

JUNE 5

March on the
Pentagon!

3

MAY DAY

Why Bush
can't kill it

4



WW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

PHILADELPHIA
A tribute
to Mumia

5



GO TO CUBA

And challenge
the blockade

8

The 1ST WMD
deception

Nukes and
the Cold War

8

Subscribe
to Workers World

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

NAME _____

PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

Workers World Newspaper

55 W. 17 St. NY, NY 10011

212-627-2994

www.workers.org read it online

PENTAGON'S IRAQ OFFENSIVE

**Talk peace, escalate
death & destruction**

By Fred Goldstein

The Bush administration and the Pentagon have launched an offensive in stages. It is aimed at defeating the Iraqi resistance in time to provide a "stable" background to the colonial charade of supposedly transferring sovereignty to Iraqis by June 30. As the Iraqi people refuse to submit to the occupation, and the political ground crumbles beneath the feet of the U.S. colonizers, Washington's only answer is an escalation of military force.

The U.S. military's very political spokespeople tell the public that in both Falluja and Najaf they are interested in a "peaceful resolution." In action, however, they are delivering death and destruction in order to bring about a surrender to the occupation.

Referring to negotiations between the occupation and intermediaries who actu-

ally have no authority to negotiate on behalf of the resistance, Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmitt declared: "The negotiations, in the mind of the commanders on the ground, are continuing to go well. ... At this point we don't think that putting deadlines, ultimatums on the table [is] very helpful." (Los Angeles Times, April 28)

Talk peace and bomb city

This was a blatant deception, masking an intended offensive to take place just hours later. "U.S. aircraft and tanks pounded targets in the besieged Iraqi city of Falluja on Tuesday, just hours after an American deadline expired for rebels to hand over their heavy weapons," said a Reuters dispatch of April 27.

"I can hear more than 10 explosions a minute. Fires are lighting the sky," a witness told the BBC as U.S. AC-130 gunships unleashed 105mm howitzer shells

and 40mm and 20mm rapid-fire, computer-controlled machine guns sprayed the Golan district of Falluja with bullets. The planes can fire on two different targets at once. The firing lasted for a full 30 minutes. Fires lit the sky as loudspeakers from mosques called for firefighters throughout the city.

The U.S. dropped leaflets over the city telling the resistance to "surrender, you are surrounded," according to an Associated Press story of April 27. "If you are a terrorist, beware, because your last day was yesterday. In order to spare your life, end your actions and surrender to coalition forces now. We are coming to arrest you," said the leaflet.

Surrender of the anti-colonial resistance has long been the goal of the U.S. forces and they are using every terror tactic in their arsenal in order to achieve it—

Continued on page 9



Women engulf D.C., demand reproductive rights. See centerfold.

WW PHOTO: JOHN CATALINOTTO

Bush in Buffalo

United protest hits 'Homeland' repression

By Beverly Hiestand
Buffalo, N.Y.

President George W. Bush came to Buffalo on April 20 to address more than 500 police and emergency management officials. His talk, delivered at Kleinhans Music Hall, was billed in the media as a "conversation on the USA Patriot Act."

The voices that had to shout and chant to be heard in this "conversation" came from more than 400 protesters forced into a fenced-in area across the street from the concert hall. A coalition of 20 to 25 organizations called the demonstration.

Activists voiced their opposition to the war drive and the Patriot Act. In addition, they demanded jobs, health care, education, improved veterans' services and defense of the environment.

"No blood for Cheney's oil," read one placard.

Terry Hannon, a Buffalo News worker attending the protest, told a News reporter, "We're here to protest the endless imperial wars for plunder, for natural resources and to expand U.S. markets for transnational corporations."

As the Iraqi resistance mounts, and GI casualties rise, the White House can be expected to shift attention from the war drive in this election year. Instead, the April 20 Washington Post reported, "the Patriot Act will be a main theme in Bush's campaign."

It's no accident the Commander in Chief came to Buffalo. He came to highlight the 2003 Justice Department prosecution of six members of the Yemeni

community in nearby Lackawanna, an industrial neighborhood with a large Arab population.

"Stop the intimidation and injustice in Lackawanna, repeal the Patriot Act!" read a giant bright orange International Action Center banner at the April 20 protest.

Two lawyers who represented some of the Lackawanna 6 defendants asked to meet with Bush while he was in Buffalo. One of them, James P. Harrington, said he would have told the president to "stop selling fear to the American people" and that the Justice Department had hyped the danger in this case.

The request by the lawyers, however, was rebuffed.

Mohamed T. Albanna, a prominent member of the Yemeni American community, suggested that it was not possible for Bush to hold a real community discussion about "security" and "democracy" when the community was not allowed to be there.

Two days after Bush's visit, African American columnist Rod Watson asked rhetorically what the response would have been in the Black community if people were asked what they're most concerned about. Watson headlined his April 22 column in the Buffalo News, "President out of touch with regular folks."

Jobs. Jobs. Jobs. That's what the people he interviewed had uppermost in their minds. Not money for war against Iraq.

One of those he interviewed, an African American General Motors retiree whose son is in Iraq, concluded he would have told Bush, "Stop looking out for the rich and help the poor." □

Make a commitment to keep truth alive

Join the Workers World Supporter Program

Workers World Supporters receive a year's subscription to the newspaper, five free trial subscriptions to give to their friends and a monthly letter with new publications, buttons and brochures. For a \$100 contribution, or \$10 a month, Sponsors also get a book of their choice from WW Publishers. And for \$300 a year-as little as \$25 a month-Sustainers get to pick five books or videos as well.

As a Supporter, you have the satisfaction of knowing you've made a vital contribution to building the revolutionary press in the United States and promoting the struggle for socialism. Simply mail the coupon below with your credit card information or check to: Workers World, 55 West 17 Street, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10011.

Enclosed is my donation for the year: \$75 Supporter \$100 Sponsor \$300 Sustainer

Enclosed is my first monthly donation: \$6 Supporter \$10 Sponsor \$25 Sustainer

CREDIT CARD DONATIONS Please charge my donation to a major credit card:

Donation for the year: \$ _____

Donation once a month: \$ _____

Type of card: Visa MasterCard

Card Number: _____

Expiration Date: _____

Name (as it appears on card) _____

NAME _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PHONE _____

E-MAIL _____

Clip and return to **Workers World Newspaper** 55 W. 17th St., 5th Fl., NY, NY 10011
212.627.2994 • fax: 212.675.7869 • www.workers.org • email: ww@workers.org

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

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

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

Atlanta P.O. Box 424,
Atlanta, Ga. 30301
(404) 235-5704

Baltimore 426 E. 31 St.,
Baltimore, Md. 21218
(410) 235-7040
baltimore@workers.org

Boston 284 Armory St.,
Boston, Mass. 02130
(617) 983-3835;
Fax (617) 983-3836
boston@workers.org

Buffalo, N.Y.
P.O. Box 1204
Buffalo NY 14213
(716) 566-1115
buffalo@workers.org

Chicago P.O. Box 06178,
Wacker Drive Station,
Chicago, Ill. 60606
(773) 381-5839;
Fax (773) 761-9330;
chicago@workers.org

Cleveland
P.O. Box 5963
Cleveland, OH 44101
phone (216) 531-4004
cleveland@workers.org

Detroit
5920 Second Ave.,
Detroit, Mich. 48202
(313) 831-0750;
detroit@workers.org

Houston
P.O. Box 130322,
Houston, Texas
77219 (713) 861-5965
houston@workers.org

Los Angeles
269 S. Western Ave.,
Room 110,
Los Angeles, Calif. 90004
(213) 500-0529
la@workers.org

Philadelphia
P.O. Box 9202,
Philadelphia, Pa. 19139
(610) 453-0490;
phila@workers.org

Richmond, Va.
P.O. Box 14602,
Richmond, Va. 23221
richmond@workers.org

Rochester, N.Y.
2117 Buffalo Rd., PMB.
303, Rochester, N.Y. 14624
(716) 436-6458;

San Diego, Calif.
3930 Oregon St., Suite 230
San Diego, Calif. 92104
(619) 692-4496

San Francisco
2489 Mission St.
Rm. 28,
San Francisco,
Calif. 94110
(415) 826-4828;
fax (415) 821-5782;
sf@workers.org

Seattle
1218 E. Cherry #201,
Seattle, Wash. 98122
(206) 325-0085;
seattle@workers.org

State College, Pa.
100 Grandview Rd.,
State College,
Pa. 16801
(814) 237-8695

Washington, D.C.
P.O. Box 57300,
Washington, DC 20037,
dc@workers.org

This week ...



★ National

Bush in Buffalo, N.Y.	2
June 5 protest in D.C.	3
Tribunal to expose U.S. war crimes.	3
San Diego: 'Money for education, not war'	3
Why Bush can't kill May Day	4
NY hospitals owe workers \$100 million	4
March for Mumia in Philadelphia	5
San Francisco march for Mumia	5
Keith Cylar, pioneer in AIDS movement	5
Largest women's march ever	6
Women's rights and Black liberation, part 6	6
San Francisco students for women's rights.	7

★ International

Pentagon offensive in Iraq	1
Going to Cuba this summer	8
Nukes and the Cold War	8

★ Editorials

Lessons of 1954.	10
-----------------------	----

★ Noticias En Español

Aumenta la resistencia contra EE.UU. en Irak	12
---	----

WW CALENDAR

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

Sat., May 1

Emergency May Day protest. Bring the troops home now! End the occupations from Iraq to Haiti to Palestine to the Philippines to Korea to Puerto Rico to Afghanistan. Assemble at noon at the Times Square Armed Forces Recruiting Station, 43rd St. and Broadway. March to Disarmament Rally at Bryant Park. NYC ANSWER. For info (212) 633-6646.

Every Friday

Workers World Party weekly meeting. 7 p.m. (Dinner at 6:30) At 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl., Manhattan. For info (212) 627-2994.

SAN FRANCISCO

Mon., May 17

Action in support of same-sex marriage. Meet 5 p.m. at Powell & Market, followed by march to City Hall and a rally. For info (415) 821-6545.

Every Sunday

Workers World Party weekly meetings. These educational meetings cover current events as well as struggles of the peoples from all over the world. 5 p.m. At 2489 Mission St., No. 28. For info (415) 826-4828.

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. 18 • May 6, 2004
Closing date: April 28, 2004

Editor: Deirdre Griswold;
Technical Editor: Lal Roohk;
Managing Editors: John Catalinotto, Leslie Feinberg, Monica Moorehead, Gary Wilson;
West Coast Editors: Richard Becker, Gloria La Riva;
Contributing Editors: Greg Butterfield, Pat Chin, Fred Goldstein, Teresa Gutierrez;
Technical Staff: Shelley Ettinger; Maggie Vascassenno;
Mundo Obrero: Carl Glenn, Berta Joubert-Ceci, Carlos Vargas;
Internet: Janet Mayes

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

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

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

ANSWER to march on Pentagon

June 5 national protests to highlight Iraq, Haiti

By John Catalinotto

Anti-war, anti-occupation organizations, including the International ANSWER coalition, have chosen June 5 as the next date to mobilize nationally to challenge Washington's aggression, from Iraq to Haiti to Palestine and around the world.

As of April 28, U.S. Marines are poised to assault Falluja, the heroic stronghold of Iraqi resistance just west of Baghdad. U.S. planes and attack helicopters have bombed and strafed the city, and battles are already underway in Najaf to the south. Al Jazeera television has been showing Falluja lit with fire and explosions.

