, Jan. 8)

With growing resistance in Iraq to foreign domination, and the reluctance of other countries to help pay for a war they never thought should have happened, this estimate will undoubtedly turn out to be conservative.

New homes for a quarter of the population

Talk about trillions and most people's eyes glaze over. It's hard to wrap your head around such immense sums. So let's break them down.

Take the figure of \$2 trillion. That's how much the Congressional Budget Office, in a report released last January, estimated the federal government would spend over the next five years on "national defense."

Think about this for a minute: Two trillion is enough money to build brand-new \$100,000 houses and apartments for 20 million families—more than a quarter of

the population of the whole United States.

What a great tax "refund" that would be for lower-income people. Imagine wiping out homelessness and substandard housing in one fell swoop! And imagine how many millions of jobs that would create, not only in construction but also in manufacturing all the items needed to furnish an attractive and comfortable home.

Right now all but a few states are in crisis because their revenues are down and they can't print money like the federal government. Their budget cuts are affecting county and city governments, too. As a result, the biggest cutbacks in years have just begun in schools, libraries, fire stations, parks, medical programs, senior centers and scores of other vital services.

About 1 million people are losing Medicaid coverage this year, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. Higher education has been cut in 13 states. Elementary and secondary education has been cut in nine. Subsidized childcare for low-income families has been cut in 18 states and the District of Columbia. Desperate parents have to choose between either risking their children's safety or risking their jobs.

With the cutbacks, the jobs of hundreds of thousands, even millions, of teachers, librarians, fire fighters, social workers, meat inspectors and other public workers are on the line.

As the layoffs kick in, the weakened economy will take another severe hit in the one area—services—that was supposed to compensate for the shrinking industrial work force.

Get rid of budget deficits

How big are the budget deficits that are driving all this pain?

In FY2003, state budget deficits added up to about \$76 billion, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. Just the "supplemental" federal spending for the war in Iraq in the same year would almost cover that.

For FY2004, the state deficits are expected to jump to as high as \$85 billion.

Actually, that \$87 billion is just the tip of the iceberg. ... If working people controlled the destiny of this country, wouldn't the welfare of the people be our priority—not endless war?'

But that would still be covered by the \$87 billion in the newest "supplemental" appropriation for war and occupation.

If the working class controlled the destiny of this country, wouldn't the welfare of the people be our priority—not an endless and expensive state of war that makes the U.S. more hated, not more secure?

U.S. soldiers are now dying every day in Iraq and Afghanistan, as resistance to foreign occupation grows. The \$87 billion not only pays for this repression of the people but is also earmarked for building puppet governments packed with former exiles like Ahmed Chalabi, a convicted financial felon who hadn't been in Iraq for 40 years until he was installed as a leader by U.S. troops.

This money is also going to U.S. corporations close to the Bush administration, like Halliburton. Its affiliate Kellogg Brown & Root got contracts to rebuild the infrastructure in Iraq—not to help the people there but so other U.S. corporations can profitably take out the oil and natural gas. Vice President Dick Cheney, even as he sits in the White House, gets \$1 million a year from Halliburton in "pension" money from his days as CEO of the company.

So that's it—the problem is the criminal corporate ruling class, not how much wealth there is. There's plenty of wealth already to build a harmonious society in which no one goes hungry, homeless or lacking in any basic human need. The problem is to get rid of this capitalist economic system, which is uncontrollably addicted to profit and war. □

workers fight for health care

ing \$30,000, and will try to get the money from Wal-Mart.

Money for health care, not warfare

Metropolitan Transit Authority bus drivers and mechanics are also out on strike in L.A. As with the UFCW workers and the 44 million without it in this country, health care is a central issue.

"We're paid less than other transit mechanics in major cities," Reid Parker told the Oct. 16 Los Angeles Times. Parker fixes bus air-conditioners. He was on the picket line outside MTA headquarters in downtown Los Angeles. "But we were OK with it," he continued, "because the medical was good, until now."

"Maybe we can tap into some of that \$87 billion from George Bush's war budget," Parker said. "You know, I think you could probably cover every single state budget deficit in the country with what we're spending this year in Iraq."

The attacks on the UFCW can be compared to an imperialist war whereby all rules of combat and international laws protecting basic human rights are thrown aside to steal from workers—steal an even greater share of the value

'In the context of this country's overall health-care situation ... these attacks by the big three grocery giants are part of the ruthless assault on all workers.'



they produce with their labor.

The Iraq war's relevance to these union struggles is being shown by ANSWER. This understanding that the assault on workers and the economy is fueled by the U.S. war drive has led ANSWER to join locked-out and striking UFCW grocery employees on the picket lines, and to organize community-support networks for the grocery store strike.

The action at the labor solidarity rallies was just one of many initiatives ANSWER plans. In addition to helping get union leaflets translated into Korean and Spanish, these activists are working on

facilitating community support for the strike through a food drive for workers on the line.

When put in the context of this country's overall health-care situation—especially for retired workers and the most oppressed workers, with wages barely above the poverty line, and under the poverty line for Wal-Mart employees—these attacks by the big three grocery chains are part of the ruthless assault on all workers.

A Public Broadcasting Service special aired two years ago interviewed Sherry Gilied, Ph.D., an associate professor of

public health at Columbia University. She said that 44 million people in this country are uninsured. And—get this—eight out of 10 of these uninsured people are workers or their dependents. She also noted that an additional 38 million have inadequate health insurance.

Last year record numbers of workers lost their health care. Today a job does not guarantee health care. If the Wal-Mart model is adopted, what will that say about tomorrow?

However, these attacks, especially attempted cuts in health care and retirement benefits, can also provide the basis for furthering and deepening broad, massive support among all workers, union and non-union. They could force a tidal wave of resistance so powerful that non-union Wal-Marts would be swept away and only allowed to exist as union shops.

All this is possible. The raw material for such support already exists. The progressive community, including every union and every worker, should do their utmost to assist the courageous UFCW workers in their battle against Ralphs, Albertson's and Vons—because this fight is our fight. □

Is resistance near?

GI anger grows over role in Iraq

By Dustin Langley

As Washington's bloody occupation and war against the Iraqi people drags on, U.S. troops are becoming desperate to end their enforced stay in that country. More and more are looking for ways to get out and stay out of Iraq.

And more groups in the anti-war and anti-occupation movement are reaching out to the GIs, just as they did during the 1960-1975 U.S. war on Vietnam.

The Oct. 5 New York Post reported that calls to the GI Rights Hotline, which counsels GIs regarding discharges and their rights, had increased by 75 percent in the last 12 weeks. Many of those callers asked about the punishment associated with going "absent without leave"—AWOL.

Many of the calls came from soldiers on leave from Iraq. "What would happen if I just don't go back" to Iraq, one caller asked. Another said, "I'm going to shoot myself in the foot."

Even the military had to admit it faces a serious morale problem. The Oct. 16 Stars and Stripes newspaper reported on a survey of soldiers in Iraq, which revealed that 34 percent overall rated their own

morale as "low" or "very low." Among reservists, the number rose to 48 percent.

The French Press Agency reported Oct. 21 that at least 28 of the 1,300 soldiers who went on leave in the United States starting two weeks earlier have failed to report for flights back to Iraq. Military spokespeople tried to play down the importance of this first crack in the chain of command.

For the Pentagon, this morale problem means that rank-and-file troops' attitude begins to interfere with their willingness and ability to effectively carry out orders to repress the Iraqi population. Forty-nine percent of those surveyed said that it was unlikely or very unlikely that they would re-enlist when their term is up. This can create problems for the Bush Doctrine of endless war.

At least 13 soldiers have committed suicide in Iraq, according to Reuters.

Falling morale also shows that GIs are becoming more aware of their true interests. As the lies used to justify this war are exposed, the possibility for anti-war resistance inside the military grows.

Soldiers begin to speak out

One sergeant at the 2nd Battle Combat

Team Headquarters told a reporter from ABC News, "I've got my own 'Most Wanted' list," referring to the "Most Wanted" deck of cards of Iraqi officials the Pentagon produced. "The aces in my deck are Paul Bremer, Donald Rumsfeld, George Bush and Paul Wolfowitz."

Other soldiers who have returned home are also beginning to speak out. Frank Mendez is a U.S. Army Reservist stationed in Iraq. While on leave, he led a demonstration against the war outside the New Jersey offices of Sens. Jon Corzine and Frank Lautenberg.

"The military is aware of how low troop morale is," Teresa Panepinto, program coordinator of GI Rights Hotline, told the Post. "They're concerned these people are going to come home and not go back."

Anti-war movement reaches out to troops

The Pentagon has good reason to worry. Resistance inside the military, with the support of members of the anti-war movement, played a big role in forcing the end of the war against the people of Vietnam.

Several activist groups and publications have stepped forward to support the grow-

ing dissent within the military.

The Support Network for an Armed Forces Union—SNAFU—is an organization of activists and veterans formed to work in counter-recruiting and supporting resisters inside the military. It has been active in the defense of several resisters, including Stephen Funk, the Marine Corps Reservist who refused to deploy with his unit.

Judi Cheng, an organizer with SNAFU (www.join-snafu.org) and a GI counselor, said: "SNAFU has launched a support campaign for Stephen Funk, a resister and Marine who has been sentenced to six months for refusing to take part in the unjust war against the people of Iraq."

"Progressives everywhere should know that there is a movement of resistance among the troops, who are members of the working class and have found themselves in a quagmire. It's becoming clearer to them that this war and occupation is not in their interests."

Another group, Military Families Speak Out, has created a web site (www.bringthemhome.org) to "mobilize military families, veterans, and GIs themselves to

Continued on next page

Lesbian, gay, bi, trans Oct. 25 contingents to demand:

'Free Stephen Funk! Bring the troops home now!'

By LeiLani Dowell

As the anti-war movement gears up for national protests in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., on Oct. 25, three les-

bian, gay, bisexual and trans coalitions are building contingents for both rallies to support gay conscientious objector Stephen Funk.

Queers for Peace and Justice NY/NJ;

the Out Against the War Coalition; and Queers for Peace and Justice, Bay Area have issued a joint statement calling for "Freedom for Stephen Funk LGBT Contingents."

The call includes demands to "Free Stephen Funk" as well as "End the Occupation of Iraq—Bring the Troops Home Now," and "Money for Jobs, AIDS & Housing, Not for War and Occupation."

The significance of a national call to link the struggles of the LGBT community and anti-war movements cannot be overstated. The Bush administration's attacks on working people, such as massive unemployment and cuts in social services, while money is fueled into the war effort in the Middle East, directly affect both the LGBT communities and straight people.

Bush's declaration of Oct. 12-18 as "Marriage Protection Week" is yet another attack on the LGBT communities. The violence LGBT people increasingly face on the streets is barely reported in the mainstream media. The Sept. 30 murder of Sindy Cuarda, a 24-year-old transgender woman of color in San Pablo, Calif., is just one of the most recent in a wave of murders across the United States against LGBT people, particularly trans people of color.

LGBT activists and straight allies are refusing to allow themselves to be swayed by the divide-and-conquer tactics of the ruling class and the mainstream media. While LGBT activists have always been in the forefront of the anti-war movement, the consolidation of LGBT forces nationwide is considered an advance in the movement.

Imani Henry, organizer for Queers for Peace and Justice NY/NJ, says, "Now more than ever, the anti-war movement has the opportunity to make a powerful link between the oppression faced by LGBT communities and the struggle to

end war and racism, through the fight to free Stephen."

As with all previous national marches, LGBT activists from across the country are mobilizing to build contingents and feeder marches and provide leadership for the Oct. 25 protests.

Stephen Funk, a 21-year-old gay Filipino U.S. Marine Reservist, refused to deploy when his unit was called to active duty. He instead began speaking out against the war.

His mother, Gloria Placis, told Workers World: "Steve was the first conscientious objector to successfully use the media as an advocate for the anti-war movement. His personal struggles opened up public awareness of the government's manipulation of the press and its covert alliance with the military."

