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Haiti contingent at March 20 demonstration in New York.

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As Iraqi resistance hardens

Hearings reveal U.S. war policy in disarray

By Deirdre Griswold

March 31—The Bush administration has been unable to contain the political damage caused by the defection of its own former security chief, Richard Clarke, and is in a delicate dance with the 9/11 commission over the issue of what members of the administration will testify before it and in what manner.

A deal appears to have been worked out in which the commission will let President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney appear together in a 4-hour secret session in exchange for the White House allowing the commission to hear public testimony under oath from Bush's national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice.

Spencer Ackerman of the New Republic magazine wrote March 30 in its online edition: "The White House is, in effect, trading a Rice appearance for a guarantee that the administration's two leading men won't be dragged down with her. Which makes this a reasonably good deal for the president and his team."

At issue are two questions: whether the administration failed to respond to warnings from its intelligence agencies that al-Qaeda was preparing a major attack on the United States, and then, after the devastating attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, whether it used these events as a pretext to activate a previously laid plan for a war against Iraq, even though intelligence officials had told the White House that Baghdad had nothing to do with 9/11.

The defection of Clarke, whose book "Against All Enemies" quickly became a best-seller, follows that of former Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, previously CEO of the huge Alcoa Corp., who also went public with similar revelations about the preoccupation of the administration with Iraq.

It took these establishment figures over two years to break with the Bush administration. They did not speak out when the resolution giving Bush the power to attack Iraq was being voted on in Congress. They were quiet when millions around the world were demonstrating against the coming war.

Even now, the position of the entire capitalist political opposition, including Sen. John Kerry, is that there must be new leadership in Washington in order to strengthen the U.S. "war on terror" and its efforts to set up regimes in both Iraq and Afghanistan that would be friendly to Washington.

None of these critics are for abandoning U.S. imperialist hegemony in the world and allowing people oppressed and exploited by Western colonialism and imperialism to choose their own leaders and control their own

resources, territory and social policy.

But why are they speaking out now? The shattering of unanimity in this administration surely reflects the persistent, unyielding resistance of the people in both Iraq and Afghanistan to foreign occupation. This has changed the equation and made it impossible for the Bush administration to realize the neat plans it elaborated in the Bush Doctrine.

Two years ago, it was quite brazen about launching "preemptive war" in order to achieve absolute control over the strategic Middle East—plans so grandiose that they alarmed even Washington's allies/rivals in Europe and elsewhere. But U.S. efforts to set up puppet governments and police forces loyal to imperialism in both Iraq and Afghanistan have met sustained hostility and guerrilla warfare, despite the most brutal repression.

Resistance continues unabated

The latest evidence of the strength of the resistance in Iraq came on March 31. Five U.S. soldiers were killed west of Falluja when a bomb exploded underneath their vehicle. In the town itself, just 15 miles away, crowds are reported to have shot and killed four U.S. civilian contractors and dragged their bodies through the streets. Reports said the people believed the four were CIA operatives, who often use a civilian cover.

This event is reminiscent of the mass uprising in Somalia on Oct. 3, 1993, after U.S. "Black Hawk" helicopters fired into a crowded market place in Mogadishu. The armed people were able to bring down several helicopters in the fierce battle that followed. Some 18 U.S. troops were killed, including highly trained and equipped Rangers. This event led the Clinton administration to withdraw its troops from Somalia.

Clearly, there is intense hatred among a broad section of the Iraqi people for those who have bombed, sanctioned, invaded and destroyed their country. Their actions have exploded the Bush administration's expectation that it could quickly subdue Iraq and make its vast oil resources available for profitable exploita-

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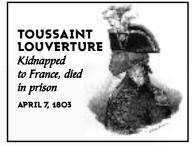
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Conference emphasizes women's struggle for liberation

Special to Workers World Brooklyn, N.Y.

The Women's Anti-Imperialist League (WAIL) held a one-day conference on March 27 entitled "Uniting Women's Response Against Wars of Aggression and Globalization." It was held at the Audre Lorde Project, located in Brooklyn. The keynote speaker was Ninotchka Rosa, a Philippine-born writer and activist. Other speakers included Aseel Sawalha, who spoke on the plight of Palestinian and other



Ninotchka Rosca

Arab women in the Middle East; Monique Laurent, a Haitian lawyer who spoke on the situation of Haitian women in light of the Feb. 29 U.S.-backed coup that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from office; Monica Moorehead, a leader of Workers World Party, who tied in the struggle of African women to imperialism; and long-time activist Judith Mirkinson. WAIL was founded in 2003 by Gabriela Network, a Philippine-U.S. women's solidarity mass organization that came together 20 years ago. A number of concrete plans of action were adopted during the discussion groups, including organizing a women's rally in May in New York and a 2005 WAIL international summit in San Francisco.



PHOTOS: MATHEW BARNETT

Monica Moorehead

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LOS ANGELES

Every Friday

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

NEW YORK

Fri., April 2

Workers World Party meeting featuring Emma Sarinas Manuel, president of the Alliance of Health Workers in the Philippines, who will address the impact of globalization on health care in the Philippines and the attempt by the U.S. to use the 'war on terrorism' to re-colonize the Philippines. 7 p.m. (Dinner at 6:30) At 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl., Manhattan. For info (212) 627-2994.

SAN FRANCISCO

Sun., April 4

Workers World Party weekly meeting. Hot spots of resistance to U.S. imperialism: Haiti, Cuba and Venezuela. Reports and discussion about countries in the Western Hemisphere on the front lines in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. 5 p.m. At 2489 Mission St., No. 28. For info (415) 826-4828.

1944-2004 RICHARD PEREZ Puerto Rican community leader

Richard Perez, a long-time, respected Puerto Rican activist in New York City, passed away on March 26 at the age of 59 from cancer. Perez was a member of the Young Lords Party during the 1960s and a founding member of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights. The NCPRR played a highly visible role in fighting against all forms of racism, especially police brutality. Perez was also involved in the New York Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners—16 freedom fighters who were imprisoned for many years inside the U.S. for struggling for the liberation of their homeland, Puerto Rico. Eleven of them were granted clemency by Bill Clinton in 1999. Richard Perez, presente!

-Monica Moorehead



Richard Perez

PHOTO: EX-IWP.ORG

Another slap in the face for women

Congress legitimizes 'fetal rights'

By Sue Davis

By a vote of 61 to 38, the Senate passed the Unborn Victims of Violence Act on March 25. The law applies to harming a fetus during federal crimes committed against a pregnant woman. The House passed a similar bill 254 to 163 on Feb. 26.

Pro-choice activists view the bill as a two-pronged attack on women's right to abortion. First is to establish and legitimize fetal rights so the rights of a pregnant woman can be pitted against those of the fetus. The second is to use the concept of "fetal personhood" to even-

tually overturn legal abortion.

Kate Michelman, president of Naral Pro-Choice America, told the New York Times that the bill is not "inspired solely to protect a woman or her pregnancy the goal is to gain separate legal recognition of the fetus." (March 27)

"If a wanted fetus is killed during the commission of a crime, it's going to enrage people," says Eleanor J. Bader, author of "Targets of Hatred," which chronicles antiabortion violence since the 1970s. "But the Bush administration has taken the compassion many of us feel for the

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Workers World

55 West 17 Street
New York, N.Y. 10011
Phone: (212) 627-2994
Fax: (212) 675-7869
E-mail: editor@workers.org
Web: www.workers.org
Vol. 46, No. 14 • April 8, 2004
Closing date: March 31, 2004

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

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

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

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Actions to defend same-sex marriage May 17

Mass. legislators take step backwards, activists press forward

By Frank Neisser **Boston**

The Massachusetts Legislature took a step backward on March 29, passing a measure that is the first step toward amending the state constitution to deny same-sex couples equal rights. The measure defines marriage as only between a man and a woman.

Before this amendment can become law, however, it must be passed by the next session of the legislature in 2005 and then win a majority of votes in the general election of November 2006. The amendment passed the legislature by only five votes.

Supporters of equal marriage rights vowed to continue the struggle to see that this measure never makes it to the ballot.

As a concession to those who have fought hard for same-sex marriage rights, the bill did establish civil unions with the same state benefits as marriage.

Republican Gov. Mitt Romney armtwisted 15 right-wing Republicans who are adamantly against civil unions to vote for the measure, putting it over the top.

But those voting against the bigoted bill have steadily grown: from 55 in February, to 75 earlier in March, to 95 on March 29.

On March 25, African American legislators and community leaders—including State Sen. Dianne Wilkerson and State Rep. Byron Rushing-held a media conference expressing strong support for equal marriage rights and opposition to writing any type of discrimination into the constitution.

At the State House on March 29, sup-



Access to civil marriage—a simple matter of justice.

porters of equal marriage rights outnumbered opponents. And activists expressed their determination to continue the fight despite the outcome of the legislature's

Same-sex marriages are still set to begin on May 17 in Massachusetts, based on an order by the state's Supreme Judicial Court.

Legally, the March 29 vote has no effect on the Supreme Judicial Court order that the state begin granting marriage licenses to same-sex couples on May 17. That court unless and until the constitution is actually amended.

However, the governor has stated he will ask the Supreme Judicial Court to stay the effect of their decision until after November 2006. But the State Attorney General has said there is no legal basis for such a request.

The governor may make the request anyway. But the May 17 legal same-sex marriages could only be stopped if the court agrees to suspend its own ruling.

May 17: National Day of Solidarity

As the tide of the struggle for equal marriage rights has surged ahead with actions at city halls across the country, a call has been issued for a National Day of Solidarity

Actions on May 17. On that day, lesbian, gay, bi and trans activists and their supporters are being asked to go to city halls across the country to hold rallies, media conferences and actions demanding marriage licenses be granted to couples of all sexualities, sexes and genders.

