

On the eve of Democratic Convention in Boston Anti-war, labor activists fight for right to protest



BILL HACKWELL

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By Peter Cook
Boston

Activists from around the country will converge on Boston to participate in the July 25 demonstration against the Democratic National Convention and the many other protests and activities planned throughout that week.

With less than two weeks before the DNC begins, organizing for the July 25 protest is moving forward at a rapid pace. This demonstration, called by the ANSWER Coalition, will begin at noon at the Boston Common Parade Grounds. It will demand: "Bring the troops home now; End the colonial occupation of Iraq, Palestine and Haiti; Money for AIDS, jobs, housing, healthcare and education—not for the Pentagon war machine."

Thousands of flyers and stickers have been distributed throughout Boston. In spite of attempts by the city and federal governments to violence-bait those who wish to protest, the response has been overwhelmingly positive.

Those who hoped that Democratic can-

didate Rep. Dennis Kucinich and his delegates would provide some semblance of an anti-war voice within the convention were rudely awakened July 10-11. Kucinich completely caved in to the Kerry forces at a meeting concerning the Democratic Party platform.

Kucinich abandoned his moderate position on opposing the war for the sake of party unity. So now the official Democratic Party position is: Bring the troops home "as soon as possible"—if, and only if, there are troops from other countries to take their place.

In other words, internationalize the imperialist occupation, rather than end it.

The battle for Causeway St.

While permits have been granted for the Boston Common rally, the Boston Police Department and the City of Boston have refused to allow demonstrators access to Causeway St. That's where the Fleet Center, where the DNC will take place, is located.

Instead, officials have announced plans to set up a "protest area" which is in real-

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of thousands of
New Yorkers will
be protesting**

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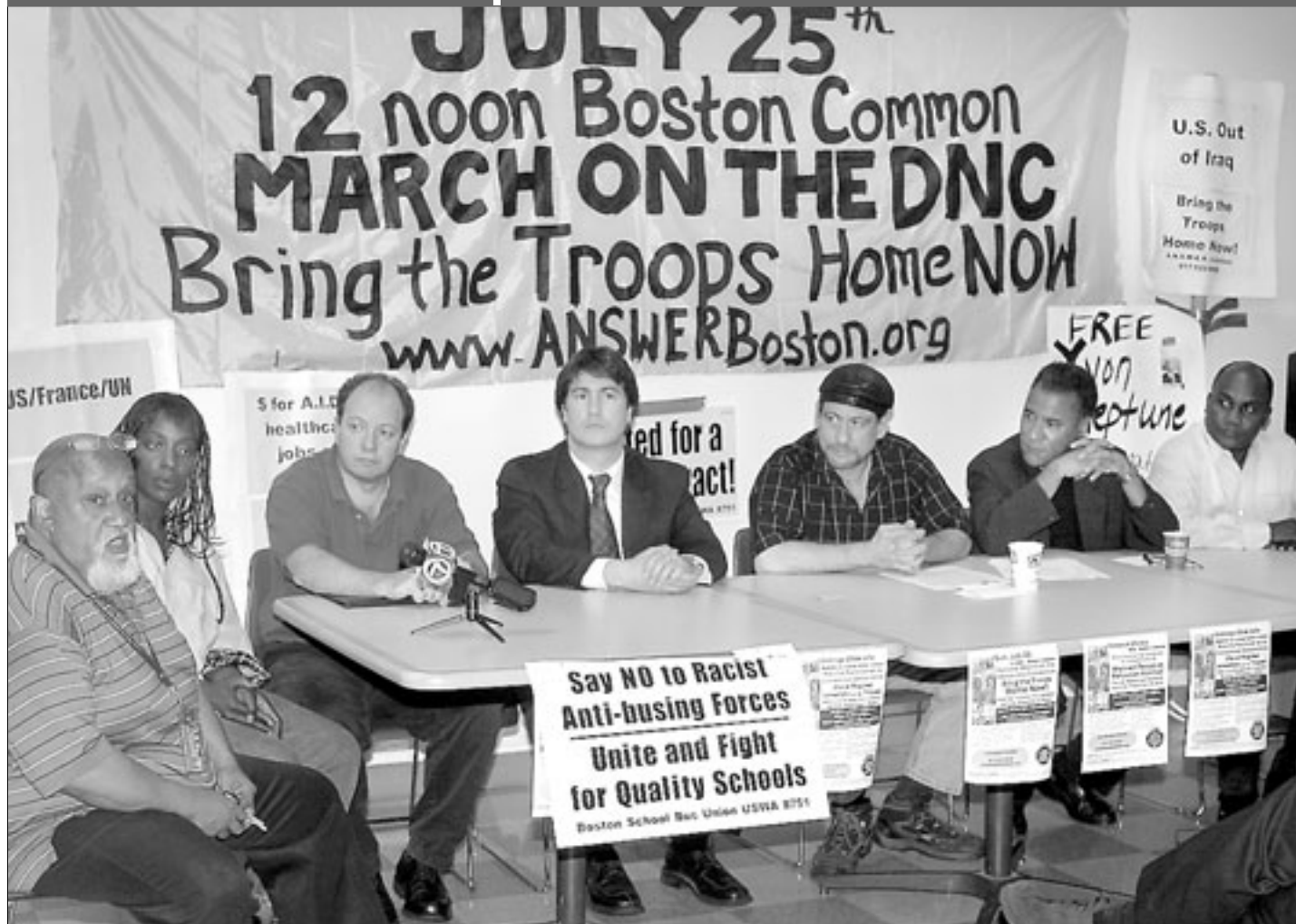
ity a piece of asphalt surrounded by a 12-foot-high fence.

