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## Chavez announces big steps forward for Venezuela

# New people's army, land to the poor

By Berta Joubert-Ceci

It was a wake-up call. On May 9 Venezuelan forces surprised 150 Colombian paramilitaries who had been hired to assassinate President Hugo Chávez. They were apprehended on the farm of opposition leader Robert Alonso, architect of the "guarimbas"—violent street blockades staged by supporters of the Venezuelan oligarchy. Alonso is a counter-revolutionary who comes originally from Cuba.

It was a reminder that U.S. imperialism, joined with the Colombian and Venezuelan oligarchies, has not ceased to conspire to oust President Chávez from office—both in the open, through a failing recall referendum, and in secret, as this incident reveals.

The leaders of this paramilitary grouping are also leaders of the vicious Autonomous Self-Defense Forces of Colombia. To date 130 Colombian paramilitary forces have been arrested in this operation. Their plan to kill Chávez has been brought to light through extensive interrogation.

They were to kill and decapitate the Venezuelan president. Then they planned to send his head to Cuban President Fidel Castro. As part of the assassination/coup process they would fire on Miraflores, the presidential palace, creating chaos in Venezuela.

Only the vigilance of the Venezuelan police and National Armed Forces (FAN) prevented the counter-revolutionary plot from reaching its goal. But with so much at stake and given the relentless quest of the bourgeoisie to regain its previous power, the police and the FAN are not enough.

Beginning early in the morning on May 16, one week after the plot was brought to light and the paramilitary troops arrested, thousands of people poured onto the broad Bolivar Avenue in Caracas to participate in a March for Peace and Sovereignty and Against Paramilitarism and Terrorism. They were eager to hear Chávez himself address them.

The march had been called by many different popular organizations with varied political affiliations and perspectives, including labor unions, political parties, and student, peasant and other social movements. All were united in their loyalty to and support of the Bolivarian Process—and all were intent on sending a message that the people themselves are not going to allow an assault against their revolution.

So significant was this march that Chávez canceled his Sunday Aló Presidente television program to be at the demonstration. His speeches—really a dialog with the audience—usually last for

hours and are listened to very attentively by the masses. They stay as long as he talks, and respond very actively with applause, cheers and loudly chanted slogans. This is because his talks are a combination of history class and presentation of action plans.

The May 16 speech was a particularly important one. Chávez announced a new phase of the Bolivarian Revolution. While formally declaring the revolution to be anti-imperialist, he made a call to the masses to be an army for the defense of the revolutionary process.

Stating that the revolution is "just beginning," Chávez encouraged the crowd to always think and reflect on the events that occur and put them in a historical perspective. Always ask, he urged: "Where are we? Why has it happened?"

He explained the dangerous and unipolar character of U.S. imperialism after the fall of the Berlin wall and the break-up of the Soviet Union, and its viciousness after the Sept. 11 events. He differentiated neoliberalism from imperialist adventures by the United States, stating that

neoliberalism—the effort to invade countries via economic measures like the Free Trade Area of the Americas, with the aid of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank—is not having the success the bourgeoisie hoped for in Latin America and the Caribbean. Therefore, he said, Washington is reverting to old-style imperialist military invasions.

Referring to the revolution's newly declared anti-imperialist character, he said: "And that gives it a special content, which forces us to think and act clearly not only in Venezuela but in the rest of the world," adding that "with the Constitution in our hands, we have to take actions ... for example, the expropriation of lands to put them in the hands of those who really need them."

Chávez said, "We cannot permit [ourselves] to be absorbed by a conservative spirit; either we are or we are not." He went on to spell out the different laws that have been enacted and should be enforced, like the Land Law and the Supreme Justice Tribunal Law. This last

*Continued on page 8*



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Teresa Gutierrez for Vice President

WW PHOTO



John Parker for President

WW PHOTO: M. VASCASSEN

# Workers World Party selects candidates

By Deirdre Griswold  
New York

The national leadership of Workers World Party met here on May 23 and selected party candidates to run in this year's presidential election. Representatives from party branches around the country gave their unanimous approval—and a cheering, standing ovation—to a proposal from the Secretariat of the National Committee that the candidates for president and vice president, respectively, be John Parker of Los Angeles and Teresa Gutierrez of New York.

The selection of Parker and Gutierrez reflects their valuable work in the party over many years, their commitment to the struggle of the multinational working class in this country and around the world, and their ability to carry out and defend the party's program with courage and determination.

Both have upheld the party's strong anti-imperialist positions, traveling abroad to better understand the problems in countries targeted by CIA subversion and Pentagon aggression and then getting that knowledge out to the workers here through many public venues.

Parker went to Sudan and visited that country's main pharmaceutical plant after it was demolished in 1998 by a U.S. missile strike. He has been to Iraq and seen the terrible effects of sanctions on the people there, especially children. He also did solidarity work in Cuba in 1997 with the Venceremos Brigade.

Gutierrez has met with progressive forces in Colombia, Venezuela, Puerto Rico and Mexico. She recently was part of a delegation to the Dominican Republic investigating the use of that country as a training ground for the paramilitaries who attacked Haiti and helped the U.S. depose its elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

She has visited Cuba many times in solidarity with that besieged but politically strong socialist country, and was a major organizer of the powerful 1992 "Peace for Cuba" rally held at New York's Javits Convention Center that demonstrated the widespread support Cuba enjoyed in that difficult period after the collapse of the USSR.

John Parker was only 18 when he organized his first union election—at a small steel plant in New Jersey. An African American, he has worked at a variety of other jobs, including teaching at a public school in Newark. After moving to Los Angeles with his family several years ago, he became a leader in the anti-war movement there and helped organize and chair several large rallies against the U.S. war in Iraq, sponsored by the ANSWER Coalition. He then worked hard to mobilize anti-war forces to sup-

## DOWELL FOR CONGRESS

Workers World Party member LeiLani Dowell is running for Congress on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in the November 2004 elections. She is running against Democratic incumbent Nancy Pelosi in California's 8th Congressional District, which includes most of San Francisco.



BILL HACKWELL

port the 80,000 grocery workers on a strike/lockout against three giant southern California food chains.

Teresa Gutierrez first became politically active in the Chican@ movement in Texas. She eventually moved to New York to be part of a multinational party that puts the struggle against racism and national oppression at the top of its agenda, as an indispensable part of uniting the working class as a whole in the struggle to end capitalism and build a socialist society. A proud lesbian, she brings consciousness on the need to combat sexist oppression to all her work.

These two working-class candidates will be running against the pro-war, pro-intervention, pro-big business politics of George W. Bush and John Kerry. They will use the election to bring another vision of the world to a public that is saturated day in and day out with the cynical view that the political arena belongs only to those who can play the millionaires' game and make the deals that buy elections.

The Parker-Gutierrez campaign will reach out to the class in society that is made up of the millions, not the millionaires. It will encourage mass action and class struggle and will warn all those struggling for a better world not to rely on capitalist elections to solve their problems. Their campaign will also extend a hand of solidarity to the most oppressed, many of whom to this day are still denied even a minute semblance of bourgeois democratic rights and fill the prisons in this country.

It will be a breath of fresh air, coming at a time when so many who are appalled at the cruel, adventurist and repressive character of the Bush administration are finding out that Kerry has nothing to offer them on ending the Iraq occupation or on the deepening crisis for the workers in this country that is exacerbated by imperialist globalization.

Workers World newspaper will be covering the Parker-Gutierrez campaign in depth over the next few months. □

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## Who's to blame?

# Big Oil guzzles profits as gas prices rise

By Greg Butterfield

Like a gas station under a blazing summer sun, drivers are fuming. Gasoline prices topped \$2 per gallon across the United States in late May. Crude oil hit a near record price of \$41.72 a barrel at the close of trading May 24. Rising costs are creating real hardships for millions of poor and working people who must drive to their jobs or to meet family obligations.

The crisis isn't confined to U.S. shores. Truckers in California, cab drivers in London and labor unions in Beirut have all staged protests against rocketing gasoline costs.

Workers want to know: Who's to blame? And how can the problem be fixed?

Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry blames OPEC—the 11 major oil-producing countries of the Middle East, Latin America, Asia and Africa. He called on President George W. Bush to pressure OPEC to increase oil production.

Bush also blames OPEC, but says the best solution is to develop more of the known oil reserves under U.S. control. That's Bush-speak for drilling in protected lands and waters, and for continuing the war to subjugate Iraq.

Bush and Kerry claim there's too little oil being pumped. But is that the real problem?

No, according to a study released May 12 by the Consumer Federation of America and the Consumers Union. These groups put the blame squarely on big oil companies like ExxonMobil, ChevronTexaco, ConocoPhillips and Shell.

Since the mid-1990s, mergers have reduced the number of oil companies from 34 to 15 and the number of oil refinery firms from 15 to seven. Refineries have been closed. As a result, unrefined crude oil is being held back from the market to artificially inflate prices and generate huge profits for Big Oil, according to the CFA-CU report.

"[T]he industry engineered \$250 billion of total price increases since 2000 so it could reap \$80 billion in profits. In turn, the consumer paid the price, to the tune of \$1,400 per household, shouldering the expense of higher gasoline, natural gas and heating oil charges." (Doylestown Patriot, May 20)

Tim Hamilton, a petroleum industry consultant, told the Coldwater, Mich., Daily Reporter that "with companies merging and refineries shutting down 'we barely have enough refinery capacity to meet our needs ... They drive the price way up to slow the consumption down to meet the gas that's available.'

"He said that results in huge profits for the oil companies. One consumer group

reported last year's 35-percent increase pumped up oil-company profits by a combined 926 percent.

"If you think this year's bad, wait until next year,' Hamilton said."

In California, State Senator Joe Dunn announced hearings on the oil companies' role in driving up prices at the pump, with a special focus on Shell Oil's plan to close its Bakersfield, Calif., refinery. Dunn and U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer said they suspect Shell of "intentionally crimping supplies."

"Is there a supply problem? Yes. But there's a supply problem as a result of a deliberate strategy of the gasoline industry," Dunn charged. (Los Angeles Times, May 18)

### Don't blame OPEC

Since the 1970s, OPEC has been a favorite scapegoat of politicians trying to promote anti-Arab racism and draw attention away from U.S. oil industry profits. After all, Big Oil is a major contributor to both Republicans and Democrats.

A report published on the BBC's web site May 5, headlined "Oil soars despite overproduction," revealed that OPEC countries are already pumping "far above their quotas."