The May 17 call for solidarity broadens the demands to include the fight against racism, for universal health care for allregardless of marriage status, for the rights of all lesbians, gays, bisexuals, end to bashings, lynchings and police brutality, for marriage rights for same-sex immigrant couples, decriminalization of undocumented workers, an end to racist roundups, detentions and deportations of Arab, Muslim and South Asian immigrants, and for jobs, health care, AIDS funding, housing and schools-not bigotry, racism and war.

On May 16, a march and rally are scheduled in Boston.

A community planning forum for these actions, to be held on April 15, will feature African American City Councilor Chuck Turner, transgender lesbian activist Leslie Feinberg, and activist and performer Imani Henry. The event will take place at 6:30 p.m. at the Community Church of Boston, 565 Boylston St., in Copley Square.

All progressive activists are urged to endorse this initiative and plan actions at their local city halls. Endorsements and action plans can be entered online at equalmarriagesolidarity.org. Emails can be sent to quality@equalmarriagesolidarity.org. Letters of endorsement or requests for more information can be directed to the May 17 Solidarity Coalition for Equal Marriage Rights and Against All Forms of Discrimination, Bigotry and Racism at 284 Amory St., Jamaica Plain, MA 02130; (617) 522-6626. □

Right to marry transgender and transsexual people, an ruling is now the law of Massachusetts, fight comes to Ohio

By Martha Grevatt Cleveland

The movement to win the right of same-sex couples to marry is sweeping the country. The resistance to Bush's proposed constitutional ban, initially concentrated on the East and West coasts, has come to Cleveland, Ohio. On March 26 the first local rally brought out 58 couples, who lined up double-file at the county courthouse to apply for marriage licenses.

They carried long-stemmed roses and signs identifying the number of years they had been together. They represented a broad spectrum of nationalities, occupations, ages and genders. Many couples paid \$40 to go before the probate judges, even with the expectation that they would get the standard letter of denial.

Over 200 in total participated in this first rally to be held in Cleveland for same-sex marriage rights. Many had been part of the successful campaign in Cleveland Heights to establish a domestic partner registry. While similar registries exist in a number of cities and states, this was the first in the U.S. to be passed by the electorate.

The protest received widespread media coverage, and those denied licenses vowed to continue the fight. "The only way society is going to change," one told the media, "is when people stand up for what they believe

Another slap in the face for women

Congress legitimizes 'fetal rights'

Continued from page 2

crime victim—the woman—and are using it to undermine abortion. The fetus is not a separate victim. Any attempt to make it one is ridiculous."

Sen. Dianne Feinstein introduced an amendment to the bill that would have allowed those convicted of a crime to be charged with a second offense for harming a fetus or terminating a woman's pregnancy, without granting new legal status to a fetus. What Feinstein objected to in the act was the definition of the "child in utero": "a member of the species homo sapiens, at any stage of development, who is carried in the womb." (New York Times, March 26) The amendment was defeated 50 to 49.

Sen. Patty Murray also introduced an amendment that would have required

Who are the real victims?

In South Carolina, a law on "fetal personhood" has been in effect since 1984. National Advocates for Pregnant Women point out that only one man has been prosecuted and convicted of murder based on that law. By contrast, between 50 and 100 women in South Carolina have been arrested under the law. Women who gave birth to healthy babies but nevertheless were deemed to have put those pregnancies at risk have been sentenced to jail terms of as long as 10 years. (advocatesforpregnantwomen.org)

companies to provide unpaid leave for victims of domestic or sexual violence. This, she asserted, was needed to reduce crimes against women. That, too, was voted down.

Passage of this bill is the second major attack on women's right to legal abortion in the current Republican-controlled Congress. The first was passage of the misnamed "partial-birth" abortion bill last fall. Though Republicans have been pushing the Unborn Victims of Violence Act since 1999, it passed now because 10 Democratic senators voted for it, along with a number of Democrats in the House.

Many link passage of the bill to the sensationalized coverage of the Laci Peterson murder in California in 2002. Peterson was eight months pregnant at the time. Her husband has been charged with two counts of murder.

Thirty-one states already have "fetal homicide" laws on the books, though all the bills exempt medical abortion from prosecution in recognition of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Sixteen of the laws define fetal homicide from the moment of conception.

In Utah, which has such a law, Melissa Ann Rowland was recently charged with murder because one of the twins she carried died during delivery. Rowland, who is reported to have abused drugs and had mental problems, refused to have a Caesarean section, though her doctor requested it.

Over the past 15 years, at least 275

women have been charged with endangering their unborn children. Most involved drug use during pregnancy. Lynn Paltrow, executive director of National Advocates for Pregnant Women, has been able to get charges dismissed in some cases and many convictions overturned on appeal. Most often, she notes, the women are young, very poor and lack community support; many are women of color.

To demand reproductive freedom for all women, seven groups—headed by the National Organization for Women, the Black Women's Health Imperative and the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health-have called the March for Women's Lives on April 25 in Washington, D.C. Over 1,000 groups have already endorsed, including a wide range of women's, civil rights, people of color, labor, LGBT, disability, campus and religious groups, as well as health clinics and service providers.

"Abortion rights were won in the streets in the 1970s," says LeiLani Dowell, a Workers World Party member running for Congress on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in California. "We've got to take to the streets again to fight for all the things women need to defend their bodies and their reproductive rights: health care, child care, housing, education, jobs, food, lesbian rights, freedom from violence as well as safe birth control, abortion rights, no forced sterilization and the right to have children."

Momentum grows for April 24 protest to free Mumia

By LeiLani Dowell and Imani Henry

With less than a month remaining, momentum is building for an important day of protest on April 24, Mumia Abu-Jamal's 50th birthday. Abu-Jamal is an African American revolutionary journalist and former Black Panther who has been on Pennsylvania's death row for the past 22 years. He was convicted in 1982 for the killing of a Philadelphia police officer. The courts have suppressed evidence of his innocence since his incarceration.

The outspoken Abu-Jamal has become a worldwide symbol of resistance against the death penalty, war, racism and all forms of repression. His lawyers recently filed an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court demanding a new trial for him based on racism that riddled his trial.

Demonstrations will be held in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and outside the U.S. calling for the freedom of Abu-Jamal and all political prisoners. Thousands are expected to turn out for these actions, particularly in Abu-Jamal's hometown of Philadelphia. Buses are being organized from around the region. International delegations from France and elsewhere are expected.

April 24 is also the release date of Abu-Jamal's fifth book, "A Life In The Party: The Story of the Black Panthers." The acclaimed play "A Love Song for Mumia,"

which first premiered at Howard University in Washington, D.C., will be presented at Philadelphia's Freedom Theatre on April 23.

Latin@s For Mumia, formed in 1999, is organizing a contingent for this year's march in Philadelphia. Among the contingent's sponsors are ProLibertad, Vieques Support Campaign, New York Committee of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, La Iglesia San Romero De Las Americas and ProLibertad Youth Network.

The call for April 24 has been endorsed by a wide range of progressive groups and individuals, including: 1199ers for Peace & Justice; author Amina Baraka; International Action Center; Arise for Social Justice, Springfield, Mass.; Boots Riley, performer from hip-hop group The Coup, Oakland, Calif.; New York City Labor Against the War co-chair Brenda Stokely; David Wong Support Committee; December 12th Movement; and Elombe Brath, WBAI Pacifica Radio.

Also: Leslie Feinberg, co-founder of Rainbow Flags for Mumia; M'Backe House of Hope, Wilmington, Del.; NY Coalition to Free Mumia; Pennsylvania Abolitionists United Against the Death Penalty; Reverends Herbert Daughtry and Luis Barrios, New York; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Philadelphia; and Youth for Mumia National Collective. To add your endorsement, call (215) 476-8812

2004 marks Mumia's 22nd year on Pa.'s death row

Be in Philly on Saturday, April 24 for Mumia's 50th Birthday

March & Rally to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now!

10:00 AM Gather at Malcolm X Park in West Philadelphia, 52nd & Pine St. for a rally

11:30 AM Begin march through West Phila. neighborhoods

1:00 PM Arrive at the Kingsessing Recreation Center located at 50th and Kingsessing Sts. for an indoor and outdoor program. The program will be a fundraiser and feature live music and dance performances, an art show and auction, food, and much more.

For information contact the International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal call 215-476-8812 or email icffmaj@aol.com. For more information visit www.mumia.org, www.Millions4mumia.org and www.iacenter.org

For transportation from NYC call the International Action Center at 212-633-6646

or email icffmaj@aol.com.

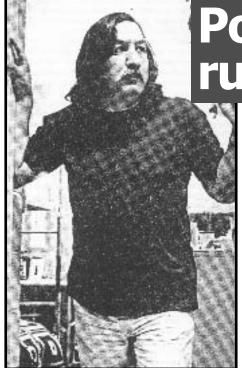
In San Francisco, the first internationalist Mumia Abu-Jamal film festival will be held on April 23. The following day, a march will proceed from 16th and Mission Streets (16th Street BART Station) in the Mission District, with rally to follow. For more information, visit freemumia.org/events.html.

The Philadelphia rally will begin at 10 a.m. at Malcolm X Park, located at 52nd Street and Pine. The march will begin at 11:30 a.m. and proceed to Abu-Jamal's

childhood community of North Philadelphia for a 1:30 p.m. program of speakers and cultural performances. For more information, visit mumia.org and millions4mumia.org

In a special act of solidarity, New York City women activists and their allies will be organizing van caravans to travel to Philadelphia on April 24 and then continue to Washington, D.C., for the April 25 March for Women's Lives.