But organizers of the July 25 protest vowed, "We will not allow our rights to be taken away so that the Democratic Party can have unrestricted access to our city for their posh parties and convention, which are costing almost \$100 million. We will bring the message to this convention loud and clear: Bring the troops home now!"

The Coalition to Protest the DNC has announced its intention to file a lawsuit in federal court if protestors are not allowed access to Causeway St. The coalition includes ANSWER Boston, United Steelworkers Local 8751 representing Boston school bus drivers, the New

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Boston coalition holds press conference to announce lawsuit



WW PHOTO: LIZA GREEN

On July 13, a press conference announced plans by the Coalition to Protest the Democratic National Convention to file a lawsuit against the City of Boston demanding access to Causeway St., which passes in front of the Fleet Center where the DNC will be held. The coalition is organizing a national march on June 25 at noon in the Boston Common to demand "Bring the troops home now!" Pictured (L-R): Boston city Councilor Chuck Turner; Yolanda Reddiack, Steel Workers Local 8751; Jorge Marin, MLK Bolivarian Circle; attorney John Pavlos; Steve Gillis, president, Steel Workers Local 8751; Larry Holmes, ANSWER Steering Committee; Josue Renaud, New England Human Rights Organization for Haiti.

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WW PHOTO: GLORIA RUBAC

Death row prison art and poetry electrifies activists

By Gloria Rubac
Houston

Houston community activists were deeply moved on July 10 as local poet Hitaji Aziz read the words of Tony Ford, an innocent man on Texas death row. Ford's poetry and art were presented here in an exhibit entitled "All Eye See," brought to the U.S. by Gabriella Giuliani, Ford's friend and the head of his defense committee in Italy.

Aziz transported the crowd at SHAPE Center to the prison cell and the mind of Ford, as his words spoke the truth of the centuries of oppression and genocide faced by Black people in the U.S.

Aziz explained that she had been a prison activist for decades and knew more about the Texas prison system than anyone would want to know. But, she said, none of this prepared her to deal with her own son going to prison several years ago.

Singing and speaking, her voice rising and falling, she first presented her own work entitled "A Mother's Prayer":

"I am in a battle to save my life and help save the life of my child and the rules of this battle are unfamiliar... As I walk forward I hear the voices and spirits of other mothers. I will remember and give praise to those mothers who were slain before me when they stood at the doors of illusion and fear, slavery and deprivation, trauma and poverty; the doors of the incarcerated; the doors of death row.

"I hear the mothers cry; their backs bent, broken-hearted and dragged off the battlefield by a prison slave industry that does not care and is devoid of spiritual morality. I am here, Lord, replacing every mother that has fallen by the wayside. I am here, Lord, planting seeds for the New America. Lord, Lord, I am here."

Aziz's son Amil was released from prison in May and attended the presentation.

Aziz then performed "Lost Souls." Ford's words told of the hopelessness that squeezes the life out of those who would be doctors, teachers, scientists and community leaders but are entombed in the nightmarish hell of prisons and forgotten by society.

With her voice rising into a powerful melody, Aziz captured the pain of her people and raised the consciousness of all who listened to the systemic racism and terror of the prison industry.

Salute to Shaka Sankofa

The exhibit and reception was organized by the Texas Death Penalty Abolition Movement and emceed by abolitionist Njeri Shakur.

Shakur gave a brief history of her involvement in the struggle to abolish the death penalty. She spoke of coming to know many of the activists on death row, like Ponchai Kamau Wilkerson, who was fearless in the face of the terror of prison. Before his execution on March 14, 2000, Wilkerson was a friend and mentor of Tony Ford.

Niya Kimble shared a powerful poem inspired by Shaka Sankofa, written on the fourth anniversary of his execution in June. Kimble was only 18 years old when Sankofa was killed. "The night of his execution was seminal in my development," he told the audience.

Sankofa was an innocent man and political activist who was executed by then-Gov. George W. Bush despite a worldwide campaign to save his life. As he lay on the gurney awaiting execution, Sankofa said, "Fight on, Black people, fight on. What we have tonight is a lynching. We may lose this battle but we will win the war."

After the presentations, the crowd looked at Ford's art and discussed its political meaning. Most of the art deals with life on death row and the pain of losing friends to executions.

Ford's federal appeal was recently denied. Attorney Richard Burr wrote a synopsis of the case entitled "The Case of Tony Ford: A Mistaken Identification Leads to A Wrongful Conviction and Death Sentence." This document was presented in a packet along with Ford's art and poetry.

Burr says, "Based on all the other evidence, the witness's identification of Tony appeared to be a mistake, because no other evidence connected him directly to the crime.

"Despite many troubling facts, pointing clearly to a wrongful conviction, the federal district court in El Paso denied Tony Ford's federal petition without ever holding a hearing. That decision is indefensible and is on appeal to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit," Burr wrote.