"OPEC cut production at the beginning of April by a million barrels per day (bpd) to 23.5 million, after many of its 11 members complained that the falling dollar outweighed price rises as far as their revenues were concerned," said the BBC. "But according to the organization's president, Purnomo Yusgiantoro, about 1.5 million bpd are still being pumped beyond the quota."

And on May 24, Saudi Arabia agreed to raise oil production by another 800,000 barrels per day. Despite this announcement, prices continued to climb.

U.S. oil monopolies limit the amount of refined oil on the market, knowing that worldwide demand has grown 35 percent since 1991. The Bush administration is a loyal accomplice in this criminal enterprise.

Much of the already limited pool of refined petroleum is being diverted to the U.S. war machine. Iraq sits atop the world's second-largest known oil reserves. But the tenacious Iraqi resistance has so far prevented large-scale resumption of drilling and refining under U.S. control. Millions of barrels must be imported to grease the wheels of the occupation.

Another 120,000 barrels per day are being diverted to the U.S. strategic petroleum reserve. In November 2001 Bush

ordered that the reserve, housed in underground salt caverns along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, be filled to its maximum capacity of 700 million barrels. The reserve is at 659.5 million barrels and growing. (French Press Agency, May 19)

In campaign speeches Kerry said Bush should dip into the strategic petroleum reserve to ease high prices for consumers. Bush rejected that, claiming it "would put America in a dangerous position in the war on terror."

Still, there's nothing to prevent Bush from releasing some oil later in hopes that a temporary price dip could aid his re-election chances.

### Open the books!

Blaming the OPEC countries isn't a solution to high oil and gas prices. Neither is relying on promises by mainstream presidential candidates. Both Republicans and Democrats are beholden to Big Oil.

Oil is a vital energy source needed throughout the world. Yet its refinement and distribution is thoroughly monopolized by a handful of Western—mainly U.S.—companies, who manipulate the market by creating artificial crises to boost profits.

The whole world knows that Big Oil's lust to control Middle Eastern oil is a key factor in the U.S./British war and occupation in Iraq. These companies have also worked tirelessly to sabotage the development of alternative, safe energy sources and undermine environmental protections.

Should such power remain in the hands of the oil monopolies? Shouldn't the working class demand control over this vital resource to benefit all people?

As a start, labor unions and community organizations could demand that the oil companies open their books to an independent investigation. □



LOS ANGELES

## Solidarity with Palestine

Israeli forces killed 45 Palestinians and demolished 67 homes in Gaza's Rafah refugee camp in late May. This latest round of brutal repression did not go unanswered in Los Angeles. Over 200 people gathered for a rally called by Women in Black and the Palestine Aid Society-Los Angeles in front of the Israeli Consulate. During the congested evening commute on Wilshire Blvd. they demanded an end to U.S.-backed repression and the Israeli occupation of Palestine. The progressive forces of Los Angeles are united with the Palestinian people and their heroic struggle for survival.

—Story and photos by Julia La Riva



## WE WANT FREEDOM: A Life in the Black Panther Party

A new book by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal provides the world with an important history of the founding of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in his new book.

Mumia, known to the world as a wrongly convicted political prisoner held for 22 years in Pennsylvania's death row, is exacting and luminous in his history and his analysis of the Black liberation struggle.

The list cost of this book is \$18.00 but at [leftbooks.com](http://leftbooks.com) it's 20% off, only \$13.99. South End Press, 2004, Paperback: 320 pages

For news on Mumia's case go to [Mumia.org](http://Mumia.org) and [Millions4Mumia.org](http://Millions4Mumia.org)

Cover shows a teenaged Mumia in Phila. Black Panther Party office in the early 1970s.



## How to build a low-wage empire

# Bribes, bullying & government subsidies

By Milt Neidenberg

Wal-Mart is today both the world's largest corporation and its largest employer, with more than 1.2 million workers. The Walton family dynasty harkens back to an infamous past. The Waltons are a 21st-century version of the robber barons of the past—the Rockefellers, Morgans, DuPonts and Mellons.

The five Waltons, whose personal assets of \$20.5 billion each total more than \$100 billion for the family, are tied for sixth place in the Forbes ranking of billionaires. Their total wealth is twice that of the Gates family, number one on that list.

Helping them arrive at this pinnacle of wealth is a trail of government decisions and subsidies in their favor that has recently been exposed.

An article in the New York Times of May 24 reports that "Wal-Mart Stores collected well over \$1 billion in state and local government subsidies during its decade-long expansion from a regional discount chain to the world's largest retailer." The article is based on a report by Phillip Mattera, research director of Good Jobs First, who compiled it with financing from the United Food and Commercial Workers union.

Mattera cites numerous abuses inflicted by Wal-Mart as soon as it takes over an area suitable for its retail stores and sprawling distribution centers. "The low wages paid by Wal-Mart and the downward effect that has on wages at other retail operations, its negative effect on small businesses in the communities where it locates and its contribution to urban sprawl and traffic raise serious questions about the value of giving it sizable financial incentives to expand," concluded Mattera.

### Subsidies based on bribes and bullying

Nevertheless, these financial incentives have poured into the mega-company. It has bullied and bribed state governments and municipalities to extract millions in tax relief and other subsidies. Wal-Mart has more than 2,900 stores and 91 distribution centers in the United States. It has received tax refunds, credits and all types of subsidies to finance its expansion.

Tax-exempt bonds? Granted. Low-interest-rate loans? Fine. Politicians gave

this behemoth anything it asked for. They built roads and other infrastructure developments at taxpayers' expense. Whatever Wal-Mart demanded to finance its operations, it got. And where did the funds come from? They were drawn from budgets in crisis.

Of its 91 distribution centers, 84 have received a total of \$624 million in subsidies—for an average of \$7.4 million each. All these arrangements fatten Wal-Mart's profits.

The corporation is hell-bent on bettering its record profits of 2003—\$9.1 billion on revenues of \$256.3 billion.

Wal-Mart exploits both the workers and their communities. It has shifted much of its costs to local and national governments. Its profits come at the expense of services desperately needed by low-paid workers and oppressed communities—like the workers at Wal-Mart. Their wages are so low that they have to seek assistance in the form of food stamps, medical care and affordable housing.

Now, however, the company's argument that it provides jobs and low prices is losing its appeal, although shoppers are attracted to its suburban stores.

### A significant setback

Recently, after spending over \$1 million on a high-priced advertising campaign, the corporation was defeated in a referendum in Inglewood City, Calif., in which it had sought approval to build a 60-acre supercenter. Inglewood is overwhelmingly Black, Latin@ and poor. The company had hoped to open 40 such supercenters in California over the next three to five years.

The defeat of Wal-Mart by a labor-community alliance that included small business groups is an encouraging sign. New forms of resistance to this empire can be mobilized.

Until the Inglewood victory, the United Food and Commercial Workers had been waging its struggle against Wal-Mart almost alone. Since 1990, the union has called numerous rallies and press conferences. Its cassette tapes, Internet sites and chat rooms have enabled Wal-Mart workers to talk to organizers. The union helped employees file complaints about violations of overtime pay, dangerous environments at the work place, and discrimina-

tion against women that led to class-action suits. A grand jury is still investigating Wal-Mart's criminal treatment of undocumented workers.

At best, however, Wal-Mart has had to pay a few paltry fines while it continues its criminal activities and illegal union-bashing.

Though the UFCW has had a few allies in its struggle to unionize the multinational Wal-Mart workforce, it hasn't been able to overcome the resources and political power that the company has arrayed against the union. Not one organizing campaign has been won.

Recently, John Wilhelm, president of the Hotel and Retail Employees union and now head of the recently merged Union of Needleworkers and Industrial Technical Employees, called on AFL-CIO President John Sweeney to galvanize the labor movement to confront Wal-Mart. It's a positive sign and needs to get a hearing—especially at a time when the union movement's financial resources and rank-and-file members are being mobilized to campaign for Democrat John Kerry.

### Wal-Mart benefits from high-tech, low-pay

From ship to shore, from warehouse to distribution center to supercenter, a revolution has occurred in the way goods are now transported and warehoused. From the moment the merchandise leaves the suppliers in giant containers on wheels, it is tagged, barcoded and tracked by computer. From the onshore warehouses to the trucks and trains, through an intermodality process, the containers arrive at the distribution warehouses and then to the sellers of goods. It's called supply chain management, and Wal-Mart is a primary beneficiary of this technology.

These new methods attempt to solve the unsolvable: the capitalist contradiction between supply and demand that leads to overproduction.

Wal-Mart is on a messianic mission, successful up to now, to become the most exploitive corporate leader in the imperialist world. It is unsurpassed in exploiting the service-oriented, multinational workforce, primarily women. Using sheer size, market clout, access to capital and massive advertising campaigns, it is invading vast

sections of the country and the world—not with the intent of building company towns, but of constructing under one roof supercenters averaging 200,000 square feet, the size of more than four football fields.

By slashing its retail prices way below cost upon entering a community, and bludgeoning its suppliers to reduce their costs, Wal-Mart is crushing competitors in groceries, pharmacies and hardware stores, as well as other retailers. It forces its rivals, willing or unwilling, to join it in slashing wages and benefits while searching the globe for sweatshop suppliers.

Unlike the 19th- and 20th-century capitalist dynasties, the Waltons have not set up factories or foundries or steel mills to exploit the workers. That early high-tech industrial revolution, fostered by the development of machinery, made possible the organization of large-scale production. The assembly line was born. It was labeled the Henry Ford revolution and employed millions of workers.

If anything, the Wal-Mart revolution is cutting out jobs while forcing down the wages and working conditions of whole communities.

The acid test for labor is how to break the economic bondage of the 1.1 million Wal-Mart workers. Inglewood is just one example of the growing resistance to letting Wal-Mart build supercenters in urban areas. In Chicago, Wal-Mart has been thwarted in its attempts to invade the city with a supercenter.

The high-tech revolution that has brought low-paid, service-oriented workers—women, undocumented and multinational—into the workforce has fundamentally changed relationships within class society. Now over 1 million workers are saddled by one giant employer. But the Waltons should remember Henry Ford, and what he said to the unorganized auto workers when confronted by an enraged industrial labor movement.

Ford said scornfully that only over his dead body would the union be allowed into his plants. The historic class struggles of the 1930s and the rise of the United Auto Workers proved how wrong he was.

The Waltons may soon face the wrath of this century's multinational, low-paid workers and oppressed communities. □



## Faculty, staff demand new contract

Members of the Professional Staff Congress—800 to 1,000 strong—marched around the building where the Board of Trustees of the City University of New York was meeting on May 24. The PSC, American Federation of Teachers Local 2334, represents 18,000 faculty members, adjunct professors and some technical staff at the City University of New York. Demonstrators demanded a new contract with substantial raises, special payments to the union welfare fund—which provides dental and vision care—and improved working conditions.