For more information on New York City transportation, call (212) 633-6646. □



Political prisoner Leonard Peltier runs for president The majority of voters in California's I will ensure that all peoples receive jus-March 2 Peace & Freedom Party presidentice. Environmental protection is para-

tial primary voted to put American Indian Movement leader and political prisoner Leonard Peltier on the November ballot. P&FP candidate Peltier issued the following statement:

I am a Native American who has suffered nearly 28 years in prison, even though government attorneys and courts acknowledge that the government withheld evidence, fabricated evidence, and coerced witnesses to fraudulently convict me. But the courts say they have no power to correct the wrongs of our government. If the Courts do not, who does?

mount for our survival. The earth is our sacred Mother who nourishes us. Our government is destroying the earth by allowing its usurpation for greedy purposes. I will protect the environment.

All minorities must be allowed to maintain their languages and traditions with dignity. I personally suffered the indignity of being deprived of speaking my native tongue and following Lakota traditions. This country has engaged in genocidal policies to exterminate virtually every minority, especially those who express dissent and seek equal justice.

Now is the time to end the continuing injustices of this government and ensure liberty and equal health care to all.

Luther Standing Bear, a Sioux Chief, stated: "Out of the Indian approach to life became a great freedom-an intense and absorbing love for nature; a respect for life; enriching in a supreme power; and principals of truth, honesty, generosity, equity, and brotherhood as a guard to mundane relations." That statement exemplifies the basic truths of life.

I will represent all people, not the entrepreneurs who care only how much money can be stuffed into their pockets.

-Leonard Peltier

In the spirit of Cesar Chavez

Farmworkers demand civil rights

On March 28 in San Francisco, hundreds of farmworkers, labor unions and community supporters marched down Market Street to Civic Center Plaza for the annual march and rally honoring United Farm Workers founder and civil rights leader, Cesar Chavez.

The theme of this year's march was "Supporting Workers and Immigrant Rights." A large anti-war contingent calling for people's needs, not war, organized by the ANSWER Coalition, was also in the demonstration. Dolores Huerta, co-founder of the UFW, opened the rally by calling for the right of all immigrant workers to live and work legally in the U.S. and be able to obtain basic necessities like drivers' licenses.

-Story and photo by Bill Hackwell



Significance of the March 20 protests

By Brian Becker

Attempting to evaluate the long-term significance of any large-scale political protest or action is usually difficult in its immediate aftermath. Only the passage of time and subsequent and inter-related developments can confirm whether any particular political event has a lasting significance. Was it in fact a catalyst or a bridge to something new? Did it alter the political climate in any measurable way?

The political impact of the March 20 mass antiwar demonstrations, coming on the first anniversary of the U.S. invasion and bombing of Iraq, will need to be evaluated over time as well. One thing is certain: the size of the demonstrations in the United States far exceeded the organizers' expectations. There were 100,000 in New York, 50,000 in San Francisco, 20,000 in Los Angeles, 10,000 in Chicago and smaller but relatively large local actions in another 250 cities. On the global scene, more than 3 million marched.

The corporate media took note of the unexpectedly large turnout. The New York Daily News the next day showed a fullpage color photo of a sea of protesters, holding thousands of signs and placards denouncing Bush and his so-called war on terrorism. Local television, in New York and around the country, led with coverage-much of it fairly sympathetic. The New York Times and the Washington Post, playing their usual role as the austere bourgeois media establishment that decides which news is fit to print and which is fit to be buried, chose to relegate the story to the local news and minimize it-again.

Two days after the demonstration, the New York Times ran an article by Clyde Haberman complaining that the marchers hadn't carried enough American flags. "When flags were waved on Saturday, however infrequently, they were often smeared with slogans or flown upside down, as in a distress symbol," Haberman lamented. "Some people carried flags with the field of stars replaced by a peace symbol or a skull and crossbones." Imagine!

Haberman was right about the facts. There were not many U.S. flags. There were not many Kerry for president signs either. The March 20 organizers didn't direct people on what to bring as far as signs go. So the people decided, collectively and individually, to forego the flag and the Kerry signs for a million and one creative hand-made posters deriding Bush and company.

Thousands of veterans, military families of U.S. soldiers, and active-duty soldiers took part in the protests throughout the country. The news coverage of parents and others holding signs and pictures of loved ones who had been killed in Iraq highlight the extreme political vulnerability this constituency creates for Bush during the election year.

The demonstrations also had very visible labor contingents organized at the local and district council level rather than by the international or national leaderships, who are still tied to the U.S. foreign policy establishment.

As a grassroots-inspired expression of the diversity of the participants, many organizations and individuals organized themselves into contingents in the New York demonstration. One that received perhaps the most notice, applause and other expressions of genuine enthusiasm



WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

New York City, March 20.

was a contingent organized from the Haitian community. Waving Haitian flags and carrying pictures of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, this contingent condemned the Bush administration for staging the coup and kidnapping of Haiti's first democratically elected president.

Debate on Palestine

The huge demonstration in New York was co-sponsored by two antiwar coalitions that had engaged in a long and illuminating struggle over the political program and demands of the demonstration. One coalition was initiated by Act Now to Stop War & End Racism (ANSWER) and the other was organized by United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ). In early February the coalitions agreed to co-sponsor one unified mass action in New York on March 20. In demonstrations the same day in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago, ANSWER played a major role, while the UFPJ was a relatively minor force.

The differences between the two coalitions' approach was evident at the New York action, in spite of the fact that they had agreed to join efforts for a single, unified march. The primary difference had to do with the orientation toward the struggle of the Palestinian people. Another issue that emerged right before the demonstration was the attitude toward the Haitian people's struggle against U.S. occupation. ANSWER insisted that the U.S. coup and occupation of Haiti, which happened on the eve of the protests, be included as part of the central slogan.

At 12 noon on March 20 the rally opened with a joint 90-second statement from ANSWER and UFPJ announcing their decision to cooperate in a united front against the Bush administration's war drive. For the next 30 minutes, ANSWER presented a number of speakers in front of a stage banner that read: Bring the Troops Home Now, End Occupation: Iraq, Palestine, Haiti and Everywhere. ANSWER proposed that this be a jointly signed ban-

ner used by both coalitions. The UFPJ did not agree because it opposed the inclusion of Palestine as a central slogan.

When the UFPJ took the stage for the second half of the rally, a new stage banner was hoisted over the existing banner. It read: The World Still Says No to War.

The difference in slogans is not simply a matter of semantics. Underneath the struggle over slogans lie different worldviews and clashing strategic orientations on fighting against war.

ANSWER believes that the U.S. war drive is the outgrowth of the imperialist system rather than the by-product of mistaken or bad Republican political leaders.

Back on Jan. 2, a Call to Action for March 20 had been issued proclaiming the need to recognize the centrality of Palestine in the upcoming demonstration against the occupation of Iraq (see www.internationalanswer.org). The call was issued by the ANSWER Coalition along with the Free Palestine Alliance, Muslim Student Association, Al-Awda Palestine Right of Return Coalition, American Muslim Arab Federation, Muslim Student Society Freedom Foundation and others.

While this call stimulated the enthusiastic participation of Arab-American, Muslim and South Asian communities, some groups in the U.S. antiwar movement criticized it as a "terrible mistake." Others on the left were even more hostile to the Call to Action. Although UFPJ activists in New York voted in favor of embracing the demand on Palestine, the leadership only agreed to unite with ANSWER and the Arab American organizations after a long political struggle. A joint unity statement was issued in early February that included Palestine as a central slogan, but each group was free to issue its own literature, banners, and so on.

During the debate the most frequently cited argument against including Palestine ran like this: "We agree that the occupation and terror directed against the Palestinian people is a terrible thing but we won't be able to reach out to the average people who might oppose the Iraq war but who will be alienated if we raise Palestine as a key demand." In short, the argument is based on the notion that the people of the United States are so politically backward on the issue of Palestine that it is inopportune for the antiwar movement to embrace the Palestinian struggle.

There was great hand-wringing about this from sectors of the left before March 20. Those who insisted on the inclusion of the Palestinian people's struggle were accused of political shortsightedness, extremism, sectarianism and worse.

But what actually happened on March 20 in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago—demonstrations that included Palestine as a key demand and reflected the central leadership role of Arab-American, Palestinian and Muslim organizations?

The demonstrations were not small. On the contrary, they were very large. The socalled "average" people didn't stay away because the struggle in Iraq and Palestine were linked. And most of the people in attendance were not political activists. They were working people and youth who are fed up with Bush's openly imperialist program. The Arab-American and Muslim communities also mobilized a good turnout. Were people turned off by the presence of Palestinian leaders and the embrace of the Palestinian struggle? Perhaps some were, but for the most part the crowd warmly and sometimes wildly applauded the Arab and Muslim speakers.

Many people at the demonstration may not have known as much as they need to know about Palestine, but by marching shoulder to shoulder with the Arab community and listening to the speakers and reading the literature they absorbed a great deal of political education on March 20.

Role of leadership

Time and again political leaders blame the "backwardness" of the "average" peo-

Continued on page 8

By Mumia Abu-Jamal from death row

Haiti on our minds



[T]he little community of Haiti, anchored in the Caribbean Sea, has had her mission in the world, and a mission which the world had such need to learn. She has taught the world the danger of slavery and the value of liberty. In this respect she has been the greatest of all our modern teachers.

-Frederick Douglass, 1893

The recent coup d'etat in Haiti, where the Americans spirited the president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, out of power and out of his own country, is just the latest event in 200 years of U.S. complicity and support of repression in Haiti.