On Sept. 6, a jury of four Marines found Funk guilty of unauthorized absence and sentenced him to six months in prison, a pay cut of two-thirds during his incarceration, a bad conduct discharge and demotion to the rank of private—the Marines' lowest rank.

Of the 28 Marine conscientious objectors to the Iraq war, Funk was the only one to face prosecution. He says he was targeted for being gay and speaking out against the war. Funk's case is currently under appeal.

The call for the Oct. 25 contingents reads: "Stephen's determination is an example to thousands of potential war resisters in the U.S. military who see the occupation for what it is and experience the racism and homophobia of the armed forces first hand."

"It is for this reason that we call on LGBT activists to unite on Oct. 25 to call for an end to the occupation and freedom for Stephen Eagle Funk. The military anticipates that Stephen will be alienated from society because he is gay and Asian. We will not let this happen." □



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

Anti-war protestors in San Francisco's Castro District show their support for GI resister Stephen Funk on Sept. 4, the day his trial opened in New Orleans.

Are Dean & Clark really 'peace' candidates?

By Sara Flounders

The polls confirm that support for George W. Bush is at the lowest level of his presidency. The growing resistance in Iraq is creating a crisis for the Bush administration. The excuses for the war are being exposed as lies. There is growing unease at the huge tax breaks and lucrative military contracts Bush has given to his cronies, along with the permanent loss of more than 3 million jobs. Anyone, it seems, would be better than Bush.

But who are the candidates who have millions of dollars pumped into their campaigns and have received endless media attention as the ones who can beat Bush? How different are they?

U.S. elections are a contest between two big-business parties over control of the capitalist government. Both of these parties serve the same class.

There are competing policies and conflicting financial interests among these sharks. But they are all predators. Their policies are in the best interests of the handful of super-rich owners of industry and banking.

Overwhelmingly, Democratic Party

GI anger

Continued from facing page

demand: an end to the occupation of Iraq and other misguided military adventures; and an immediate return of all U.S. troops."

Stan Goff is a Special Forces veteran who wrote "Hideous Dream," a book about the U.S. military in Haiti. Goff, an organizer with the MFSO, said: "They were told it would be like [World War II soldiers] going into Paris. It's a lot more like Mogadishu [Somalia]. Bush and Rumsfeld care for soldiers like Tyson Foods cares for chickens."

Goff's son is a vehicle mechanic with the 82nd Airborne, recently sent in to replace the 3rd Infantry Division. MFSO will be marching as a contingent in the Oct. 25 march in Washington, D.C., to "end the occupation and bring the troops home now!"

Fernando Suarez, also of MFSO, lost a son in Iraq. Suarez will speak at an Oct. 22 public meeting in Madrid to oppose the "Donors Conference" of countries Washington is squeezing for funds for Iraq. He is also scheduled to participate in the Oct. 25 protest in Washington.

The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, which has been active since the Korean War, operates the GI Rights Hotline. The number of monthly calls to the hotline has risen from 2,000 to 3,500 in the last three months.

"GI Special" is a regularly distributed e-mail bulletin compiled by Thomas Barton, a veteran of the Vietnam anti-war GI movement. "GI Special" focuses on issues related to the occupation.

Traveling Soldier (www.traveling-soldier.org/) is a newsletter that discusses the occupation as well as other issues related to military personnel and veterans, including cuts in benefits, the dangers of depleted uranium and news from the front lines.

The growth of anger inside the military and of these organizations outside are signs that GIs' low morale about serving as cannon fodder for U.S. militarism could soon turn into high morale—for the struggle for their own right to come home.

The writer is an organizer for SNAFU.

politicians were silent last year before the invasion of Iraq and hurriedly voted to give Bush full authority to wage war. Now these same politicians are reading the polls. A whole field is rewriting scripts. They are anxious to gather the army of grassroots volunteers that every political campaign needs.

The presidential election campaign, although still a year away, seems to have reached an all-time height of demagoguery and opportunism. The two leading Democratic contenders—Howard Dean and Wesley Clark—have cynically posed as anti-war candidates.

Looking at the record of the current two Democratic front runners demonstrates that their role is to capture the growing dissatisfaction while offering very little substantive difference.

Dean: Wall Street's child

Howard Dean, the leading "peace" candidate, told journalist Fred Hiatt, "I don't even consider myself a dove." (Washington Post, Aug. 25)

Last January and February, when millions of people were in the streets in protest, Dean said, "America may have to go to war" against Iraq. His only concern was that there was not enough international support. (Washington Post, Feb. 17)

Dean's criticism at that time was that Iraq was the "wrong war at the wrong time." He argued that North Korea was a greater threat.

Now Dean does not call for bringing the troops home. He said he was actually for sending more troops to Iraq, according to the March 29 New York Times.

"Now that we're there, we're stuck," Dean has said publicly. He said that whoever is elected to the Oval Office in 2004 will have to live with this. "We have no choice," he claimed.

And he repeated the same vague and baseless lies: "It's a matter of national security. If we leave and we don't get a democracy in Iraq, the result is very significant danger to the United States." (Washington Post, Feb. 17)

Howard Dean was a fervent supporter of the massive 1991 bombing of Iraq, which was also a criminal imperialist war for control of oil. Dean supported the 2001 U.S. bombing that devastated Afghanistan, one of the poorest countries in the world.

During his political life he has not opposed any Pentagon war, occupation, coup or invasion.

A quick glance at Dean's record as gov-

ernor of Vermont confirms that he would also continue the war on the domestic front.

Dean not only supported the Clinton administration's drastic overhaul—basically, repeal—of the federal welfare program, but he pushed through state legislation for workfare programs. He cut benefits and imposed strict time limits on single mothers on welfare.

As governor, Dean tried hard to cut benefits for elderly and disabled people. He increased funding for state colleges by only 7 percent while raising prison funding by 150 percent.

Howard Dean has no doubts about class interests. He was born into the elite. His father and grandfather were based in the Wall Street investment firm Dean Witter. His family never had to worry about their pensions being cut.

Howard Dean never worried about deteriorating schools or tuition increases. He went to elite private schools like St. George's boarding school, where students have a 69-foot yacht to play on.

Dean speaks with the arrogance of his class when he says that welfare recipients "don't have any self-esteem. If they did, they'd be working." (Nation, May 26)

Wesley Clark: the Pentagon candidate

Without the total compliance of a corporate media that was willing to be embedded in the Pentagon war machine during the invasion of Iraq, Wesley Clark's pose as a peace candidate would be seen as a ridiculous masquerade.

Wesley Clark is a former top Pentagon general. As NATO commander in 1999, Clark led the U.S. war against Yugoslavia. Under his command, U.S. forces carried out 80 days of bloody bombing raids against utterly defenseless civilian populations in major cities.

Clark personally planned and authorized the use of even prohibited anti-personnel weapons, including thousands of tiny, razor-sharp cluster bombs and radioactive depleted uranium rounds. In violation of the Nuremberg and Geneva Conventions and international law, these bombs were dropped in crowded urban centers, in market places and even on hospitals and schools.

Anyone who thinks Clark would be more humane than Bush should revisit a Washington Post report of Sept. 21, 1999. It describes how at one point during the bombing campaign Clark rose out of his seat, slapped the table and declared, "I've got to get maximum violence out of this campaign—now."

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Gen. Clark was in charge of the internment camps packed with Haitian refugees fleeing U.S.-supported dictator Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier and later the brutal U.S.-installed regime that overthrew the elected Aristide government. Clark was chief of operations at the Navy internment camp at Guantánamo.

This presidential hopeful has not spoken a word against the ongoing torture and brutal detainment there of hundreds of "suspects" seized during the U.S. war against Afghanistan.

Last October, when Clark endorsed Katrina Swett for Congress, he told the Union Leader newspaper that if she were elected, he would advise her to vote for the resolution to give Bush full authority to use military force against Iraq but only after vigorous debate. (Oct. 10, 2002)

Three months later, Clark went on record supporting the Bush administration's unilateral action of bypassing the United Nations Security Council to invade Iraq. "The president is going to have to move ahead, despite the fact that the allies have reservations," he said. (CNN, Jan. 21)

He added weeks later, "The credibility of the U.S. is on the line, and Saddam Hussein has these weapons and so, you know, we are going to go ahead and do this and the rest of the world's got to get with us." (CNN, Feb. 5)

Clark was not even a registered Democrat until he decided to run for the nomination. He voted for Richard Nixon and for Ronald Reagan, praised President George W. Bush and raised money for Arkansas Republicans.

Anyone who is angered about Vice President Dick Cheney's role in steering millions of federal dollars into corporations he represented should look at Clark's role after he retired from his 34-year army career in 2000. Clark quickly became a director of four firms, joined the advisory board of two others and became the managing director of an investment firm. His role was to boost these companies' military contracts.

Build an independent movement!

With capitalist elections, regardless of which candidate and which party comes out on top, none of the institutions of the state—the Pentagon, CIA, State Department—is substantially changed.

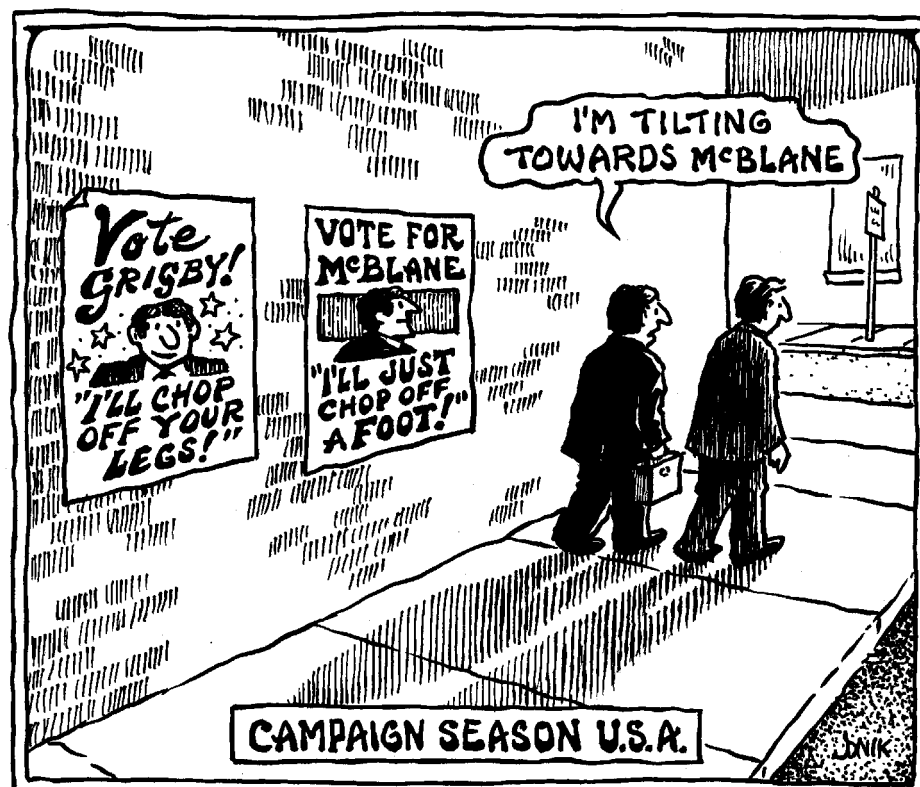
These institutions that make up part of the state machinery of oppression have been shaped over many generations to serve the interests of one tiny class of super-rich capitalists in a system that feeds on war and conquest.

The top military brass don't face elections. Neither do the CEOs, Wall Street brokers or owners of industry and banking who chase profits from capitalist globalization.

Poor and working people need a movement independent of the two parties of big business that represent the interests of billionaires who strive to control the world's resources and labor.

Millions of people came into the streets last year in an effort to stop the U.S. war. Now, aroused by the brutality of occupation, the anti-war movement is mobilizing again.

If this young movement resists being sucked into electoral campaigns that are not capable of making change or of challenging the very system that is responsible for war and racism, it will pose a real challenge and will be a tremendous force for change. □





JAPAN



PHILIPPINES



As Iraqi resistance grows

Bush tries to sell 'endless war'

Continued from page 1

from 1950 to 1953. Five million Koreans were killed in that war. The U.S. has refused to sign a peace treaty ending the war.