Iraqi resistance fighters have been clashing up to 40 different times daily with U.S. and other occupation forces. The uprising of Iraqis that has been taking place throughout April has made it clear that Washington's plan to occupy the country and seize its oil resources will be extremely costly in lives and money and stands a good chance of failure.

The widespread uprising has shown millions around the world that the Iraqis are determined to liberate their country, that the U.S. occupation has lost all political support in Iraq, and that the Pentagon is ready to carry out a bloodbath in a desperate attempt to regain the upper hand.

Reports in the media and eyewitness accounts from Falluja and Najaf make it clear that the U.S. military is attacking regardless of the consequences to civilians, including the many children still in Falluja. U.S. President George W. Bush on April 28 threatened as much, saying, "Our military commanders will take whatever actions necessary to secure Falluja."

As if in reply, Falluja resident Ali Abdullah answered, "This attack shows the frustration in the ranks of American soldiers in Iraq and the American political defeat. We have uncovered the treach-

ery and barbarity of the U.S. army." (Reuters, April 28)

Under the pressure of these events, anti-war organizers in the U.S. believe they can't wait until planned actions at the Republican National Convention to confront the Bush administration. The intense publicity, the controversy over printing photographs of coffins of dead servicepeople, and the daily casualty reports keep this issue on the front burners. With the U.S. threatening a bloodbath in Falluja and Najaf, the ANSWER Coalition has stepped up its earlier plan for Spring-Summer actions.

ANSWER is the organization that first responded to President George W. Bush's "endless war" in September 2001 after his administration used the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon to justify the U.S. war drive. ANSWER then played a leading role in calling national anti-war demonstrations in an attempt to stop U.S. aggression against Iraq, and in solidarity with the Palestinian people.

ANSWER plans national demonstrations

ANSWER plans a march on the Pentagon in Washington and mass mobilizations in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The coalition's statement notes: "In the first three weeks of April alone, more than 1,000 Iraqis, most of them civilians, and at least 110 U.S. soldiers have been killed. ... Thousands more have been wounded.

"The war is costing more than \$300 million every day, money that is transferred from working people in the U.S. to the pockets of arms manufacturers and corporate war profiteers. It is a war that is destroying an entire country and the lives of the Iraqi people—already victimized for more than a decade by sanctions.

"Now the White House and the Pentagon are calling for more troops,

more death and destruction, and even more money for a war that is based on lies and deception."

ANSWER also points out: "June 5 is the anniversary of the 1967 war in which Israel, with full backing from Washington, conquered the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights. We will march to call for an end to the colonial occupation of Palestine, and to support the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including their right to return to their homeland.

"We will stand in solidarity with the Haitian people who are living under foreign military occupation following the February 28/29 U.S.-coup against the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide." The ANSWER Coalition, in a subsequent news release on April 25, writes that "momentum grows for the June 5 march on the Pentagon" and that hundreds of people had endorsed their call in just two days.

ANSWER's call was also to stop the U.S. intervention against the Hugo Chávez government in Venezuela, and the threats against Cuba. ANSWER calls for bringing all foreign troops out of Iraq now.

Hiding the killings in Haiti

While the corporate media have Iraq on the front pages, they are ignoring the murders taking place in Haiti. Death squads

the U.S. helped to establish are trying to hunt down and kill supporters of kidnapped President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas organization and activists of other left forces. The progressive groups are still on the defensive, but in some areas have been able to defend themselves, according to National Popular Party (PPN) leader Ben Dupuy.

Organizers from Haitian groups, other immigrants and U.S. anti-imperialists attuned to what's happening in Haiti looked for a date and place to bring this issue again before the public. They were encouraged because a meeting April 7 in Brooklyn, N.Y., of 2,000 people, about half of them Haitian immigrants, had shown that there was a broad base of support in the Haitian and Caribbean communities ready to oppose the U.S. occupation.

An ad-hoc coalition of organizers from the Coalition to Resist the February 29 coup in Haiti, the Haiti Support Network, the Alberto Lovera Bolivarian Circles, and the International Action Center sent out an email calling for endorsers of a demonstration focused on ending the occupation of Haiti and of Iraq. They chose June 5 as their favored date.

Their call emphasized that "the world's oldest Black republic has been occupied by thousands of U.S. and French soldiers. Massacres have been

Continued on page 9

Overwhelming evidence

Tribunal to expose U.S. war crimes

By Dustin Langley
New York

Is the U.S. government committing war crimes in Iraq? Most of the world thinks so. And on May 8, the World Tribunal on Iraq will meet here at the historic Cooper Union, beginning at 10 a.m., for the latest in a series of international hearings and tribunals. Participants, including a multinational Jury of Conscience, will hear presentations and testimony exposing the U.S.-led war of aggression against Iraq, crimes committed during the declared military campaign, and crimes committed during the ongoing occupation.

The organizers' call to action reads, in part, "In the face of the human suffering caused by the war on Iraq, we must act now against 'the crime of silence,' to write a counter-history and to stand up as witnesses in judgment." (www.worldtribunal-nyc.org)

The May 8th tribunal is part of a global movement that began last fall in Istanbul, Turkey. Sessions have been organized in London, Mumbai, Copenhagen, Brussels, Hiroshima, Paris, Monterrey, Munich, Seoul, Barcelona, Istanbul, Rome, Berlin, San Jose, Stockholm and Lisbon, as well as New York. The final session will be held in Istanbul, Turkey, on March 20, 2005, the second anniversary of the launching of the war against Iraq.

Sara Flounders of the International Action Center in the United States attended the most recent session, held on April 15-17 in Brussels. A packed audito-

rium of people from all over Europe listened to presentations focused on the role of the Project for the New American Century, or PNAC, in plotting the war against Iraq. Many members of the Bush administration come from this "neo-conservative" think tank.

On Aug. 26, a few days before the Republican National Convention, meeting in New York, will nominate the war criminal George W. Bush, the ANSWER coalition will promote the ongoing work of the World Tribunal on Iraq by holding a hearing in the city on U.S. war crimes. The goal of this hearing will be to bring back reports from the worldwide Iraq tribunal hearings, which have done much painstaking work gathering and presenting evidence, and to highlight the results of these prior hearings before the U.S. media and a U.S. audience. This hearing will also present an important opportunity to link the work of these tribunals to the massive demonstrations expected against the convention.

With the U.S. government acting in complete disregard for international law and human rights, the people themselves must confront the war criminals. In the words of the New York organizers of the May 8 tribunal hearing, "We must organize now to hold the U.S. and its allies accountable for the crimes committed in Iraq. It is the right and responsibility of the same global public and the global anti-war movement to assure accountability and register an historical judgment in the face of this official impunity." □



PHOTO: PETE REILLY

'Money for education, not war!'

Protesting proposed state budget cuts in education, students from eight San Diego colleges walked out of classes on April 26. The 400 students met up at San Diego City College and then marched through the streets of downtown to California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger's local office. They shouted out demands of "Don't tax students—tax the rich" and "Hey hey! Ho ho! These budget cuts have got to go."

San Diego ANSWER's Pete Reilly spoke at the event, linking the war budget to the cuts in education. "Why is it that the U.S. government can throw down \$160 billion without even thinking twice for this illegal, racist, imperialist war, yet when it comes to human needs like education they say they don't have the money," he asked the crowd. The students then started chanting, "Money for education—not for war." □

'Loyalty Day' ploy

Why Bush can't kill May Day

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

One year ago, on May 1, 2003, George W. Bush swaggered in his flight jacket on the deck of the USS Abraham Lincoln aircraft carrier and boasted that the U.S. had won the battle of Baghdad and the war against Iraq.

Bush's staged appearance was an attempt to seize for imperialist purposes the international workers' day of solidarity, May Day. But a year later, his opinion-molding machine is breaking down. U.S. working class acceptance of the war is dropping as Iraqi resistance and U.S. casualties are rising. A recent Harris Poll shows that 51 percent of those surveyed want U.S. troops to come home within the year, even if the administration has not accomplished its goal of installing a neo-colonial government in Iraq.

Born from struggle

May Day arose out of the struggle for an eight-hour day.

Before capitalism got a firm grip on Europe, country people had celebrated May Day as they prepared for the communal work of spring planting. This holiday was actually banned by the Catholic Church in the 1600s because workers used the festival day to mock and attack the church and the state.

With the rise of industry, deliberate measures were taken by the rich to drive independent farmers off the land and into factories, where working conditions were brutal and exploitative. In the early 19th century, European workers demanded that their hours be reduced from 16 or 17 a day to 10. The cry of the movement soon became: "Eight hours of work, eight hours of sleep, eight hours for what we will!"



Jakarta, Indonesia, 2003



May Day in Seoul, South Korea, 2003.

In the U.S. the campaign accelerated after the Civil War, as the opportunity grew to build unity between recently freed African Americans finally able to sell their labor and the existing white working class. Karl Marx described the ferocity of the struggle of these workers against the owners in 1867: "The creation of a normal [fixed] working day is the product of a protracted civil war ... between the capitalist class and the working class."

On May 1, 1886, massive organizing and strikes—led by the Knights of Labor, the Marxist-oriented Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, and the anarchist International Working People's Association—resulted in the world's first modern May Day demonstrations. Half a million workers marched in every part of the U.S., from Maine to Texas, New Jersey to Alabama. Ten thousand rallied in New York's Union Square, 11,000 in Detroit, and there was Black-white unity in demonstrations in Louisville, Ky., and Baltimore, Md. (Andy McInerney, *Liberation and Marxism*, Spring 1996)

The largest May Day gathering, 90,000, was in Chicago, where meat packers, lumber workers and employees of the McCormack Harvester Co. were all out on strike for the eight-hour day. Two days later police attacked striking workers, killing six. When workers protested in Chicago's Haymarket Square on May 4, a bomb was thrown at the rally. Police fired on the workers, killing 200. Seven cops later died, and the leading organizers were arrested. Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engle and Adolph Fischer were found guilty and executed. Parsons asserted in his speech to the court that they were being

tried for their belief in socialism. He added: "The workers are without a country. In all lands they are disinherited, and America is no exception."

The day of world labor

In 1889, the communist Second International declared May 1 an international working class holiday in commemoration of the Haymarket martyrs. A year later, half a million marched in London. In Havana workers demanded "the eight-hour day, equal rights for Blacks and whites, and working-class unity." (McInerney)

Russian workers had their first May Day in 1891. V.I. Lenin described the 250,000 workers who came out on May Day in 1913: "The workers laughed at the impotent rage of the tsar's gang and the capitalist class and derided the governor's menacing and pitiful 'announcements'; they wrote satirical verses and circulated them by hand or passed them on by word of mouth; they produced, as if from nowhere, fresh batches of small, poorly printed 'leaflets,' short and plain, but very instructive, calling for strikes and demonstrations." (Lenin, "May Day Action by Revolutionary Proletariat")

May Day was first celebrated by workers in China in 1920, and in India in 1927. The struggle for official recognition of this day continues. The working class in Malaysia, through militant action, won it as one of four state holidays in 1972. (Women's Aid Organization)

May Day defies imperialism

The U.S. super-rich have long attempted to divide workers in this country from those abroad through racism, national chauvinism and war-mongering. A remark by Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky in 1924 underlines how the celebration of May Day can defy and undermine imperialism: "[T]he eight-hour working day, for which generations of the working class have fought, the international solidarity of workers and the struggle against militarism are the three fundamental May Day slogans."