During the hard-fought Haitian Revolution, which occurred roughly a decade after the U.S. revolution, the government of George Washington, which talked about "liberty to all men," entered the conflict, but not on the side of liberty. The Washington administration authorized the grant of \$400,000—a vast sum in the 1800s—not to support the forces of freedom, but to the white planters. They sent money to the French for arms and food to support their resistance to the uprising. America's secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson, writer of the Constitution, did the actual paperwork. When it came to slavery or freedom, the Americans, slave owners themselves, chose slavery to support.

By Jan. 1, 1804, Haitian independence would be declared, and for the first time in world history, a slave army bested imperial armies, and freedom resulted.

How did the U.S. respond? Did they welcome them to the brotherhood of free nations? The words of a U.S. congressman, said some 20 years after Haitian independence, stated U.S. policy towards the Black Republic: "Our policy with regards to Hayti is plain. We never can acknowledge her independence... The peace and safety of a large part of our Union forbids us even to discuss [it]." So said South Carolina Senator Robert Hayne in 1824.

It wasn't until 1862, when the Civil War was raging, that the U.S. recognized its nearest free neighbor. They couldn't recognize it for almost 60 years because they didn't want Blacks in the U.S. to see a free Black people, as diplomats and leaders of government, functioning in the U.S. The official U.S. policy was white supremacy.

From 1915 to 1934, the U.S. occupied Haiti, fighting a bitter guerrilla war that left thousands dead. They murdered guerrilla leader Charlemagne Peralte in 1919, and then paraded his nearly naked, chained body, to try to stifle the Cacos Rebellion.

They installed and supported the Duvalier regimes, and since the fall of that dictatorship, have actively and secretly supported Duvalierist elements in the army and the government.

Indeed, they trained many of the people who were the most repressive elements in the army, and backed the FRAPH, which was an anti-democratic terrorist army in Haiti.

They have always opposed Pere Aristide, for his support of the Lavalas movement (Creole for "the flood," or the masses).

Think of it this way: in the last century, how many times have you ever seen the U.S. support anything in Latin America? How many times have they trained, backed, and armed the right-wing militaries? Even torturers, rapists and mass murderers?

Why would Haiti be any different?

The recent soft expulsion of Aristide opens the door to bring back Duvalierist elements to the fore, to "discipline" the riotous, rebellious Haitian people, who've never forgotten their revolutionary origins. They want Haiti "stable" to perform as a docile labor force for the bourgeoisie, both in Haiti and the U.S.

The empire, based on dominance, control and fear, cannot countenance the Haitian example of people's power, of, yes, the barest fraction of "democracy." Thus, they use various means to achieve the same ends. Thus, the removal, at gunpoint, of Aristide, "for the good of the Haitian people."

Let the Haitian people decide their own government! It isn't for the U.S. to decide for them.

It's time to end this empire, for the good of the people of America, and for the good of the people of the world.

We must demand it, and then work for it, to end this reign of madness.

March 7, 2004

Dominican Republic used as training, staging area Washington armed commandos to overthrow Aristide

April 7 public meeting to expose U.S. role in coup

By Leslie Feinberg

An independent Haiti Commission of Inquiry, at a media conference in the Dominican Republic, has charged that Washington armed and trained commando forces inside that country which were then used to overthrow Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The commission delivered its preliminary conclusion to a packed room of close to 100 journalists in Santo Domingo on March 30. It had investigated what commission member Father Luis Barrios said were "countless reports."

Some members of the commission had also interviewed Aristide in the Central African Republic, where they confirmed that Haiti's president had not resigned, but had been kidnapped by the U.S. government.

The commission will deliver these and other findings at an April 7 public meeting in New York on the coup in Haiti and details of Washington's hand in the violent "regime change." Tickets for the event at Whitman Hall, Brooklyn College, are available from the International Action Center at 39 W. 14th St., Room 206, (212) 633-6646, and from the Haiti Support Network, 1398 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, (718) 434-8100. More information is available at iacenter.org and haiti-progres.com.

President Aristide will address the April 7 meeting via a recorded message. Congress members Maxine Waters and Major Owens, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Haitian labor organizer Ray LaForest and others will address the meeting in person.

Johnnie Stevens, a leading organizer of the event, stresses, "We're holding this meeting on April 7 because it's the 201st anniversary of the death of Haitian liberator Toussaint L'Ouverture. He died in a French jail after being kidnapped in a ruse by Napoleon's agents. Just as Napoleon sought to restore slavery in

Haiti by starving to death Toussaint L'Ouverture, so does George Bush want to re-impose colonial rule in the world's oldest Black republic by kidnapping and exiling Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide."

U.S. role exposed

The Haiti Commission of Inquiry was created in 1991 by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark after the first U.S.-backed coup against Aristide. Clark helped found the International Action Center.

At the March 30 media conference, which took place at the Renaissance Jaragua Hotel in the Dominican capital, IAC co-director Teresa Gutierrez told the gathered journalists, "The purpose of this particular delegation has been to investigate when, where, why and how the leaders of the so-called rebel forces were able to train and arm themselves in the Dominican Republic." She added that the inquiry also pursued how the mercenary forces "were shielded from arrest, despite being convicted in Haiti and other countries."

The commission report states, "Two hundred U.S. Special Forces soldiers came to the Dominican Republic as part of 'Operation Jaded Task,' with special authorization from [Dominican] President Hipólito Mejia. We have received many reports that this operation was used to train Haitian rebels. We have received many consistent reports of Haitian rebel training centers at or near Dominican military facilities. We have received many consistent reports of guns transported from the Dominican Republic to Haiti, some across the land border, and others shipped by sea."

Kim Ives from Haïti Progrès told the media, "In the course of our investigation here, we met with many Haitians who were forced to flee Haiti following the coup d'état of Feb. 29. Their testimony gave very concrete names and faces to the stories of violence which we have heard that the so-called rebels, trained and assembled in the Dominican Republic, have carried out in Haiti over the past month. We were also touched by the tears of refugees who told us of how they are apprehensive over the fate of their loved ones left behind in Haiti."

Retired Special Forces Master Sgt. Stan Goff emphasized, "The latest coup d'état in Haiti was a particularly shameless exercise of U.S. imperial impunity. It is important to remember that this was also an attack on the sovereignty of every nation in the region, and especially that of the Dominican Republic."

Goff concluded that the U.S. exerts "control of the direction of Dominican political and economic development." As evidence, he cited the recent restructuring foisted on the Dominican Republic by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund.

U.S. domination of the Dominican Republic has a long history. Washington installed Rafael Trujillo as ruler in 1930. Trujillo became so hated as a bloody dictator that he was assassinated in 1961 in what was widely perceived as a CIA coup intended to head off a popular uprising. In 1962, Professor Juan Bosch, a progressive, was elected president but was ousted within seven months by the military.

When a revolution to restore Bosch erupted in 1965, U.S. Marines invaded Santo Domingo—the second time in the 20th century that the U.S. military had occupied the Dominican Republic.

U.S. imperialism feared another Cuba in Latin America and the Caribbean. Then-President Lyndon Johnson actually postponed the buildup of U.S. forces in Vietnam so the Pentagon could channel tens of thousands of troops to the Dominican Republic.

Part of the inspiration for Che Guevara's famous anti-imperialist call for "two, three, many Vietnams" was the struggle in the Dominican Republic. □



WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

U.S. effort to bully Caribbean countries fails

CARICOM rejects new Haitian regime

By Pat Chin

A recent meeting of the leaders of CARICOM—a 15-member trade bloc of Caribbean countries—didn't go the way the Bush White House wanted it. Despite intense pressure, they concluded their meeting on March 27 by refusing to recognize the regime installed recently in Haiti. President Jean-Bertrand Aristide had been forced from power after a U.S.-backed destabilization campaign that included the use of armed terror gangs.

The CARICOM leaders also demanded that the UN General Assembly investigate Aristide's forced ouster and exile. The 53-member African Union had already made the same demand, and the Congressional Black Caucus in the U.S. has called for a congressional inquiry.

Meanwhile, according to a Haiti Support Group Web report, many officials and supporters of Aristide's Lavalas Family Party who were forced into hiding now seem to be regrouping. Lavalas Senator Yvon Feuille has openly charged that, "Lavalas members are being hounded across the country and even killed." He denounced the "white American and French colonists' plan" to marginalize the movement that brought Aristide to power in 1990 in Haiti's first democratic elections and warned that, "Without Lavalas there is no solution."

According to the Associated Press, "Caribbean leaders are angry that the Security Council refused their urgent plea to send international troops to save Aristide ... but speedily sanctioned a U.S.-led intervention" after he was gone.

Jamaican Prime Minister P.J. Patterson, outgoing CARICOM head, has faced intense imperialist pressure for granting Aristide temporary asylum. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice was the latest official trying to bully the Jamaican government into submission by calling Patterson to demand that Jamaica expel Aristide immediately or face dire consequences.

The threat came only a few days after

reports that the State Department had suspended arms sales to Jamaica, claiming, in its usual two-faced style, that the ban had nothing to do with Aristide's presence in Jamaica and that it did not apply to the country's army and police force but only to private arms merchants.

Patterson reportedly received tumultuous applause when he told the gathering, "We may be small in size and we make no claim to military power but our influence in the hemisphere [should not] be underestimated.... And I believe that there cannot be a lasting and permanent solution to the crisis in Haiti without CARICOM being involved." (Trinidad Express, March 26)

Aristide has rejected refuge in Nigeria. And doubt has been cast on reports that he'll go to South Africa for permanent asylum; the South African government has denied receiving a request.