The day after the exhibit, one activist told friends, "I went down to SHAPE on Live Oak Street on Saturday afternoon for the gathering about Tony Ford and got taught and re-taught a lot of history, both ancient and recent. At times, I felt like standing up and testifying myself... I want to do more."

More events will be held for Ford and funds will be raised for his defense. Copies of the packet can be obtained by emailing AbolitionMovement@juno.com.

Tony's art and writing can be found at www.tonyford.org and www.ccadp.org/tonyegbunaford.org. Letters of support can be sent to: Tony Ford # 999075, Polunsky Unit, 3872 FM 350 So., Livingston, TX 77351.

□

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Fri., July 23

Celebration of Cuba's Moncada Day. Hear Adrian Garcia report on its significance, followed by a Cuban Film. 7:30 p.m., dinner at 7 p.m. \$5 donation, no one turned away for lack of funds. At 5274 W. Pico Blvd. #203. For info (323) 936-7266.

NEW YORK

Fri., July 16

Workers World Party meeting: Eyewitness to Repression and Resistance in Colombia. Guest speakers Berta Joubert-Ceci, Betsey Piette, Gavrielle Gemma, Jorge Zamora, and Taina Lara will give first-hand accounts of their experiences in the recent "International Caravan to Save the Lives of Colombia Workers." 7 pm. (Dinner at 6:30) At 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl., Manhattan. For info (212) 627-2994.

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FROM BAGHDAD TO SOUTH CENTRAL LOS ANGELES

PHOTO: MINJOK-TONGSHIN

A war on the poor

By Sako Sefiani
Los Angeles

On July 10, representatives of anti-racist, anti-war and social justice organizations converged with community members at the Los Angeles Police Department's Southeast Precinct to protest the beating of yet another Black man by racist police.

The International Action Center sponsored the militant, loud and angry march and rally.

Stanley Miller, a 36-year-old Black man, was severely beaten by LAPD Officer John Hatfield on June 13. News helicopters captured the assault on camera.

The tape shows the unarmed victim appearing to surrender after running a short distance, then raising his arms and starting to kneel. Two cops grabbed Miller and pushed him to the ground. A third cop, Hatfield, kicked Miller in the head and struck him 11 times with a metal flashlight.

IAC leader John Parker appealed to all progressive organizations and activists, whether their focus was anti-war, labor, civil rights or anti-racist issues, to join in a broader struggle against state-sponsored violence and stand in solidarity with the Black community in its ongoing fight to end police brutality and terror.

He warned against inaction and said that only through militant, united community action can such racist terror be stopped. He pointed out that the cops' job is to protect and serve; but, he asked, "to protect and serve whom?"

"The rich," he answered.

Parker reminded the audience that the war on the poor extends from South Central Los Angeles to Iraq.

Ken Roh of Minjok-Tongshin also drew a parallel between the terror unleashed on the Iraqi people and the oppressed com-

munities in the U.S. He called police brutality a terror similar to Bush's occupation of Iraq.

Preston Wood of ANSWER-Los Angeles spoke, and so did several community members—some of whom were victims of police brutality themselves.

Most of the demonstrators came from South Central's African American community. After listening to the speakers, they marched to the entrance of the police building, chanting, "No justice, no peace—no racist police," and, "Chief Bratton has got to go."

Endorsers included: Reverend Meri Ka Ra Byrd of KRST Unity Center for African Spirituality; Harold Green of the Pan-African Coalition for the Liberation of West Papua; Arturo Garcia of BAYAN International; One Korea LA Forum; Koreans for Peace; Mindullae; and Latinos Against the War. □



WW PHOTO: ANNE PRUDEN

Mumia supporters at NAACP convention

Special to Workers World— On July 11, supporters of political prisoner and death row inmate, Mumia Abu-Jamal, gathered at the site of the annual NAACP convention in Philadelphia to do outreach to delegates on Mumia's case. Many of the convention delegates had heard about Mumia and many had not. Pam Africa from International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (holding microphone) spoke to leaders of the NAACP, including Kwesi Mfume, about getting the civil rights organization more involved in the struggle to free Mumia. She along with Attorney Michael Coard spoke on a criminal justice panel during the convention on July 12. □

Peltier defense activists call PayPal/eBay boycott

By Stephanie Hedgecok



FREE
LEONARD
PELTIER!

The Boston Area Leonard Peltier Support Group and the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee have called on supporters to boycott PayPal and its parent company, eBay, in response to an attack on their rights to organize online. PayPal is an online company that allows people to send payments to merchants or organizations with funds from their bank accounts or credit cards without revealing account numbers.

PayPal notified both the LPDC and the Boston support group in late June that it had closed their accounts and frozen funds collected online for up to 180 days. PayPal alleged a "violation of Acceptable Use Policy" and stated that Indigenous

rights activist and political prisoner Leonard Peltier was "notorious for committing murderous acts." The manner in which PayPal shut down the groups strongly suggests FBI or other right-wing interference.

On a June morning in 1976, two FBI agents died during a shootout at the Pine Ridge Reservation, which they themselves started, in a very tiny village when children and adults and elders were asleep in their homes.