—Photo and story G. Dunkel

### Labor group:

## 'End the occupation, bring the troops home!'

Special to Workers World

On May 3 U.S. Labor Against the War, a network of 69 national, regional and local unions and other labor organizations, issued a call for an end to the occupation of Iraq and the return of all U.S. troops to the United States. This is a welcome development in the organized labor movement, and a positive barometer of the anti-war current in that movement.

Citing 743 deaths and 3,600 wounded U.S. troops and the deaths of more than 10,000 Iraqi civilians, the USLAW statement said: "We call for an end now to the U.S. occupation and for all military, political and economic authority to be transferred to the people of Iraq. ... We call upon all public officials and candidates for office to oppose this war and the never-

ending occupation and to support steps that can be taken immediately to end it. ... It is time to acknowledge this tragic mistake and to hold to account Bush and those who prosecuted this disastrous war."

The statement charged: "Every reason Bush gave for going to war—Iraq having weapons of mass destruction, Iraq collaborating with al Qaida and it being an imminent threat to the U.S.—has been proven false. ... Our Government's senseless war and occupation in Iraq have been met by worldwide outrage and have provoked acts of terror in retaliation. In short, our country and the world are not safer and the crisis in Iraq continues to deepen. Rather than a solution to terrorism, the occupation has become the cause of continuing hardship and violence, death and

Continued on page 11

## Audience packs New York meeting

# 'Depleted uranium: Pentagon poison'

By Minnie Bruce Pratt  
New York

Deadly radioactivity is drifting in the sands and fertile fields of Iraq, in rain falling in Europe, in breezes that toss palm trees in Vieques, Puerto Rico, in the water of South Korea—the toxic debris of exploded U.S. depleted uranium (DU) shells.

The International Action Center continued its historic exposé of this terrible danger with a forum in New York City on May 25, "Poison Dust—Another U.S. War Crime: the Use of Radioactive Weapons in the Gulf."

DU is a byproduct of the process used to make nuclear bombs and reactor fuel. Because this metal is 1.8 times denser than lead and burns on impact with steel, bullets and shells made of DU can cut through tank armor like butter.

U.S. tanks, Bradley fighting machines, A-10 attack jets and "Apache" helicopters routinely fire DU rounds. When a DU shell hits a target, as much as 70 percent burns on impact, releasing invisible and insoluble uranium oxide, a radioactive dust that people inhale and ingest.

### 'Metal of Dishonor'

To the political hip-hop of Movement in Motion arts collective chanting "Drop beats, not bombs," 200 people crowded the United Nations Church Center for the meeting on "Poison Dust." The meeting was co-chaired by Naomi Santos of Movement in Motion and IAC co-director Sara Flounders.

Flounders alerted the gathering that over half of the 700,000 veterans of the



Ramsey Clark addresses overflow crowd of 200 on dangers of depleted uranium.

WW PHOTO: JOHN CATALINOTTO

first U.S. invasion of Iraq in 1991 have the chronic illness dubbed "Gulf War Syndrome."

Millions of Iraqis died of preventable diseases from the obliteration of water and health systems by bombing and 12 years of sanctions starting in 1990. More recently, Iraqi doctors began to note an ominous increase in cancer and diseases of the immune systems.

Sharon Eolis, a health care worker who traveled to Iraq in 1998 and 2000, confirmed that both U.S. documents and independent scientists strongly link this pattern of sickness and death to DU.

IAC founder and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark first raised the

issue of DU shortly after the 1991 Gulf War. The IAC has continued to inform the public through its DU Education Project with such publications as "Metal of Dishonor: How the Pentagon Radiates Soldiers and Civilians with DU Weapons."

The project also challenged U.S. government denials of DU's impact in a video, also called "Metal of Dishonor," produced by the People's Video Network. At the meeting Sue Harris of PVN announced development of a new video, "Poison Dust," which will go on tour to military bases and communities. The film is necessary, she said, "because the situation is getting worse."

The U.S. dropped 375 tons of DU on

Iraq during the first Gulf War, and 2,200 tons during the current invasion. The U.S. has also used DU weapons during its assaults on Afghanistan and the former Yugoslavia, in training exercises in Vieques, Okinawa and South Korea, and doubtless in numerous U.S. military testing grounds. Other countries also use DU weapons.

### Clark: 'DU is war against the poor'

Ramsey Clark traced his journey toward understanding the murderous impact of DU on the people of Iraq. He noted that the first signs came two years after heavy U.S. bombing of the desert near Kuwait in 1991. Nomadic Bedouin people, seeking help, began to bring newly born deformed babies into urban hospitals.

In March 2001, Dr. Aws Albait, an Iraqi physician who worked in Baghdad from 1990-1999, said that leukemia and lymphomas in Iraqi children had increased 12-fold, and in adults, six-fold.

Illness and genetic damage is also occurring in the children of U.S. soldiers. Children of male Gulf War veterans are born with twice the usual rate of birth defects. In female veterans, the rate is three times normal, with double the rate of miscarriages.

A study in the April 2003 New Scientist magazine suggests DU toxicity combines synergistically with its radioactivity to produce much more serious effects than either poison alone.

Clark stressed that the impact of DU unfolds over many years, and that the movement must be committed to an

*Continued on page 8*

## Refused to participate in war crimes

# Resisting soldier gets 1-year prison term

By Dustin Langley

On May 21, Staff Sgt. Camilo Mejia was sentenced to one year in prison for refusing to participate in the U.S. war against the Iraqi people.

"What an incredible irony that we're prosecuting soldiers in Iraq for violations of international law and we're prosecuting a soldier here because he refused to do those things," said former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

Following a court martial in Ft. Stewart, Ga., from May 19-21, Mejia, a Nicaraguan immigrant, was sentenced to the maximum penalty of one year in prison, reduction in rank to private and a bad-conduct discharge for refusing to return to Iraq.

Mejia's team of lawyers and experts—including Clark, Todd Ensign of Citizen Soldier, Vietnam-era conscientious objector Louis Font and international law professors Francis Boyle and Jules Lobel—

had hoped to make the trial an indictment of the war.

In the midst of world outrage at U.S. abuses of Iraqi citizens, the defense planned to show how Mejia had spoken out against the torture of prisoners and killing of civilians before they became public.

Months before the appearance of photos from Abu Ghraib prison, Mejia complained to his chain of command about conditions at a detention camp near the Baghdad Airport. There soldiers were directed by unidentified interrogators to "soften up" prisoners using mock executions, sleep deprivation and other forms of abuse.

However, Col. Gary Smith, the judge presiding over the court martial, ruled out all issues relating to the illegality of the war, torture of prisoners and Mejia's conscientious objection, even though military regulations clearly state that a soldier is

obligated to disobey illegal orders.

By denying Mejia's right to argue these points, the judge denied him any possibility of a fair trial.

The Pentagon was determined to make an example of Mejia to stop other soldiers from resisting.

Mejia accused his commanding officer in Iraq, Capt. Tad Warfel, of recklessly endangering the lives of his soldiers to advance his career. Warfel gloated after the trial, saying that the verdict would send a message that "deserters are punished, regardless of their excuses."

SNAFU, the Support Network for an Armed Forces Union, has launched a campaign to support Camilo Mejia, including a letter-writing campaign, an online petition at [www.join-snafu.org](http://www.join-snafu.org), and a June 8 meeting in New York City entitled "Free Camilo Mejia, Put War Criminal Bush on Trial." SNAFU organizers also released a statement calling on other soldiers to fol-

low Mejia's heroic example and refuse to participate in war crimes.

Mejia's mother, Maritzo Castillo, said: "This is a war that has been based on lies. Its main objectives are clearly economic interests that will only benefit a very small but powerful and rich group. For the rest of us, this war has only given us pain, death and disillusionment.

"Nonetheless, people throughout world have opened their eyes before this lie, before this injustice, and it is for this reason that they have come out to support my son and his decision to stop being an instrument of violence to become an instrument of peace."

Mejia's father, Carlos Mejia Godoy, Nicaragua's most prominent leftist singer/songwriter, wrote the line "Let's fight the Yankee, enemy of humanity" in the anthem of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which ruled Nicaragua from 1979 to 1989. □

## Metal of Dishonor: DEPLETED URANIUM

### The Pentagon's Secret Weapon

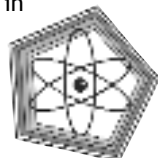
This is a video that gets out the word on the effects of the Pentagon's secret weapon Metal of Dishonor received notice at the 1999 Cinemambiente Film Festival in Turin, Italy. They called it "An in-depth analysis of the use of Depleted Uranium in the 1991 Gulf War."

The video takes you inside the burned out Iraqi tanks destroyed during the Gulf War, and into the hospitals where children are suffering from unknown diseases. It contains interviews with Dr. Helen Caldicott, Dr. Michio Kaku and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

It covers the history of much of the nuclear cycle, from the thousands of exposures among the Marshall Islanders and the Atomic Veterans to the effects of mining on Native reservations in the United States. This video is a must see for an understanding of the true role of the Pentagon in the nuclear age.

50 Minutes, VHS, NTSC, Producer Ellen Andors for Peoples Video Network

List price is \$20., at [leftbooks.com](http://leftbooks.com) it's 15% off, only \$17.



## Metal of Dishonor: DEPLETED URANIUM

### How the Pentagon Radiates Soldiers & Civilians with DU Weapons

A book that reports on the Pentagon's new weapons comprised of Depleted Uranium. Now in its second printing you can read scientists; Gulf War veterans; leaders of environmental, anti-nuclear, anti-military and community movements discuss: the connection of Depleted Uranium to Gulf War Syndrome and a new generation of radioactive conventional weapons. The bizarre Pentagon recycling plans of nuclear waste create a new global threat.

Authors include former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Dr. Michio Kaku, Dr. Helen Caldicott, Dr. Rosalie Bertell, Dr. Jay M. Gould, John Catalinotto, Sara Flounders, Manuel Pino and many others.

List price is \$12.95 but at [leftbooks.com](http://leftbooks.com) it's 15% off, only \$11.00



## Haitians protest on Flag Day

# U.S. Marines preside over massacre

By G. Dunkel

May 18 is Flag Day in Haiti. The holiday marks Jean-Jacques Dessalines' creation of the Haitian flag 201 years ago during the final struggle against the French slave masters. This year it was the occasion for a major outpouring of protest against the Feb. 29 coup that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the ongoing U.S.-French occupation.