As Haitians joined the huge March 20 antiwar demonstrations in New York City and across the country, a spectacle unfolded in the northern Haitian city of Gonaives that exposes the Bush administration's connivance with both the political and armed wings of the "opposition" it mobilized against Haiti's popularly elected president.

U.S.-installed Interim Prime Minister Gerard Latortue was flown to Gonaives, the first city taken over by armed gangs, where he hailed the paid mercenaries gathered there as "freedom fighters" and thanked them for getting rid of the "dictator Aristide."

Latortue has set up an interim government that excludes Aristide's Lavalas Family Party, Haiti's largest political grouping. He was flown to Gonaives in a U.S. Army "Black Hawk" helicopter escorted by a second "Black Hawk" and a "Chinook." He was greeted by a delegation of killers, including former Haitian Army and police officer Guy Phillipe, in a bid to bestow legitimacy on the new regime and its armed wing. Special Representative David Lee from the Organization of American States looked on approvingly.

Over the past month, since Aristide's forced removal, 3,200 U.S., French, Canadian and Chilean troops have been deployed in Haiti. But the bulk of them remain outside of Cap-Haitien, Les Cayes and Gonaives, where the terror squads have been given the green light to mount a reign of terror against Aristide's supporters.

So-called "international stabilization" troops continue to look the other way while a convicted killer like Louis-Jodel Chamblain presides over an ad hoc "court" in Cap-Haitien that tries people accused of everything from theft to being pro Aristide and metes out summary sentences, including public execution.

Corpses continue to be found in the bay at Cap-Haitien, Haiti's second-largest city, according to the Associated Press. In addition, "dozens of bullet-ridden bodies have been brought to the morgue in the last month."

Puppet Prime Minister Latortue has criticized Jamaica's decision to grant Aristide asylum. He also broke off relations with Jamaica and froze Haiti's CARICOM membership. Latortue was not invited to the recent summit, and any informal contact with him was quashed after he praised the U.S.- and Frenchbacked terrorists in Haiti as "freedom fighters."

Caribbean voices hit U.S.

Rickey Singh, noted journalist for the Barbados-based Nation newspaper, responded: "It would have been laughable, tragic really, had no CARICOM country, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, or anyone else, agreed to grant a temporary stay to Aristide and his family, while the United States continues to refuse asylum to fleeing Haitian refugees while still 'sheltering' former Haitian political thugs and killers."

The Trinidad Express also weighed in: "The arrogance of the United States knows no boundaries," declared a March 24 article entitled "Playing games with Aristide."

"On the subject of Haiti and its deposed

President Jean-Bertrand Aristide," it continued, "we are being lectured by Dubya and his minions as though we are first-grade school children. The Americans do not rule us. ... So if we wish to grant Aristide asylum that's our business, not theirs. And should they wish that we deport our Cuban doctors and nurses and cool our relations with Chavez in Caracas because they believe he is another Castro, that's their concern, not ours."

A column entitled "Mercy, politics and history dunces" by Michael Burke for the Jamaica Observer, reprinted in the Trinidad Express and posted on a Venezuelan website, recalled that at least nine former Haitian presidents were allowed to stay in Jamaica for a time, in addition to Venezuela's Simon Bolivar and a former president of Mexico, General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. Cuba's Jose Marti was also there, and a statue of Bolivar was erected in Jamaica's Heroes Circle in 1967.

Burke recalled that Patterson had "differed publicly with the USA on the matter of invading Iraq. He further demonstrated to the world that he could stand up to the USA by calling for a UN investigation into the circumstances under which Aristide was ousted from power in Haiti, and despite the USA frowning on Aristide being allowed here, he has not changed his mind."

Haitians and their supporters demonstrated in Washington, D.C., on March 20 for human rights in that centuries-long oppressed Caribbean country. Several human rights groups have also questioned Latortue's lauding of the death squad terrorists and have called for their arrest.

Even some Democratic Party legislators, including presidential hopeful John Kerry, have criticized the Bush-backed coup in Haiti—but not to demand Aristide's return as a matter of principle, based on the Haitian people's right to self-determination. The critique is merely to gain political mileage against the Republicans in the upcoming capitalist elections.

HATT A SLAVE REVOLUTION - 200 YEARS AFTER 1804

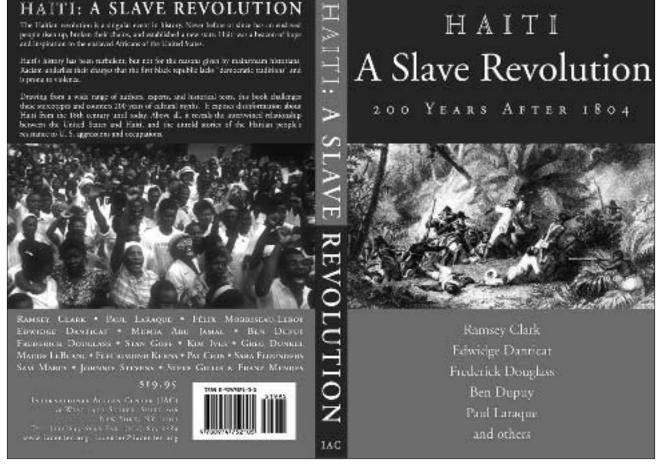
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Outrage over occupation roiling in region

Pentagon beefs up troop deployment in Afghanistan

By Leslie Feinberg

Without fanfare, the Pentagon has deployed at least 7,000 more troops to Afghanistan in preparation for a major spring offensive.

Up until now, some 11,000 to 12,000 Special Forces and other units had made up the U.S. military boot heel of occupation there.

But on March 18, 5,000 soldiers from the Army's 25th Infantry Division (Light) shipped out in the largest single troop movement in that division's history.

And as of March 26, some 2,200 Marines and sailors aboard ships in the Persian/Arabian Gulf had set sail for Afghanistan. Pentagon brass say they have not yet determined how many Marines from the 22nd Marine Expeditionary Unit from Camp Lejeune will be sent to the Central Asian country. A senior Pentagon official concluded, "It will be most of them." Another defense official said "some of the Marines" will be sent, and field conditions will determine the ultimate number. (New York Times, March 26)

Afghanistan lies on a strategic pathway to transport the vast oil and natural gas wealth of the Caspian Sea to the capitalist markets. The U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan and Washington's hand-picked "president" of the country have both been consultants for Unocal Corp., the U.S.-based energy giant trying to pipe the resources out of Central Asia.

Army Gen. John Abizaid, head of the military's Central Command, has said that the proposed spring military assault will target the south, east and southeast of Afghanistan, where resistance to the imperialist occupation has been dogged.

At a Pentagon media briefing on March 25, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and Gen. Richard Myers—chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—told reporters that the additional Marines would be used to provide security for Afghan elections this summer. "They're going to have elections sometimes this summer, perhaps late summer," Myers told journalists.

The day before, the U.S.-appointed titular head of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai, announced that the presidential elections slated for June had been pushed back to September.

Anger at Washington's attempts to stabilize its military occupation of Afghanistan, and to send surrogate troops to fight and die, is roiling throughout Central and South Asia.

Washington is also strong-arming other countries to send forces. After talks with the Bush administration, New Zealand's government announced in early March that it would send 50 elite front-line Special Air Services troops for a spring-time assault. Canadian officials have said they may send 500 troops to Afghanistan after August.

Spain's prime minister-elect has also indicated that he may beef up the number of his country's troops, sure to draw the ire of a domestic population rocked by bomb blasts believed to be in retaliation for the deployment of Spanish troops to Iraq.

The generals began commanding Operation "Mountain Storm" on March 7, which they described as a "hammer-and-anvil" operation. Pentagon and CIA commandos, using high-tech spy equipment, directed the assault by some 7,500 Pakistani paramilitary forces against the isolated, semi-autonomous tribal villages along the northeast border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Gen. Abizaid

and Secretary of State Colin Powell met with President Pervez Musharraf and other high-level Pakistani officials before and during the military campaign.

"As a military operation it did not go well at all," said Talat Masood, a Pakistani military and political analyst. (HeraldNet, March 28) The Pakistani government admitted suffering its worst casualties in the last two years of the country's military offensives.

Pakistani officials called the operations a success, however, saying they had intercepted radio transmissions that an al-Qaeda intelligence chief had been killed in the fighting. However, they conceded they had no body to prove the claim.

Some 30,000 tribespeople from the region, forced to flee "Mountain Storm," were outraged when they returned to find their homes razed and looted.

And Pakistani Islamic groups held mass protests—including nationwide demonstrations on March 26—against Musharraf, who had been the target of two assassination attempts in December for his mil-

itary subservience to Washington.

Afghan residents who live near a base on the border with Pakistan that is used as a "forward operating site" by U.S. Special Forces, and multinational and Afghan troops under Pentagon command, are also enraged. "They have built the military base near our village to use the village as a firewall to protect themselves. We don't want them here," village elder Naim Khan told the French Press Agency. The remote village lacks basic healthcare for everyday crises, let alone casualties resulting from the U.S.-led military assaults. Two young girls were already injured in the fighting; one died traveling to get treatment.

And many analysts linked the March 28 and 29 bombings in Uzbekistan to that government's support for the U.S.-led war against Afghanistan. After the blasts, the Associated Press reiterated that hundreds of U.S. troops are stationed at an Uzbek air base in the southern town of Khanabad, which was created as a strategic staging point for Pentagon operations against Afghanistan in 2001.



Los Angeles March 27. See story on facing page.