Bush has branded North Korea as a member of his "axis of evil," a status conferred also on Iraq and Iran. Iraq, of course, was then invaded by the Pentagon. Washington has 37,000 troops in South Korea. It has nuclear weapons, warships and military aircraft in the region, and has threatened "surgical strikes" against the North.

Under such an extreme threat, the North's demand for a non-aggression treaty in return for giving up a major deterrent against U.S. attack seems to be very minimal.

Bush moved on to the Philippines, where he sought to bolster the pro-U.S. regime of President Gloria Macapagal

Arroyo with a five-year military supply and training plan. Under the guise of fighting terrorism, the U.S. has stationed 1,500 troops in the Philippines and is trying to overcome that country's law that forbids foreign troops from entering into combat.

Bush made his stock speech about the "war against terrorism" before a joint session of the Philippine Congress, where his speech writers had the audacity and/or ignorance to allow him to reminisce over how U.S. and Philippine troops "liberated the Philippines from colonial rule."

He was referring to the Spanish-American War of 1898, in which the U.S. seized the Philippines from Spain. It then killed up to 1 million Filipinos in the 12 years of war that were required to destroy the national liberation movement there. The U.S. carried out another counter-insurgency war against the Hukbalahap liberation forces after World War II, while granting formal independence to the Philippines in 1946.

Bush then went to Thailand, where he declared the government there a key "non-NATO" ally, a dubious status held only by the Philippines. He praised the regime for sending engineers to Afghanistan and Iraq and offered it military aid. This tips the Thai regime from its previous diplomatic and military position of formal neutrality in the recent period and caused consternation in the country. For Thailand to move closer to the U.S. militarily is a threat to Laos, Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia, and China, and could upset relations in the region.

While Thai Army chief Gen. Chaisit Shinawatra defended the new status, Suriyasai Katasila, who heads the anti-globalization organization Campaign for Popular Democracy, said that the announcement was more likely to give Washington oppor-

tunity to interfere in Thai military affairs. (Bangkok Post, Oct. 21)

Bush was in Thailand to attend the Asian Pacific Economic Conference. He hijacked the economic conference's agenda by demanding a resolution against terrorism and a resolution to pressure North Korea to go along with Bush's initiative to stop that country's nuclear program.

Iraqi resistance deepens and widens

But for all the resolutions and belligerent speeches, Bush cannot escape the mounting setbacks to the occupation at the hands of the Iraqi resistance. Pictures of Iraqi youth on top of a burned-out U.S. Army truck told the story of the Pentagon's problems.

"A roadside bomb—set against a monument reading 'Welcome to Falluja'—exploded on a truck hauling Hellfire missiles," wrote the Oct. 20 New York Times, "and then crowds incinerated the entire truck, using gasoline." When U.S. troops returned to get the wreckage, they were attacked again and forced to retreat.

On the same day, two U.S. soldiers were killed in Kirkuk in the north. The following day, one soldier was killed and six wounded in Falluja. Times military correspondent Michael Gordon obtained a document prepared for Paul Bremer III, head of the Occupation Authority, reviewing the military situation in the recent period. It recorded recent events such as a missile attack on a C-130 transport, an attack on the motorcade of the governor of Diyala Province, an attack on a convoy north of Mahmudiya, attacks in Tikrit, near Jalula, near al Fathah, near Safwan, in Basra in the south, and numerous other attacks. There are 11 "red zones" in and around Baghdad where no U.S. forces are supposed to go "unless on urgent business." (New York Times, Oct. 19)

The frequency, accuracy, coordination and sophistication of the attacks are increasing and they are occurring over a wider area. All indications are that the hatred for the occupation is spreading and the active resistance is growing. It is fueled by the increasing number of atrocities committed by U.S. forces.

When a U.S. paratrooper was killed and six others were wounded in Falluja on Oct. 19, soldiers opened up with wild gunfire and killed a Syrian truck driver taking a shipment to Lebanon. He was one of two civilians killed. Their bodies were taken to the hospital. "One of them, Iraqi Nazem Baji, had a gunshot wound in the back of the head and his hands were tied in front of him with plastic bands similar to those used by the U.S. military when they arrest suspects." (Associated Press, Oct. 20) The victim's brother told the AP that U.S. soldiers "raided the house, shot him first in the leg, tied his hands and then shot him in the head."

These are the unspoken rules of engagement sanctioned and encouraged by the brass. Soldiers are rarely charged in any instance of killing civilians, let alone punished. This was an execution carried out in plain sight. It bespeaks a culture of bru-

tality, such as existed during the Vietnam War, which is angering Iraqis and sowing demoralization among many U.S. soldiers.

Under such conditions the U.S. occupation will only meet more resistance, have to stay longer and maintain if not expand its forces. U.S. imperialism is being stretched ever thinner by this colonial occupation. It is in desperate need of troops and money.

UN vote: U.S. bought victory

This is what was behind all the maneuvering at the United Nations Security Council. The struggle over the role of the UN is really the struggle of the French and German imperialists, allied with the Russian capitalists, to break the iron grip of the Pentagon and the U.S. Agency for International Development, which have been doling out all the contracts to U.S. corporations such as Halliburton, Bechtel, WorldCom and others.

The Bush administration was forced by the dire situation in Iraq to go to the UN, which it had previously scorned. It finally got a unanimous resolution, authorizing a multinational force, that presumably paves the way for other countries to send troops and money. But the resolution, as written, was simply providing a UN cover to the U.S. occupation, without yielding any political or economic authority to anyone. Thus it raised eyebrows when the resolution was passed by a 15-0 vote.

But the Oct. 20 edition of the New York Times carried a lead story shedding light on the vote:

"Under pressure from potential donors, the Bush administration will allow a new agency to determine how to spend billions of dollars in Iraq, administration and aid officials say. The new agency, to be independent of the American occupation, will be run by the World Bank and the United Nations."

The Times quoted a World Bank official as saying that the European countries "don't want their funds to be perceived as commingled with the funds controlled by the CPA [Coalition Provisional Authority]. They want their own say over how the money is spent. ... [T]he new agency could open up" the contract process "and award contracts to global companies. Donors could also give directly to Iraq, specifying that their own companies do the work."

The resolution passed in the Security Council had specifically designated the U.S.-controlled Development Fund for Iraq, set up by the Pentagon, as the only agency authorized to handle funds. But it appears that the new agency, if it is actually formed, would "open up the process" to the other imperialists and allow them to get an economic foothold in Iraq. This must have been part of the price for the 15-0 vote and gave the U.S. a boost for the upcoming Madrid Donors Conference.

The anti-war movement should not regard the entry of the UN and the World Bank into the reconstruction process as any kind of victory for the struggle. If they get in, it would open up the Iraqi people to a new group of corporate robbers while relieving some of the pressure on U.S. imperialism.

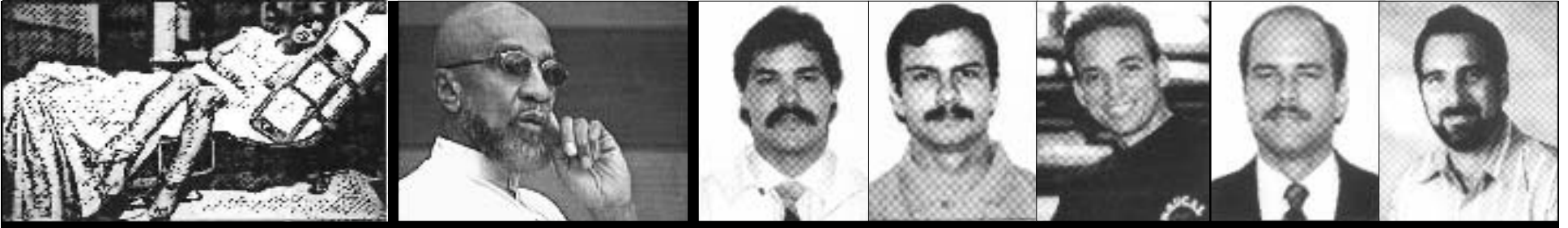
On the contrary, the movement should make every effort to get all the imperialists off the backs of the Iraqi people, get the troops out, use the war money for human needs, and allow the Iraqis to determine their own destiny. □



INDONESIA



SOUTH KOREA



Shackled woman prisoner after childbirth. www.freewebs.com/imamjamil The Cuban 5: Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández and René González. www.freethethefive.org

A struggle on two fronts PRISONS & IMPERIALIST WAR

By **Monica Moorehead**

After a war waged by the U.S. military against Vietnam which took the lives of more than 3 million Vietnamese people and more than 58,000 GIs, the U.S. finally withdrew in 1975. It had suffered its first official major military defeat by a united people's struggle led by the Vietnamese, along with a mass U.S. anti-war movement.

Four years earlier, another heroic struggle of resistance had taken place inside the U.S. The battlefield was in upstate New York at the notorious Attica prison. Hundreds of prisoners—African American, Latino, Native and white—organized a united front and took over the prison for four days in September 1971.

These prisoners exposed to a largely uninformed U.S. population and to the world that U.S. dungeons were nothing more than concentration camps for the poor. The demands they made of the prison officials and the ruling-class governor, Nelson Rockefeller, reflected both the daily inhumane treatment that exists for prisoners along with concerns for the worldwide problems caused by racism, capitalist greed and imperialist war.

Among the prisoners' demands was the right to be unionized to win a decent wage with benefits like other workers. Another demand was for willing prisoners to be granted political asylum in socialist Cuba.

The political consciousness of these prisoners was inspired by the writings of anti-imperialist Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh as well as other revolutionary figures like Che Guevara, Karl Marx and George Jackson.

This rebellion was drowned in blood as Rockefeller ordered the National Guard to open fire, resulting in a slaughter that left

29 prisoners and 10 hostages dead. What this uprising showed was that economic and political repression gives birth to social consciousness, solidarity and class struggle.

U.S. terrorism at home and abroad

Fast forward to what is happening now. The names may have changed but the struggle is the same. This time the U.S. military has carried out another brutal war against Iraq and is bogged down in a racist occupation of that once sovereign country. Like the Vietnamese, the Iraqi people are putting up a heroic resistance. This occupation is part and parcel of Bush's so-called war on terror.

The economic and political repression inside the prisons has deepened over the past 30 years.

During the era of Attica, there were an estimated 300,000 prisoners in the U.S. Today U.S. prisons and jails are now filled with over 2.1 million poor and working people, more than any other industrialized country.

Women prisoners, many of them single mothers, constitute the fastest-growing prison population. It has been documented that at least 70 percent of imprisoned women and men were convicted of non-violent, drug-related "crimes." Many suffer from HIV/AIDS, other disabilities and illiteracy. Amnesty International and other groups have accused the U.S.

prison system of violating many international laws, especially the racist, anti-poor application of the death penalty.

The building of private prisons, including juvenile detention centers, has been one of the most profitable markets for Wall Street investors. Prison slave labor has enriched the coffers of U.S. corporations to the tune of over \$1 billion annually. This

super-exploitation lowers the wages of many workers and undermines the campaign to organize the unorganized. Unions should make it a policy to organize prisoners as they are doing with immigrants and other low-paid workers.

One of the main reasons such blatant exploitation and oppression exists inside the prisons is institutionalized racism that permeates throughout the entire criminal justice system. According to Mother Jones.com, in 2000 some 66 percent of those incarcerated were people of color. This is hugely disproportionate to their numbers in the population. There were more Black men in prison in 2001 than in college. (Justice Policy Institute)

People of color, especially youth, are demonized and criminalized in the media to help drive an invisible wedge between the multi-national and multi-cultural communities, who have common interests.

This same divide-and-conquer tactic is a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy as leaders like Saddam Hussein, Robert Mugabe and Fidel Castro are portrayed as "tyrants" and "dictators" by the mainstream media and U.S. government to justify imperialist aggression.

Repression & political prisoners

The U.S. government likes to ostracize other countries for having political prisoners—especially those countries that favor a different economic system such as Cuba, North Korea and China.