In Port-au-Prince, thousands of people gathered in the poor neighborhood of Belair starting at 8 o'clock in the morning. By 9:45 they were marching from the Perpetual Church toward the Champ de Mars, a park in front of the Presidential Palace. They sang "Liberty or death" (Libète ou

lamò), the slogan that Dessalines adopted along with the flag, and chanted "Return our elected president Jean-Bertrand."

Marchers also denounced rampant inflation, cuts in wages, and witch hunts against Aristide supporters by the former military and FRAPH death squad members.

Within a few blocks they met a line of Haitian National Police (PNH) backed up by U.S. Marines with heavy machine guns and armored personnel carriers. The cops fired tear gas and bullets into the air, and then at the protesters. At least one protester, Saintus "Titus" Simpson, was shot in the head and died.

The demonstrators retreated and broke into smaller groups, spreading out to the

poorer sections of the capital. Soon contingents had gathered in Solino, Fort National and Lalue, as well as Belair, and headed again toward the Champ de Mars. The protests continued into the evening, with more casualties.

Marguerite Laurent of the Haitian Lawyers Leadership, citing sources at the scene, said police killed at least four demonstrators. Radio Ginen, a local station in Port-au-Prince, said it had reports of at least nine demonstrators killed.

According to Laurent, "One woman seized the fourth body that fell next to her, refused to give it to the Marines. She removed all her clothes to show she had no weapons while Marines surrounded her at gunpoint as she cursed in Creole,

calling on the revolutionary ancestors, and shouted 'Liberte ou lamo!' She picked up the dead body herself and put it on her bare back, daring the Marines to kill her also while she carried it away.

"Reportedly, the 'blan' [white soldiers] looked at each other, shook their heads and backed off, letting her carry the body, which she wrapped around her naked torso in a huge blue and red Haitian flag."

Haiti Progress newspaper reported some demonstrators started chanting "Sèl solisyon se yon revolisyon" ("The sole solution is a revolution") as the day wore on because it's impossible to celebrate Haiti's Flag Day or have an election under occupation.

U.S. Marines and the PNH claimed this was an illegal demonstration. But protest organizers from Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas party had a sealed and dated permit.

The role of the U.S. Marines was key. A march participant said, "It's unbelievable how the U.S. Marines stood in the background sometimes as the disbanded soldiers and FRAPH soldiers, now in the police, slaughtered the marchers. If they [the Marines] weren't there, the people would take down the hated soldiers and take back their country."

Laurent said that many marchers believed that the violent arrest of popular singer and Aristide supporter Sò Ann (Annette Auguste) in the early hours of May 10 was calculated to stop the May 18 march from taking place.

At 12:30 a.m., a Special Forces squad of approximately 20 U.S. Marines executed a military assault on the home of this 69-year-old grandmother, who just left the hospital. All 11 people in the house, including Sò Ann's 5-year-old grandchild, were hooded, handcuffed and forced to lie on the ground while Marines ransacked the house. □

## NEW YORK

### Haitians denounce singer's arrest

On May 24, Haitian activists and their supporters demonstrated outside the office of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights in New York. The NCHR, which protesters denounced as a "U.S. State Department human rights contractor," refused to speak out against the recent arrest of popular Haitian singer and Aristide supporter Annette Auguste (So' Anne).

The protesters chanted, "National Coalition: puppets!"

So' Anne's family, including a 5-year-old, were abused by U.S. Marines during the arrest. Rather than protest this injustice, the NCHR chimed in with its own flimsy charges against So' Anne.

In response, Mario Dupuy, President Aristide's minister of communications, and leaders of the Steel Workers Local 8751 in Boston formed the New England Human Rights Organization for Haiti.

In addition to demanding So' Anne's immediate release, the organization is promoting the June 5 march on Washington against the occupations of Haiti and Iraq.

The New York protest was called by the Coalition to Resist the February 29th Coup d'Etat in Haiti. For more information, call (718) 434-8100.

—Johnnie Stevens & Sara Catalinotto



PHOTO: KIM IVES/HAITI PROGRESS

## LOS ANGELES

### 'U.S., France out of Haiti'

A spirited event in Los Angeles on May 18 called on the U.S. and France to get out of Haiti. The protest, organized by the Coalition in Solidarity with Haiti, was held at the Federal Building to commemorate Haitian Flag Day.

TransAfrica Forum called for May 18 to be a national day of action for Haiti and asked other organizations to sponsor events around the nation. The International Action Center participated in the demonstration.

—John Parker



WW PHOTO: J. LA RIVA



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## It's stuck in their craw

# Unable to swallow Iraq, warhawks are in crisis

By Fred Goldstein

The hollowness and familiarity of both George W. Bush's May 24 televised speech and the administration's United Nations resolution outlining how the administration is going to bring "independence" to Iraq are a harsh reminder to the ruling class that U.S. imperialism has a deep crisis with its Iraq adventure.

The unspoken criticism that they all know but are reluctant to state is that a political speech with a "five-point plan" and a UN resolution promising sovereignty are not going to stop the Iraqi resistance or ease Washington's situation as a hated occupier.

Bush talked about turning over "sovereignty" to Iraq in one breath and in the other declared that the U.S. would keep 138,000 troops there and send more if necessary. His speech coincided with the presentation of a draft resolution for negotiations among the UN Security Council members that left the U.S. military in charge after "sovereignty," with a "review" after a year.

What was most notable about the negotiations among Washington, Berlin, Paris and Moscow over the draft resolution and the fate of Iraq is that they took place without the presence or input of any Iraqis. No one from the puppet Governing Council was there. Nor were there any other potential leaders of the new "sovereign" regime being negotiated by UN representative Lakhdar Brahimi and his little-publicized supervisor, Robert Blackwell—Bush's envoy to Iraq.

This entire affair was such an embarrassment that a conservative backer of the war, the London Economist, on May 25 wrote a scathing editorial entitled, "A sovereign Iraq, full of foreign troops."

It said: "Mr. Bush stressed that John Negroponte, who will be America's first ambassador to post-Saddam Iraq, will run an embassy with the same purpose as any other: 'to assure good relations with a sovereign nation.' But of course the new American embassy will not be like any other—it will be the largest in the world, sitting in a country where America will ... maintain 138,000 troops. (The Iraqi army envisioned by Mr. Bush, by contrast, is to have 35,000.) The embassy will also have branch offices around Iraq for advising on economic projects that will take American money but be run by Iraqis."

In short, the Bush speech and the UN proposal have outlined the plan for a subordinate colonial regime. And now the rival imperialists are negotiating over how to break Washington's military, political and economic stranglehold on Iraq.

### 'Sovereignty' in French eyes

The French imperialists have been demanding that Iraq have "true sovereignty" before they sign on. The French have declared that the U.S. resolution needs "improving."

French Foreign Minister Michel Barnier explained what type of "sovereignty" and "improving" they had in mind. The Financial Times of London on May 24 cited an interview by Barnier with Le Figaro in which he "wanted to know whether the proposed transfer of sovereignty concerned 'the power to run the economy, to manage the police and justice systems or the capacity to exploit natural resources.'"

The French imperialists are not concerned with whether the Iraqis are free of foreign colonial armies and domination and have the right to kick them out. On the contrary, they are concerned with whether or not the new puppet regime will be "sovereign" enough to resist total U.S. domination and return the French oil concessions. Will it have the power to sign contracts to open up Iraq to French transnational corporations?

The German and Russian capitalists have the same predatory concerns about the future of Iraq. And all the jockeying that will take place around the resolution has the division of influence in Iraq at the bottom.

### Whistling past the graveyard

But what is demoralizing a growing section of the U.S. ruling class, and its military leaders, is the stark fact that the Bush administration is negotiating over how to

dispose of something that they do not possess—a subdued and governable colony.

The administration is having a crisis over transferring "sovereignty" to an Iraqi administration whose members cannot even travel in Iraq without being under heavy guard for fear of being assassinated as traitors and tools of the occupation.

The Bush speech had all the earmarks of whistling through the graveyard.

This is reflected in the growing heat on the Bush administration and the Pentagon from a wide variety of sources.

CBS News, together with Seymour Hersh of the New Yorker magazine, broke the prison torture scandal. The Washington Post quickly followed suit with news of videos and more pictures of torture.

The Post then broke the sensational story that Lt. Gen. Ricardo S. Sanchez, commander of ground forces in Iraq,

knew all about the torture and was present at torture sessions. The May 26 New York Times has come out with a front-page story on widespread abuse based on an "obtained" document.

Much of this reporting is based on photos, documents and transcripts that could only be obtained through connections with factions in the military and published with their consent and encouragement. Despite the sensational leaks, there have been no retaliatory charges over "breaching security" or revealing confidential information. The ruling class media and the military are treating all these exposures as legitimate, despite the fact that they injure the reputation of the military and the mission in Iraq.

The media, which were so obsequious in their deference to the Pentagon in the run-up to and during the war, have now

*Continued on page 10*



## Sat. June 5

**Washington, DC**  
**Gather 12 noon • White House**  
**March to Rumsfeld's House**

**Int'l Day of Emergency Protests:**  
**U.S. OUT OF IRAQ**  
**Bring the Troops**  
**Home Now**

- All Foreign Troops OUT of Iraq – End the torture, the killing, the occupation

**Volunteers Needed!**  
**Buses from across the U.S.!**

- U.S. Hands Off Haiti, Korea, Afghanistan, Philippines, Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela...

- End the Colonial Occupation of Palestine – Support the Right to Return

June 5 is the anniversary of the 1967 war in which Israel conquered the West Bank & Gaza

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# Milosevic defense to open June 22 at NATO's court

By John Catalinotto

Former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic will open his defense against war crimes charges at the NATO-founded International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague on June 22.

Despite serious health problems President Milosevic, who defended himself ably while cross-examining the 300 witnesses his enemies called during two years of testimony, will continue to be his own trial lawyer during the defense. His main goal has been to expose both the kangaroo court and the imperialist attack on his country during the 1991-1999 period examined during the prosecution case.

The media stopped major coverage of this trial once Milosevic began successfully exposing the criminal U.S. and West European aggression against his country.

Some 1,631 names appear on the

defense's witness list, including U.S. President Bill Clinton, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and UN Ambassador Richard Holbrooke from the U.S. administration that launched the destructive 1999 war on Yugoslavia.

The latest NATO offensive against Milosevic and Serbian nationalist prisoner Vojislav Seselj included reversing a law the Serbian parliament passed earlier this year providing limited funds to Serb defendants. This law was a rebuke to the Western imperialists who now occupy four of the six republics of the former Yugoslavia and have taken over Serbian industry, banking and media.