WW PHOTO: J. LA RIV

Significance of the March 20 protests

Continued from page 5

ple as an excuse for not making tough choices when it comes to supporting the inclusion of demonized and oppressed communities. For example, in every mass social movement of the last 150 years in the United States—going back to the labor movement of 1877, the Suffragette movement or the antiwar movement during the Vietnam era—the argument was made by some sectors of the leadership that inclusion of the struggle for Black freedom would cause the loss of support for their cause among many "average" white people, who might otherwise support the

struggle for trade union and women's rights or an end to the Vietnam War. This history has another side, too. Militant leadership sectors fought for and implemented a perspective based on unity and solidarity.

Most importantly, it has always been the uncompromising insistence of the oppressed people, through their most dynamic leaders, that their struggle could no longer be denied, muted or ignored that has resulted in seismic shifts in attitudes within the movement and ultimately in society as a whole. In the case of March 20, it was the uncompromising leadership from the besieged Arab-American and Muslim communities that was decisive. An open letter to the antiwar movement sent by 41 organizations from that community sparked a countrywide debate concerning the inclusion of Palestine.

The open letter, which eventually received the support of more than 200 organizations, stated in part: "We do not accept delinking the struggle of the Palestinian people from the anti-war movement, and regard the struggle in Palestine, as it is viewed worldwide, to be central to any peace and justice mobilization. ... We view all attempts to relegate

our collective presence to the margin and to tokenize our participation in the movement to be racist in character. In its attempt to silence the Arab and Muslim voices for decades, particularly that of the Palestinian people, the movement in the U.S. has stood alone in the global movement for justice. We see ourselves as full partners in leading the movement as signified in the heavy price we continue to pay along the way, and reject any attempt to objectify our presence."

The biggest March 20 demonstrations were not "Palestine demos" per se but they were mass antiwar actions that fully inte-

Iraq occupation

Bremer admits turnover 'can't be done'

By John Catalinotto

It becomes harder each week for U.S. officials in Iraq to cover up the utter disarray of the Occupation Authority.

As March ended Occupation Authority governor Paul Bremer tried something completely new: frankness. He bemoaned the lack of security, telling Iraqi officials in Muntheria on March 29 that it will take at least a year to create an Iraqi force of police and border guards.

"There is no way to speed it up; it simply can't be done," Bremer said. "We just have to be honest about that." (Knight-Ridder, March 30)

Bremer continued, "Many of these people who are already in the police force are corrupt, they don't understand human rights, and some of them are engaging in attacks on the coalition."

One may question Bremer's commitment to human rights as well as to clean government. On March 9, however, resistance fighters who had infiltrated the Iraqi police killed two U.S. Department of Defense officials, Fern Holland and Robert Zangas. The U.S. pro-consul has to take this act seriously.

Attacks from the Iraqi resistance have now killed 300 U.S. troops since George W. Bush declared the war won last May 1. They have also killed 350 U.S.-trained Iraqi police collaborators.

Bremer's frankness means that some 100,000-plus U.S. occupation troops will remain the main element in the puppet Iraqi state far beyond the supposed June 30 turnover date.

There are growing signs that the Pentagon is stretched thin. It is caught in a dilemma. It must either extend the tours of reservists or put a new draft into effect. For now it has extended reserve callups.

Part of that wear and tear comes from the daily skirmishes with the Iraqi resistance. From March 1 to March 28, some 26 GIs were killed in battles plus another 14 through alleged non-combat incidents. (Iraq Coalition Casualty Count)

Iraqi civilians take the greatest punishment. According to a report on a February visit to Baghdad by members of Spain's Committee in Solidarity with the Arab Cause, more and more civilians decide to actively join the resistance after facing abuse from U.S. troops.

Meanwhile, more U.S. troops-especially after they leave the battlefront in Iraq—are beginning to speak out against the war.

A surprise anti-war statement from Navy Lt. John Oliveira was aired on the Democracy Now! radio program March 26. Oliveira was the head public affairs officer on the USS Theodore Roosevelt aircraft carrier a year ago. His Navy rank is the equivalent of an Army captain.



Lt. Oliveira used to explain and defend U.S. policy on Iraq to national and international media. Fed up with what he had to do, the 16-year Navy veteran resigned his commission and has now marched in anti-war demonstrations.

"When we went into Afghanistan," Oliveira said, "troop morale was probably the best I had ever seen. The support from the nation was unbelievable. A year later, with pretty much the same crew, the morale was 180 degrees out. ... There's no question, morale was down."

Oliveira emphasized that his opinion was shared by many of the Navy's officers, who believed that the Bush administration's occupation of Iraq was undermining the U.S. military. He called the Iraq occupation a "quagmire" almost reminiscent of Vietnam.

Another outspoken soldier, Staff Sgt. Camilo Mejia, spent five months in Iraq last year. Last October he refused to return to duty after a 14-day leave. On March 16 he turned himself in to his Florida National Guard unit in North Miami.

He said then, "I'm prepared to go to prison because I have a clear conscience. I know that I'm following my conscience and I have that in my heart." Sergeant Mejia, a Nicaraguan immigrant with U.S. residency, declared himself a conscientious objector.

Sgt. Mejia added a class-conscious explanation for his resistance to the war: "This is an oil-driven war, and I don't think any soldier signs up to fight for oil. I did not sign up for the military to go halfway around the world to be an instrument of oppression."

Sgt. Mejia now faces a court-martial for his courageous act.

With U.S. troops who won't fight for oil and Iraqi police who might be agents of the resistance, Bremer will have his hands full. 🗆



below



WW PHOTO: BOB MORRIS

WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL Muna Coobtee speaks in Los Angeles.

West Coast protests against assassination of Palestinian

grated the issues and leadership as well as the people from the Palestinian, Arab and Muslim communities. After years of having the Palestinian struggle segregated, ignored or treated as an embarrassing taboo, the March 20 demonstration represents a true breakthrough in politics and organization. It will ultimately contribute to the rise of a new consciousness expressing solidarity with the Arab people in their struggle against racism and imperialism.

Becker is a member of the national steering committee of ANSWER.

Two protests were held in California against the assassination of the founder and spiritual leader of the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine, Sheik Ahmed Yassin.

In Los Angeles on March 27 hundreds demonstrated in front of the Israeli Consulate. The assassination of Yassin by the Israeli military on March 22 brought angry protesters out into the streets worldwide to express their outrage at Israel's latest attack on the Palestinian liberation movement.

The demonstration was initiated by the

Muslim Students Association-West and was attended by members of various communities who voiced their outrage over the ongoing genocide of the Palestinian people. Among the speakers was Muna Coobtee of the Free Palestine Alliance, who stated that the assassination is a failed attempt to eliminate the unprecedented and unbreakable national unity among Palestinians in their resistance to Zionism. Preston Wood, a leading spokesperson for the International Action Center, told the crowd, "The people of Palestine are struggling for self-determi-

nation and national liberation from Zionism and U.S. imperialism and we will stand with you until Palestine is free."

The other protest took place in downtown San Francisco on March 24 as 200 people demonstrated during evening rush hour. Speakers condemned this escalation by the Israeli state against the Palestinian people. The protest was called by the Free Palestine Alliance, the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee and the Muslim Student Association.

-Los Angeles WW bureau & Bill Hackwell



Seven at one blow

eorge W. Bush resembled not the valiant tailor of legend but an open-armed spider as he welcomed the prime ministers of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia to the web of intrigue and military aggression known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The gap between Bush's rhetoric and the reality of this event was as great as his credibility gap regarding Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction and the cost gap for Medicare prescription drugs.

To understand what's behind Bush's obvious joy over this event and why these countries' prime ministers go along with it, a quick historical review is needed.

Before 1989 the people living in these seven entities were part of the socialist camp. Bulgaria and Romania were independent countries. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were republics in the Soviet Union. Slovakia was part of Czechoslovakia. Slovenia was the richest republic in Yugoslavia.

All the people had access to free education, medical care and close to full employment. Capitalists could exist only on a very small scale and pay differences were relatively small. Though all except Slovenia were members of the Warsaw Pact, the only ones who might have been engaged in military combat were those from the three Soviet republics, fighting against the counter-revolutionary insurgency in Afghanistan.

Now education, medical care and everything else is subject to the capitalist market, dominated by the imperialist monopolies. The few very rich people are rich because of their connections with those monopolies. There are many unemployed and otherwise very poor workers. Living conditions, especially for women workers, have deteriorated sharply. Ordinary soldiers face duty as colonial troops in Bush's "Coalition of the Willing."

The governments, those who accepted all the requirements for entering NATO, want the alliance membership for future protection should the working class in their countries revolt.

Washington has other reasons. These countries' membership in NATO strengthens the U.S. relative to Germany and France, U.S. imperialism's "Old Europe" rivals. It puts U.S. forces on Russia's border, with air bases only five minutes from St. Petersburg. And young workers in these countries are an additional source of cannon fodder for U.S. military occupations. They already are stationed in Iraq, Afghanistan and Yugoslavia.

Bush must find the new expanded NATO to be an excellent solution for his "endless war" plans. He expects U.S. imperialism to suck these countries dry. Then again, some Bulgarian troops have already refused to go to Iraq. Bush may be underestimating the potential for resistance in these new NATO members, just as he did in Baghdad. □



WW PHOTO: JOHN CATALINOTTO

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Women's rights & Black liberation

The Civil War & Reconstruction

By Leslie Feinberg

The 19th-century bonds between the movements to abolish slavery and to expand women's rights were forged in the heat of an economic battle between the Northern emperors of capital and the Southern kings of cotton. Both insatiable realms-one in its ascendancy, the other in its decline—needed land to expand; both hungered to annex the West.

This clash between two economic systems drew all the classes of the North, from the elite to the most downtrodden, into the struggle to overturn slavery-a movement which of necessity could not have burgeoned without a women's rights movement.