Cuba

(Trotsky, "May Day in the West and the East: On the 35th Anniversary of the May Day Holiday")

While workers around the world hold May Day as their labor day, in the U.S., as early as 1894 with a proclamation by President Grover Cleveland, the ruling class tried to isolate U.S. workers by substituting an official state Labor

Day in September for the "subversive" May Day. (Jim Lehrer's Online NewsHour)

But U.S. labor continued to militantly celebrate May Day, so a conservative Cold War campaign began to co-opt and rename the day in order to erase it from public consciousness. In 1947, Congress passed a bill renaming May 1 "Loyalty Day," a tactic specifically aimed at the labor movement's left wing and the U.S. Communist Party. Citizens were encouraged to reaffirm their allegiance to the capitalist state on this day. "Loyalty Day" parades were staged to lure people away from long-standing May Day rallies. But the association of these parades with support for the U.S. war on Vietnam ultimately led to their disappearance in the face of the mass anti-war movement. (14850 Magazine)

In 2003, the day before he announced the war on Iraq was over, Bush issued a presidential proclamation re-affirming the Cold War congressional action that had made May 1 "Loyalty Day." He called on "all the people of the United States" to support a "day of national observance" explicitly in support of the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Rosa Luxemburg, the great Polish Marxist, had the best answer to this kind of attempt to obliterate the real meaning of May Day: "As long as the struggle of the workers against the ruling class continues, as long as all demands are not met, May Day will be the yearly expression of these demands. And, when better days dawn, when the working class of the world has won its deliverance, then too humanity will ... celebrate May Day in honor of the bitter struggles and the many sufferings of the past." (Luxemburg, "What Are the Origins of May Day") □

Another indictment of for-profit health care

NY hospitals owe workers \$100 million

By Sharon Eolis
New York

Did you know that New York hospitals have ripped off over \$100 million from the benefit funds of union workers? According to an article in the April 14 New York Times, three dozen hospitals in the city and its suburbs have fallen far behind in payments to employee benefit and pension funds in recent years.

SEIU/1199, with 100,000 members in hospitals, nursing homes and some drug stores, has borne the brunt of this loss of funds. In addition, the New York State Nurses Association and the Nassau County Benefit Fund have waited months for delinquent payments.

The crisis in New York is the worst in the country. The arrears have doubled since 2003. "This is absolutely the worst situation we've seen both in terms of the dollars and the number of institutions involved," said Mitra Behroozi, executive director of the funds—separate entities that are controlled jointly by the union and

the hospitals.

The health care industry is one of the largest employers in the New York area. Documents given to the Times by a fund official showed that hospitals owed more than \$130 million, including interest, to the fund as of March 31. According to Behroozi, payments over the next two weeks reduced the amount owed by about \$6 million.

The unions are in a difficult position when they push for the payments. The hospitals often cut services and/or lay off hospital employees. Eight hospitals and health care facilities have closed since 2002. This year three dozen hospitals and nursing homes have fallen behind in benefit payments. "The bottom line is, from the union's perspective, the obligation is to make these payments," said Jennifer Cunningham, the executive director of the Service Employees International Union in New York. "But if it's really a troubled institution, insisting can result in lots of problems."

Eight health care institutions account

for two thirds of the debt. They are Brookdale Medical Center in Brooklyn; Jamaica and Parkway hospitals in Queens; St. Vincent's, Beth Israel, North General and Cabrini in Manhattan; and Our Lady of Mercy in the Bronx. Two of the employers—Brookdale and Cabrini—have had large fund debts for over a year.

The present hospital debt crisis is an example of how the capitalist boom and bust cycle leads to an out-of-control economy. Hospitals are run for profit, not human needs. The federal and state governments have slashed Medicare and Medicaid payments to health care institutions and don't pay in a timely manner, so hospitals have outstanding bills. The costs for pharmaceuticals, equipment and benefits have increased. In a competing market place, the hospitals act like typical bosses and hold back on workers' benefits.

This crisis has led to the closing of a number of New York hospitals in the past two years. Those that try to keep going are stopping the hemorrhage with a band-aid.

What is the answer? A health care system set up for human need, not capitalist greed. A system that plans for health care for all the people and not just those who can pay for it.

The big business politicians will scream, "Where's the money to pay for it?" But the war in Iraq has cost hundreds of billions of dollars, killed and wounded tens of thousands of Iraqis and thousands of U.S. soldiers, exacerbating the health care crisis. There was plenty of money for that and for the "endless war" that Bush is bent on.

Before the U.S. war in Iraq and over a decade of sanctions, Iraq had a modern, nationalized health care system that provided free health care for all. Why is the U.S. the only industrialized country with no national health care system?

The U.S. needs to follow the example of socialist Cuba and build a health care system that meets the needs of the people. But the people will have to put up a mighty struggle to win health care for all.

Eolis is a health care worker in New York.

March through his neighborhood demands

'Free Mumia & all political prisoners'

By Betsey Piette
Philadelphia

Close to 1,000 people participated in a march and car caravan through the streets of West Philadelphia on April 24 to demand freedom for political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and to celebrate his contributions to the struggle for liberation on the occasion of his 50th birthday. This demonstration stretched for blocks in this neighborhood where Abu-Jamal spent much of his youth.

Marchers gathered at Malcolm X Park at 52nd and Pine Streets where Fred Hampton, Jr., son of Chicago Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton who was murdered by police in 1969, addressed the crowd, stating that "there can be no peace until Abu-Jamal is released."

"Mumia Abu-Jamal is a victim of terrorism," said Hampton. "Every day in the Black community is a September 11th. We have an obligation to bring the demand to free Mumia into every conversation. We have to make our birthday present to Mumia a concrete commitment to demand not just freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, but the release of all political prisoners."

Pam Africa, leader of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal reported that the march was being held in the community where Abu-Jamal grew up to let the people know that there are people who are not afraid to stand up and say that he is innocent. MOVE supporter Orié Lumumba told the crowd about the importance of protests like today's in opposing the death penalty. "It's not in the courts' hands whether Mumia lives or dies," he stated, "It's in our hands, and we can't sit back and wait until another death

penalty warrant is signed, we have to be out every day."

Larry Holmes representing the International ANSWER coalition said the fact that Abu-Jamal has to spend his 50th birthday on death row is a crime. "He is on death row because he spreads messages of resistance. Mumia is one of the leaders of the struggles to get out of Iraq and Haiti, and in solidarity with the people of Iraq, Palestine and Venezuela." Holmes noted, "Freeing Mumia is not enough. He's been on death row 22 years. We should demand \$10 billion in reparations for each year they have held our brother—\$220 billion as a reparations freedom fund for our communities."

Widespread support for Abu-Jamal from this oppressed African American community was evident from the constant blare of horns in response to "Honk for Mumia" signs to the participation of local residents in a celebration of Abu-Jamal's birthday at the Kingsessing Community

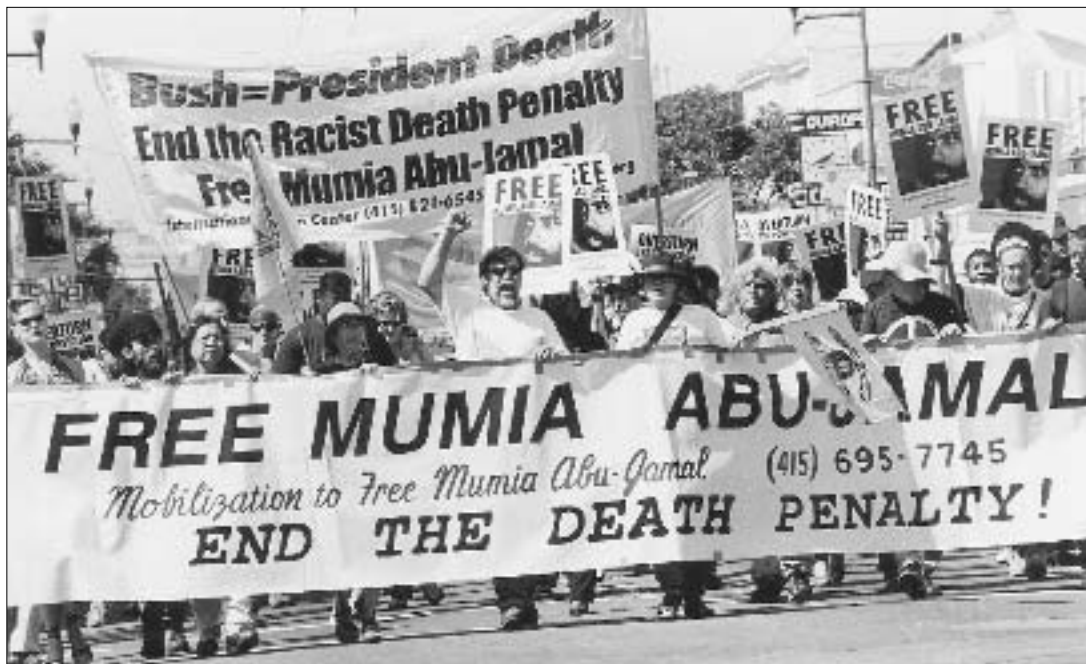


WW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Center following the march.

The celebration featured a book release party for "We Want Freedom" the newest work by Abu-Jamal on the history of the Black Panther Party. Members of Abu-Jamal's family and Black Panther Party members were on hand to sign the books.

A legal update on Abu-Jamal's case was presented by attorneys Robert Bryan and Michael Tarif Warren. Speakers included MOVE leader Ramona Africa, a solidarity message from the Cuban Five, and cultural presentation by the Universal African Dance & Drum Ensemble, and Hip Hop and spoken word performers. □



San Francisco march for MUMIA

A march of several hundred people through the heart of the Mission District of San Francisco on April 24 brought attention to the case of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on his 50th birthday. There were opening and closing rallies at 16th and 24th streets. The demonstration was the highlight of a weekend of activity to raise awareness around Mumia's case that included a film festival in his honor.

—Photo and story by Bill Hackwell

KEITH CYLAR *Radical pioneer in U.S. AIDS movement*

By Imani Henry

Hundreds of email tributes and dozens of obituaries have been circulating on the internet and appearing in newspapers across the country about the death of Keith Cylar, one of the most prominent AIDS activists in the U.S.

Cylar, a founder and co-president of the country's largest community-based AIDS service provider, Housing Works, Inc., died on March 5. He was 45 years old.

An African-American born in Norfolk, Va., Cylar was diagnosed with AIDS in 1989 and had lived with HIV for over 20 years. Last year he developed cardiomyopathy, a serious enlargement of the heart, which eventually took his life.

An unapologetic radical, Keith worked tirelessly to forge links between the fight against the global AIDS pandemic and the broader social justice movement. At the same time he was a compassionate service provider who inspired thousands of New Yorkers living with HIV/AIDS to take charge of their lives by fighting back against the system that oppressed them on a day-to-day basis.

Trained as a clinical social worker with a masters' degree from Columbia University, he joined the New York chapter of the groundbreaking AIDS activist organization, ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) in 1987. Keith soon organized and



Keith Cylar

led ACT-UP's Housing Committee.

With the battle cry, "Housing works! Shelter kills!" in 1990 he founded Housing Works, Inc., with his long-time partner, Charles King, and lawyer Virginia Shubert. It responded to the growing twin crises of homelessness and HIV/AIDS which were not addressed by the U.S. government. By demanding city, state and federal funding for housing and services, under Keith's leadership Housing Works became a pioneering force in both direct service provision and advocacy, with an annual operating budget approaching \$30 million.