While the 10,000 Euros per month (\$12,000) the law provided is inadequate for a complex defense such as Milosevic's, it now has been stopped completely by a legal maneuver. Under pressure from Western-owned media and non-governmental organizations, judges of the Constitutional Court of Serbia suspended

the law.

Milosevic aide Vladimir Krsljanin is appealing to supporters of the former president's defense to continue to donate funds. Without such support, Krsljanin says, it will be impossible for legal assistants to remain in The Hague, interview potential witnesses, and help the president prepare his defense.

Milosevic's defense got backing in the final statement of the World Peace Congress, held in Athens, Greece, May 6-9. Around 150 delegates representing 60 member-organizations from more than 50 countries took part. The statement, which opposes the U.S. occupation of Iraq, "preemptive war" policy, and aggression against Cuba and other countries,

includes this about Yugoslavia:

"The WPC expresses its solidarity with the peoples of Yugoslavia in their struggle against the consequences of the barbarous NATO aggression, which led to the occupation of part of Serbian territory, Kosovo, and its transformation into a NATO protectorate. The so-called Hague Tribunal is one example of the manipulation of truth and an attempt to legitimize the aggression and other crimes of the USA and NATO."

Lord Iain Bonomy from Scotland was named to join the three-judge panel hearing Milosevic's case at the ICTY. He replaces the senior judge, Richard May, who resigned earlier this year for unexplained health reasons. □

## Chavez announces big steps forward for Venezuela

Continued from page 1

one will allow, after careful review, the removal from the courts of counter-revolutionary elements who are still part of the justice system and are sabotaging the Bolivarian process.

The strongest call was for forming a popular army to defend the revolution as part of the three lines of action of a newly created "Comprehensive National Defense" strategy.

Saying that "the time has come to revolutionize the national security and defense, the time to reconceptualize and reorient," Chávez quoted Mao Zedong: "The people are to the army, what the water is to the fish." He added that "like the fish in the water, the Bolivarian soldiers should be together with the people."

He went on to say, "I call on all the Venezuelan people to incorporate themselves into the national defense, the territorial defense, the defense of the national sovereignty; and of course I not only make a symbolic call to the people; no, as head of the state, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces I have already begun to give the orders to open the channels, in order to open the massive popular participation into an integrated national defense."

The FAN has been ordered to select and summon retired military professionals as part of the active reserve to "incorporate them into the tasks for popular organization for the defense of the country in each district, in each ravine, in each island, in each field, in each university, in each factory, in each jungle, in each place where there is a group of patriots, there they must be organizing themselves."

Explaining how this has already begun, Chávez said: "For example, in old Tacagua, I found one day, when I was there, a gentleman who came with his family to greet me, and he said to me: 'My Commander, how are you?' He turns out to be a retired sergeant of the National Guard. I told him: 'Compañero, look throughout all this ravine for all the reservists, [and] in the first place organize a squad, organize a company, organize a battalion, make the list in a notebook.' A computer is not necessary because sometimes we are stuck with this technology. Simón Bolívar organized an army without

computers and airplanes."

The National Defense Strategy's other two lines of action are: strengthening the military by increasing the number of troops nationally, for which Chávez has already assigned 20 thousand million bolívares (approximately \$1 billion U.S.) for the FAN and the National Guard, and weeding out counter-revolutionary elements in the armed forces.

In a display of compassion and understanding of the roots of the problem in Colombia, Chávez mentioned that some of the paramilitary forces were children who had been forced into the ranks of the paras by extreme poverty and lack of opportunities in their own country. He said these children are not in a military prison like the adults arrested, and that they will be returned to their parents. He added that after consultation with the National Council for the Defense of Children and Adolescents' Rights, it had been decided that these children could stay in Venezuela if they wish to, and receive free education in an effort to save their futures.

The Bolivarian Revolution is at a crossroads, with all the elements, particularly the strength of the peoples' commitment to it, in place. However, U.S. imperialism is fiercely advancing with plans to destroy it. As Chávez himself recently said, it is very strong but not yet irreversible, as the Cuban Revolution is.

Venezuela, along with Cuba, is a beacon to all the dispossessed masses in Latin America and the Caribbean who are rising up for the first time in considerable unison, realizing that U.S. imperialism and its "free trade" will never be the answer to their needs and their misery. On the contrary, it is the health care, education and development of employment offered by these revolutions that give hope to the millions of people in deep poverty, not only in the region but worldwide.

This is a huge threat to the bourgeoisie. They will not let it go on voluntarily. It is an urgent task for the people of the United States to not only offer unconditional solidarity to the Bolivarian Revolution, but to actively organize here and demand as loudly and clearly as possible from the U.S. government: USA, hands off Venezuela! □

## 'Depleted uranium: Pentagon poison'

Continued from page 5

equally long struggle: "We have to reach out, be unified, with every ounce of energy. This is a war against the poor with the U.S. military there only to protect and increase the wealth of the few."

### 'A huge catastrophe'

Juan Gonzalez, president of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists and a co-producer of the "Democracy Now!" radio show, is currently running a series of columns on DU in the New York Daily News. He acknowledged that he was standing on the shoulders of the IAC and other activists, saying: "A huge, huge catastrophe has been visited upon the planet by use of these weapons and the spread of low-level radiation."

Gonzalez broke the story on DU after the mother of a U.S. soldier on leave from Iraq came to him for help. Her son, serving with a New York State National Guard unit, was suffering from serious respiratory problems—and being forced to return to combat. The mother added that many other members of his unit in Iraq were also so sick with high temperatures, kidney ailments and respiratory problems that they'd been sent home to Fort Dix.

Gonzalez saw a connection to the effects of DU, and arranged for independent testing of the soldiers. Of nine tested, four were absolutely positive for DU contamination, and three were probable.

Denied testing at Walter Reed Military Hospital, they were examined in a German clinic under the supervision of Dr. Asaf Durakovic, professor of radiology and nuclear medicine at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and a colonel in the U.S. Army Reserves. Dr. Durakovic, who is the Veterans Administration's nuclear-medicine expert, has characterized DU as a "threat to humanity."

DU is the latest manifestation of the dangerous low-level radiation that is a byproduct of U.S. military use of nuclear weapons. Gonzalez cited a January 2000 federal report on occupational sickness of Department of Energy personnel that documented 50 years of deliberate government exposure of military and civilian personnel to radiation.

A 1990 report on the effects of DU, from the U.S. Army Armaments, Munitions and Chemical Command, was clear: "[L]ong term effects of low doses [of DU] have been implicated in cancer ... There is no dose so low that the probability of effect is zero."

Gonzalez was emphatic: "These weapons have to be eliminated or the whole planet will be contaminated."

### Resisting war crimes

Navy veteran Dustin Langley of SNAFU (Support Network for an Armed Forces Union) stated that DU was just one more crime of the U.S. against its own soldiers, in a line stretching back to exposing troops to atomic testing during the Cold War and Agent Orange in Vietnam.

He described how soldiers—working people forced to enlist by the "poverty draft"—come home with contaminated equipment, store it in the garage or laundry room, and sicken their own families. "DU doesn't wash off with Tide," he said.

Langley urged the crowd to join the IAC and SNAFU in turning out for the June 5 March on Washington to end the U.S. occupation of Iraq, Palestine, Haiti, the Philippines, Korea and everywhere. He indicted the Bush administration as a regime that is "stockpiling weapons of mass destruction, using them against its own people, and funding a worldwide network of terrorism" through U.S. military aggression. But by "regime change," he said, he didn't mean the Democrats or Ralph Nader's campaign.

The solution? "A global mass movement—a multinational, multi-gendered anti-war movement that will shock and awe the war-makers in Washington."

For inspiration, he pointed to the heroic resistance in Falluja and to the growing number of U.S. soldiers who refuse to commit war crimes, like Marine Corps resister Stephen Funk and Staff Sgt. Camilo Mejia, a Nicaraguan immigrant sentenced on May 21 to a year's imprisonment. Mejia would not return to his unit in Iraq, saying, "This is an oil-driven war."

More inspiration for resistance came from Frank Velgara of the Vieques Support Campaign, who told how on May 3, 2003, a decades-long struggle by determined Puerto Rican activists shut down the U.S. Navy bombing range in Vieques, a "victory against the most powerful military in the world."

Kadouri al-Kaysi, an International Action Center member from Basra, Iraq, seconded that determination, focusing the evening on action: "Iraqis want the U.S. out of Iraq. The fight is still going on, and they will never give up. Most important is to come to Washington on June 5 to say to the Iraqis: We are with you, not with the U.S. government!" □



## Resist government crackdown

# Immigrant workers win support of Korean students, labor

By Deirdre Griswold  
Seoul, South Korea

Rolled-up sleeping bags and duffles line the walls. Hanging neatly above them are sweatshirts and other items of clothing. In typical Korean style, visitors take off their shoes at the door and step up to enter the long, narrow temporary dormitories where 100 immigrant workers have been living for six months, since South Korea began rounding up "guest workers" last Nov. 15 and deporting them.

The workers are camped out on the grounds of Myeongdong Cathedral, a place where labor leaders and others facing persecution have taken refuge in recent years. Slogans and images of resistance are painted along the outside walls of their sleeping quarters, where people passing by on the busy streets of this city can easily see them.

Sitting cross-legged on the spotless wooden floor of the barracks, several of the workers living there explain the situation they are in.

"They are treating us like criminals," says Masoom, a young man from Bangladesh who has lived and worked in South Korea for eight years. "The police use nylon nets, handcuffs and stun guns to catch us." Masoom is a member of the Equality Trade Union—Migrants Branch.

He explains that workers from 97 different countries live in South Korea today. They come from all over the world—Asia, Africa, Latin America and areas of the former Soviet Union—but most are from South Asia. One hundred young people from Bangladesh, the Philippines, Indonesia and Nepal are sharing these sleeping quarters. An additional 100 from Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar have taken asylum at another group of temporary buildings on the cathedral's grounds.

### Vast migration of workers

Korean society has been very homogeneous until recently. But the shift of capital all over the globe has forced hundreds of millions of people to migrate in search of work. South Korea has gone through a rapid industrialization geared to an import-export economy. As Korean workers have fought hard for better wages and working conditions, Korean bosses have looked abroad for cheaper labor. A "guest worker" program sought out young people from less developed countries and promised them an opportunity to work and study in South Korea.