But once the overturning of slavery was formally accomplished with the inking of the Emancipation Proclamation on Jan. 1, 1863, the Northern masters of money entered into a new relationship with the Southern former slave masters.

Understanding the motive forces of the Civil War makes it easier to understand that ruling-class alliance and why it created a new crisis and challenges for the relationship between Black liberation and women's rights after the war.

Before the first guns were fired at Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, the South had seceded, setting in motion its own counterrevolutionary war. The reluctant battle cry of the Northern industrialists and bankers was not, "Break the shackles of slavery," but "Preserve the Union!"

During the Civil War, Lincoln ordered his generals to return Black women and men who had escaped enslavement to the slave masters. Enslaved peoples were dissuaded from rising up in rebellion behind the lines. An uprising of the manacled laborers-4 million strong-could have overwhelmed the Southern master class of 250,000 and won the allegiance of white squatters, tenant farmers and wage-slaves who burned with class hatred for their own landlords and bosses.

But in spite of the will of its leaders, the war was objectively overturning the economic system of chattel slavery. And many in its ranks fought for just that reason. Marxist historian Vince Copeland notes in "The Unfinished Revolution": "In the actual event of the Civil War, hundreds of thousands of young Northern farmers and city workers-often whole union locals of them-enlisted en masse in the Union Army with conscious and final commitment to the fight against slavery.

Copeland describes the nucleus of 200,000 Black men in the ranks of the Union Army as an embodiment of a slave revolution. This wasn't the revolution that the Black-white military alliance who carried out an anti-slavery insurrection at Harper's Ferry in 1859 had envisioned, hoping that enslaved peoples could break their own shackles.

However, Copeland stresses, "The Black regiments were revolutionary in that they struggled against their own and their relatives' slavery. But their creation and existence was also a subordination of the Black freedom struggle to the discipline of the anti-slavemaster capitalist

This kernel of contradiction put the brakes on this revolution.

Reconstruction vs. lynch law

Struggling Black women and men after the Civil War extended support to all who

were fighting for greater economic equality and economic justice. For example, the "Colored National Labor Convention" in Washington, D.C., in 1869, passed resolutions in support of Black and women's voting rights, the Cuban struggle against Spanish colonialism, free immigration for all nationalities and worker equality. The resolutions also protested discrimination within the white trade unions and

> denounced the bosses' exploitation of Chinese laborers as "slavery in a new form."

Wherever the Union troops occupied the defeated slave states of the Confederacy, the newly freed Black population built the edifice of Reconstruction from 1865 to 1880 in an effort to propel the revolution forward. Formerly enslaved Black women and men struggled to win formal economic, social and legal equality with whites.

Black women and men began to arm themselves and take over the land.

Earlier in the century, bourgeois democratic revolutions in Europe had freed serfs from feudal bondage and given land to the peasants. But the Southern aristocrats and Northern oligarchs were determined that land ownership would not transfer to the tillers whose blood and sweat had cultivated the soil for centuries.

The question of which class would seize the soil of the South—land irrigated by merchant capital—sent tremors throughout the entire capitalist class because it questioned the legality of all large-scale private land ownership.

The capitalist class was swinging its troops to the West, slaughtering Native nations with its technologically advanced armaments and acquiring vast swathes of land. Congress was parceling out millions of acres to the bosses and bankers, particularly railroad barons. The U.S. had already stolen half of Mexico through warfare from 1846 to 1848.

The rulers of the former Confederacy were weakened by the war, their power partially usurped by federal intervention and military occupation by the central government. But the Northern capitalist class had allowed the Southern landed gentry to remain intact, retain their land, private property, and financial and commercial assets. This held back the transition from the reactionary feudal epoch to a bourgeois democracy in the South.

In order to block redistribution of the land to those who, in chains, had tilled it, the Southern aristocracy created and armed the terrorist Ku Klux Klan in 1865. Black men, women and children were massacred in Memphis, New Orleans and other Southern cities. The bloody reign of counter-revolutionary terror drove freed slaves back into conditions of semi-slav-

Next: Two currents in women's movement—one stands tall for Black self-determination.

Correction

There was an editing error in last week's article by Fred Goldstein, "The trap of a false debate." The opening sentence of the fourth paragraph should have read, "Clarke claims that before 9/11 he urged the administration to focus on al Qaeda ..."

Bush sends more troops as

Colombian workers force Coke to table

By Deirdre Griswold

Workers in Colombia who have been fighting both layoffs and terror tactics by the bosses have made important gains in their struggle against the U.S. transnational giant Coca-Cola.

On March 27, Sinaltrainal, the union representing workers in the plants there that bottle Coke, announced it was suspending a hunger strike that had lasted for 276 hours. The union said a number of agreements had been reached at a meeting with the company's president in Colombia, Juan Carlos Jaramillo.

They included another meeting on April 2 between the company and the union at which delegates from all the plants involved in the conflict will be able to attend; that the company will not take reprisals against the participants in the hunger strike and will revoke sanctions already imposed; that the company will grant two weeks' paid leave to the hunger strikers so they can recover physically, and will pay for medical treatment needed for

their full recuperation; and that the company will pay to publish a notice in a national daily newspaper demanding that the protesters' claims and the lives of the workers be respected.

Sinaltrainal thanked the many labor and solidarity groups around the world that had supported the hunger strikers.

This was not the kind of hunger strike you read about in Europe or the U.S. Workers who organize and fight for their rights in Colombia take their lives into their hands. In a country still run by a wealthy and brutal oligarchy despite a 40-year civil war, bosses retaliate against union activities by unleashing death squads against the workers. More union activists are killed in Colombia each year than in any other country.

Desperation drives the workers to continue to struggle despite the extreme danger. Some 80 percent of the people are living in poverty. When they band together for change, they not only have to confront their local bosses, paramilitary killers and the transnationals behind them. They

also face billions of dollars of U.S. military equipment and hundreds of U.S. troops sent to Colombia to preserve the pro-big business status quo.

Under Plan Colombia, the U.S. has provided \$2.6 billion to this repressive government since 2000. In the last week of March, Colombian President Alvaro Uribe was received in the White House, where George W. Bush announced he would double the number of U.S. forces to 800 uniformed personnel and 600 civilian contractors and continue sending money and equipment, too.

The U.S. military is not only training Colombian troops to use the most efficient killing machines but is also poisoning the land and water, spraying vast areas of rain forest with "fumigants" reminiscent of the defoliants used in Vietnam. This intervention is sold here as part of a "war on drugs" and, more recently, the "war on terrorism." But more and more its real purpose becomes clear: to stop the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), who have broad popular support

among Colombia's poor because their program is to reconstruct society in favor of the masses.

The Democratic and Republican parties see eye to eye on U.S. intervention in Colombia. Senate minority leader Tom Daschle said lawmakers were "impressed" with Uribe's fight against leftist rebels in the FARC, reported the French Press Agency on March 24.

"I don't think there could be a better partnership than the one we have with Colombia in assuring that stability and security today, and this is part of it," Daschle said, signaling that Democrats would vote for the increased U.S. troop level there.

Uribe is the only South American president to have sent troops to Iraq. He and Bush are also committed to a "free trade agreement" between Colombia and the U.S. Like NAFTA, it is sure to impoverish the farmers and workers even further while boosting the profits of the transnational corporations. \square

Forum in Mexico pays tribute to Cuban 5

By Rebeca Toledo Tijuana, Mexico

On March 28, the National Network On Cuba hosted a public forum on the Cuban Five in Tijuana, Mexico. It was part of the very successful spring meeting of the NNOC taking place that weekend. A standing-room-only crowd was treated to cultural performances, as well as speakers who put forth the case of the five Cuban patriots unjustly held in U.S. prisons. The five are Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González and René González.

The keynote speaker was Roberto González, brother of René González. An attorney in Cuba, González opened by referring to the United Nations Human Rights Commission meetings being held in Geneva at the same time. "Why aren't the human rights violations of these compañeros being taken up?" he asked. Instead, González pointed out, the Commission, led by the U.S., is once again attempting to issue a judgment against Cuba.

When the five were first detained in Miami in 1998, the U.S. government told them that they could get a lesser punishment if they agreed to pleading guilty to fighting against the U.S. "Had they accepted this offer," González said, "they would be free men today in Cuba. But it would have been a lie. They chose to stand trial, even though they knew it would mean harsh sentences.

"And the harsh treatment started immediately," González said. The five were put in the hole for 17 months. René's daughter, Yvette, was 4 months old when he went in the hole. She would not see her father for eight months, and then only two more times before she and her mother, René's wife Olga, a Cuban national, were deported. Yvette is a U.S. citizen.

Before the deportation, the U.S. government again approached René with an offer. González states, "If he were to admit to a conspiracy against the U.S., his wife

would not be deported. René answered there was no conspiracy, he was acting as a shield for his country, not as a spear against the U.S."

One year after the sentencing in 2002, Olga applied for a visa to see her husband. It was first granted and then revoked. She has since applied for visas five times and been refused on the grounds that she and Yvette pose a "threat" to the U.S. Yvette has not seen her father since she was 2 years old.

González concluded by saying, "The five are not heroes for what they did before they were arrested by the U.S. Many Cubans have done, are doing and will continue to do what they were doing. What makes them heroes is having stood up to all the pressure they faced and putting their country and their people before any personal considerations."

Gloria La Riva, coordinator of the National Free the Five Committee in the U.S., was the other main speaker. "The Cuban people will never forget or forgive the terrorists who shot down a Cubana airline passenger plane killing all 73 civilians aboard in 1976. About 3,400 Cubans have died as a result of terrorist attacks carried out by people armed, trained and financed by the U.S. government.