Cylar served on the board of the Nat-

ional Harm Reduction Coalition. Harm Reduction is a non-judgmental AIDS prevention philosophy that allows people who have been chemically dependent on drugs and alcohol to set achievable goals towards improving their lives while decreasing the risk associated with drug use. With this guiding principle, Housing Works did not turn away anyone in need of services simply because they were still using drugs.

According to a Housing Works statement, "Mr. Cylar played a leading role in the development of federal legislation to create and fund HIV/AIDS service programs, including the Ryan White CARE Act, Housing Opportunities for People with AIDS, and HIV-related substance abuse and mental health services. Under the stewardship of Mr. Cylar and his partner Charles King, Housing Works became a model of social entrepreneurship, establishing thrift stores, a used book café, food service and catering operations and other social ventures that provided jobs for clients and generated millions of dollars in unrestricted support for the organization."

The statement says that Cylar "was Co-Principal Investigator on a joint project with the National Development Research Institute (NDRI) and Beth Israel Medical Center to increase access to AIDS clinical trials for people of color."

But what distinguished Keith Cylar's leadership nationally was his understanding that real change took place in the streets. Staying true to his roots as an activist in ACT-UP, Keith led dozens of direct actions, local and national protests. Keith, who himself had been arrested in civil disobedience over 50 times, helped to mobilize primarily African-American and Latino people living with AIDS and community-based organizations, aiding in the creation of the "new" face of AIDS activism nationally.

On Jan. 16, 2001, four clients and staff members of Housing Works, all men of color living with HIV, made national news when they were arrested for successfully disrupting the congressional judicial hearings for the confirmation of John Ashcroft as Attorney General.

One of Keith Cylar's last arrests was in late December of 2002, at an AIDS in Africa demonstration in front of the White House.

At that demonstration, Keith's entire speech consisted of three lines. "We didn't come here to talk, we're tired of talking. It's time for action." He then joined the 35 other activists taking arrests that day, some chaining themselves together while chanting, "Money for AIDS, not for war."

The writer is a former employee of Housing Works, Inc.

Largest women's march ever hits Bush

A sea of marchers for reproductive

By Sue Davis
Washington, D.C.

Women came from all 50 states and 60 countries. Students came on buses from Maine to Florida and as far west as Wisconsin. Women flew in from Hawaii, Alaska, California, Oregon, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas. Some brought kids in strollers; others came in wheelchairs. They marched with their sisters, daughters, mothers, grandmothers, friends, co-workers, spouses and partners—female and male.

The massive outpouring in Washington, D.C., for the April 25 March for Women's Lives was indisputably the largest demonstration for women's rights in U.S. history. March organizers esti-

mated the crowd, which packed the Mall from the Capitol to the Washington Monument, at more than a million. But it was historic for other reasons as well.

With the Black Women's Health Initiative and the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health playing a central role in the march leadership, women of color turned out in greater numbers than for past pro-choice demonstrations. And the issues raised from the speakers' platform and on signs were broader. They reflected the full gamut of reproductive rights needed for all women—particularly workers and the oppressed—to make real choices about their lives.

Signs like "Stop the war on women," "Women's health, not corporate wealth," "Stop violence against women" and "Pro-

health, pro-life, pro-family, pro-choice" showed a wider emphasis. Groups like South Asians for Women's Lives marched alongside the NAACP.

And the crowd was younger than ever before. March organizers announced that at least a third of the crowd was under 25. There were scores of college contingents and groups like Youth for Choice. For many, it was their first national demonstration.

What united the protestors—and prompted the angry outpouring—was opposition to the Bush administration's reactionary policies. Bush's attacks on abortion rights, sex education and access to reproductive health services galvanized the crowd, as well as deep cutbacks in healthcare, education, housing and childcare—social services that women must have in order to raise children. Interestingly, the tone of the march was more anti-Bush than pro-Kerry. Speaker after speaker stressed the need to vote Bush out in November, but didn't support an alternative by name.

Why they marched

Demonstrators came for many reasons. Some were clinic escorts from Chicago, abortion counselors from Albuquerque, women's studies majors from the University of Massachusetts/Amherst and members of Planned Parenthood from Sarasota, Fla., and San Francisco.

Juno, an African American woman from Kent, Wash., outside Seattle, had a deeply compelling reason. "When I became pregnant after being raped in 1969 and abortion was illegal, I had to go to Mexico and risk my life to get an abortion," she said. "I survived, but many didn't. I know from personal experience that all women need access to legal abortion." Indeed, one young woman carried a sign that read: "An illegal abortion killed my great grandmother."

Katie Linde, a public health professional from Minnetonka, Minn., told

Workers World why she had come. "I think it's really important for all women to have access to family planning. That's the foundation for women's economic opportunity and social justice. Women make major health care choices for their families. If we trust them to do it for their children, women need to be supported to make them for themselves."

A huge delegation from Texas denounced Bush with special ardor. Isabel Gotschall, a psychiatric nurse who works in a mobile clinic in Houston, came with her sister and their daughters. "Women's rights are threatened. The religious right controls the radio. We need a whole new system of health care, especially for mental health," she said.

Mildred Leggett, a member of African American Women Evolving, an education and advocacy group for health care for women of color in Chicago, came because "I'm pro-choice. I believe every woman in America deserves quality health care."

The number of men who marched for this issue was also significant. Dustin Carter, a student at Hanover College in Indiana, came "to support my friends. I believe it's a woman's choice. It's a woman's body until a baby is born." Among the men were many gay male couples.

In fact, the LGBT community was highly visible and vocal. One young woman proudly wore a sign proclaiming: "Another pregnant lesbian for choice." One woman, marching hand in hand with her partner, had written "Pregnant by choice" on her protruding belly.

Catholics for a Free Choice and Medical Students for Choice organized huge, noisy contingents. Both are important advocates in their respective fields.

Katy Ramirez, who works in the Los Angeles Housing Department and is a member of the union AFSCME, said she was "surprised at the number of people here today. It's exciting there's so much

Continued on page 11



Anti-war contingent in women's march

With banners and signs reading "Bush says go back, we say fight back—Defend reproductive rights" and "Stand against sexism, racism, occupation and war—Fight for liberation," an anti-war contingent initiated by the ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War & End Racism) Coalition took part in the April 25 March for Women's Lives. During the demonstration, ANSWER volunteers also distributed over 30,000 flyers for the June 5 March on the Pentagon initiated by the coalition.

In building for the contingent, ANSWER

announced its support for the April 25 demonstration and said, "The Bush administration and the ultra-right are working to overturn the gains the women's movement has made over the last 35 years. Women have the right to control their own bodies and their lives." Activists from Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, Philadelphia, New York City, Baltimore, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and New Paltz, N.Y., joined the contingent.

—Sarah Sloan

Women's rights & Black liberation

Working and oppressed vs. money kings

By Leslie Feinberg

After the Northern bankers and industrialists colluded with the Southern former slave owners to crush Black Reconstruction, laissez-faire capitalism rapidly concentrated into monopolies, creating new conditions of struggle for women's rights and Black liberation.

The next battle after the Civil War, white Abolitionist Wendell Phillips observed, was between the working class and the money kings.

Before the Civil War, the great majority of the population of this country had been small farmers, most of those in the North. During slavery, African women and men of the Diaspora—an estimated 35 percent of the Southern population—had been primarily forced to do agricultural labor, to which they brought centuries of farming and technological knowledge.

In 1860 in the mostly agrarian South 4 million Black enslaved workers and 110,000 wage workers—Black and white—worked in 20,000 manufacturing establishments. Historian Herbert Aptheker contrasted the capital investment in these factories—\$96 million—to that of the approximately \$250 million invested in

Northern manufacturing.

During this time the Southern ruling class used the forced labor of enslaved Black women, as well as men and children, as a bludgeon against wage labor. Black women worked in coal mines and iron foundries, in textile and hemp, as ditch diggers and lumberjacks.

Skilled white workers protested the bosses' use of slave laborers, but for the most part did not demand the abolition of chattel slavery. Those whites who did fight slavery in the South included leaders and organizations of Jewish and German immigrants who were Marxists.

Working women clench their fists

After the victory of Northern capital in the Civil War, a compromise was reached with the Southern slavocracy that allowed them to retain their control over the land through sharecropping, that left the farm workers in insurmountable debt, and through the legal and extralegal weapons of convict lease labor, vagrancy laws and "lynch law" massacres.

And as Civil War contracts dried up and troops were demobilized, unemployment burgeoned in the North.

"Capital is centralizing, organizing and

becoming more powerful every day," warned the Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser in 1866.

Efforts at building working-class unity were crucial.

In 1867, the National Labor Union—which had faced criticism for not addressing the inclusion of Black workers into existing trade unions at its founding—issued a statement calling for cooperation with African American workers. It stressed that otherwise, "capitalists north and south would foment discord between the whites and Blacks and hurl one against the other as interest and occasion might require to maintain their ascendancy and continue their reign of oppression."

As the growth of Northern manufacturing transformed the spinning wheel into the power loom, Black and white women, and immigrants arriving from other countries, were a backbone of the laboring force of wage slaves.

The 1890 census revealed that of 2.7 million Black women and girls over the age of 10, more than a million worked for wages: 38.7 percent in agriculture, 30.8 percent in household domestic work, 15.6 percent in laundry labor, and 2.8 percent in manufacturing.

Although most trade unions barred women at that time, the NLU spurred the Cigar Makers International Union to amend its constitution to admit women in 1867, and the National Typographical Union to do the same in 1872.

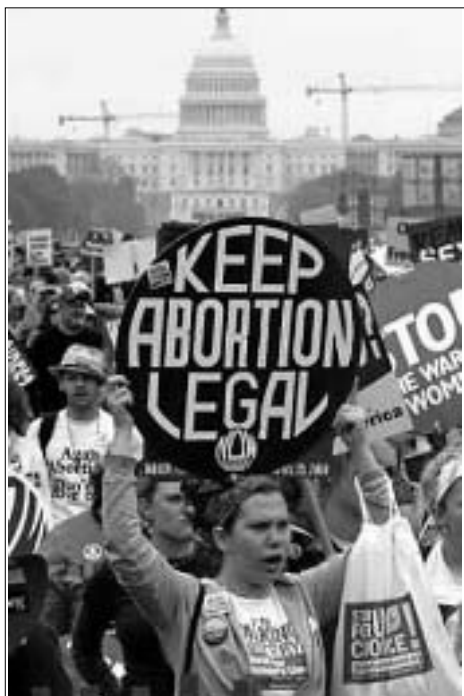
While many unions still barred women, some labor leaders were active in the struggle for women's right to vote, noted the authors of "Labor's Untold Story." Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton attended the National Labor Union convention in 1868.

Nineteenth-century working women stood up to their bosses. When Nat Turner was leading an uprising of African slave laborers against the Southern plantation aristocracy in 1830, in the Northeast young U.S.-born and immigrant women and children were leading "turn-outs" and strikes in the textile factories.

Even in the heat of the Civil War in 1863, Richmond women workers—in the capital of the slaveholders—carried out one of the few known successful wartime strikes at the Confederate States Laboratory.