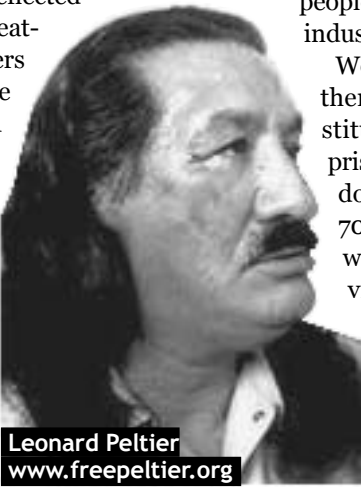
The truth is that there are U.S. prisoners who have been victims of illegal frame-ups because they have a history of being outspoken opponents against racism, imperialism and colonialism. The more well-known political prisoners include Mumia Abu-Jamal, Leonard Peltier, Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin (formerly H. Rap Brown), the Cuban 5, the Angola 3, the Puerto Rican independentistas, members of

the MOVE 9 and many more.

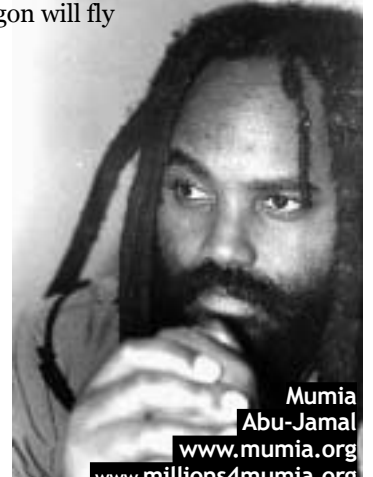
The repressive U.S. Patriot Act since 9/11 has sanctioned the illegal detentions and torture of thousands of unidentified South Asian, Middle Eastern and Muslim immigrants within these borders and on a U.S. military base in Guantanamo, Cuba.

Palestinian detainees such as Professor Sami Al-Arian, Amer Jubran and the Los Angeles 8 are being threatened with prison and/or deportation for defending Palestinian resistance against Israeli occupation.

The movement for social change has important political allies locked away who must never be forgotten in the heat of battle. While fighting French colonialism, Ho Chi Minh wrote from his prison cell, "People who come out of prison can build up the country... Those who protest at injustice are people of true merit... When the prison doors are opened, the real dragon will fly out." □



Leonard Peltier www.freepeltier.org



Mumia Abu-Jamal www.mumia.org www.millions4mumia.org



Merle Africa, martyred MOVE 9 member www.onamove.org



Ho Chi Minh



Dr. Sami Al-Arian www.samial-arian.newstrove.com



Iraqi prisoners of war in 2003.



Angola 3—from left, Herman Wallace, Robert Wilkerson (now freed), Albert Woodfox www.prisonactivist.org/angola



Prisoners at Guantanamo Bay today.



Aftermath of Attica rebellion, 1971

Mobilize to end the occupation, but Only socialism can abolish imperialist war

By Fred Goldstein

The Bush administration's invasion and occupation of Iraq, bombing and wholesale destruction visited on Afghanistan, and its proclamation of an era of "endless war" have confronted the current generation with the same crises and struggles faced by generations over the past hundred years who have had to fight against imperialist war and intervention.

U.S. soldiers, mostly workers in uniform—for the rich don't fight their own wars—are being called upon to kill and be killed to make Iraq safe for the transnational corporations. The anti-war movement must do everything in its power to mobilize mass opposition to the occupation and to stay the Bush administration's hand that is threatening Iran, Syria, North Korea, Cuba and any other country that refuses to bow down to its dictates.

But in the course of the struggle against war and occupation, this question must be addressed: how to put an end to the recurring and expanding cycle of imperialist war, intervention and occupation. The answer to this most serious question depends entirely on understanding the war drive's character and cause.

The Bush administration has proclaimed the right of "pre-emptive war" based on a phony "war on terrorism" and the supposed threat of "weapons of mass destruction." Beneath the false slogans and fraudulent justifications for war lie profound ruling-class interests—profit interests, which flow from a historically developed social system of global exploitation and plunder that is over a century old. This system is called imperialism.

In 1916 V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution, wrote a fundamental analysis entitled "Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism." In this work, Lenin made special note of the Spanish-American War of 1898 in which the United States inaugurated its own era of imperialist war by defeating the Spanish empire and colonizing the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Cuba and Guam.

Lenin wrote this book during World War I, the first worldwide imperialist conflagration.

Lenin characterized imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism—an irreversible evolution from its competitive stage to its monopoly stage. In this groundbreaking work he showed, by analyzing a mass of economic and political data, that imperialism is characterized by the merger of the giant banks and corporations into what was called finance-capital, which dominated economic and political life.

The great powers of Europe, the United States and Japan had all reached this stage by the end of the 19th century.

In the process they had intensified a furious struggle among themselves to divide the globe into colonies and spheres of influence.

The process of brutal colonization had been going on for centuries, since the earliest stages of capitalism. Whenever there was a significant change in the relationship of forces among these imperialist powers, a new struggle would open up to re-divide the globe and war would result.

After Lenin wrote the book, the era of socialist revolutions and national liberation struggles began in earnest. Imperialism's drive to roll back socialism and

stop the liberation movements became intertwined with the imperialists' own inter-imperialist rivalry, and this became another source of imperialist war and intervention.

The Iraq War and imperialism

Iraq is a classical example of how imperialism operates as a system.

Washington's goal is to roll back all the gains of the 1958 national revolution that kicked the British colonialists out of Iraq. Direct imperialist investment was at first put under Iraqi control and eventually forbidden. The oil was nationalized and the resources of the country were taken out of the hands of the transnational banks and corporations.

During the era of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, the USSR's military strength acted as a deterrent on any open military attempt by the West to recolonize Iraq. Furthermore, Iraq was able to obtain Soviet anti-imperialist economic and military assistance.

Once the USSR collapsed, however, the U.S. ruling class felt it had a free hand in the Middle East and it began to target Iraq. Furthermore, it made an alliance with its junior partner, former colonialists in London, to keep the other imperialists out.

McDonald's and more

Imperialism, of course, tries to hide its motives for war from the masses. But every once in a while, one of its spokespeople gets bold, loses inhibitions and blurts out something close to the truth. Thus did Thomas Friedman of the New York Times. Drunk with triumphalism over the Pentagon's unrivaled power and dazzled by U.S. technology, Friedman wrote an article headlined "A Manifesto for the Fast World" that ran in the Times Sunday Magazine on March 28, 1999.

Friedman wrote: "The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist—McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell-Douglas, the designer of the F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies is called the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps."

Friedman seemed to have forgotten all about McDonald's when he became an avid supporter of the current Pentagon war against Iraq. He should peruse an Oct. 14 article in the London Guardian in which its diplomatic editor, Ewen MacAskill, described a London conference that began on Oct. 13.

In the piece, the first of "The 'Doing Business in Iraq' Series" subheaded "Kickstarting the private sector in Iraq," MacAskill wrote: "About 100 private companies, mainly from Britain and the U.S., gathered in London yesterday to discuss investment opportunities in post-Saddam Iraq."

"The companies, mainly oil and banking, are being invited by the U.S. and British governments to move in as soon as security is restored. The fast-food chain, McDonald's, which has a branch in most parts of the world, was predicted by the conference organizers to open in Baghdad next year."

In Friedman's "Manifesto," McDonald's was a name that made a cute juxtaposition next to McDonnell-Douglas. And hamburgers do not sound nearly as threatening as giant, blood-sucking oil monopolies or parasitic bankers, exploit-

ing industrialists and military contractors. Friedman may have left these latter out of his "Manifesto" but they turned up in London, along with McDonald's.

ExxonMobil, Delta Airlines, American Hospital Group, Bechtel, Motorola and several giant British monopolies, including British Petroleum, were on hand. The conference, according to the Guardian, "was set up in June last year. Its supporters say it attracted the support of 145 multinationals. The alliance has close contacts with the Pentagon."

So there's the nexus of imperialism in one room in London: the banks, the giant corporations and the Pentagon gathered to divide up Iraq. One keynote speaker was Dr. John Shaw, an undersecretary of defense from the Pentagon who spoke on "Understanding the Contracting Process for the Reconstruction of Iraq."

For all the talk by Paul Bremer, head of the U.S. occupation in Iraq, about not privatizing the Iraqi oil industry, one of the key addresses was by Mahdi Sajjad. Sajjad, a vice president of Gulfsands, a Houston-based oil company, spoke on "Privatization of the Iraqi Oil Sector."

The U.S.-Iraqi Business Council represents the elite U.S. and British finance capitalists, who together with the businesspeople in uniform are driving the war. Bush had the support of the entire ruling class, including those who objected to his diplomacy, to carry out the war.

It was an imperialist war in the sense that Lenin described this in 1916: a war to re-divide the Middle East, based on the USSR's collapse and Washington's rise to a position of enormous military superiority over its rivals. For example, the Deutsche Bank, Siemens, the Societe General, Alcatel and France Telecom were not invited to London.

Imperialism rooted in capitalism

But a most important conclusion of Lenin's work was that imperialism is rooted in capitalism. In the final analysis, all the giant monopolies rest upon the profits sweated from the working class day in and day out.

The bosses fight each other by expanding the number of workers under their control, bringing down wages to increase the rate of profits. This means expanding throughout the world in search of cheaper labor, more resources and greater spheres of influence.

Militarism is an essential ingredient of imperialism because war and intervention are deeply rooted in the monopolies' class need to expand their profits. It is not merely the result of this or that political grouping's policy, which could be reversed by changing leaders.

To put an end to war, imperialism itself must be destroyed. That means the

destruction of capitalism—which is the very foundation of imperialism and cannot, once having reached the monopoly stage, be reversed or shifted onto a peaceful path.

Imperialism created the world basis for socialism

Lenin demonstrated a second important conclusion: that imperialism was creating an interdependent worldwide network of production, which in turn lays the basis for socialism.

By shipping factories, expanding transportation and communication, and exporting capital investment, imperialism has created a worldwide apparatus involving the synchronized, harmonized production of hundreds of millions of people around the globe. This network has actually socialized the operations of day-to-day worldwide production. But billionaires own this productive apparatus privately, reducing these workers to wage slaves.

So under private ownership, this worldwide means of production has become an instrument for expanded suffering of workers trapped in sweatshops or forced into the giant transnational corporations' global division of labor.

The owners of this vast socialized apparatus of production have absolutely nothing at all to do with production itself. They only live to profit off it. They are utterly unnecessary to it. Yet they operate it as their own private property.

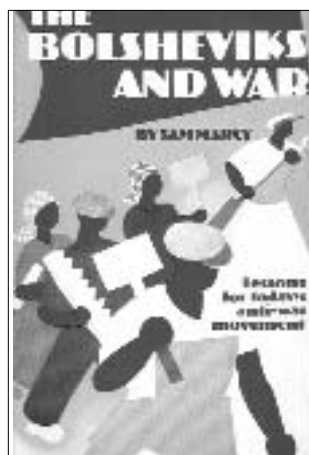
They close factories when they are not making enough profit, throwing workers out of jobs. They shut down operations, only to open them up again in other regions or countries to get cheaper labor. They impoverish whole countries so that the workers and peasants have to migrate and be uprooted by the tens of millions.

A handful of directors at General Motors, Citibank, Alcoa and General Foods can sit in a boardroom and decide the fate of millions of workers across the globe. Human need and the environment mean nothing to them. Only profit.

The world is suffering under this growing contradiction between private ownership and this vast, socialized productive system. The working class creates all the wealth, while the owners use all the instruments of labor to increase their wealth at the workers' expense.

This contradiction can only be resolved by expropriating the factories, mines, offices, health facilities, banks, telephone companies and transportation systems—and putting them under the ownership of the working class to run on behalf of society as a whole for human need and not for profit. That is socialism.