There was never any evidence that Peltier fired the shots. He was later extradited from Canada to stand trial only through the U.S. government's suppression of hundreds of thousands of documents and roomfuls of evidence to prove his innocence. U.S. prosecutors have publicly admitted that they do not know who

actually fired the shots that killed the agents. The FBI still has not released these documents despite many Freedom of Information Act actions brought by Peltier's lawyers.

Leonard Peltier has been in prison for 28 years for a crime he did not commit, and the U.S. government has repeatedly refused to parole Peltier since he became eligible over 10 years ago. In violation of their own statutes, they will not consider him for parole until he has served over twice the normal term for his alleged offense.

Leonard Peltier is recognized around the world as a political prisoner. Millions of people, including former South African political prisoner Nelson Mandela, past and present members of the U.S.

Continued on page 4

Family fights to free anti-war soldier from military prison

By Gloria Rubac
Houston

The mother of war resister Camilo Mejia, the first soldier who refused to return to Iraq, was in Houston in June to visit the Costa Rican Consul General and build support for her son.

Maritza Castillo and her sister, Norma, were guests of Houston ANSWER which organized a reception for them, several radio interviews, a press conference and a delegation of anti-war activists to accompany them to visit the Costa Rican Consulate.

Mejia was sent to Iraq in April 2003 as a Staff Sergeant in the Florida National Guard. He spent six months in combat in Iraq, then returned for a two-week furlough to the U.S. There he reflected on what he had seen, including the abuse of prisoners and the killing of civilians. He concluded that the war was illegal and immoral, and decided that he would not return. In March 2004 he turned himself in to the U.S. military and filed an application for conscientious objector status.

His objections to this abuse were made before the publication of photos of U.S. torture in Abu Ghraib prison, but his trial was in May when there was heightened media attention on this issue. Ramsey Clark, a member of his defense team, spoke of the "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 the same thing."

On May 21, 28-year-old Mejia was sentenced to one year in prison for refusing to return to fight in Iraq. He is serving the time at Fort Sill, Okla.

Mejia is a citizen of both Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The U.S. and Costa Rica have signed a treaty that establishes that a Costa Rican citizen cannot be forced to extend his military service. Mejia's service was due to be up two months after he was sent to Iraq, yet he was shipped out.

Mejia's mother and aunt visited the Consul General in Houston, the closest consulate to Mejia now that he is in Oklahoma. A multinational delegation of anti-war activists and a Pacifica news



WW PHOTO: GLORIA RUBAC

Press conference for Camilo Mejia outside Houston US Federal Building.
From left to right, his mother, Maritza and his aunt, Norma.

reporter went with them. After over an hour, the consul told the family she was awaiting word from Costa Rica on how to proceed and that there wasn't funding available for her to visit Mejia at the Army prison. Castillo told her that Costa Rica should stand up to the U.S. and demand the treaty be enforced.

Amnesty International has adopted Mejia as a prisoner of conscience and is demanding his immediate and unconditional release. Mejia is appealing his sentence but the appeal is likely to take

longer than one year to be heard. A ruling is expected shortly on his conscientious objector application.

Letters of support can be sent to: Pt. Camilo Mejia, Building 1490, Randolph Road, Fort Sill, OK 73503. Since the military is denying much of his mail, copies should also be sent to his mother at: Maritza Castillo, 201 178 Drive # 323, Miami, FL 33160.

For more information visit www.freecamilo.org □

Bush is a threat, but Kerry's not the solution

Million Worker March shows labor on the move

By Milt Neidenberg

Timing is often critical when taking on a struggle to advance the cause of the workers and oppressed. And political program is primary for prosecuting the class struggle. On both counts, the proposal for an Oct. 17 Million Worker March (MWM) on Washington gets high marks. Although time is short and resources are slim, fulfillment of this splendid objective will lay the basis for building an independent, class-wide movement.

On Feb. 26, as the election-year rhetoric of the capitalist parties began to heat up, Local 10 of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) in San Francisco proposed this bold initiative. They passed a resolution that a call be sent out to "unions, labor councils and labor organizations, as well as other organizations to which workers belong, whether organized or not, so they can take similar actions to organize this march as soon as possible."

The Million Worker March was born.

This militant union is nationally known for its leading role in the struggle against the Iraq war and the anti-labor offensive at home. On April 7, 2003, ILWU Local 10 was involved in a demonstration against the Iraq war. They honored a picket line outside the Oakland terminals of the Stevedoring Services of America (SSA), a major contractor chosen by the Defense Department to rebuild the largest seaport in Iraq. The protest shut the SSA down.

The action led to a brutal attack by the Oakland police. The April ILWU Dispatch vividly describes the event: "They unleashed waves of terror with barrages of lethal rubber bullets, concussion grenades and bean bags filled with metal shot and wooden pellets, to break up the picket line. Scores were injured, many sent to the hospital with severe wounds. Twenty-four protesters and an ILWU business agent were arrested."

Marking the one-year anniversary on April 7, 2004, hundreds of protesters held a rally at the Alameda County court house, marched to an SSA terminal and shut

PayPal/eBay boycott

Continued from page 3

Congress, and many human rights organizations, have called for his freedom.