And in 1866 a strike by Black washerwomen in Jackson, Miss.—while unsuccessful in its goal of raising and standard-

rights



TOP LEFT PHOTO: INDY MEDIA ABOVE AND BELOW WW PHOTOS: JOHN CATALINOTTO

izing wages for their labor—was, in the words of historian Philip Foner, the “first known collective action of free Black workingwomen in American history, as well as the first labor organization of Black workers in Mississippi.”

New era, new weapons

In the last years of the 19th century, the industrial-banking class, trying to justify capitalist exploitation of labor and imperialist conquest, employed mass propaganda campaigns about the “survival of the fittest” and the “cult of manhood”—white, wealthy manhood, that is.

Freed from their land competition with the system of slavery, the capitalist rulers attempted to literally dehumanize Native peoples as they directed their armies to seize the Western lands, much as the slave-owners tried to dehumanize African peoples.

The drive for profits would soon burst the geographic boundaries of this continent with the military occupation and economic annexation of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

In ideological preparation, the imperialist ideologues organized expansive and

Continued on page 10

San Francisco

Students organize for women’s rights

In San Francisco on April 24 many activists and students attended a rally in solidarity with the March for Women’s Lives in Washington, D.C. They then went on to a spirited birthday action for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

High school senior Juliet Lindeman organized the rally. She could not afford to go to Washington but wanted to demonstrate against the attacks on women’s and reproductive rights. “I think it’s really important to show support even if we were not able to go, to have an act in solidarity for something that is so important, and an issue that needs to be addressed. The event targeted people my age and was to raise awareness we need to protect our rights,” she said.

Tahnee Stair, a representative of the LeiLani Dowell for Congress campaign, encouraged protesters not to rely on elected officials to defend and expand rights to abortion but to deepen



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

their commitment to participate in an independent movement. Dowell is an anti-war socialist and member of Workers World Party running on the ballot as a Peace and Freedom Party candidate. Stair said, “The people cannot rely on the Democratic Party, whose leader, Kerry, is for sending more troops to Iraq, spending more money on warfare, not healthcare, and doesn’t think an Iraqi woman’s life lost because of U.S. bombing is worth as much as an American life.”

—S.F. Workers World Bureau

Going to Cuba this summer

Groups plan challenge to U.S. travel ban

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

A coalition of activists from IFCO/Pastors for Peace, the National Committee to Free the Cuban Five, and the Venceremos Brigade will unite on July 19 in a historic breaking of the U.S. blockade of Cuba. On their return from a trip to the revolutionary island, the delegations will re-enter the U.S. together.

None of the delegations will apply to the U.S. government for permission to visit Cuba, and all will join to openly reject the travel ban as they cross the border into Texas. The delegations are now accepting applications to participate in this powerful travel challenge.

Bush's new war on Cuba

A U.S. economic blockade imposed in 1961 to undermine the revolutionary government is still in place, and has the support of both George W. Bush and John Kerry. Now the Bush administration has increased attacks designed to cut off access to information about Cuba's transformative accomplishments in culture, science and social life. In 2003, a commission headed by Secretary of State Colin Powell investigated further ways to overthrow the Cuban Revolution.

Homeland Security began to interrogate and harass some of the more than 44,000 legal travelers from the U.S. to Cuba. Despite both houses of Congress having voted against the enforcement of travel restrictions, the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) has several thousand pending cases against "illegal" travelers to the island. (www.venceremos.org)

Cuban artists are denied visas to the U.S., most recently the legendary musician Ibrahim Ferrer, 76-year-old member of the Buena Vista Social Club. He was

nominated for a music-industry Grammy award but denied permission to attend the ceremony. Using the pretext of the economic blockade, OFAC has been trying to effectively prevent scholarly journals from publishing scientific and other articles from Cuba.

But the three activist organizations are ready to break the ban on information and travel to Cuba so others can stand up in solidarity with the Cuban people.

Cuba is not alone

IFCO/Pastors for Peace began delivering humanitarian aid to Latin America and the Caribbean in 1988, and has since led 38 such caravans to Mexico and Central America, 14 to Cuba, as well as sponsoring many delegations and work brigades.

Founder and Executive Director Rev. Lucius Walker Jr. says this event is a move forward for the Cuba solidarity community, asserting: "I have long believed that total unity within the solidarity community in refusal to apply for a license or to be intimidated by this criminal policy of the U.S. is what it will take to end the blockade. I hope that other groups will be encouraged and emboldened to join us later by the actions of the three groups, and of perhaps as many as 500 people, who will collectively say no to the blockade."

During June and July 2004, the 15th IFCO/Pastors for Peace Friendship Caravan to Cuba will travel to 120 cities throughout the U.S., gathering tons of medicine, computers and school supplies from groups across the country. People wanting to join the caravan when it comes to their state, spend nine days in Cuba, and then re-cross the border in the unified challenge can get more information from: www.ifconews.org.

This is the 35th year that the Vence-

remos Brigade, the oldest Cuba solidarity organization, has taken a contingent to work side by side with Cuban workers and challenge U.S. government policies against the island. Over 8,000 people have been brigadistas, and the Brigade is urging past participants to join this anniversary contingent.

The African roots of Cuba's history and contemporary society, with travel to both Havana and Santiago de Cuba, will be the focus of the Brigade's work and educational tours during the first two weeks of July. For more information, go to: www.venceremosbrigade.org.

Free the Five!

The third group participating in the unified travel challenge ban is the National Free the Five Committee, founded to win justice for Fernando González, René González, Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández and Ramón Labañino. The Five were convicted of conspiracy in U.S. courts in 2001 after they had penetrated anti-Cuba right-wing organizations based in Miami in order to thwart these groups' violent plans against Cuba.

Orlando Requeijo Gual, Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations, has pointed out that 3,478 people have died and 2,099 been injured in Cuba by the kind of right-wing terror that the Five were assigned to investigate. A U.S. administration that claims to be waging a world-wide "war on terrorism" prosecuted the Five and lets right-wing terrorists walk free, knowing all details of their activities. (Workers World, March 18, 2004)

Gloria La Riva, coordinator for the Free the Five Committee, said, "Our goal is for everyone on the Cuba solidarity trip to become an activist for the Five, to learn more about Cuban society, and to come back with more knowledge and

understanding on how to explain the case to the U.S."

La Riva praised the unified breaking of the blockade by the three organizations, which she said would share a number of activities, as well as information on how to carry on the struggle at home, to support Cuba and free the Five.

Those going to Cuba will meet with family members of the Five, become more acquainted with their friends and co-workers, talk with people affected by the right-wing terrorist attacks launched out of Miami, and learn about the Cuba that the Five were defending.

La Riva noted that supporting the Five was part of continued vigilance for Cuba's safety. In 2000 five Cuban-Americans were arrested in Panama in an assassination plot against Cuban President Fidel Castro. A Panamanian judge gave them light sentences on April 20 after intense pressure by the U.S. One of those sentenced, Luis Posada Carriles, had also planned the attack that downed a Cubana Airlines flight in 1976 and killed 73 people.

Revolutionary hope

The U.S. would like to extinguish Cuba as a light of hope to the impoverished people of the Caribbean and Central and Latin America. The Bush administration continues to attempt to overcome Cuba—as it did Haiti with an economic blockade, coup and subsequent invasion, and like its attempted coup against the Bolivarian revolution of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela.

But the Venceremos Brigade, the Free the Five Committee, and IFCO/Pastors for Peace are ready to take activists to Cuba so they can see firsthand, and then witness to others, what the Cubans have created for themselves and, ultimately, for the world, through their revolution. □

The first WMD deception

Nukes and the Cold War

By Deirdre Griswold

The U.S. government is about to grandstand once more about saving the world from "weapons of mass destruction" when it goes to a United Nations meeting on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and accuses countries like North Korea, Iran and Iraq of endangering world peace by trying to acquire nuclear weapons.

First of all, there is no world peace. U.S. occupation troops are fighting deadly shooting wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as we speak. They have killed tens of thousands of civilians over the last year in these two countries alone, and done immense damage to people's homes, the economy and the infrastructure, all to impose colonial domination and occupation.

Even more to the point, the world is threatened every day by the huge arsenal of nuclear weapons that the Pentagon still wields in order to keep U.S. transnational corporations and banks top dog around the world. Any country without these awesome weapons is subject to threats that it will be bombed out of existence if it doesn't obey Washington's dictates. Vietnam was threatened repeatedly with nuclear extinction during the Paris Peace Talks with Henry Kissinger.

Remember when the end of the Cold

War was going to bring nuclear disarmament? Washington is spending more money on the nuclear arsenal now than before the Soviet Union collapsed—an estimated \$35 billion a year. Military scientists are working on new tactical nuclear weapons for battlefield use as "bunker busters."

Why the Cold War?

All this should make everyone think twice about why there was a Cold War in the first place. Most people in the U.S. were made to think that it was necessary because the USSR was a menacing nuclear "superpower." The Rosenbergs were executed in 1953 supposedly for giving the USSR "atomic secrets."

But this "weapons of mass destruction" argument was just as phony then as it is now in respect to the aggression against Iraq.

The U.S. always had the jump on the Soviet Union with regard to nuclear weapons. The USSR's program was always a defensive one, trying to catch up with the Pentagon's latest escalation of the arms race.

The U.S. developed the first atomic bomb. It's the only country to ever drop one on populated areas—Hiroshima and Nagasaki—and its a-tests in the south

Pacific exposed and sickened thousands of people with radiation poisoning. In fact, the harm was so great that in 2001 the Nuclear Claims Tribunal ordered the U.S. government to pay over half a billion dollars to the people of Bikini in reparations.

The U.S. has built 70,000 nuclear warheads. It still has over 10,000 stockpiled.

It was first in developing the hydrogen bomb. It was first in developing intercontinental ballistic missiles to target countries thousands of miles away. It was first in developing nuclear-armed submarines. It was first to develop the neutron bomb. It was first to develop multiple independent re-entry vehicles (MIRVs).

The U.S. has spent over \$5.5 trillion on its nuclear weapons program since 1945.

This program has soaked up taxpayers' money under both Republican and Democratic administrations. And both parties, when in office, have used the nuclear threat as part of their foreign policy to advance U.S. imperialist power in the world.

The truth is that the Cold War had nothing to do with U.S. "security." It was a class war against the Soviet Union and a bloc of countries that had broken out of the imperialist world market. Back then we heard endlessly about the poor people behind the Iron Curtain yearning to breathe free once godless communism was torn down.

Today, it's obvious that the U.S. ruling class doesn't give a damn about the people of Russia or the other former Soviet republics or Eastern Europe.

The Cheneys, Bushes and Kerrys care about the oil of the Black and Caspian Sea area. They care about exploiting cheap labor while dismantling the social safety net that provided workers with free health-care, education, vacations, pensions and many other benefits. When workers had these things, and when rents were 5 percent of income and food was cheap, low wages didn't mean what they do today.

Now workers in these former planned economies are free to starve, free to be laid off, free to sell their bodies, free to suffer ethnic discrimination, and free to be exploited by billionaire owners who grabbed up the publicly owned property, often using gangster tactics.

That's what the Cold War accomplished. And all in the name of ending the "Soviet nuclear threat."

All the more reason that today's anti-nuclear movement is rightly putting the focus where it belongs: on disarming the Pentagon, the world's greatest purveyor of violence.

Figures on nuclear weapons from the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Cost Study Project, Brookings Institution.

Pentagon's political and military offensives

Talk peace, escalate death & destruction

Continued from page 1
but to no avail.