Only when capital is eliminated will the global struggle for profit and domination be eliminated along with imperialist war. Socialism is the only way to do it. □



The Bolsheviks and War

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By Sam Marcy

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Revive the struggle for socialism

By Larry Holmes

The following is excerpted from a talk given by Holmes, a member of Workers World Party's Secretariat, to a Sept. 20 meeting in New York City.

What are our big problems as activists, militants, socialists and all revolutionaries, both in the United States and around the world? Well, there is U.S. imperialism, which is on the rampage, unchecked. There's Bush. There is this deepening capitalist crisis, which is intensifying exploitation and oppression. There are unprecedented dangers for a world at the mercy of a new violent and destructive phase of imperialism.

But that's just one side of the problem.

The other aspect of the problem is on our side of the class barrier. Those of us in the socialist movement with an anti-imperialist, revolutionary outlook—whatever the political differences among parties and organizations that have managed to hold onto a generally revolutionary perspective and play a key role in organizing the surprisingly strong mass resistance to U.S. imperialism's endless war—such organizations, and we count ourselves among them, are waging an uphill battle to attain real political influence within the broad working class, the unions, and the mass movement.

The seriousness of the world crises has made us sharply aware that we must find the way to strengthen our position among the workers, especially those who are becoming radicalized and who are in motion. This is in order to wage a far more effective and bolder class struggle to answer the day-in, day-out class war waged against us by an unstable capitalist system ever more prone to resort to economic and military war against the people of the planet.

The reality is that our class worldwide, but especially here at the center of U.S. imperialism, needs strong leadership and strong organizations. If this problem is avoided or denied it will only leave the working class more and more disoriented, disorganized, immobilized and at the mercy of bourgeois ideology.

New anger rising

Today in the United States, even after what has seemed like an endless mood of defensiveness and passivity on the part of key sectors of the working class, a new anger is rising from below. It is there, from the tens of thousands of striking grocery workers to the legions of new immigrant workers who have brought new militancy and a high level of class consciousness to the many industries in which they have become the predominant force.

And it's scaring the hell out of a capitalist establishment that for quite some time has been convinced that it has the workers under control.

The question must be asked: Can the vanguard organizations help this new tide of struggle, influence it, help sustain it and foster meaningful solidarity with it? The answer is clear. Only if we strengthen ourselves to the point where we can go on the offensive politically—or more to the point, advance the struggle for socialism.

Many of us who are serious about socialism have felt like we were on the defensive. But the event of course that accentuated this problem and pushed it to a higher level, made it an even deeper crisis, was the collapse of the Soviet Union. As we look back to 1991, we might say that this event signified the beginning of a new obstacle for the struggle for socialism. In many ways, we have been waiting for the opportunity to open up a new chapter in

the struggle for worldwide socialism.

There is reason to believe that now is such a time.

There is a relatively large political movement that has been radicalized and mobilized by the war. There have been huge demonstrations like the ones last spring. This movement needs a worldwide revolutionary socialist perspective. Armed with such a perspective, the movement will be far better prepared to uphold real internationalism in the struggle.

What this means is the ability to see the struggle against the war as not merely the desire for peace, or merely important because of the toll it has taken on the lives of U.S. soldiers or the enormous amount of money that has been wasted on it.

There is nothing wrong with those reasons for opposing war and occupation. But the movement cannot sustain itself, comprehend events and remain independent unless it clearly sees itself as part of a world movement to defeat imperialism and to support the liberation struggle of all who find themselves under the thumb of imperialism. It is ultimately impossible to uphold such a position unless you see the struggle as a means to replace imperialism with a fundamentally different social order that acts in the interests of humanity.

If there is not a broad socialist movement with strong organizations that one way or another is influencing the struggle in that direction, then it should come as no surprise that some opponents of the war conclude: "Why not have the United Nations come in and take over Iraq? True, the UN is dominated by imperialist powers, but what's the alternative? At least the U.S. role would be diminished."

The imperialists act in their own interests. But if there is no alternative world struggle for socialism that has growing influence in the mass movement, why would someone not conclude that the best course for the Liberian people is for the imperialists to come there, save them, bring them food, stabilize the situation to reduce deaths and unnecessary casualties?

And of course the same holds true for the electoral struggle. If there is no alternative socialist struggle, then why should one not be for the Democratic party presidential candidates as the only pragmatic solution to Bush? Even the most militant activists and revolutionaries with good hearts, who love the struggle, are affected by this.

From anti-capitalist to socialist

I often pick up "High Tech, Low Pay," by Workers World Party founder Sam Marcy. He wrote that the new crisis in the labor unions, which comes as a result of an entirely new phase of the capitalist economy—restructuring engineered by the intervention of technology—is pushing down wages and permanently eliminating jobs on a worldwide basis.

And he pointed out how this development has the potential of radicalizing the working-class movement. It brings to the fore a new composition of labor.

In order to fight back against these changes in the economy, it is necessary to move from the limitations of trade unionism to a more bold, revolutionary, political approach—both tactically and programmatically. In other words, an approach more consistent with an anti-capitalist, pro-socialist perspective.

In so many ways, the critical question of how to advance the worldwide socialist movement affects the tenor and tone of the struggle, of politics, in the labor movement at every level. It affects the

anti-war and anti-imperialist movement, the struggle of colonized countries and peoples—indeed the world class struggle between the mass of exploited and oppressed, and the infinitely smaller but all-too-powerful class of exploiters and oppressors.

What can we do to open up a new chapter in the struggle to revive the world struggle for socialism?

This is a central responsibility for revolutionary organizations and for the broader movement in the United States. Because as the detachment of the movement located at the center of U.S. imperialism, we have an extra obligation to be strong, to be unflinching internationalists, to do all that we can in the class struggle at home, the anti-war struggle at home—but also to embrace and demonstrate concrete solidarity with our sisters and brothers around the globe who are fighting the imperialist empire.

Actually this is not a duty; it is a privilege that we embrace fully.

How do we go about taking this task to the next level? Strengthening our work in the anti-imperialist movement is certainly a big part of this. And so is finding new and bold ways to engage and help the process of radicalizing the broader workers' movement.

A big problem that the movement will be grappling with for the next 12 months is the pressure to close itself down, suspend demonstrations, and focus solely on defeating President Bush in the 2004 election. The broad problem with being drawn into the "lesser of evils" desperation is that the problem is not merely Bush or Rumsfeld or any of the other scary "necons" running the war.

It's imperialism. And it's the deepening crises that drive this malignant system toward catastrophic acts no matter who's in the White House.

The more practical problem is the danger that the movement will abandon its struggle against the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, or the huge funding that Congress just approved for the war, and

virtually put itself on ice until after the elections. It's a mistake that is far more likely to be made by those in the movement who have concluded that their only alternative is to choose between imperialist politicians, because they lack another direction—a world direction, a socialist direction.

Actually, both the UN Security Council that rubberstamped the U.S. occupation of Iraq, and the U.S. Congress that rubberstamped Bush's request for a fortune to pay for bombs, bullets and more death and destruction, have shown once again that they are no brake on the war. They are flunkies for it.

Is there another alternative we can rely on to stop endless wars and occupations?

We saw a glimpse of the working-class movement on a worldwide basis asserting itself on the scene last spring. Remember those incredible massive marches to stop the war?

New York Times writer Patrick Tyler wrote a front-page article about these demonstrations in which he compared the literally tens of millions of people who took to the streets to a "second superpower." Tyler was earning his pay by warning the powers that be that the movement could become a force more powerful than the UN or any alliance of government leaders. And that force was the mass of the people worldwide rising up from below in a way that no one has seen in a long time, if ever.

Such a force could tear down the old order and build a new order, a socialist one. This is the direction we must move in.

In December 2003, Workers World Party will be hosting a conference with the theme "How Can the Worldwide Struggle for Socialism Be Revived?"

This conference will be a small but timely step through which we hope to engage activists in a serious discussion, at a time when the mass struggle is showing signs of new life, about how those who share the dream of a new world can go on the offensive. □

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U.S., Israel step up war against Palestinians

By Richard Becker

With full backing from Washington, Israel has qualitatively escalated its war against the Palestinian people in recent days. Predictably, the corporate media here have focused on Israeli casualties in the conflict, and largely ignored the significance of the United States-Israeli escalation.

The Bush administration has stepped up both its support for Israel and its pressure on the Palestinian Authority to crack down on the Palestinian resistance. In response to developments in both Palestine and Iraq, anti-U.S. sentiment has risen sharply throughout the region.

On Oct. 20, U.S.-supplied F-16 fighter-bombers and attack helicopters struck northern areas of densely populated Gaza, in and around Gaza City and the Nusseirat refugee camp.

At least 11 Palestinians were killed and more than 130 wounded—among them many elementary-school children—in the day's six air raids.

The great majority of the casualties were civilians—and not unintentionally. According to an account in the Oct. 21 Los Angeles Times, in the attack on Nusseirat a missile was first fired into a car by an Israeli combat helicopter. After people

rushed to the rescue, a second missile was fired into the crowd.

The toll in the camp was seven killed and 75 wounded. Among the dead was a doctor who was treating victims when a second missile struck.

According to the Guardian newspaper, Israel's Channel 10 TV said that all of those killed were civilians, and called the refugee camp strike a "mistake."

The use of deadly high-tech weaponry against civilian areas violates both U.S. and international law, though you wouldn't know it based on the loud silence from Washington.

Under U.S. law, Israel is restricted to using such U.S.-provided weaponry for "self-defense"—that is, in case of attack by another state.

The extremely mild U.S. response to the Gaza air raids stood in stark contrast to its standard ringing condemnation of any Palestinian act of resistance. "We urge the government of Israel to take all appropriate cautions to prevent the death and injury of innocent civilians and damage to civilian and humanitarian infrastructure," said State Department deputy spokesperson J. Adam Erel. "We continue to make clear that while Israel has a right to defend itself, we remain concerned of the impact of its actions on innocent civilians,

and we continue to reiterate that view."

Erel added that the Bush administration also "reminds the Palestinians of their commitments to crack down on terror." As usual, "terror" is a word reserved only for Palestinian actions.

PA spokesperson Saeb Erekat called the attacks in Gaza "a bloody massacre."

The supposed pretext for bombing Gaza was a battle in the West Bank near Ramallah in which three Israeli occupation soldiers were killed and one wounded. The Israeli and U.S. governments, as well as the corporate media, referred to the Palestinians involved, reportedly the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, as "terrorists." Images of weeping Israeli troops, mourning the deaths of their fellow soldiers, were everywhere in the media.

The heavy bombing of Gaza civilians was presented as retaliation for the Israeli military casualties. But if that were in fact the case, then the bombing would by definition be an act of collective punishment, also prohibited under international law.

The news stories left out the fact that people living under military occupation have the universally acknowledged right to resist by whatever means are at their disposal.

The week before, Israeli forces had car-

ried out several days of attacks and house demolitions in Rafah, the southern Gaza city and refugee camp that borders Egypt. At least 15 Palestinians were killed and more than 1,200 left homeless.

Israeli militarized bulldozers—supplied and specially armored for the job by Caterpillar Corp.—destroyed more than 100 Palestinian homes in Rafah. The aim, claimed Israeli authorities, was to destroy tunnels used to bring in arms.

And on Oct. 21, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, whose efficiency at refugee camp massacres is unrivaled, announced in a speech to the Israeli parliament that Israel remains committed to the "removal" of PA President Yasir Arafat.

Sharon cynically labeled Arafat "the greatest obstacle to peace." Arafat has been under house arrest inside his largely destroyed presidential compound in Ramallah for more than a year-and-a-half, prevented from leaving by Israeli forces. Thus far, Washington has blocked Sharon from expelling the PA president, fearing that such a move might ignite a firestorm of protest in the Middle East and beyond.

Sharon also announced that Israel is accelerating construction of its apartheid wall in the West Bank. The wall will fence in the Palestinian population while fence-

Continued on page 14

Conference builds unity with Palestine

Following are excerpts from a report by Elias Rashmawi on the Third North America Conference of the Palestine Solidarity Movement, held at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J., on Oct. 10-12. The conference resolved to propose to the movement that the fourth PSM conference be held in Northern California.