PayPal's actions are a direct attack on the constitutional rights of Peltier's supporters and all Indigenous Nations and peoples. It has also caused a short-term financial crisis for the critical defense work to free Leonard Peltier. The LPDC states that there is now an urgent need for donations, which should be sent by regular mail to: LPDC, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044-0583. "No amount is too small," the group says.

Sign the Pledge to Boycott PayPal/eBay

The Boston LPSG and the LPDC ask supporters to not use the PayPal service on Web sites you own or manage, to not donate to or purchase from sites that use PayPal, and to not buy or sell/auction items using eBay.

An online petition campaign has also been started. The petition may be read and signed at the following web page: www.petitiononline.com/balpsgo3/petition.html. □

down the entire second shift. Two weeks later the Alameda district attorney dropped all charges against the protesters.

Time for independent struggle

Following the victory, on May 22, an MWM kickoff rally was held. It sent a strong message that it is time to take the road of independent class struggle and break labor's traditional ties to the "lesser of two evils"—the Democratic Party.

Clarence Thomas, executive board member of ILWU Local 10 and a nationally-known African American labor union leader, issued the appeal. "This is a Call to working people to unite and mobilize around our own agenda. For the past decade we have been subjected to an unrestrained corporate assault. This is the moment, this is the time for us to advance our own demands, our needs and to proclaim a political agenda in our own vital interests."

Thomas and Trent Willis, another Local 10 leader who is African American, were declared co-conveners for MWM.

Over 250 participated in the rally, representing labor unionists, community activists and anti-war protesters from around the country. Chris Silvera—secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 808 in Long Island City, N.Y., and chairperson of the Teamster's National Black Caucus—summed up the sentiment of the rally. "Now you can sit around and wait for Kerry to do something. But we are going to Washington to shake up the house. We need to take back our country, take back our rights and rip up the Patriot Act."

Individual endorsers included community organizers, anti-war representatives and fighters for civil rights like Dick Gregory, Danny Glover and Casey Kasem. The undocumented were represented by the San Francisco Day Laborers Program. Within a short time, the entire ILWU Longshore Division endorsed MWM, in spite of the ILWU International endorsement of John Kerry.

Brenda Stokely gave a passionate appeal to build MWM. She is president of District Council 1707 of the American Federation of State, County, Municipal Employees in New York, and a nationally-known African American woman who is a labor leader and a strong opponent of the Iraq war.

At the recent AFSCME convention of more than 3,000 delegates held in Anaheim, Calif., Stokely was among a number of progressive and anti-war delegates who presented a resolution to end the occupation and bring the troops home. It passed overwhelmingly in spite of an effort by International President Gerald McEntee to water it down.

Under Stokely's leadership, District Council 1707 proposed a resolution to support the MWM. The resolution was tabled, but the AFSCME constitution provides avenues for the fight to continue. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the South Carolina State AFL-CIO and numerous other locals and councils have joined the initiative.

The National Education Association (NEA), with 2.7 million members, announced it is backing the MWM. The NEA has affiliates in every state who work in education—from pre-school to university graduate programs. Its affiliates are in more than 13,000 communities across the U.S.

The MWM is growing in influence and numbers.

Break with big-business parties

Fearful that this development will undermine the "anybody but Bush" campaign, the AFL-CIO leadership has opened up an attack on the MWM.

On June 23, AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, through the director of the Field Mobilization Department, sent a memo-

randum to all State Federations and Central Labor Councils of the AFL-CIO. It read in part, "The AFL-CIO is not a co-sponsor of this effort and we will not be devoting resources or energies toward mobilizing demonstrations this fall. ... We think it is absolutely crucial that we commit the efforts of our labor movement to removing George W. Bush from office."

In a column entitled "Reclaim America," Sweeney praises Kerry's record on behalf of labor. "President Bush's failed policies and Senator John Kerry's (D-Mass) plans to create good jobs," Sweeney wrote, "ensure health coverage and restore pride and momentum to a nation tarnished by the Bush administration's domestic heartlessness and international incompetence." (America at Work, June/July 2004)

By "international incompetence," Sweeney is referring to the U.S. quagmire in Iraq.

The Democrats and Kerry are for internationalizing the conflict and putting more troops and resources into the occupation that has already led to mounting casualties and the diversion of huge amounts of money from social services to the Pentagon. It will only prolong death and destruction for the Iraqi people as well. Kerry voted for the Iraq War and recently the Senate voted 98-0 to expand the Pentagon budget to more than \$400 billion.

It would be wise for the AFL-CIO to distance itself from the Democrats' position on the war and to demand: end the occupation and bring the troops home now. The Service Employees International Union, the largest AFL-CIO affiliate, overwhelmingly passed this anti-war resolution at its June convention.

To build an independent, class-wide movement, it is indispensable to break with the two capitalist parties. The AFL-CIO must break the chains binding it to Kerry and the Democratic Party.

Kerry's labor record has to be exposed, not covered up. It has been 10 years since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) passed with his blessing, and to this day he is a supporter of NAFTA as an exemplary model for all U.S. imperialist trade agreements. NAFTA has been a horrendous disaster for the workers,

oppressed and impoverished. In the U.S. factories have been shut down, thousands of jobs lost, outsourced to low-paid non-union labor in countries like Mexico, leaving ghost towns in many states.