Phony U.S. 'cease-fire'

The Marines launched their attacks on Falluja on the grounds that the resistance had violated the "cease-fire." But there was no cease-fire even though, on April 10, the U.S. military command had declared one in Falluja.

The Marines had encircled the city on April 6, after four U.S. mercenaries were killed in an ambush. U.S. forces tried unsuccessfully to take the city and the Marines suffered heavy casualties.

The ambush of the mercenaries, whose bodies were hung on a bridge by some youth long after they were killed by the resistance, was just a pretext for the U.S. to take the offensive. This offensive had been planned for weeks.

Murderous attacks that killed hundreds of Iraqis and wounded well over a thousand, a deliberate policy of closing hospitals, shooting at anything that moved, including ambulances, combined with the use of helicopter gunships, fighter bombers, AC-130 rapid-fire killer aircraft and tanks—all this could not intimidate the resistance or the general population of Falluja. Many are living as refugees in tents in Baghdad but the city won't give in.

The occupation then set up "negotiations" between city dignitaries, members of the puppet Governing Council and the U.S. military. After several days, the occupation forces triumphantly announced an "agreement."

The U.S. military and a set of so-called intermediaries "agreed" that the resistance fighters should surrender their weapons. In return, they would be given amnesty and the U.S. Marines would not attack Falluja.

The two main problems with the agreement were one, that those fighting the occupation never agreed to surrender, and two, that the U.S. military never practiced the "cease-fire" it had unilaterally declared. It was a political maneuver to paint them up as seeking a "peaceful solution."

"The AC-130 has hit targets nearly nightly since the Marines encircled the city on April 5," wrote the April 27 Los Angeles Times. "With its powerful night optics and pinpoint cannon, the gunship has earned the nickname Slayer." Major Joseph Clearfield of the 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment of the 1st Marine Division, said that "This was one of our quieter nights." Clearfield continued, "We're a professional force, we know what we're doing. ... We do not have to violate the laws of war, or violate the cease-fire, to win."

Thus, nightly terror raids by the AC-130 and incursions into the city by Marine

patrols and the killing of civilians, the shooting of ambulances, the closing of hospitals do not constitute "violations of the laws of war" or "violations of the cease-fire," according to the U.S. military.

Al-Jazeera network broadcast live the U.S. attack on Falluja. The network, according to the New York Times of April 28, "gave its huge audience in Iraq a view of the nighttime battle that seemed likely to entrench the animosities that American troops now encounter almost everywhere in Iraq. As its live coverage went out, the network's reporter in Falluja was replaced by a Sunni Muslim cleric speaking by telephone from Baghdad, 30 miles east, who described the American siege at Falluja as a 'crusade' that had as its target the killing of ordinary Iraqis. "They are killing children!" Abdul Sattar, the cleric, proclaimed in a shrill, impassioned voice. "They are trying to destroy everything!"

He added at another point, "The Americans will find only a quagmire in Iraq. The people can see through all the American promises and lies."

Even one of the intermediaries set up by the U.S. to negotiate the surrender of the resistance, Sheik Muhammad al-Shihan, told Al-Jazeera, "We are facing what can be called ... war crimes, and the situation can no longer bear the actions of the occupation forces who are behaving outside all international laws." Shihan appealed to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to "personally stop the bloodbath."

U.S. attacks on edge of Najaf

A similar strategy on a more cautious scale is now being pursued by the Pentagon in the holy cities of Najaf and Kufa, where the forces of Shiite cleric Moktada al-Sadr have established an occupation-free zone and are demanding an end to the U.S. occupation.

Despite all the talk about bringing

about a peaceful resolution, U.S. fighter bombers and AC-130 attacked the positions of the Mahdi Army, a militia under the command of al-Sadr which carried out an insurrection in several cities in early April. It fought the U.S. Army to a standstill in Sadr city, a vast neighborhood of close to 2 million in Baghdad.

A reported 67 people were killed. The U.S. claimed they all were fighters, but Sadr's forces declared that only 19 were fighters and the rest were civilians. The fighting began with a U.S. provocation. The London Guardian of April 28 quoted Abu Nathan, a member of the militia, who said the U.S. forces, contrary to their own pledge, tried to enter Najaf on April 26. "We attacked them with mortars and rocket-propelled grenades. They bombed us with jet fighters. We put up a fierce resistance. At 2 a.m. they left," Nathan told the Guardian.

One volunteer, Syad Mustafa, told the Guardian: "We don't have any bases. We don't have any tanks. We don't have any jets." Another fighter, Said Husseini, said, "The Americans are terrorists. They keep on killing Iraqi women and children."

As Nathan showed off a small stock-pile of Kalashnikov rifles in a tent, he told the Guardian that "13 people from my mosque were killed yesterday." He said that "the coalition forces control the only hospital in Kufa. We've asked them to leave but they refuse. ... The Americans came here as liberators but now it has turned into an occupation. We are not afraid. We are going to fight them."

While the occupation authorities proclaim their "peaceful" intentions, the real thinking of the military was seen in remarks by Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmitt quoted in the April 27 Los Angeles Times: "We will destroy Sadr's militia. We will destroy every element of it." And Brig.



Poster put up by Iraqi resistance.

Gen. Mark Hertling, deputy commander of the 1st Armored Division, told journalists: "We're going to drive this guy [al-Sadr] into the dirt." (Al-Jazeera, April 27)

Sovereignty according to Powell

As the situation continues to deteriorate for the occupation forces, the so-called turnover of "sovereignty" is coming apart before it even begins. While Lahktar Brahimi of the UN tries to cobble together some kind of puppet administration to be ready by June 30, Washington is declaring that it really did not mean actual "sovereignty."

Secretary of State Colin Powell told the British press: "I hope they [the Iraqis] understand that in order for this government to get up and running—to be effective—some of its sovereignty will have to be given back, if I can put it that way, or limited by them." (BBC, April 27)

"Its sovereignty, but [some] of that sovereignty they are going to allow us to exercise on their behalf and with their permission.

"It is with the understanding that they need our help and for us to provide that help we have to be able to operate freely, which in some ways infringes on what some would call full sovereignty," said Powell.

So complying with international law means killing civilians. Abiding by a cease-fire means pounding a city with helicopter gunships, fighter planes, and tanks. And sovereignty now means the U.S. military will have to "operate freely."

This is what an imperialist, colonialist occupation looks like. □



MARKET ELECTIONS: How Democracy Serves the Rich By Vince Copeland

Every four years, big money chooses the presidential candidates. Their war chests filled to the brim, they are then packaged by the media as "the people's choice." It's U.S.-style democracy-of the rich, by the rich and for the rich.

In this fascinating tour through the history of U.S. presidential elections, Vince Copeland explains the devious art of capitalist politics. And he shows how mass movements can upset even the best-laid plans of the "king-makers."

List price is \$18, at leftbooks.com it's 15% off, only \$15.30



June 5 march on Pentagon

Continued from page 3

covered-up by the corporate media, including the overnight slaughter of 78 people by marines in the Belair neighborhood of Port au Prince." It then adds, "Over 250,000 human beings are being starved and bombed by the U.S. war machine besieging Falluja. ... At least 800 children, women and men have already been murdered in this heroic city. U.S. troops are poised to attack the religious center of Najaf."

A delegation of labor and community activists is going to Haiti April 27 to May 2. They will bring back first-hand reports from Haitian trade unionists on conditions since the U.S.-backed coup.

Those who made the two calls will both protest at the Pentagon. June 5 will provide an opportunity for tens of thousands of people now aware of the horror of the U.S. military occupations and the need to fight against them to register their protest in the capital. □

Lessons of 1954

It will soon be 50 years since the landmark Supreme Court decision, *Brown vs. Board of Education*, that struck down segregated schools and the concept of “separate but equal.” That was in May 1954. What are some lessons we can learn from it?

Number one, this great advance for African American people didn’t come from the goodness of the justices’ hearts. In those times, and in all the years preceding them, the court was made up of nine white men. True, only one of the nine, Earl Warren, had been appointed by a Republican president—Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. The other eight had been put on the court by either Franklin Roosevelt or Harry Truman, both Democrats.

But those were extremely reactionary times, when progressives were being hounded out of the trade unions, schools, entertainment industry and news media. This included prominent Black and white fighters against racism, like singer Paul Robeson. And this anti-red witchhunt, like the war in Korea that intensified it, had begun during the Democratic administration of Truman.

At least one of the Democratic judges, Hugo Black of Alabama, had come up the political ladder partly because of his Ku Klux Klan connections.

Nevertheless, the vote against segregation was unanimous.

There were several factors that the justices, all extremely political men, took into consideration. One was the rising mood of militancy among the African American people. Many were veterans of either World War II, when there were still segregated units under the command of Southern white officers, or of the war against Korea. Many had come home to vicious segregation and routine lynchings in the South after being told they were fighting for freedom, and they were angry. Others worked in Northern industries in cities like Chicago and Detroit, and were bringing new strength to the industrial unions.

The mighty civil rights movement to come was already on the horizon. Big capital was trying to figure out how to head it off.

The other factor was the revolutions going on in colonies and former colonies all over the world. Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America were all convulsed by struggles for

national liberation. The United States, an expanding imperialist power, postured as a friend of the independence movements and claimed it had never held colonies. (A lie—as Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines and other Pacific islands can testify.)

This was a very high-stakes struggle, because in many parts of the world the rising peoples fighting for national liberation looked to the socialist countries as their allies. A political and at times military war was raging between the systems of capitalism and socialism, based on opposing class forces.

Whenever U.S. diplomats went abroad trying to woo political figures in these emerging countries, they were challenged with questions about racism in the United States.

Overt, state-enforced racism, like the Jim Crow laws in the South, was a liability for the U.S. capitalist ruling class as a whole, although it certainly lined the pockets of the Southern bosses who super-exploited Black workers, women and men, on the land, in factories and in menial jobs.

The Supreme Court made its decision in 1954 based on what it thought would strengthen the position of U.S. imperialism around the world and buy peace at home at the same time. But that paper decision was made real only through the heroic struggles of millions of Black people and their allies, who acted out of principle and not cold calculation when they braved jail, police clubs, dogs, firehoses and night riders to tear down segregation.

While winning formal, legal equality was a huge step forward, just like the ending of colonial rule, it did not end racist oppression any more than neo-colonialism has ended the great gap between rich and poor nations. The problem still exists that a small class of super-rich capitalists runs this country and the world. They need racism to stay on top just as they need every other tool that divides the workers they exploit.

Having advanced this far, however, Black people are in a much stronger position to not only participate in but play a leading role in the next phase of the struggle, which will be for genuine equality of all peoples based on a working-class redistribution of society’s wealth—with affirmative action and reparations to eradicate the terrible inequalities inherited from the past. □

Women’s rights & Black liberation

Working and oppressed

Continued from page 7

expensive public expositions replacing old religious arguments about white supremacy with pseudo-science. And at the same time, the captains of industry and banking were redefining the dominant Victorian ideals of manhood and womanhood in their own class interests.

The 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago was endorsed by Congress as “the progress of civilization in the New World.”

At the center of the exposition’s architectural layout was “White City,” constructed to pay homage to the power of advanced capitalist technology.

In the center of White City was a “Court of Honor”: a half-mile-long basin surrounded by massive white architecture.

“Honorable.” The word was defined in an 1890 dictionary as a synonym for “manly.”

The “Woman’s Building,” located at the periphery of White City, displayed “more refined avenues of effort which culminate in the home, the hospital, the church, and in personal adornment.”