"Last July, the parliament passed a law setting up the Employment Permit System," says Masoom. "It has caused a lot of problems for migrant workers. Big and small companies have been bringing foreign workers here as 'industrial trainees.' They are supposed to work four hours a day and study four hours. But most have to work more than 12 hours a day. When you complain that this violates the protections of the International Labor Organization, the owners say, 'You are not laborers, you are students, you're not eligible.'"

"Also, under the EPS, you can stay here for four years. If you want to continue to work here, you have to leave and then come back again. We are paid low wages and can't afford this. If you have stayed more than four years, they will deport you."

Another Bangladeshi, Manik, joins the conversation. "You can't demand a raise,

that depends on the employer. If the employer is angry or not satisfied with you, you must leave. The only way you can voluntarily change your job is if the company goes bankrupt or there's an accident, and then you must register the change with the Ministry of Labor. If it can't find you another job in three months, you must leave the country."

Last Nov. 15 was the government deadline for immigrant workers to register for work permits under the new law. Anyone who had been in the country for more than four years was not eligible and was supposed to leave. At that time, the South Korean government estimated there were 230,000 foreign workers in the country. An estimated 120,000 did not or could not comply with the new law.

The deadline created a crisis for the immigrant community. The Korean media reported that employers were taking advantage of impending expulsions to withhold some \$2.6 million in wages owed to 1,460 workers.

In the week that the EPS went into effect, two immigrant workers facing deportation committed suicide. A 31-year-old worker from Sri Lanka jumped in front of a subway train and a Bangladeshi hanged himself in a factory.

This led to organizing and large protests by both immigrants and Koreans. Masoom recalls that many Korean students, workers from the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, and political groups—the Korean Democratic Labor Party and the Socialist Party—came to their support.

Some of the immigrants went on a month-long hunger strike, which stimulated more solidarity struggles. But the police raided the hunger strikers' shelters and sent them back home.

One of those deported was a leading organizer of the Equality Trade Union, Samar Thapa. The South Korean authorities dubbed him a "terrorist"—a label indignantly rejected by those who know him—and sent him back to Nepal, which is in the middle of a civil war. The KCTU sent a delegation to Nepal to get assurances that he would not be mistreated. "He should have been able to receive political asylum here because of the situation in his country. Instead, he was deported," says Manik.

Despite the harsh treatment by the authorities, more people are coming to South Korea looking for work. The newspaper JoongAng Daily reported on April 25 that "The Labor Ministry estimates that there were around 400,000 migrant workers in Korea at the beginning of this year, most of them from China and Southeast Asia, and about 35 percent of them here illegally."

The immigrants and the progressive movement are demanding that the South Korean government stop its repression of immigrant workers. Kim Jae-geun, secretary general of the Ansan Migrant Shelter, says, "Following the start of the government's deportation policy, the number of illegal workers has markedly increased. Instead of driving out the foreign workers already here who are familiar with Korea and have good skills, the government should grant them legal



From left, Deirdre Griswold speaks with Manik and Masoom of the Equality Trade Union—Migrants Branch.

PHOTO: KOREAN TRUTH COMMISSION

status. Not only are the government policies ineffective, they are provoking various human rights infringements against migrant workers. This must stop immediately," he said. (Korea Times, May 6)

### Suicides and militant resistance

The Ansan Migrant Shelter keeps a tally of suicides since the EPS went into effect. The number had risen to 11 dead by the beginning of May.

The Korea Times article described two recent deaths:

"Last week, a Korean-Chinese industrial trainee committed suicide by jumping in front of a subway train in Taegu.

"The 34-year-old woman was reportedly suffering from major stress after her employer continued to withhold her wages, taking advantage of the fact that she would face becoming an illegal alien if he refused to extend her contract.

"I want to go home, but my boss does not pay me money. The Labor Ministry was no help.... I cannot go home because I have no money. There is no solution, so I choose death," read the suicide note she left behind.

"On April 16, a female Mongolian worker also flung herself in front of a subway train in Ansan, Kyonggi Province. She was sent to a nearby hospital for treatment but died the following day, leaving behind a bill for 8 million won in medical and funeral fees which her family has no way of paying.

"The Ansan Migrant Shelter, a civic group advocating the rights of foreign workers, said that the worker had experienced insulting remarks at her former workplace and was extremely distressed

ahead of the government's intensive crackdown on illegal workers."

Masoom says that the Chinese woman worker who committed suicide in Taegu had not been paid in three months.

### So different yet so much in common

The migrant workers in South Korea are but one detachment of a huge global army of people who are having to migrate in search of work. The vast majority come from countries that have been pillaged and oppressed by colonial powers and are still dominated by the wealthy transnational corporations and banks of the imperialist world. Especially since the recent spurt of capitalist globalization, their lives have fallen apart.

They come from different climates, geographies, customs, languages and religions. But they are all workers, and they are sharing experiences in their struggle against a common oppression.

Workers from Indonesia—where the movement is still recovering from a U.S.-engineered military takeover in 1965 that led to the massacre of a million communists, progressives and nationalists—are sharing their ideas with workers from the Philippines, which became a virtual U.S. colony after the 1898 Spanish-American War. Workers from China, where the growth of the market has displaced millions who had depended on state-owned industry, are comparing notes with workers from Nepal, where the right-wing monarchy is shaken by both a Maoist guerrilla movement in the countryside and a pro-democracy struggle in the cities.

Immigrant workers are adding to the ferment going on among Korean youth, who themselves are worried there will be no jobs when they get out of school and have been militantly opposing the long-term U.S. occupation of their country.

Immigrant workers get low wages but many are computer savvy and politically conscious. The web site of the Equality Trade Union—Migrants Branch has pages in many languages. These young workers post their thoughts on what Karl Marx meant by the difference between socialism and communism, where the next protest will be held, how to get the release of their comrades from detention centers.

Never has the slogan "Workers and oppressed of all countries, unite!" been more relevant than today. □



Korean students and unionists socialize with immigrant workers.

PHOTO: EQUALITY TRADE UNION



# Our grief, their opportunity

New York's Sept. 11 hearings reawoke the political atmosphere of September 2001. Their supposed aim was to explore what went wrong with the rescue effort at the World Trade Center and how to improve such efforts in future disasters. But their side effect was to arouse both feelings of grief and awareness of how ruling circles manipulated this grief.

There are still many unanswered questions about the collapse of the giant buildings and the loss of life. But the political impact is easier to sort out. The government and media used the grief, fear and anger people felt to mobilize for endless war abroad and repression at home.

From the beginning there was a spark of resistance to this war drive. In New York beginning the day after the attack, young people gathered in Union Square Park to express this feeling. They put up the pictures of the dead—but they said, "No revenge, no war." And they asked the big question: "Why?"

Why indeed had U.S. foreign policy—its imperialist intervention on every level from military to economic to cultural, its support for the murderous Israeli government—aroused such strong feelings of resentment throughout the region that U.S. residents were now at risk? While this question was explored, the more politically aware section of the U.S. population wanted no vengeance in their name. Their slogan: "Our grief is not a cry for war."

Riding roughshod over that feeling like an out-of-control tank driver, the Bush administration launched a war on Afghanistan. It unleashed a wave of repression on Middle Eastern and South Asian immigrants. And it began plotting an assault on Iraq. The administration saw Sept. 11 as a golden opportunity to carry out its plans for a U.S. conquest of the world.

Right now the Bush administration, especially the "neo-con" grouping that from the start aimed to invade Iraq,

has come under increasing attack from within ruling-class circles. Elements in the Pentagon itself like Gen. Anthony Zinni, sections of the Democratic Party, and some of the most powerful media are criticizing Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and Bush himself for creating what they now see as a disaster for U.S. imperialist interests.

But the workers and oppressed people who are paying for the Bush gang's crimes should never forget the entire U.S. ruling class's criminal role in the days after Sept. 11. With exceptions you can count on one hand—indeed only Reps. Cynthia McKinney and Barbara Lee come to mind—no politician from either party dared to challenge them. Most cheered them on. The big media were unanimous behind the wars, first on Afghanistan and then on Iraq, when they thought there would be easy victories. The owners saw themselves growing ever richer.

Pentagon generals like Zinni and Eric Shinseki were all for the war on Afghanistan. Apparently they had doubts that Rumsfeld's "shock and awe" would work in Iraq, and with good reason. But if they spoke up behind closed doors, they certainly didn't do anything to support those millions of workers around the world and in the United States who protested to stop the war. These generals were loyal servants of the billionaires, bankers and oil magnates who rule U.S. capitalist society, just as the Bush gang was. If they criticize Bush and Rumsfeld now, it's because they realize that the Iraqi resistance, with blood and courage, has exposed the U.S. policy as a criminal occupation. And they believe that the Iraqi people will sooner or later smash a unilateral U.S. occupation.

The main lesson of the Sept. 11 hearings is that the entire U.S. ruling class is responsible for the criminal wars on Iraq and Afghanistan, and can't be trusted to bring them to an end. □



## Unable to swallow Iraq, warhawks are in crisis

Continued from page 7

become brave warriors against Rumsfeld and his allies in the military. The only explanation is that the exposures have the backing of a significant section of the military and increasingly disillusioned sections of the foreign policy establishment of U.S. imperialism. The media is often regarded as the "fourth arm of the capitalist state." And, like other arms of the state, it does not operate independently of the ruling class.

### Staying the course 'over Niagara Falls'

The latest and most open expression of the split within the military has surfaced with the publication of a book by retired Marine Corps Gen. Anthony Zinni. It is co-written with novelist Tom Clancy and is called "Battle Ready."

Zinni is a four-star general. He was head of Central Command, the post now held by Gen. John Abizaid. In that capacity Zinni developed a war plan for Iraq.

He was also Bush's special envoy to the Middle East after the Afghanistan war. He was sent on a mission to the Middle East after the Ariel Sharon government in Israel took the cue from Washington's war to open up an offensive against the Palestinian National Authority.

Zinni's mission, carried out on behalf of Secretary of State Colin Powell, was sabotaged before his plane even touched down when Sharon assassinated a leader of Hamas, probably with the connivance or consent of the Rumsfeld-Wolfowitz grouping.

### Zinni: 'It's been a failure'

CBS News broadcast a report on "60 Minutes" by Steve Croft on May 23 that contained the following commentary by Zinni: "There has been poor strategic thinking in this. There has been poor operational planning and execution on the ground. And to think that we are going to 'stay the course,' the course is headed over Niagara Falls. I think it's time to change course a little bit, or at least to hold somebody responsible for putting you on this course. Because it's been a failure."

In the book, Zinni makes strong charges of "dereliction of duty," "negligence" and "irresponsibility," among other things. But the bottom line, according to Croft, is that "Zinni believes this was a war the generals didn't want—but it was a war the civilians wanted." By civilians he means Bush, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and their collaborators.