The Mexican government estimates that between 800,000 and 2.5 million children work instead of attending school. Serious health and safety violations are common in the workplace and sinister environmental dangers pervade the communities surrounding the factories. U.S. corporations collude with local managers. Wall Street bankers and corporate bosses accumulate huge profits as they privatize large swaths of valuable property in underdeveloped countries.

Kerry's cabal

Kerry has surrounded himself with a cabal of these bankers and big-business advisors. He has selected as his running mate Sen. John Edwards from North Carolina, where workers, particularly in the textile industries, have suffered under NAFTA. North Carolina is a "right to work" state—that is, a scab state. Laws that exist there and in 20 other states have decimated every gain made by labor, including the right to organize unions.

The Kerry/Edwards slate is an insult to the 13 million organized workers, as well as millions more who yearn to be in unions.

Kerry supports a miserly raise in the minimum wage from \$5.15 to \$7 over two years that will keep most low-paid workers and their families in poverty. He was responsible for the defeat of an extension of unemployment insurance, which lost by one vote, by not showing up. Kerry supports the Clinton workfare program, which has created an underclass of workers and eliminated good-paying union jobs, depriving oppressed workers—including many women of color and single mothers—of daycare, decent housing and educational opportunities.

Kerry has no plans for a massive jobs creation program to alleviate the conditions of millions of unemployed workers. He has supported the massive raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service—now part of the so-called Department of Homeland Security—on the undocumented. And he has not spoken out against the repressive Patriot Act nor supported same-sex marriage.

How can AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, with his line of "anybody but Bush," ignore all this?

The AFL-CIO is racked with problems and internal tensions. Its leadership needs to support, not attack, an independent class-struggle movement that along with the oppressed nationalities will forge the unity that is so necessary and timely. It is a dangerous oversight for the AFL-CIO to key up the rank and file and their local unions that their saviors are the Kerry/Edwards ticket.

MWM leaders have eloquently responded to Sweeney's opposition to building an independent class-wide movement. This movement will not go away, regardless of the difficulties and obstacles placed in its way. The labor movement and its allies have an alternative to voting for the capitalist "lesser of two evils"—a no-win strategy for the workers and the oppressed nationalities.

That alternative is: Build the Oct. 17 Million Worker March on Washington. □

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analysis

To build an independent, class-wide movement, it is indispensable to break with the two capitalist parties.

The AFL-CIO must break the chains binding it to Kerry and the Democratic Party.

As Republican Convention looms

Unemployment, homelessness grip city

By Greg Butterfield
New York

Limousines, lavish parties and lock-downs: that's what City Hall and Wall Street are planning when the Republican National Convention occupies Madison Square Garden in New York City from Aug. 30 to Sept. 2.

Republican delegates, coming here to nominate George W. Bush for another four years as president, might imagine they'll see the privileged New York of "The Apprentice," the dog-eat-dog "reality" show starring billionaire landlord Donald Trump.

Mayor Michael Bloomberg—another billionaire—certainly wants to maintain that façade for his fellow Republicans' visit.

But the reality for working-class New Yorkers is altogether different.

Profits have boomed for big companies and banks headquartered in the city's financial districts. But for millions of workers here—the majority of them people of color—the recession never ended.

Unemployment remains high. Rents are soaring. Hundreds of thousands of city workers, including teachers, health-care workers and firefighters, have gone without contracts or raises for several years.

The scourge of racist police violence is ever-present—and sure to worsen as the convention gets closer.

Bloomberg has told workers time and again to tighten their belts. Programs for human needs—already devastated under the reign of Rudy Giuliani and Bill Clinton in the 1990s—have been sacrificed, while tax cuts and tax breaks are the rule for big businesses.

Militarizing midtown

The New York Police Department expects to spend at least \$76 million on convention security, the Daily News reported June 25—some \$59 million just for police overtime.

This plan to militarize midtown Manhattan is so costly that Bloomberg has given up trying to sell New Yorkers on the convention with promises that it will

bring revenue into the city.

Commuters are warned that subways—which millions of workers rely on to get to and from work—will be routinely disrupted. Drivers as well as subway riders will be subject to arbitrary searches.

A large swath of midtown Manhattan will be locked down before and during the convention.

Bloomberg and Police Commissioner Ray Kelly continue to stonewall on issuing permits to protesters, who in many cases applied a year or more in advance.

These measures are aimed at keeping demonstrators—expected to number in the hundreds of thousands—far away from the delegates, corporate funders, and especially the world media covering the convention.

A police-media scare campaign is in full swing. The July 12 Daily News front page screamed, "Anarchist threat to city." In the article, Commissioner Kelly alleged that unnamed groups of "hardcore protesters" plan to get around his police-state measures and thereby disrupt subways and traffic.

The story ran down a list of anti-globalization protests, including Seattle, Genoa and Miami, failing to mention that in all these cases cops attacked unarmed demonstrators.

The disinformation campaign is aimed at scaring New Yorkers, who are overwhelmingly anti-war and anti-Bush, from coming out and demonstrating at the convention, and to make workers blame youthful militants for any inconveniences, when the police and convention organizers are to blame.

Homeless people are also being targeted.

According to a June 25 press release from the mayor's office, pedestrians will need a "business-related purpose to enter" the area between West 31st Street and West 33rd, from 7th to 9th Avenues. The many homeless people who normally congregate around Pennsylvania Station will be driven out.