The women’s building faced the only White City exit to the section of exhibits deemed “uncivilized,” claiming to be “authentic” Samoan, Dahoman, Egyptian and Turkish villages. While the White City had distinct definitions of men and women, displays of other peoples from around the world stressed lack of gender difference.

The demands by Black women and men that they be included in the planning committees and their accomplishments exhibited were ignored.

Ida B. Wells and Frederick Douglass fund-raised among African Americans to print a pamphlet in English, Spanish, German and French denouncing the racist exclusion of African peoples in the U.S., who had for centuries “contributed a large share to American prosperity and civilization.”

And together they defended Black manhood against the viciously racist propaganda emanating from the ruling “cult of manhood.”

Ida B. Wells: ‘They’re cowards!’

Ida B. Wells, a Black anti-lynching activist and organizer, was the leading figure in the powerful ideological battle against the ascendant cult of imperialist manhood and “manly civilization.”

And in doing so, like Sojourner Truth before her, Wells challenged the ruling ideas about what it meant to be a man or a woman.

Unable to get a hearing from the Northern white-owned presses that still actually referred to Southern white-supremacist mass lynchings of African Americans as “humorous,” Wells took her political agitation to England from 1892 to 1894. From public platforms there, she humiliated the bullying braggadocio of the white power elite at home.

She tore apart the white supremacists’ claim to the mantle of “manliness.”

Lynchers and their apologists were nothing but cowards, she avowed.

She dismantled the vicious racist depiction of Black men as rapists. Wells publicly revealed documentation about Black women and girls who had been brutally raped by white men.

Rise of Rambo

The cult of manhood arose tightly woven with white supremacy, nativism and anti-immigrant campaigns.

This imperialist world view was summed up succinctly in a quote attributed to the biggest bully of the bully boys,



Ida B. Wells

President Theodore Roosevelt: “The greatest danger that a long period of profound peace offers to a nation is that of [creating] effeminate tendencies in young men.”

This reverence for masculinity was not meant to mirror the complex and diverse gender expressions of working and oppressed men or males, whether Black sharecroppers or Jewish needle trade workers.

In fact, Black males still had to demand—as Louisiana African Americans had petitioned President Abraham Lincoln shortly before his death—“We are men, treat us as such!”

Rather, it reflected the birth of Rambo-hyped adulation of the “he-man” military foot-soldier of imperial occupation.

The ruling-class appeal to idolize white, wealthy “manhood” was also directed towards middle class men, who were suffering their own crisis about “manliness” in the 1890s.

The concentration of small-scale businesses into monopoly industry meant that middle-class men went from being their own bosses to working for bigger bosses; many had to practice what was considered a “feminine” art of persuasion in sales and other jobs.

Roosevelt appealed to these white proletarianized elements and working-class men to join their new bosses in the cult of manhood—not as generals, however, but as cannon fodder.

And as the British colonialists were doing in Asia and Africa, the expanding U.S. empire exported its anti-gay and anti-transgender laws to the countries it militarily and economically conquered.

The anti-gay laws in Puerto Rico, for example, were inked once the U.S. had established its rule on the island. The law was inked word-for-word from a California statute.

Transgender under state boot heel

The 1890s cult of manhood campaign and diatribes against feminine males were also part and parcel of domestic state repression against transgender expression.

And it was inherently anti-homosexual. At that time, homosexuality was not socially defined as sexual acts between two people of the same sex. Instead, it was gender-variant people who were labeled “queer.”

Trans expression blossomed in the cities that were growing up around large-scale industry, which allowed greater personal freedom for workers than small-town life.

In 1860 a mere 20 percent of the pop-

SPECIAL TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION

\$2 for eight weeks (new subscription)

\$25 for one year

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Workers World Newspaper 55 W. 17 St. NY, NY 10011 (212) 627-2994

Or use a credit card and subscribe online at:

www.workers.org/orders/subscribe.php

vs. money kings

ulation in the United States had lived in cities. Like feudal Europe, small farming communities and plantation overseers afforded individuals no privacy or anonymity. But with the growth of industrialization, the disbanding of armies and the growth of large cities, individuals found new chances to express their identities.

“Male effeminacy first became a collective phenomenon in the United States in the late 19th century,” writes David F. Greenberg in his voluminous work “The Construction of Homosexuality.” Greenberg surmises that as cities grew, networks of cross-dressers grew along with them.

Organized, large-scale drag balls were vulnerable to police raids and sensational newspaper headlines. So a great deal of historical record comes solely from these hostile observers.

For example, Dr. Charles H. Hughes wrote about a 1903 St. Louis event he characterizes as a “miscegenation dance,” revealing how much racism and fear of interracial solidarity were factors in the repression of multi-national drag balls.

Names and addresses of African Americans arrested at the event appeared in the newspapers; the names of the whites were not reported. All the participants were hauled off to jail, taken before a judge. Bond for trial was \$300 each.

According to detectives, participants included “scores of west-end butlers, cooks and chauffeurs.”

The largest and most famous of the known drag balls took place annually in Harlem: the Hamilton Lodge Ball, which dated back to 1869. The majority of the trans males and females who attended were also working class.

“Queering” women’s rights

A mass reactionary campaign against masculine females was also a part of the gender-enforcement that arose with imperialism.

Any female who demanded her rights was hit with vicious and sometimes violent attacks on her gender and sexuality.

Women who campaigned for the right to vote were labeled “female men.” In media, literature and medical diagnoses, society was warned that the demand for the right to vote turned suffragists into “masculine women” and “sexual inverters”—in today’s language, lesbians.

The writer Havelock Ellis actually pointed to “emancipation” as a basis of increasing “sexual inversion” in women. Physician James B. Weir Jr. presaged a “matriarchy” if women won suffrage.

Male supporters of women’s rights continued to be attacked and ridiculed as mollycoddles in skirts, feminine males and hermaphrodites.

But these ferocious attacks and slurs were not just a political struggle against women activists and anyone who showed the courage to stand up for women’s rights. They also served to marginalize and drive underground another whole segment of sex- and gender-oppressed people, further dividing the laboring class.

Many female-bodied individuals at that time had to work and live as men in order to survive. Today, a still embattled trans liberation movement has made it more possible for transmen to live openly and proudly. But in the late 19th century, not being “outed” was a matter of life or death.

Whether these trans individuals would identify today as transgender or as transsexual, their gender expression, and to some extent their body type, made it possible for them to live and work without

being “outed.”

In the case of the Civil War, for example, so many prepubescent young boys had been recruited into the large armies that not having a beard did not draw particular notice.

In her 1889 account “My Story of the War,” Mary A. Livermore of the U.S. Sanitary Commission—a forerunner of the American Red Cross—wrote that the number of female-bodied soldiers in the ranks was believed to be a “little less than 400.” But she was convinced the number was larger.

Franklin Thompson—named Sarah Emma Edmonds at birth—served as a male nurse and a spy for the Union Army. Thompson wrote about caring for a severely wounded soldier. “Something in the tone and voice made me look closely at the face,” he wrote. Edmonds said the soldier “came out” as having been born female and asked Thompson to bury him and respect his confidentiality.

At least one such soldier pulled a bullet out of his own leg rather than be discovered.

Like rabbits out of a hat, mainstream historians have for years pulled out many excuses for why these females joined the army—none of them dealing with transgender.

Yet trans expression continued, in many cases driven underground by economic necessity and state repression. Female-bodied individuals lived as men and worked in many jobs: railroad workers, typesetters, cooks. Their lives were generally only recorded if they were discovered and publicly exposed.

The grave-diggers of capitalism

Those who strived for freedom could not follow the North Star out of enslavement.

The epoch of U.S. imperialist dominion was dawning in 1898, bristling with ideological weaponry, as well as military and economic might. The old Roman tactic of “divide and conquer” was the spearhead of its arsenal.

The lesson of the abolition of chattel slavery in the old South was that owning classes do not yield to moral suasion. It took rebellions, mass organizing and Civil War.

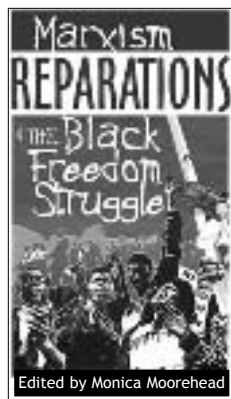
And it took powerful alliances—between resistance of the enslaved and the Abolitionists, between anti-slavery forces and the women’s rights movement.

Marxist historian Vince Copeland concluded about the abolition of slavery, “By clearing the field of this ancient evil, they laid the basis for the modern struggle against the modern evils.”

Those at the summit of wealth and power were creating their own grave-diggers.

And those who yearned for liberation were soon to see a red star rising in the East.

Conclusion: The road to liberation: reform or revolution?



INCLUDES

- ◆ Racism, national oppression & the right to self-determination *Larry Holmes*
- ◆ Black labor from chattel slavery to wage slavery *Sam Marcy*
- ◆ Reparations & Black Liberation *Monica Moorehead*
- ◆ Harriet Tubman: woman warrior *Mumia Abu-Jamal*
- ◆ Causes of turmoil in Jamaica *Pat Chin*

\$4.50 at Leftbooks.com

A sea of marchers for reproductive rights

Continued from page 6

positive energy on behalf of women.”

The ANSWER coalition organized an anti-war contingent in the march. (See accompanying article.)

After protestors gathered on the mall for speeches until noon, they marched out past the White House and then circled back to the mall for a final rally. Amid a sea of Planned Parenthood’s shocking pink signs and Naral Pro-Choice America’s yellow and blue ones were signs like the Latina Institute’s “Salud, dignidad, justicia” (“Health, dignity, justice”).

Some homemade signs were amusing: “Menopausal mom remembering choice” and “U.S. out of my uterus.” Others were serious: “Queer rights are reproductive rights” and “A woman shouldn’t have to choose between food and a baby.” The slogan “No U.S. intervention in women’s wombs” linked the issue to the struggle against the war in Iraq.

The huge turnout confirmed once again that it is progressive causes—such as the struggles against war and racism and for women’s, LGBT and immigrant rights—that are able to activate large numbers of committed people, even in this period of state-imposed reaction. It was an anomaly and harmful to this progressive current that government figures like former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright—who in 1996 told CBS-TV’s Leslie Stahl that the sanctions-caused deaths of 500,000 Iraqi children were “worth it”—were allowed by the organizers to speak and march on the lead banner.

Health care crisis for women of color

Statistics issued by march organizers

reveal some critical issues that prompted the demonstration. “Every day, more than 200 women worldwide die from the consequences of unsafe abortion—more than 80,000 unnecessary deaths every year.” Restrictions like Bush’s “global gag rule,” which cut off U.S. funding for international family planning in 2001, mean that each year 500,000 women die from pregnancy-related causes, 3 million women die from AIDS-related causes and 80,000 women die from unsafe abortions.

The general fact sheet for the march noted that funding bans on abortion jeopardize families: “Thirty-six percent of women on Medicaid who paid for their abortions said that the money they used for the abortion would have gone to pay bills such as utilities or rent; 32 percent said they would have used the money to buy clothing for their children or other family members; and 17 percent said they would have bought food.”

The fact sheet noted that the reproductive health needs of women of color and poor women are going unmet: “The unintended pregnancy rate of Latinas is nearly two times and for African American women almost three times the rate of Caucasian women. The maternal mortality rate is nearly two times higher for Latinas and four times higher for African Americans than that for Caucasians.”