Defeating one of the most vicious Zionist and right-wing-orchestrated assaults on Palestine solidarity in North America in recent history, the Third North America Conference of the Palestine Solidarity Movement at Rutgers University concluded its proceedings and activities with a resounding success and a determination to forge forward to build a unified and principled movement.

In what will be recorded as a definitional event in the history of Palestine solidarity in the U.S., this was the first-ever conference of this size and significance to announce its actual venue only 48 hours prior to convening to outmaneuver the enormous systematic pressure imposed by the Zionist movement and right-wing forces that had caused the cancellation of all previously secured venues.

Yet, despite all stacked odds, between Oct. 10 and Oct. 12 at least 300 committed national activists, including many founders of the PSM and divestment movement that was initiated in 2001 in Berkeley, Calif., participated undeterred in the proceedings and activities of the Third PSM Conference. They came from as far as California and Florida to join many others from the Midwest and the East Coast determined to register a unified stand in solidarity with Palestinian people.

Reflecting the worldwide support extended to the Third PSM Conference through the enthusiastic endorsement of 229 organizations and 1,498 individuals,

the conveners resolved to unify the PSM, maintain the centrality of divestment as its anchor, and protect its founding principles that were set in Berkeley, Calif., in 2001.

With more than 1,000 letters of support worldwide, and an endorsement list that intersects North America with the Arab World, this three-day event was historic in the tasks placed on its shoulders.

Conference Decisions

The conference resolved to affirm unchanged the existing principles of unity set forth in the founding Conference in Berkeley, Calif., 2001. These principles are:

- The PSM is committed to a core set of principles.
- The PSM believes that the Palestinian people must ultimately be able to decide their future in Palestine. Certain key principles, grounded in, but not limited to, international law, human rights, and basic standards of justice, will be fundamental to a just resolution to the plight of the Palestinians. These include: the full decolonization of all Palestinian land, including settlements, which are illegal under international law; the end of the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, including East Jerusalem and all Arab lands; the recognition and implementation of the right of return and repatriation for all Palestinian refugees to their original homes and properties; and an end to the Israeli system of Apartheid and discrimination against the indigenous Palestinian population.
- Just as the PSM condemns the racism and discrimination inherent in Zionism underlying the policies and laws of the state of Israel, the PSM rejects any form of hatred or discrimination against any group based on race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or sexual orientation.

- The PSM's strength is in the great diversity of its membership. The PSM welcomes individuals of all ethnic and religious backgrounds to join in solidarity with the struggle for justice in Palestine.

- As a solidarity movement, it is not our place to dictate the strategies or tactics adopted by the Palestinian people in their struggle for liberation.

Strategy

- The PSM seeks to promote the following campaigns: Divestment from Israel; ending U.S. aid to Israel; right of return

- Using tactics which may include: Education; public demonstrations and rallies; civil disobedience or direct action

- The PSM does not endorse activities that contradict the guiding principles as stated above.

- Individuals or groups acting as members, representatives, or sponsors of the PSM agree to abide by the code of conduct and promote its guiding principles.
- In the interest of building a more unified and expanding solidarity movement for justice and human rights in Palestine, individuals or groups may endorse and sign on to the above guiding principles.

Establishing a PSM Coordinating Committee

In order to facilitate open and voluntary coordination within the constituent members of the PSM, and in an effort to include within the movement both student and community organizations, the Conference resolved to establish a National Coordinating Committee of the Palestine Solidarity Movement. ...

Action Plan:

In addition to calling for implement-

ing educational campaigns on Palestine in all areas, the conference resolved to support and call for the following:

- Strengthen and support the establishment of a Divestment Resource Center
- Called for nationally coordinated action in commemoration of Land Day (March 30) and the Deir Yasin Massacre (April 9).
- Called for nationally coordinated action in support of Palestine on May 15, 2004, in commemoration of the Nakba in 1948.
- Support the Oct. 25 mobilization against war in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, and organize a Palestine solidarity contingency
- Call for national Palestine solidarity protests at the Republican and Democratic National Conventions
- * Support the mobilization in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Support for Civil Liberties:

The conference issued the following resolution:

"The Third PSM Conference condemns the assault on civil liberties on all people, particularly Arab Americans and Muslims, and demands the repealing of the USA Patriot Act, and calls for support for all those who have been unjustly criminalized, in particular the LA-8 and Dr. Sami Al-Arian.

"The conference further rejects all attempts to vilify Palestine solidarity work and calls on all to join in the solidarity movement for Palestine."

For more information visit: www.divestmentconference.com

Rashmawi is a member of the national steering committees of the Free Palestine Alliance and the International ANSWER coalition. □

Overthrown president surfaces in Miami as Bolivian people get ready for next round

By Alicia Jrapko

After a mass upheaval in Bolivia, Latin America's poorest country, the president has fled to the U.S. and the vice president has been sworn in as the new head of state.

Ex-president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada found immediate safe haven in Miami just days after he resigned, and has since flown to Washington. His replacement, Carlos Mesa, is another millionaire in a country where the average salary is \$5 a week and 70 percent of the people live below the official poverty line. However, Mesa claims to be politically independent and distanced himself from the president when La Paz, the capital, was surrounded by tens of thousands of demonstrating workers and farmers.

Sánchez de Lozada has been a close ally of the U.S. ruling class and implemented the policies of privatization, "free trade" and austerity that have come to be known as neoliberalism.

In Latin America today, there are no illusions that neoliberalism is about modernization or improving the standard of living of the majority of people. For the poor, it means selling off their natural resources to make a handful of rulers, foreign banks and transnational corporations richer.

Sánchez de Lozada was one of the richest people in Bolivia, with a fortune calculated at \$220 million and investments in South America, Asia and Africa. He rep-

resented the Bolivian oligarchy and U.S. imperialist interests, and had close ties to Enron.

When the former president announced he would sell billions of dollars worth of Bolivia's natural gas to the United States and Mexico, thousands of outraged people took to the streets. Miners, students and Indigenous people marched miles on foot to shut down the capital. More than 80 people were killed by the U.S.-trained and -backed military before he finally resigned.

The Bolivian people have a long history of defending their natural resources. Between 1933 and 1935 Bolivia fought a bloody war against Paraguay to defend its oil. In 1969, under the presidency of Alfredo Ovando Candia, the government nationalized the Bolivian Gulf Oil Co., taking control of 90 percent of its hydrocarbon reserves. But in 1972, under the dictatorship of Hugo Banzer, a new hydrocarbon law opened the doors to the multinational corporations.

This history of the Bolivian people has created strong feeling against the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, which the U.S. has been pushing.

So far Carlos Mesa does not seem to represent any threat to U.S. imperialist interests. But the Bolivian people are in motion, and things can change rapidly.

The new president will have to work with the masses, who are invigorated by their recent victory, but will also face pressure from those who want to maintain



neoliberalism in the country.

What interventionist plans is the Bush administration drawing up? The U.S. government has been relatively quiet, but on Oct. 17 dispatched a military team to Bolivia to "assess the situation."

Mesa has promised to call early elections and to look into the hydrocarbon laws. But the leaders of the mass opposition are skeptical that he will make any changes because he is also a fervent supporter of a "free market" economy. Mesa enjoys the support of the traditional parties, which see him as the only possibility to preserve a failed and archaic system.

The main leaders of the opposition are Jaime Solares from the powerful Central

of Bolivian Workers (COB), Felipe Quispe Huanca from the United Confederation of Workers and Peasants of Bolivia (CSUTCB) and Evo Morales, leader of the Movement toward Socialism. In the last election, Morales almost became president. He enjoys great popularity among the small farmers who grow coca—which in leaf form is a mild, non-addictive stimulant that has been grown in the Andes for hundreds of years—as well as other sectors of the population.

The COB and Morales have a similar position: stop the massive offensive against neoliberalism and multinational corporations in order to give the new president a little break to see if he is capable of fulfilling the demands of the great majority of Bolivians.

Felipe Quispe, on the other hand, has taken a tougher approach. He gave the new president 90 days to answer the demands of Indigenous people—who make up 60 percent of the population—or he will call a general uprising aimed at taking power.

The situation in Bolivia is very volatile. The Bolivian people have shown to the world a great deal of determination. After a month of struggle, they defeated a project but not the system. They won a battle but not the war.

The road to real and profound change is full of obstacles, but the people of Bolivia and of Latin America sooner or later will own and control their resources. Until then, the struggle will continue. □

Popular movements shake Latin America

By Rebeca Toledo

As resistance grows against the U.S. occupation of Iraq, so does the resistance in Latin America against continued imperialist domination. No matter what bourgeois pundits may claim, what is happening in the Middle East, together with the tumultuous developments of Latin America and the Caribbean, bodes ill for U.S. imperialism. Indeed, the adage—a specter is haunting imperialism—is quite true.

In October, Bolivia erupted against a proposed natural gas theft led by British oil companies. The street protesters were a coalition of Indigenous, labor, student and peasant organizations. When the smoke cleared, the military and police had killed some 70 people. But the people had also ousted President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, known as "el gringo," and his sell-out plan.

Emboldened by the collapse of the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism in the 1990s had embarked on a belligerent strategy throughout the world. In Latin America the policy, known as neo-liberalism, focused on economic strangulation, as well as supporting and orchestrating counter-revolutionary activities that aimed to turn back revolutionary struggles. The Nicaraguan revolution was overthrown. The struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala were dealt dangerous blows, as were others.

In order to continue the centuries-long policy of robbing the riches of the continent, privatization of nationalized industries became the main goal of imperialism. Argentina, Bolivia and others became models for International Monetary Fund and World Bank austerity measures. To do its bidding, imperialism found willing servants throughout the region who sold their countries out for cheap.

As always, imperialism discounted the level of suffering, and thus resistance, it would create. Today, Argentina lies in ruin because of these measures. One of many countries rich in natural resources and agriculture, Argentina now imports food for its people. The Argentine people rose up two years ago to say "no" to any more privatization or belt-tightening.

In Colombia, the resistance has grown strong despite the neo-fascist government there. In the 1990s, general strikes and armed struggle have increased and become stronger. The U.S. is now attempting to kill the movement through repression and military intervention. The president of Colombia, Alvaro Uribe, is a willing U.S. puppet, carrying out Colombia's version of Homeland Security.

But trade unionists, students and peasants continue to find new room to struggle. The guerrilla groups FARC-EP and ELN have formed an alliance against the military and the paramilitaries and continue to engage them in combat.

'The whole world will rise up!'

In 1998 the people of Venezuela voted in President Hugo Chávez as an answer to neo-liberalism and corruption. Since then, the Chávez government has rewritten the constitution and begun implementing economic and social changes that benefit the working class and peasantry.

In April 2002, Chávez was overthrown by the ruling elite—backed by the U.S. But within 48 hours, the workers and peasants in the streets and the progressive sectors of the military had undone the counter-revolution, proving once again that the role of the workers is central and decisive in the revolutionary process. Chávez was re-installed and the base of the Bolivarian Revolution flexed its muscle.

Today the U.S. and the ruling elite con-

tinue their sabotage of the Venezuelan government, particularly in the economic sphere—which they still control. There is also speculation that the CIA has plans to assassinate President Chávez. However, with every battle, the revolutionary process has grown stronger and the Bolivarian Circles, based in neighborhoods throughout Venezuela, have played a key role in its success.

In 1994, the Zapatistas captured the imagination of the world movement with their bold armed resistance to NAFTA, the imperialist trade policy to further strangle Mexico. Since then, the Indigenous movement in the region has been awakened.

In Puerto Rico, the U.S. Navy was successfully thrown out of Vieques in 2003 by a four-year civil disobedience campaign that reinvigorated and united the movement. The struggle continues in Puerto Rico for reparations and independence.

Haiti saw the re-election of President Aristide in 2000, after the ruling elite and the U.S. had overthrown him in 1986.