Among the casualties: hundreds who rely on soup kitchens like the one at the Church of St. John the Baptist. "They're basically going to shut us down," said Mary



WWW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Home health aides marched by the thousands through midtown Manhattan on June 7 protesting poverty wages.

Bivona, a case manager with Catholic Charities, which runs the food program.

"Before the 1992 Democratic National Convention, also held at the Garden, hundreds of homeless people reportedly 'disappeared' from the streets," said the July 5 edition of City Limits. "Norman Siegel, then head of the New York Civil Liberties Union, thinks there was an unofficial crackdown. 'I'm sure that's going to happen again,' he said."

Half of Black men jobless

In May, the official New York metropolitan area unemployment rate was 6.2 percent—well above the 5.6 percent national rate, but still woefully underreporting the real extent of the jobless crisis.

Workers here were hit by a double whammy: first came the capitalist recession, followed by the destruction of the World Trade Center, which exacerbated but did not cause the crisis.

Federal, state and local officials poured billions of dollars into repressive measures at home and abroad, taking money away from social programs when they were most desperately needed.

Many workers have long since given up looking for work. Some are among the record 40,000 people sleeping in city homeless shelters every night, according

to the Coalition for the Homeless.

A more accurate view was presented in February by the Community Service Society, which found that nearly 50 percent of Black men in the city were unemployed in 2003.

The crisis of unemployed workers, especially Black workers, hasn't lessened since then.

On June 21, over 500 women and men, mostly African American, marched from Ground Zero to City Hall Park, chanting, "What do we want? Jobs! When do we want them? Now!"

The protest, supported by members of the City Council's Black and Latino Caucus and the Rev. Al Sharpton, called on the city to devote \$20 million to create jobs for community members in the coming year—just a fraction of what's being spent on security for the Republican Convention.

These workers, like many others who will join protests and other actions during the convention, are right to take their struggle to the streets. They can't rely on the Democrats—whether it's the majority of the New York City Council, who passed Bloomberg's latest budget at the end of June, or presidential candidate John Kerry, who deliberately skipped a vote on extending unemployment benefits, sending the measure to defeat. □

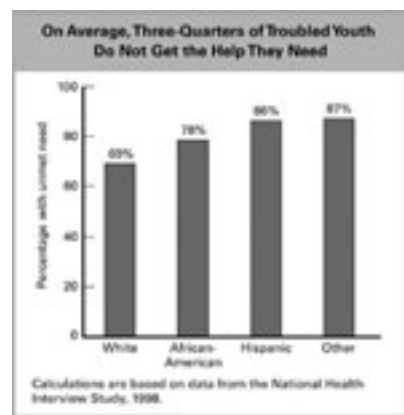
Youth oppression: From juvenile detention to psychiatric medication

By Stephanie Nichols

A survey done by the House Committee on Government Reform of juvenile detention centers across the country found that at least 15,000 children with psychiatric problems and mental disabilities were incarcerated last year because mental health services were unavailable to them.

This shows that the government chooses to pump more money into juvenile detention centers than into treatment services for youth with mental disabilities. Nor is any care given to seeking out the source of their problems. Instead, all the blame is put on the victim, the youth. Children as young as seven are being incarcerated. And according to the July 9 New York Times, "Seventy-one centers in 33 states said they were holding mentally ill youngsters with no charges."

Not only are youth in this country being incarcerated for having mental disabili-



Lack of mental health care has worsened for youth since these 1998 statistics were released. WWW.RAND.ORG

ties, many of them are being put on expensive, patented medications of questionable benefit which also can have potentially deadly side effects.

The Bush administration plans to unveil a new policy in July as a part of the

New Freedom Initiative plan, based on recommendations issued by the New Freedom Commission. The commission states, "Each year, young children are expelled from preschools and childcare facilities for severely disruptive behaviors and emotional disorders." According to the commission, schools are in a "key position" to screen their students, as well as any adults who work with them.

The plan is using the Texas Medication Algorithm Project as a model for treatment. When Allen Jones, an investigator at the Pennsylvania Office of the Inspector General, revealed that the pharmaceutical company Janssen had bribed key state officials who held influence over the medication plan in his state, he was removed from his job.

The Texas Medication Algorithm Project, which started in 1995, promotes the use of newer, more expensive drugs for the treatment of patients and helped make

drug companies billions of dollars. And some of the billions of dollars they make go straight into the presidential campaigns of both George W. Bush and John Kerry.

Instead of nurturing children and providing services where youth can grow and develop, the capitalist government, which needs oppression to survive, uses the youth to generate profits by keeping them either locked up or drugged up.

By putting money into creating better schools and paying teachers better wages so they could offer individualized attention and smaller classes, and providing free health care to all, or by providing working parents with better wages and fewer working hours so that they could focus on their children's needs, the rich class which owns the corporations that run this government could not squeeze as much profit from the working class and oppressed, and the government could not exert as much control. □

JOHN EDWARDS: Another pro-war, big business candidate

By Dustin Langley

On July 6, Senator John Kerry announced that Senator John Edwards of North Carolina will be his running mate in the 2004 presidential election. A close look at John Edwards and his voting record makes it clear why he was chosen and why the anti-war movement must protest at the Democratic National Convention.