"I can't speak for all generals, certainly," said Zinni. "But I know we felt that this situation was contained. Saddam was effectively contained," he said, referring to the

pre-war effectiveness of sanctions and no-fly zones. He echoed the demand of the Powell faction that you only enter battle with "overwhelming force."

Croft states that Zinni "wasn't the only former military leader with doubts about the invasion of Iraq. Former General and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, former Centcom Commander Norman Schwarzkopf [commander of the first Iraq war in 1991], former NATO Commander Wesley Clark [commander of the Yugoslav war in 1999], and former Army Chief of Staff Eric Shinseki all voiced their reservations."

This grouping was opposed to the war on purely strategic grounds. They feel that the neo-conservative ideologues in the Bush administration launched an adventure strictly to try out and demonstrate their doctrinaire political/military view of how to conquer the world and how to secure the Middle East for U.S. imperialism.

The result, as they see it, has been a disaster. It has sullied the U.S. military, while the political reputation of U.S imperialism has sunk to new lows around the world.

### Military view of 'multilateralism'

When asked what he would do now, Zinni said: "Well, it's been evident from the beginning what the course is. We should have gotten this UN resolution from the beginning. What does it take to sit down with the members of the Security Council, the permanent members, and find out what it takes.

"What is it they want to get this resolution? Do they want a say in political reconstruction? Do they want a piece of the pie economically? If that's the cost, fine. What they're gonna pay for up front is boots on the ground and involvement in sharing the burden."

This is the candid military view of "multilateralism." Share the loot in return for money and troops for cannon fodder.

The Bush group refused to share the oil, the contracts, the prospects of plunder and exploitation that would follow the recolonization of Iraq. This is the hubris of Bush and Rumsfeld's imperialist "unilateralism."

While Zinni may have been opposed to the war in the first place, he commits the same fundamental error in strategic thought that the Bush administration committed in relation to the prospects of waging war, carrying out an occupation and subduing Iraq. He underestimates the Iraqi masses, their unquenchable desire to be free of colonial domination and their all-around capability to mount a national resistance, even though it is fragmented.

All colonizers and imperialists have looked at their failure to crush wars of liberation and national resistance move-



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## Pride & struggle a century ago

# Rise of German Homosexual Emancipation Movement

By Leslie Feinberg

Winds of change will fill the banners of Lesbian Gay Bi Trans Pride this June, lifting them to new heights.

After decades of fierce and unrelenting struggle, same-sex love has been effectively decriminalized and many gains have been won. Organizing, rolling civil disobedience has helped push back state denial of equal rights of same-sex couples—a form of institutionalized discrimination that is a pillar of class society.

Millions of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals and trans people across the United States will take to the streets in Pride events in cities and towns this June, as they do each year to recall and honor the 1969 Stonewall uprising against police repression. And millions of people of all nationalities, sexualities, genders and sexes will line the streets to applaud and cheer these celebrations of individual courage and collective struggle.

The 1969 rebellion in New York's Greenwich Village was led by the most oppressed of the LGBT communities—people of color, teenagers, transgender and transsexual, homeless, impoverished and so marginalized in the work force that prostitution was the only source of income for many.

The uprising was the spark that ignited a large-scale movement. It galvanized quantitative fighting back into qualitative mass resistance.

It did not develop in social isolation. The Stonewall Rebellion—which marked the birth of what became the modern LGBT movement—rose in the wake of social upheaval against imperialist war and rampant racist repression.

Marchers will draw on the lessons of how the left wing of early gay liberation found its way into the anti-war movement, took part in and defended the national liberation struggles, helped develop women's liberation, and took part in labor battles from the shop floor to organizing in support of the Chicano farm workers' union drive.

If they look to accurate historical accounts, today's activists will also find that the young gay liberation movement received support from the most revolutionary sectors of the political left wing.

More than three decades later, revisiting this dynamic historical period of struggle is an activist contribution to today's movement.

But it is less known to many today that the Stonewall Rebellion launched the second—not the first—mass movement for LGBT liberation.

The first great wave of struggle to demand sexual and gender emancipation had taken place from 1869 to 1935. It began in Germany. It was a dynamic, expanding movement that grew to be international. And it left its mark on other social and political movements, as well as literature and the arts.

The history of the struggle in that period, as well, is rich with lessons.

### Why not in France?

Why did the movement appear in Germany? And why in that epoch?

It's impossible to glean a broad understanding without examining the social and economic soil in which the German movement for sexual and gender emancipation was rooted.

The widespread, murderous counter-revolutionary pogroms against women, transgender expression and same-sex love carried out by the Catholic and early Protestant hierarchies had subsided as the Industrial Revolution began sweeping away the kingdoms of Europe.

The momentous revolution in France at the end of the 18th century—in which the downtrodden and disenfranchised of the cities, including many women, played a vitally important part—had uprooted the vestiges of the feudal power of the kings and the Catholic Church.

The French Revolution established a legal code, Napoleonic Code, which removed homosexual acts from the list of criminal offenses. Of course, state and church bias and demonization were not eradicated by formally removing the laws. Variations of sexuality, gender and sex continued to be subject to a political policy of divide and conquer. And a class-divided economy itself continued to pit segments of the work force against each other.

But the Napoleonic Code was the enlightened act of a young capitalist class that saw its role as righting the wrongs of feudal backwardness. And this decriminalizing of homosexual acts had far-reach-

ing effects on other European nations.

Why did the French Revolution remove anti-homosexual statutes while the capitalist revolutions in England and the United States did not?

The French Revolution was later, and more thorough, for sure. But the French capitalist class also had to battle the powerful and tenacious Catholic Church and its ideology. That may have impelled the revolutionists to have to carry out a more thorough “cleansing” of the Church's “moral” authority than in the other countries.

So why didn't a sexual liberation movement arise in France? Why in Germany?

Because anti-gay repression was much stronger in Germany.

### Prussian expansion set stage for battle

Germany in the late 1800s had a powerful industrial base. But it was weakened by the remaining constraints of feudalism. Germany had few colonies as a result.

Other European powers were colonizing the world, plundering from Africa to Australia. Asia and Africa were conquered by the British, French, Dutch and Belgian imperialist powers.

In many of these cultures, women still enjoyed significant societal rights; variance in sex, gender and sexuality were accepted and respected. But with bullets and bibles, the imperial patriarchs of wealth at the pinnacle of capital's expanding power conquered militarily and ideologically with their cultural values and property relations.

In North America, the fierce clash between the expansion of slavery and the expansion of Northern industrial capital was about to break out in the bloodiest battle of the 19th century—the Civil War. The victory of the North would set the stage for U.S. capital to begin its merciless globalization in search of greater profits.

But Germany was not unified enough to be a colonial contender—yet. It was fragmented into almost 300 different countries.

While several of these had no laws against same-sex love, Prussia did. And it was Prussia that was devouring all the other German states except Hanover.

*Next: The love that dared to speak its name*

## 'End the occupation, bring the troops home!'

Continued from page 4

suffering. It is time to end the occupation!"

Describing the war and occupation as “Bush's folly,” USLAW decried the waste of \$150 billion to “pad the profit margins” of Halliburton, Bechtel and the president's other corporate backers while Iraqis continue to go without reliable electricity, clean water, food and jobs, and while “social programs in the U.S. are being savaged, state and local governments are being driven into fiscal crisis, and our own democratic liberties are being eroded in the name of national security.”

The organization called upon the labor movement to “resoundingly reject four more years of bravado, unilateralism, and squandering of precious lives and the pub-

lic treasury on corporate cronyism, militarism, and global domination.” It continued, “No matter who is elected U.S. president in 2004, the anti-war movement, including its labor component, must be prepared to challenge U.S. foreign and domestic policies that harm our people and the peoples of the world and to hold all our elected officials to a course of peace and social justice at home and abroad.”

On May 18, USLAW issued a similarly worded international appeal in conjunction with the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions and the International Liaison Committee of Workers and Peoples, which was endorsed by unions and labor activists in the United States and Spain. □

ments as a matter of insufficient force. In Vietnam, the U.S. steadily escalated its forces, starting with a few thousand advisers in 1962 and eventually reaching half a million troops. With each new escalation, the Vietnamese liberation forces found a way to continue the struggle.

The French, in their eight-year war against the Algerian National Liberation Front, from 1954 to 1962, reached a troop strength of 500,000 and employed a campaign of widespread torture. Despite military victory after military victory, they were unable to subdue the people.

Washington is facing a similar crisis in Iraq.

The torture scandals have come out, not because the U.S. high command or any elements within the capitalist state are opposed to torture. It is because, with all the torture, the resistance in both Afghanistan and Iraq has escalated. From their standpoint this technique, as it has been carried out, has become counterproductive.

The criticism by Zinni and by a myriad of others in the capitalist media who are beginning to express doubts, pessimism and some outright defeatism is a reflection, not of concern for the excesses and crimes committed by the occupation forces daily, but of the failure of the occupation.

The only solution seen by these critics—including especially John Kerry and the entire Kerry camp—is the eventual internationalization of the occupation along with immediately bringing in more U.S. troops to shore up the effort until help arrives.

The anti-war movement in this country and the rest of the world should not relax for a moment in the hope that this mountain of criticism, the splits in the establishment and the Kerry election campaign somehow are going to result in an end to the occupation.

The only thing that will stop the occupation is the resistance in Iraq and the escalation and broadening of the anti-war struggle at home. □

Lesbian ♦ gay ♦ bi  
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**PRIDE**

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1

## The Roots of Lesbian & Gay Oppression:

### A MARXIST VIEW

By Bob McCubbin

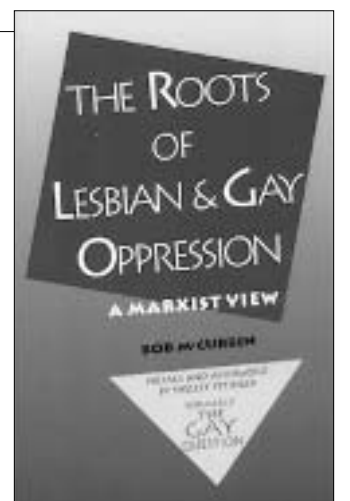
This ground breaking pamphlet originally published as the Gay Question in 1976, during the first flush of the modern lesbian and gay movement. Its unparalleled achievement was to offer a historical analysis of when, where, why and how lesbian and gay oppression developed.

That achievement still stands. With all that has happened since—the growth of the movement, victories and setbacks, the AIDS crisis—Bob McCubbin's contribution is as relevant today as ever.