Socialist Cuba survived the "special period," a time of great economic hardship brought on by the collapse of its trading partners in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The mobilization and the victory of the Cuban people to return Elián González to his father showed the world the strength of the revolution, as well as the weakness of the counter-revolution. Today's U.S. threats against Cuba are again being challenged by the mobilization of the people. And in Cuba and throughout the world, millions are fighting to free the Cuban Five, Cubans held unjustly in U.S. prisons.

In Ecuador, in 2000, an Indigenous and mid-level military alliance in the streets overthrew the president and his neo-liberal policies. The organized Indigenous population was key in the election of Lucio

Gutiérrez, a mid-level officer, as president in 2002.

Lula da Silva in Brazil was also brought into office by working-class and peasant organizations in 2002.

The noteworthy and significant elections that have occurred in many countries in Latin America recently are not just passive acts in the voting polls. They clearly represent a response to neo-liberal policies. They are a great source of hope for the people.

But it remains to be seen when the people of Latin America will take things further and not only take office but take state power. In any case, the people have voted against continued imperialist plunder and domination.

U.S. imperialism touted that, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, history as we knew it had ended and capitalism had won. And then after 9/11, the U.S. believed it had carte blanche to dominate the world.

The collapse of the Soviet Union certainly was a big blow to the communist and progressive movement worldwide. And it continues to resonate. National liberation struggles and the remaining socialist countries continue to feel the loss.

But as the heroic people of Iraq are proving, dialectical materialism is still the tool for analyzing the class struggle. Oppression and repression breed resistance.

That is exactly what is happening in Latin America today in more countries than can be mentioned in one brief overview. The mass movement throughout the region varies in tactics, orientation and success. But the common thread is resistance.

Latin Americans are also fierce internationalists and have stood strong against the U.S. war in Iraq. A popular chant there sums it all up: "Iraq, hold on, the whole world will rise up!" □



Congo, Africa & imperialism

The Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire, is one of the richest countries on the face of the earth in terms of mineral wealth. It is home to large reserves of tantalum, a very rare mineral that is essential in creating coltan. Coltan is essential to the high-tech needs of the electronics industry. Once processed into a powder to coat capacitors, its ability to hold an electric charge makes it indispensable in high-tech equipment including cellular phones, computers, jet engines, missiles and weapons systems. A major portion of the world's tantalum is found in Africa, of which 80 percent is located in the DRC's eastern region.

Despite all this abundance of wealth, the DRC has one of the world's poorest populations. While hundreds of millions of impoverished people, many in Africa, live on \$1 a day, according to United Nations statistics, the people of the DRC live on 25 cents a day. Since a civil war broke out in the DRC in 1998, an estimated 4 to 5 million Congolese have lost their lives. In 2001, the previous DRC president, Laurent Kabila, who spoke out against the IMF and World Bank's stranglehold on his country's economy, was assassinated.

Reports have recently appeared in the U.S. media expressing optimism that the war is over and peace is on the horizon, after an agreement three months ago to set up a transitional government in which the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo must share power with rebel groups. But the Congo government in Kinshasa disputes this, saying that foreign troops from Uganda and Rwanda, which backed the rebels, are moving back into the area.

What the media are not writing about is how this terrible war has served the interests of the imperialist-owned corporations that want to exploit the Congo.

One of those corporations is American Mineral Fields, a relatively small company originally based in Hope, Ark.—the hometown of Bill Clinton. It announced early in October that it was about to conclude an agreement with the Congo's state minerals agency, Gecamines, for the development of "what could become the world's biggest

and lowest-cost cobalt project." (Reuters, Oct. 2) The Kolwezi project involves an estimated 800,000 pounds of cobalt and 3.7 million pounds of copper.

With the Congo government hard-pressed on all sides, the World Bank got Gecamines to revise its mining code. Tim Read, AMF's chief executive, told Reuters that "For the first time in 20 years the Congo is investable. The mining code brings a stable, transparent and robust legal and fiscal regime. It brings great confidence."

And why is the Congo now "investable"? Because the new mining code reduced the stake of Gecamines in this \$300-million project from 40 percent to just 12.5 percent.

Now wonder that the share price of American Mineral Fields has doubled in the last few months.

The media, in writing about the devastation in the Congo, leave out the role that U.S. and European imperialist intervention have played in wreaking havoc upon its economic and political development since the end of the 19th century, when the Belgians first brutally colonized this country.

This past August, the deputy commander of U.S. forces in Europe, Gen. Charles Wald, went to the DRC accompanied by a U.S. military delegation of 20 members to join French and Belgian military forces there. The Pentagon, along with NATO, is planning to establish military facilities in areas in western, eastern and northern Africa, enabling the U.S. to rival its European allies for hegemony from Congo to Liberia to Zimbabwe.

The U.S. and other imperialists cloak their interventions in Africa as humanitarian efforts, but the hard economic facts show that for every penny of aid they give, they take out vast fortunes in stolen resources and labor.

The worldwide anti-war movement can assist the resistance of African peoples to the giant profiteering banks and corporations by connecting the struggle for reparations for Africa to the struggle against war and occupation. This will help strengthen international solidarity with working and oppressed peoples here and abroad. □

As U.S. puts pressure on north

Korean people

By Deirdre Griswold

Under heavy pressure from the Bush administration, the South Korean government on Oct. 18 decided to send several thousand additional troops to Iraq. It's a decision that has offended not only the country's vigorous anti-war movement but students, workers, professionals and a coalition of over 350 civic groups, which has been formed to plan massive demonstrations against the move.

According to a report in the daily Chosun Ilbo on Oct. 20, 1,500 riot police have been deployed around the U.S. Embassy in Seoul in anticipation of the protests.

The Korea Times of the same day reports that a huge student rally is planned for Nov. 1. The student group Pomchonghakryon issued a statement that "The dispatch of combat troops to Iraq is an act which cannot be justified as it will intervene in an unjustified war and increase the possibility of war on the Korean peninsula." It is taking turns with other student organizations to stage daily demonstrations in downtown Seoul, the capital.

The People's Action in Opposition to Troop Dispatch, the ad hoc coalition encompassing hundreds of community and social groups, said it will hold a massive rally on Oct. 25—the same day that anti-war forces are demonstrating in the U.S. and other countries against the war and occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan. Other demonstrations are planned around the country.

South Korea is being roiled by the bellicose statements and actions of the U.S. government on two fronts: first, by threats directed at the northern half of Korea itself, where the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is determined to hold onto its independent social system in the face of stepped-up military and economic threats from Washington; and, second, by the Bush administration's demands that South Korea, where 37,000 U.S. troops still occupy the country more than half a century after the 1950-53 war against the north, support its hated war in Iraq.

The population has become increasingly indignant and resistant to Washington's pressures in recent years, to the point where one of the most popular

Building unity with Palestinian struggle

Continued from page 12

ing out more than 50 percent of West Bank land.

Anti-U.S. sentiment deepens throughout Middle East

As both Israeli repression and Palestinian resistance continue, and as the United States steps up its multi-pronged offensive in the region, the polarization of the Middle East is rapidly intensifying. Whether this polarization is prelude to a wider war remains to be seen.

Washington has made it clear that its objective is to eliminate all independent states and popular movements in the area. With the full support of most of the U.S. Congress, the Bush administration is threatening new sanctions against Syria and Iran and giving a blank check to the Sharon government in its war on the Palestinians—while at the same time waging its own war against the Iraqi people.

So one-sided is the U.S. support that when Israel deliberately undermined Bush's own "road map for peace," Washington blamed the Palestinians. Likewise, when Israel bombed Syria, Bush blamed the Syrians, and the United States went on to veto a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning the blatant violation of international law.

This year U.S. taxpayers will involuntarily donate around \$5 billion to the Israeli state.

None of this escapes the attention of public opinion in the Arab world.

"Negative perceptions of the United States have always been there, but this is the worst we've ever seen it," said Khalil Shikaki, director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, which conducted a poll of 1,387 Palestinian residents in the West Bank. The poll found that more than 95 percent of Palestinians believe the United States does not really support the creation of a Palestinian state,

and 97 percent believe the United States is biased in favor of Israel.

Results of the new survey contrast sharply with one from only five months ago. At that time nearly half of respondents expressed the belief that the United States supported a Palestinian state.

The UN's Arab Human Development Report, issued on Oct. 20, reported deepening radicalization and anti-U.S. sentiment throughout the region.

In a recent front page editorial, *As-Safir*, the biggest daily newspaper in Lebanon, wrote: "One does not reveal a secret by saying many Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims kill an American every day in their dreams. ... The United States is responsible for massive catastrophes that have befallen this region and its people."

The editorial followed an unprecedented bomb attack on a U.S. diplomatic convoy in Gaza on Oct. 16, in which three U.S. contract personnel were killed. The three were employees of DynCorp, the infamous Virginia-based security firm that has supplied mercenaries for U.S. operations around the world.

In an Oct. 20 speech, Syrian Vice President Zuhair Masharka condemned what he called a "war of extermination perpetrated by the war criminal Ariel Sharon who wants to depopulate the occupied territories.

"Massacres carried out several days ago in Rafah" in the southern Gaza Strip and the ensuing "enormous destruction" are a "clear sign that Sharon the terrorist is an enemy of peace and that his government is a government of war," said Masharka.

"Without the help, support and protection of the American administration, Israel could never commit such terrorist acts against Palestinians. The United States provides Israel with political, military, economic and financial support," and "tries to justify [Israeli] crimes on the pretext that the Zionist enemy is acting in self-defense," Masharka said. □

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and south

resist Bush's war drive

songs in the south describes the U.S. with a four-letter word.

The crushing of two Korean schoolgirls by a U.S. tank in June 2002 produced a firestorm of fierce emotion against the military occupation. This forced President George W. Bush to eventually apologize to the Korean people for the deaths—something he was loath to do.

These political crises come at a time when young South Koreans are facing a grim future. According to an article in Chosun Ilbo on Oct. 20—the same day it reported on the angry reaction to the troop deployment—“job hunters are facing one of the most brutal job markets ever.”

The newspaper described the situation at both large and small firms.

“For the 11 job openings at Yuhan-Kimberly, 4,234 persons applied, leaving a ratio of job seekers to jobs at 385 to one. The ratio was 233 to one at Aekyung Industries, which recently hired 15 new workers, and 223 to one at Namyang Dairy Products. ...

“The competition ratio was no better at major firms. When Hyundai Motor and Kia Motors announced that they would hire about 800 new employees, about 32,000 persons applied, for the ratio of 40 to one, while the ratio at the SK group reached 70 to one, as 35,000 applied for about 500 job openings at the group. It could have been worse. GM Daewoo had 20 job openings; 2,000 applied.”

This refutes the perception many hold in the United States that manufacturing jobs, while scarce here, are abundant in lower-wage countries. In fact, it was recently confirmed that there is a worldwide crisis of capitalist overproduction, stimulated by the tremendous expansion of capital goods in the boom years of the 1990s and the scientific-technological revolution that has raised productivity so quickly.

The economic crisis is not confined to factory jobs. The South Korean daily

Joong Ang of Oct. 16 reported that “Four out of every 10 university graduates are jobless, according to a recent survey done by Scout, a job agency.” Korean families sacrifice a great deal to put their children through college. This is a deep blow to people of all generations.

Gone is the illusion that the U.S. military presence and the links between U.S. and Korean capital would sustain healthy economic growth in the south. Koreans are looking more and more to how they can break down the barriers—erected by the United States—that separate north and south. Reunification of the Korean nation is the fervent desire of the Korean people.

The hardline grouping in the U.S. ruling class that refuses to leave Korea has maneuvered for decades to prevent this from happening. Now they are focused on the DPRK's nuclear defense capabilities.

In 1994 the Clinton administration and the DPRK negotiated an Agreed Framework under which North Korea would abandon its nuclear energy program if the U.S. provided energy assistance and helped it to build a different type of nuclear reactor that would have no military applications. That agreement was sabotaged by the U.S. government. It never fully supplied the oil North Korea needed and the new reactors were never built.

The DPRK gave notice a year ago that it was forced to resume work on its original nuclear program. As the belligerent tone of the Bush administration became more extreme, it also reiterated its right to defend itself against attack.