"Some of these terrorists, like Orlando Bosch, convicted in Cuba of the bombing of the Cubana plane, walk free on the streets of Miami," she said.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the economic crisis that ensued in Cuba, the U.S. attempted to strangle the socialist country. La Riva stated, "The Torricelli Act of 1992 prevented ships that had stopped in Cuba from coming to the U.S. for six months. As a result, trade plummeted for Cuba."

It was then, during the early 1990s, that the Cuban government decided to send the Cuban Five to Miami. La Riva explained, "The compañeros had to pretend to be counter-revolutionaries in order to infiltrate the Miami groups to monitor their actions and try to prevent any more terrorist acts or provocations against the people of Cuba."

In 2000, President Fidel Castro of Cuba was in Panama and went on live television to reveal a plot against his life. He was able to say who the perpetrators were, their location at that very moment, their license plate numbers, the weapons they had, etc. The plot consisted of blowing up a hall full of students. He called on the Panamanian government to arrest these men, some of

whom were convicted murderers.

La Riva stated, "If it weren't for people like the Cuban Five, working to prevent such terrorist acts, the plot would have succeeded.

"With the U.S stepping up its threats against Cuba," La Riva concluded, "it is critical that we fight to free the five. But also, we must support the right of Cuba to defend itself against U.S. imperialism. Once the elections pass, the threats against Cuba will not subside." □

Hearings reveal U.S. war policy in disarray

Continued from page 1 tion by U.S. corporations.

Within the United States, there is also a conscious and strong opposition not just to this administration but to aggression and empire. Within weeks after the 9/11 attacks, 20,000 people were marching in the streets of Washington protesting the plans of the White House to use the disaster to whip up anti-Arab racism and a war fever.

The coalition that formed at that time—Act Now to Stop War & End Racism—went on to organize massive demonstrations against the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the subsequent occupation of both countries, exposing them as a colonial adventure motivated by the expansionist ambitions of powerful sections of big business closely tied to the government. Bush and Cheney in particular personify these links, as both are deeply embroiled with the oil industry and the military-industrial complex.

The anti-war movement in the U.S. and in most of the world calls for the with-drawal of U.S. and British military forces from Iraq and Afghanistan. Their influ-

ence is growing as awareness spreads that these wars and occupations serve only the interests of the predatory corporations.

Among the troops and their families, too, it is becoming clearer that while the rich in government and industry call on them to sacrifice in the name of patriotism, these conquests abroad spur on capitalist globalization, which in turn drags down wages here and eliminates the benefits won over decades of workers' struggles.

The 9/11 commission will not be asking Bush, Cheney or Rice questions about any of this. It is narrowly focused on how to restore the credibility of the institutions that have historically served the interests of U.S. imperialism but have been damaged by an administration that has vastly over-estimated its reach and wound up in a quagmire.

It is up to the independent anti-war and anti-imperialist movement to expose the real issues and organize the struggle against the global exploiters, who have made the world such a dangerous place by trying to run roughshod over everyone in their way.

IPROLETARIOS Y OPRIMIADOS DE TODOS LOS PAÍSES, UNÍOS!

Comisión estadounidense investiga eventos en Haití

CONFERENCIA DE PRENSA, 29 DE MARZO, 2004

El papel de la Republica Dominicana en el golpe de 29 de febrero in Haití

Introducción Presentada por Teresa Gutiérrez

Bienvenidos miembros de la prensa, amigos y amigas a esta conferencia de prensa de nuestra Comisión Estadounidense de Investigación Sobre Haití.

Queremos dar las gracias a la República Dominicana por esta oportunidad de hablar sobre un tema muy importante para nuestros pueblos-el pueblo Dominicano, Haitiano y también de los EE.UU. Estamos aquí para hacer un trabajo importante, un trabajo con un solo motivo: de denunciar los eventos en Haití el 29 de febrero con el propósito de llegar a la paz y justicia social, algo que todos los pueblos aspiran.

La Comisión Estadounidense de Investigación Sobre Haití es una organización que fue formada en 1991 con la iniciativa del ex-fiscal general de los EE.UU., Ramsey Clark. La Comisión se formo después del primer golpe contra el Presidente Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Hoy, se ha reactivado de nuevo con el último golpe contra el gobierno constitucional de Haití del 29 de febrero, 2004.

La investigación que se lleva acabo por esta delegación en la Republica Dominicana es parte de una investigación inicial que estamos llevando a cabo para determinar el origen, el método, soportes y actores del golpe del 29 de febrero.

Tres miembros de la delegación actual formaron parte de la delegación que viajó el 7 de marzo a Bangui en la Republica Africana Central para reunirse con Presidente Aristide, que fue el primer encuentro que tuvo con extranjeros desde los eventos del 29 de febrero. En esta delegación nuestra Comisión pudo confirmar que el Presidente Aristide actualmente no había renunciado sino que había sido secuestrado por el gobierno de los EE.UU. el 29 de febrero. También supimos or parte de oficiales de la Republica Africana Central que Aristide no había tenido y aún no tenía libre movimiento ni podía hablar públicamente.

Los tres miembros de la delegación con nosotros hoy que también estuvieron en la Republica Africana Central son Brian Concannon, un exoficial de derechos humanos de la Naciones Unidas y un abogado que ha ayudado en contra de torturas y asesinatos en Haití en los últimos ocho años, Kim Ives un periodista investigador que ha escrito sobre Haití para varios publicaciones, y Katharine Kean, directora de videos documentales.

Como fue detallado por la prensa internacional, la delegación en África al principio le fue negado acceso al Presidente Aristide. Después la delegación fue instrumental en presionar al gobierno de África Central a permitir una conferencia de prensa y así Aristide pudo hablar al mundo y revelar los específicos de su secuestro y del golpe de estado.

Dos mas delegados del viaje a África eran del Centro Acción Internacional, que fue fundado por Ramsey Clark en el 1991 y que es representado en esta delegación ala Republica Dominicana por Teresa Gutiérrez guién también trabajó con el señor Clark en la Comisión de Investigación sobre la Invasión de los EE.UU. en Panamá en 1990.

También tenemos hoy con nosotros Rev. Luis Barrios, que fue misionero en la Republica Dominicana por nueve años y que hoy es un profesor de justicia criminal en el Colegio de John Jay en la ciudad de Nueva York.

El también es un líder prominente en las comunidades puertorriqueñas y Dominicanas de Nueva York también Episcopal de San Romero.

Goff, un veterano de 24 anos de las Fuerzas Armadas de los EE.UU., que fue miembro de las Fuerzas Especiales como el Delta Force y los Rangers y fue asignado a América Latina. Más reciente, Goff fue el encargado de un equipo en el pueblo Noreste de Haití, Fuerte Libertad durante la ocupación de los EE.UU. de Haití. Tiene conocimiento íntimo de la región nordeste de Haití, que fue una área principal de los supuestamente llamados rebeles antes y después del golpe del 29 febrero. Ha detallado sus experiencias en Haití en el libro

"Sueños Horribles" publicado en 2000 por la Prensa Softskull.

El propósito de esta delegación particular ha sido de investigar cuando, donde, porqué y como los líderes de los supuescomo un activo sacerdote en la iglesia tamente llamados rebeldes pudieron entrenarse y armarse en la República Finalmente la delegación a la Republica Dominicana, a pesar que el gobierno de Dominicana de la Comisión incluye a Stan Media le aseguró al gobierno Haitiano varias veces durante tres años presidiendo el 29 de febrero que ningún movimiento guerrillero fue escondido o tolerado aquí. También queremos entender como los líderes del supuestamente ejército rebelde fueron protegidos de su arresto, a pesar que fueron convictos en Haití. Por ejemplo, ¿porqué Guy Phillipe fue arrestado dos veces y casi inmediatamente liberado las dos veces?

> ¿Cómo pudo entrar a la Republica Dominicana sin visa y permitido a pasar las autoridades de inmigración a pesar de una orden del gobierno de arrestarlo a su

> > entrada, cuando el gobierno supo muy bien de donde y cuando venía?

> > También estamos investigando el papel de las Fuerzas Especiales de los EE.UU. que estaban operando en la Frontera Dominicana/ Haitiana con autoridad especial del Presidente Hipólito Mejía en febrero 2003, en un tiempo cuando los rebeldes de Guy Phillippe estaban activamente lanzando ataques al lado de la frontera en y al rededor de Elías Pinas, una frontera que supuestamente estaba "cerrada" por las tropas Dominicanas.

> > También, ¿qué paso con las 20,000 M-16's que los EE.UU. le dio a la República Dominicana y sobre lo cual un oficial le dijo al periódico Boston Globe que las armas habían llegado a las manos de los llamados rebeldes? Y después de admitir su entrega, ¿porqué ahora los oficiales estadounidenses lo niegan? En ese envío militar también incluían lentes de visión nocturna.

> > Hablamos con Haitianos aquí que pudieron darnos muchos detalles, no solamente del desangre terrible y el daño de propiedad llevado a cabo por los llamados rebeldes en Haití, sino que también del lugar de los campamentos de los llamados rebeldes y el número de combatientes que fueron agrupados y entrenados.

> > También hablamos con periodistas dominicanos, ex empleados del gobierno, abogados, sacerdotes, académicos, líderes de partidos políticos y de la comunidad.

Aprendimos algunas, pero no todas las respuestas a estas preguntas que serán incluidas en nuestro reporte final que será presentado al gobierno dominicano, el gobierno constitucional haitiano, CARI-COM, la OEA, las Naciones Unidas, y el Congreso de los EE.UU. □