Jade, a young worker from New York City, was visibly impressed by her first demonstration. “It’s really amazing that all kinds of people—no matter what race, gender or age—can get together like this to better the world.” Judith, who runs the only feminist bookstore in the state of Washington, spoke for many when she said, “We represent a lot of women who wanted to come today but couldn’t make it.” □



WW PHOTO: J. CATALINOTO

MUNDO OBRERO

Plan de EE.UU. para Irak sólo aumenta la resistencia

Continúa de página 12

ahogar la resistencia en sangre. Pero se encuentran en un dilema sin solución, siendo realmente la continuación de la situación que comenzó el día que invadieron a Irak.

Cuando ellos lanzaron su campaña de “Sorpresa y Terror”, bombardeando Bagdad y tratando de capturarla en un ataque “relámpago”, inmediatamente encontraron resistencia firme en el sur. Ellos celebraron prematuramente su victoria en Bagdad.

Durante su cruzada por la fuerza contra el régimen de Saddam, mataron e hirieron a miles de civiles, destruyeron el sistema de teléfonos, de alcantarillado y de agua; destruyeron escuelas, hospitales y residencias, y entraron en las ciudades

con tanques y carros blindados.

En ese momento, habían ganado la lucha militar pero habían perdido la lucha política, mostrando la mano del imperio colonial. Desde aquel día en adelante, a pesar de redadas militares masivas y ataques por aire y por tierra, la resistencia ha crecido y se ha profundizado. Todavía no ha surgido como un frente de liberación nacional en el sentido político. Pero todos los segmentos de la sociedad, activa o pasivamente, han reaccionado con un odio ardiente contra la ocupación.

Es por eso que el verdadero soberano que asumirá el poder el 1 de julio será John Negroponte y el Pentágono, no importa quien Bremer o el representante de la ONU, Lakhdar Brahimi puedan inventar como pretexto del imperialismo. □

¿Embajadores a ellos mismos? Plan de EE.UU. para Irak sólo aumenta la resistencia

Por Fred Goldstein

Abril 20—Por muchas semanas la prensa capitalista ha estado preocupada por el término del 30 de junio cuando la administración de Bush debe entregar la “soberanía” a Irak. ¿Quién estará a cargo, se preguntan todos? Ahora esa pregunta ha sido contestada: John Negroponte.

Negroponte es un terrorista de oficio del imperialismo estadounidense. Fue consejero de Henry Kissinger durante la guerra de Vietnam y organizador de escuadrones de la muerte en Honduras y de Contras en Nicaragua. Siendo ahora embajador de Bush en la Naciones Unidas, Negroponte reemplazará al procónsul L. Paul Bremer, el actual soberano estadounidense en Irak; sin embargo Negroponte tendrá el título de “embajador a Irak.”

El plan es que Negroponte presida la embajada más grande del mundo con un equipo de 3.000 personas. Estará llena de espías, representantes militares, expertos petroleros, “expertos” en formular planes para el dominio colonial, y otros. Para respaldar sus funciones de embajador, Negroponte tendrá a su disposición 14 bases militares estadounidenses y una fuerza militar totalmente bajo el control de los Estados Unidos.

¿Cuál es la función aparente de un embajador? La de representar a un gobierno ante otro gobierno. ¿Cuántas personas se necesitan para representar al gobierno de los Estados Unidos ante el gobierno de un país pequeño de 25 millones de habitantes, aún con un requerido número de espías? ¿Cincuenta, 100, 200 o hasta 500? Está muy claro que la administración de Bush está intentando no ubicar una representación al gobierno iraquí, sino un tácito gobierno en sí mismo. Y dado el tamaño de esta “embajada,” es sin lugar a dudas con la intención de servir como un centro político/militar/de espionaje para el imperialismo estadounidense en todo el Medio Oriente.

Pero lo más curioso es que Negroponte ha sido asignado embajador ante un gobierno que todavía no existe, ni siquiera en papel, a sólo 10 semanas del 30 de junio.

Esta fecha de vencimiento fue anunciada por Bush el pasado noviembre. Y es un ejemplo más del fracaso de la aventura colonial imperialista en Irak donde el problema de encontrar a algún grupo verosímil que esté dispuesto a disfrazarse

como gobierno interino se esté haciendo más grande cada día.

Con cada mujer o niño muertos por marinos francotiradores en Faluja, con cada nueva amenaza de invadir a la ciudad santa de Najaf, con cada nueva agresión brutal contra la población iraquí, ya sea en la ciudad Sadr en Bagdad, en Mosul en el norte o en Kut en el sur, la ocupación de los Estados Unidos está impulsando a todo el pueblo iraquí hacia una guerra popular para la liberación nacional.

Reporte desde Faluja

Un reporte desde Faluja en el semanal francés, *Le Nouvel Observateur* del 15 de abril es muy ilustrativo. La reportera, Sara Daniel, describe a Faluja como “una ciudad fantasma donde los francotiradores americanos están situados en los techos en cada cuadra, los habitantes son prisioneros en sus propios hogares. Es imposible salir. Aquellos que lo han tratado, sus cadáveres yacen todavía en las aceras.”

El reporte describe a un brillante joven cirujano, el Dr. Ibrahim, quien se aventuró durante el “cese de fuego” estadounidense y trató de recoger a 10 muertos que recibieron disparos en la cabeza o en el corazón. “Había un anciano muerto en su jardín y esta mujer en la puerta que me imploraba que cuidara del cuerpo de su esposo. Por dos días yacía ahí frente a ella,”

dijo Ibrahim. “Anteayer” continuó, “ví un carro que había sido atacado por un helicóptero Apache. Adentro había cuatro cuerpos carbonizados, sobre la capota estaba el cuerpo de una niña de cinco años. Ni siquiera pude llevármelos. Cuando nos acercamos al carro, el chofer de nuestra ambulancia recibió un disparo en el hombro.”

Sara Daniel escribe: “Lejos de los barrios donde se encuentran las guerrillas, una familia de 12 fue pulverizada por una bomba.” Le tomó todo el día al doctor recoger los restos. “Con esto es lo que el

suelo de Faluja está cubierto,” dijo el doctor al reportero, sosteniendo en su mano una partícula de bala recuperada del cuerpo de un chofer de ambulancia, “balas que explotan en todas direcciones a la altura de una persona antes de llegar al objetivo. Armas ilegales que matan civiles.”

Ibrahim ha recorrido los hospitales de Faluja. Dijo que había más de 600 muertos y 1.224 heridos. Los muertos, que no incluían los enterrados en sus propios jardines o mantenidos en sus hogares, incluían 153 mujeres, 58 niños menores de 5 años y 83 jóvenes entre las edades de 5 y 15 años.

“Por todos lados, la cólera de la guerrilla se nutre de las historias de los refugiados y heridos que llegan a Bagdad” escribió Daniel. “Mohammed Numuvavy, de doce años, y quien perdió su pierna cuando su casa en el barrio de Al-Jawlan en Faluja fue blanco de una bomba de fragmentación, se encuentra en el Hospital Al-Adhamia. Mañana, su otra pierna gangrenosa tendrá que ser amputada. Mohammed todavía no sabe si los otros 24 miembros de su familia... han perdido sus vidas. Asla, de 54 años, tuvo que huir con su hija, Intesar y su nieto de año y medio, Houda, cuando su casa en el barrio de Askari fue bombardeado por un tanque. Ella fue baleada por un francotirador cuando corría por los callejones a lo largo de su casa. En el jardín de Abou Hanifa, dos niños están siendo enterrados. Ellos fueron asesinados cuando sus familias intentaban huir de la ciudad.”

El ataque militar de los EE.UU. contra Faluja sólo ha servido para fortalecer la resistencia. “Según el doctor Ibrahim, ‘todos los grupitos que estaban haciendo sus cosas aparte se han unido. Hoy le puedo asegurar que la resistencia tiene un liderato, una estructura, como un ejército verdadero...’ Y escucharle decir, ex fedayines del ejército de Saddam, que representan menos del 10 por ciento de los combatientes, han estado colaborando con los fundamentalistas.”

Daniel terminó su reporte: “A pesar de las imágenes de los cadáveres mutilados que pasan sin interrupción ante sus ojos, a pesar de las lágrimas de su madre, que le da un último adiós cada vez que va rumbo a [Faluja], el joven cirujano se siente feliz viendo por fin un Irak unido: ‘Hoy mi país desde el sur hasta el norte está comprometido a combatir contra los que vinieron a ‘liberarnos’ matando a nuestras mujeres y a nuestros hijos. Los

americanos van a ganar la batalla, pero al asediar a Faluja, han perdido la guerra.”

Este reporte, traducido y reimpresso en truthout.org el 19 de abril, es igual a docenas de otros reportes en los medios de comunicación y de activistas que han visitado Faluja y Bagdad.

EE.UU. mantiene la población secuestrada

Ha sido la política de los militares de los EE.UU. en combates de guerra urbana en Faluja, Bagdad y otras ciudades disparar a las ambulancias, cerrar hospitales y arrastrar heridos fuera del hospital para interrogarles si sospechan que son combatientes.

Ahora los militares de los EE.UU. han negociado un “acuerdo” con intermediarios y colaboradores en Faluja, incluyendo miembros del títere Consejo Gobernante, para persuadir a los luchadores de entregar sus armas. Ninguno de los combatientes fue partícipe de las “negociaciones”.

El Pentágono está amenazando ahogar la ciudad en sangre, usando a la población como rehén para desarmar la resistencia. El Secretario de Defensa, Donald Rumsfeld dio una advertencia hoy de un ataque inminente, igual como lo hizo L. Paul Bremen hace dos días y ayer el Gen. Mark Kimmitt.

Los imperialistas están desesperados por dar fin a la resistencia. Los marinos EEUU han sufrido numerosas bajas, a pesar de que prefieren hacer el combate de lejos utilizando bombas de 500 libras, helicópteros de ataque, tanques y ametralladoras C-130 de tiro rápido.

Las fuerzas de los EE.UU. están siendo atacados a través del país. Los luchadores de la resistencia erigen barricadas en las carreteras que conducen de Bagdad hacia Faluja en el oeste, hacia Najaf al sur y hacia Mosul al norte. Las columnas militares de los EE.UU. viajan a un alto riesgo y las comerciales no encuentran choferes.

En Najaf y Kut, los comandantes militares de los EE.UU. están demandando la detención del líder chiíta, Moqtada al-Sadr, cuyo ejército Mahdi llevó a cabo una insurrección regional después que el periódico al Hawza fuera cerrado por Bremen, y que la gente que protestaba fuera acribillada por las fuerzas militares de los EE.UU.

La Autoridad de Ocupación está demandando que disuelvan al ejército Mahdi y que sea desarmado como en Faluja. Los militares están siendo muy cautelosos en Najaf, en parte porque una invasión a esta ciudad capital religiosa de los chiítas puede detonar una explosión, y también porque han aprendido durante los últimos diez días que no es prudente pelear en dos frentes a la vez.

De “sorpresa y terror” a resistencia nacional

La tendencia de la administración de Bush y de los militares es la de tratar de



Sargento Camilo Mejia de 28 años quien rehusó regresar a combate en Irak. Mejia, de nacionalidad nicaragüense, ingresó a las FFAA estadounidenses en el 1995 para poder estudiar en la universidad.

Subscribete a Mundo Obrero

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

Nombre _____ Telephone _____

Dirección _____

Ciudad / Estado / Código Postal _____

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