On Oct. 20, the Korean Central News Agency reported an important statement from the Foreign Ministry of the DPRK, which said in part:

“The U.S. designation of the DPRK as part of an ‘axis of evil’ and a target of its preemptive nuclear attack and its open call for ‘regime change’ are not only an



Demonstration in Seoul, South Korea, opposes sending troops to Iraq, Oct. 11.

insult to and a blatant interference in the internal affairs of an independent sovereign state but a unilateral hostile act of grossly violating and completely nullifying the AF [Agreed Framework] which called on the two sides to respect each other's sovereignty, build mutual confidence and improve the bilateral relations. ...

“Now it is as clear as noonday that the U.S. is set to seize the DPRK by force, through high-handed actions and by military means.

“It would be the biggest mistake for the U.S. to calculate that the DPRK would sit idle and disarm itself, taken in by Washington's trick.

“When an appropriate time comes, the DPRK's increased nuclear deterrent force will be proved in practice.

“The U.S. can never evade its responsibility for having unilaterally scrapped the DPRK-U.S. Agreed Framework and blocked the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.” □

Una cortina fraudulenta para la ocupación

Contiua de Pagina 16

ados globales, a la utilización de la diplomacia para obtener su participación en la misión en Irak. ... Si Washington no cambia, el papel de los EE.UU. puede volverse aún más sangriento, costoso y solitario.”

Es cierto que el Pentágono está desesperado por ubicar tropas de otros países para que los soldados de los EE.UU. no tengan que enfrentar solos la mayoría del fuego de la resistencia iraquí. Con la introducción de las tropas de Turquía, el trivirato colonial estaría completo: el poder que mantuvo un imperio tiránico por 400 años en la tierra que es actualmente Irak, se une a Bretaña, el poder colonial del Siglo XX, y el superpoder de los EE.UU., el cual actualmente intenta colonizar a Irak en el siglo XXI.

EE.UU. comienza castigos colectivos al estilo de Israel

Esta es una fórmula que garantiza la resistencia. Por ejemplo, el coche-bomba de la embajada de Turquía. Zaki Chehab, un redactor político de la estación de televisión árabe al-Hayat-LBC, hizo un resumen de su estudio de la resistencia iraquí en la edición del 14 de octubre del Guardian de Londres:

El bombardero suicida que atacó ayer al Hotel de Bagdad usado con frecuencia por personal de los EE.UU. fue el cuarto miembro de la resistencia iraquí en matarse por la causa. El atentado se produjo solamente tres días después del atentado suicida contra una estación policial que dejó un saldo de por lo menos ocho personas muertas. Por lo que he oído en las reuniones que he tenido con luchadores de la resistencia en distintas partes de Irak, no cabe duda que se van a producir muchos más ataques semejantes en el futuro.”

Chehab se reunió con combatientes en Ramadi, Mosul, Tikrit, Falujah, Samarra, Bagdad y en otros lugares. Él se refirió a las matanzas en puntos de inspección, arrestos masivos arbitrarios, disparos desatinados, registros íntimos de mujeres, registros invasivos de hogares, castigos colectivos, la creencia generalizada de que EE.UU. vino por el petróleo, y el saber ser ocupados militarmente, como algunas de las causas provocando la resistencia.

Según Chehad, los diferentes movimientos en Irak se han unido para resistir. En Ramadi, la resistencia “se definió como nacionalista”. En Tikrit, los luchadores entrevistados eran leales a

Saddam. En Falujah y Mosul, predominaron las fuerzas musulmanas. En cada área existían diferencias ideológicas entre los luchadores. Pero a pesar de eso, la lucha los está uniendo.

“En los pequeños callejones de Mosul, poco después de la captura de la ciudad, me encontré frente a frente con un grupo de hombres armados, gritando y disparando sus armas en varias direcciones. Les pregunté quienes eran: algunos se presentaron como ex miembros del Partido Baath, otros dijeron que pertenecían a organizaciones islámicas... todos aceptaban el mando del mismo comité en la ciudad que estaba encabezado por un grupo de líderes religiosos. Más tarde descubrí que existían relaciones similares en Falujah y Samarra”.

Mientras crece la resistencia, EE.UU. se vuelve más frustrado y más brutal—a pesar de los comentarios de Bush de que “la cosa va bien”.

Patrick Cockburn, escribiendo en el periódico el London Independent del 12 de octubre, reveló que el mando militar de los EE.UU. está comenzando a actuar como sus clientes israelitas. “Soldados de los EE.UU.”, escribió Cockburn, “manejando tractores niveladores, con música

de jazz a todo volumen por altoparlantes, han desarraigado una vieja arboleda de palmas datileras y árboles de naranja y limón en la parte central de Irak como parte de una política nueva de castigo colectivo contra pequeños agricultores que no ofrezcan información sobre guerrilleros que atacan a las tropas de los EE.UU.”

Un kilómetro de área cultivada fue destruida y 50 familias perdieron su subsistencia en Dhuluaya. Cuando Sheikh Hussein Ali Saleh al-Jabouri fue en una delegación a una base militar estadounidense cercana, los oficiales describieron lo que había pasado como “un castigo a la gente local porque ‘Ustedes saben quien pertenece a la resistencia y no nos dicen’”.

Lo que los israelíes han hecho como forma de castigo colectivo contra los palestinos, está ocurriendo ahora en Irak, dijo Sheik Hussein.

Preguntado sobre el valor de su arboleda perdida, uno de los campesinos, Musayef Jassim, contestó, “Es como si alguien me hubiera cortado las manos y me preguntara cuánto era el valor de mis manos”. □

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Resolución de la ONU sobre Irak:

Una cortina fraudulenta para la ocupación

Por Fred Goldstein

La Administración de Bush finalmente puede que obtenga su resolución del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU la cual calificaría la ocupación colonial británica—estadounidense como “una fuerza multilateral de la ONU”. La resolución dejaría al ejército de los Estados Unidos al comando y con autoridad política absoluta sobre Irak por un futuro indefinido.

Washington aparentemente ha podido forzar el apoyo de siete miembros dependientes del Consejo de Seguridad que junto con los votos de EE.UU., Bretaña y España, lograría 9 o 10 votos, suficientes para lograr su resolución. El gobierno ruso, el francés y el chino según los reportes, han dado señas de que no vetarían la decisión.

Con la creciente cifra de bajas y el ejército del Pentágono incapaz de detener la resistencia o de controlar la situación en el territorio, además del enorme costo de la ocupación, los imperialistas franceses, alemanes y los capitalistas contrarrevolucionarios de Rusia han buscado cómo tomar ventaja de la dificultad que están pasando los Estados Unidos.

Washington fue obligado a ir a la ONU para conseguir una resolución como condición para obtener tropas y dinero de otros países. Sus rivales han buscado usar la ONU como una cuña para entrar en Irak y romper el dominio estadounidense en la ocupación. Con este fin exigieron una res-

olución de la ONU que daría la “soberanía” temprana a un gobierno provisional de Irak y un “papel central” a la ONU en la formación del proceso político y económico de “reconstrucción” de Irak.

Washington no cede en puntos substanciales

Por el momento, parece que Washington no cedió nada substancial y que los franceses, alemanes y rusos han tenido que aceptar la resolución de la administración de Bush. Esta declara que el Consejo gobernante títere—nombrado y manejado por Paul Bremer—y la Coalición de Autoridad de la Ocupación será la que “representará la soberanía de Irak, mientras que la ONU jugará un “papel vital”, como el entrenamiento de la policía, la supervisión de las elecciones y otras funciones similares.

La resolución de letra un proceso prolongado y puramente teórico al darle al Consejo Gobernante hasta el 15 de diciembre para que escriba una constitución. Luego establece un proceso electoral que presuntamente llegaría a convocar elecciones y un gobierno iraquí. Pero mientras tanto, la ocupación estadounidense tiene la autoridad total para gobernar.

Nadie ha explicado cómo el Consejo Gobernante puede “representar la soberanía” de Irak mientras Bremer y compañía tienen la autoridad total de gobernanación. La resolución, de tal manera, es muy contradictoria. Es una cubierta fraudulenta para la ocupación estadounidense. Al final

será una vergüenza para cualquier gobierno que vote por esta.

Los franceses, alemanes y rusos han estado ofreciendo enmiendas pero Washington ha puesto una pared ante cualquier cambio substancial. Las tres potencias dicen que no se opondrán al voto. Aparentemente tienen miedo de profundizar la división con los imperialistas estadounidenses. Tienen que vivir con la realidad de que el Pentágono tiene el control sobre Irak. Si acaso hubiera alguna esperanza de que estos puedan entrar a ese territorio, el echar más leña al fuego de las relaciones con los imperialistas estadounidenses, lo haría más difícil para el futuro. Si estos votan por la resolución será una señal de que se hicieron tratos secretos para dejarlos participar del botín de guerra.

‘Soberanía’ bajo el imperialismo

El movimiento mundial debe estar absolutamente claro de lo que significa esta lucha sobre la tal “soberanía” iraquí. Bajo el contexto de Irak es un concepto estrictamente legal, según los imperialistas. La soberanía, para los gobiernos franceses, rusos y alemanes, significa un estatus gubernamental. El estatus gubernamental da el derecho legal de negociar arreglos con otros gobiernos y con corporaciones extranjeras. Ahora mismo toda la autoridad está en manos de los Estados Unidos. Una vez que un llamado “régimen” sea declarado en Irak, los otros imperialistas podrán negociar con el gobierno.

La soberanía, en su sentido legal, no tiene nada absolutamente que ver con la soberanía en su sentido político de un gobierno capaz de determinar sus propios asuntos, o en el sentido de la independencia nacional o de la autodeterminación. Cualquier régimen iraquí creado bajo las botas del imperialismo, ya sea por el “unilateralista” gobierno estadounidense o el grupo “multilateralista” bajo la bandera de la ONU, incluyendo a los ladrones empresarios franceses, alemanes y rusos, estaría completamente dependiente financiera, económica, militar y políticamente de las grandes potencias. La legalidad es sólo una pequeña cubierta que esconde algo mucho más

grande. Se trata del derecho a la soberanía para negociar—a costa del pueblo iraquí.

Lucha sobre cómo conquistar a Irak

La lucha entre la administración de Bush y un sector de la clase gobernante de los Estados Unidos sobre cómo hacer que la ONU también participe, surge del miedo y la creciente resistencia que el ejército estadounidense ha enfrentado, además del enorme costo de la guerra. Esa lucha se reduce a estos dos campos: aquellos críticos de la administración de Bush que quieren que la ocupación y la conquista del pueblo iraquí sea un éxito, pero piensan que vale la pena dar algo para recibir ayuda, y aquellos en la administración de Bush quienes quieren ayuda pero no están dispuestos a hacer concesiones, sólo unas mínimas atmosféricas.

Hay una tercera posición, lo cual está provocando una guerra dentro de la administración de Bush. Es la posición de Donald Rumsfeld—y posiblemente de Dick Cheney—que quiere que no haya concesiones. No quiere reconocer la necesidad de un apoyo humillante de las demás potencias imperialistas. No quiere ninguna interferencia en el papel del Pentágono ni la legitimación del papel de la ONU en Irak.

Esta posición ha sido forzada a retroceder, por lo menos por el momento, con la elevación de la Consejera de Seguridad Nacional, Condoleezza Rice, el Departamento de Estado, la CIA y el Departamento del Tesoro al papel de supervisión de la ocupación, bajo el nombre de Grupo de la Estabilización de Irak.

La oposición a la administración de Bush fue mostrada en un editorial de Los Angeles Times del 10 de octubre con el título: “Sordos sobre Irak:” “Las tropas estadounidenses han aprendido que los iraquíes saludan un ejército foráneo de ocupación con granadas lanzadas por cohetes, no con flores. Y esto fue antes del último golpe: la propuesta adición de hasta 10.000 soldados del ex patrón colonial, Turquía. ...

“Los EE.UU. deben cambiar de una política de beligerancia militar, haciéndolo todo solo y dando sermones a sus ali-

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