In this slim volume, McCubbin shows that all oppression is rooted in the constraints of private property and the bonds of class society. He looks back to the matriarchy, the era before classes existed—and before homosexuality was stigmatized. And he looks forward to socialist revolution in which liberation of all oppressed people, including lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people, in an indispensable condition for victory.

WW Publishers, Bob McCubbin, First Edition 1976, Third Edition 1993, ISBN 089567-116-6, Soft Cover, 100 p.p., Selected Bibliography.

List price is 7.95 but at [leftbooks.com](http://leftbooks.com) it's 15% off, only \$6.99



# El nuevo enemigo de Huntington: los Mexicanos

# La mejor respuesta es la solidaridad

Por Teresa Gutiérrez

Los mexicanos se han convertido en un tema actual en la prensa burguesa.

Por ejemplo, un artículo reciente escrito por Samuel Huntington en la revista *Foreign Policy*, (La Política Extranjera) y publicada por la organización Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, llamó la atención y creó inquietud en algunos círculos de la prensa. Huntington fue miembro del Consejo de Seguridad Nacional durante la administración demócrata de Jimmy Carter.

El titular en la portada de la revista *Foreign Policy* leía: “José, ¿Puedes ver? Samuel Huntington sobre cómo los inmigrantes latinos amenazan la identidad, los valores y el diario vivir de América.”

Este artículo es uno de los artículos más anti inmigrante jamás visto. Era racista, invocando a un pequeño sector de la población blanca y llamando a las armas para defender la “América blanca.”

No cualquier “América Blanca”—sino la “América” blanca, anglosajona y protestante.

(Debemos recordar a nuestros lectores que “América” no es sinónimo con los Estados Unidos como se suele presentar en la prensa aquí. Esa formulación es un lenguaje colonialista que representa las ambiciones de los Estados Unidos de dominar al continente totalmente. Debemos recordar a los imperialistas que las Américas son dos hemisferios, no solo los Estados Unidos.)

En la portada de la revista *Política Extranjera* aparece un latino vestido de ejecutivo. El hombre se cruza el corazón con su mano a la vez que sostiene una bandera estadounidense. Uno piensa que está en la ceremonia de ciudadanía.

La premisa de Huntington es que la multitud de emigrantes que llegan a los Estados Unidos—en especial los inmigrantes mexicanos—están amenazando el tejido de su sociedad.

En su artículo él dice: “El flujo persistente de inmigrantes hispanos amenaza con dividir a los Estados Unidos en dos pueblos, dos culturas y dos lenguajes. A diferencia de los grupos inmigrantes anteriores, los mexicanos y otros latinos no se han asimilado a la cultura estadounidense, formando en vez sus propios enclaves políticos y lingüísticos—desde Los Ángeles a Miami—rechazando los valores anglo-protestantes que forjan el sueño americano. Los Estados Unidos ignoran este desafío y su peligro.”

Huntington aquí estará dirigiéndose ahora a l@s latin@s, pero en 1996 él también predijo un “conflicto global entre el occidente y el mundo musulmán.”

Huntington declara en la revista *Foreign Policy* que los “valores, instituciones y cultura” de los “blancos, británicos y Protestantes” son la base de este país que dio su forma a los Estados Unidos para todos los siglos venideros.

Y que son estos valores e instituciones las que atraen a tant@s inmigrantes.

Que aunque este país es “multiétnico y multirracial,” la etnicidad y la raza han “desaparecido virtualmente como componente que define la identidad nacional.”

(Dile eso, Huntington, a los miles de jóvenes africano-americanos que son detenidos—o peor en otros casos—a diario por la policía solo por ser de la raza negra.)

Hoy, declaró Huntington, “la identidad nacional de los Estados Unidos...está amenazada por las fuerzas de globalización.

“La principal e inmediata amenaza a la identidad tradicional de América proviene de... la emigración de América Latina, especialmente de México y de la tasa de fertilidad de est@s inmigrantes en comparación a l@s nativ@s de raza negra y blanca.”

(La segunda página de la revista muestra a una mujer mexicana cargando a un bebé. Esto pensamos que está supuesto a enfatizar el punto sobre la fertilidad.)

La inmigración mejicana es diferente por muchas razones, teme Huntington. Una es que los Estados Unidos y México comparten una frontera. “Ningún país del Primer Mundo tiene una frontera tan extensa con un país del Tercer Mundo”, lamenta.

Otra es el nivel de inmigración. “Los hispanos podrían constituir hasta el 25% de la población de los Estados Unidos para el año 2050,” lamenta Huntington.

Otra preocupación de él es que “la inmigración ilegal es abrumadoramente un fenómeno mexicano. Que “los hispanos—tienden a concentrarse regionalmente y que las escuelas de Los Ángeles se están tornando mexicanas” (“¡Chihuahua!”)

Huntington advierte, “ningún otro grupo de inmigrante en la historia de los Estados Unidos han reclamado o podrían reclamar un derecho histórico sobre el territorio estadounidense.”

(Después de todo, cuando ellos se robaron la mitad de México, inunca se les ocurrió a los ladrones que los mexicanos podrían reclamar su tierra! Que audaces.)

Huntington está preocupado que el tamaño de la “inmigración hispana tiende a perpetuar el uso del español. ... los hispano-parlantes en Nueva York, Miami y Los Ángeles” pueden vivir “sus vidas normales sin saber inglés.” De nuevo, ¡qué descaró!

Él repite la pregunta de un ex senador Republicano reaccionario: “¿Porqué es que ni los filipinos ni los coreanos rehúsan hacer del idioma inglés la lengua oficial?” (¿Está Huntington promoviendo la generalidad racista de que los asiáticos son la “minoría modelo?” Creemos que sí.)

Las últimas frases de Huntington proveen algo para pensar: “No hay un

sueño americano. Hay solo el sueño americano creado por la sociedad anglo y protestante. Los mexicano-americanos compartirán ese sueño y esa sociedad solamente si sueñan en inglés.”

## Una respuesta a Huntington

Antes que nada debemos señalarle a Huntington que “el sueño americano creado por la sociedad anglo-protestante” a la cual él se refiere es de hecho una horrible pesadilla para la mayoría de la humanidad. Esa pesadilla esta hoy representada por las fotos de los iraquíes torturados en su propia tierra por las fuerzas militares de ocupación.

Debemos preguntarle a Huntington: ¿Quién le corta su grama? ¿Quién le lleva la comida? ¿Quién empaca la carne que llega a su mesa cada noche? ¿Quiénes trabajan en las industrias más peligrosas?

¿Quién muere haciendo todo esto?

La distancia entre la percepción de Huntington de los inmigrantes mexicanos y la realidad de su vida cotidiana es tan enorme que un océano entero no la podría llenar.

Cada día un trabajador mexicano muere en su lugar de trabajo en este país, según un sorprendente reporte realizado recientemente por Prensa Asociada.

“Un trabajador mexicano tiene cuatro veces más la posibilidad de morir en el trabajo en algunas partes del país, que el trabajador nativo de este país”, reportó Prensa Asociada.

“Estas muertas accidentadas casi siempre son prevenibles y con frecuencia son horripilantes: los trabajadores son heridos y desgarrados en maquinarias industriales, sepultados vivos. Algunos tienen apenas 15 años de edad”.

Ese es tu “sueño americano”, Huntington.

Las condiciones para l@s trabajador@s mexican@s en este país son tan deplorables y frecuentes que el reporte de PA describió la situación como una epidemia. Esto debió haber sido una noticia nacional. Pero los hechos fueron escondidos y recibieron poca atención.

Cientos o quizás miles de inmigrantes mueren anualmente cruzando la frontera entre México y los Estados Unidos. Y el Presidente George W. Bush está asegurándose que cruzar la frontera se vuelva aún más difícil.

El Departamento de Seguridad de la Patria obtuvo \$10 millones para la Iniciativa para el Control de la Frontera de Arizona. Esto incluye 200 agentes nuevos de patrulla fronteriza, 350 helicópteros y una cifra desconocida de aeronaves para patrullar las partes más remotas de la frontera.

Los defensores de inmigrantes están de acuerdo que esto va a resultar en más muertes.

El Instituto de Política Pública de California (PPIC por las siglas en inglés) considera que estas medidas forzarán a trabajadores a cruzar la frontera en áreas aún más remotas y peligrosas. El PPIC reporta que el número de inmigrantes ahogados aumentó de 48 en 1994 a 92 en el 2000. La cifra de muertes por otras causas aumentó de 9 a 135 durante el mismo período.

Por lo menos 151 inmigrantes perecieron en el desierto de Arizona el año pasado.

La administración de Bush y el Congreso, se han enfocado de nuevo en contra de la inmigración de indocumentados. A principios de este año, Bush propuso cambios significativos en la ley de inmigración que resultarían en un programa de “trabajadores invitados”. Esto significa que extranjeros podría entrar legalmente para trabajar, pero entonces tendrían que regresar a su país. No habría ninguna amnistía pero si habría un aumento en la represión.

Aparentemente, esto no es suficiente para Huntington.

A Huntington le gustaría separar a los inmigrantes recientes de los del pasado. Le gustaría provocar divisiones entre los inmigrantes y el pueblo africano-americano. Le gustaría que los trabajadores de descendencia europea se entusiasmen con su Nuevo Nativismo para conservar los supuestos “valores americanos cristianos”. A él le gustaría que todos los inmigrantes hablaran inglés.

Pero las ideas de Huntington no van a prevalecer.

Lo que está en el horizonte de este país es una renovación de la lucha de clases. L@s inmigrantes van a participar en las luchas sociales más honorables que se han visto en este país. Estas luchas ya han comenzado.

Estarán en la bella tradición de los inmigrantes del pasado, contrario a la historia revisionista de Huntington. Al igual que los inmigrantes judíos, italianos y de todos los lugares del sur y del este de Europa de comienzos del siglo XX, los inmigrantes de hoy lucharán por los derechos que desesperadamente necesitan.

Su lucha tiene el potencial de sacudir las bases del sistema. Y es precisamente por eso que Huntington y los suyos están promoviendo un pánico contra l@s inmigrantes.

¿Cuál es la mejor respuesta al delirio anti-inmigrante de Huntington?

La solidaridad.

El organizar un movimiento de todas las nacionalidades, con trabajadores nacidos acá y en el extranjero, documentados y no documentados, viejos y jóvenes, homosexuales y no, hombres y mujeres. Y tal movimiento para poder prevalecer, debe estar en contra de la guerra aquí en casa y alrededor del mundo. □

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