Edwards, a multimillionaire like Kerry and Bush (his net worth is between \$8 million and \$36 million), offers little to distinguish himself from the current regime.

The War

He voted for H.J. Res. 114, "Authorization for the Use of Military Force Against Iraq," and helped spread the Bush administration's lies about Iraqi "weapons of mass destruction." Edwards blustered, "Make no mistake, Saddam Hussein alone has chosen war over peace. He has defied international law rather than disarm his weapons of mass destruction."

The USA Patriot Act

Not only did John Edwards vote for the USA Patriot Act—as a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, he helped draft it.

Occupation of Palestine

According to his campaign website, "Edwards has been one of Israel's strongest and most consistent supporters in the U.S. Senate."

The No Child Left Behind Act

According to his website, Edwards supports the No Child Left Behind Act, which is Bush's attempt to privatize the public school system and cut funding to schools in disenfranchised communities, especially communities of color.

Edwards poses as a "populist," but his voting record reveals that he is cut from the same cloth as Kerry and Bush. This is

why his campaign is funded by huge contributions from multimillionaire law firms and Wall Street giants like the Goldman Sachs Group, as reported by the Center for Public Integrity.

The choice of Edwards as Kerry's running mate is further proof that workers and oppressed people cannot look to either of the two capitalist parties for a solution. Only an independent, multinational, multi-gendered grassroots movement can truly fight for their interests and see the struggle through to victory.

All out for the DNC protest July 25 in Boston! □

On the eve of Democratic Convention in Boston

Anti-war, labor activists fight for right to protest

Continued from page 1

England Human Rights Organization for Haiti, the International Action Center, Women's Fightback Network and other organizations and individuals.

Another coalition, Boston Unions United for Fair Contracts, has also made no secret of its plans to demonstrate during the convention. The coalition—made up of city unions representing school bus drivers, water and sewer workers, cafeteria employees and many others—has been involved in numerous demonstrations and picket lines over the past several months.

According to Steve Gillis, president of Local 8751, "It is criminal to think of the amount of money being spent on this convention while unions such as mine are battling the city and corporations for just contracts. We have no intention of allowing this convention to go unchallenged and we have no intention of allowing our rights to protest and to free speech to be restricted.

"My union will participate in the July 25 march, and is planning labor solidarity demonstrations throughout the week. Local 8751 has a long history of demanding from the government money for jobs, education, health care, social security and housing—not for costly wars and occupations of sovereign countries like Iraq, Afghanistan and Haiti. These demands for workers' rights are in stark contrast to what we know of the Kerry/Edwards program."

Why protest the Democrats?

Those who subscribe to the "Anyone but Bush" theory may question why such a demonstration is planned. But picking up the daily newspaper or watching the evening news is a good reminder of the fundamental fact that the Democratic Party is just as much the party of capitalism and its imperialist course as the Republicans.

John Kerry is the undisputed wealthiest member of the Senate and as such he will defend his class as vigorously as Bush.

When it comes to Israel, Kerry wants the Sharon government to know that it has no better friend than him. Kerry has publicly stated that he supports the Apartheid Wall being constructed by the Israeli government and the brutal attacks against the Palestinian people. And he has stated that the Bush administration has not done enough to "counter" Iran.

(Boston Globe, July 2)

Kerry's claim that Iran is a "threat to the safety and security of Israel, the U.S. and the rest of the free world" is an overt threat to the people of Iran and to people throughout the Middle East.

John Kerry and the Democratic Party leadership all voted for the invasion of Iraq. And they all continue to support the occupation. In fact, Kerry has stated that unless more countries send troops to Iraq he would support deploying more GIs to fight against the Iraqi resistance.

The recent vote in the Senate approving a \$417 billion Pentagon budget passed 98-0. This budget contains billions of dollars for the much discredited "missile defense" program and billions more for the occupation of Iraq. Yet there was not one vote in opposition by the Democrats. This sent a clear message to the people of this country and the rest of the world: The Democratic Party stands shoulder-to-shoulder with George Bush and the Republicans.

This money, the largest Pentagon budget ever, is desperately needed in communities throughout this country. It is needed for union jobs, to rebuild schools, create housing, provide health care and daycare, and equip community centers. It is money that has been stolen from the labor of working people and it must be returned.

All out for July 25!

The true threat to the world is not the Iraqis, Palestinians, Iranians or any other peoples in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, the Caribbean or Latin America.

It is U.S. imperialism that seeks to dominate the world economically and militarily. It is U.S. imperialism that decided to invade Iraq on phony, trumped-up charges of weapons of mass destruction after 12 years of brutal economic sanctions.

It is U.S. imperialism that provides \$7 million a day in aid to the racist government of Israel, which includes attack helicopters and missiles used to murder and terrorize the Palestinian people. It is U.S. imperialism that invaded Haiti, kidnapped its president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and has overseen the killing of thousands of Lavalas supporters.

This is why it is important for the anti-war movement to not fall into the trap of "Anyone but Bush." Both Kerry and Bush are beholden to the same interests—the Pentagon and Wall Street.

The anti-war movement needs to be in

the streets of Boston on July 25 and throughout the week of the DNC, not to ask the Democrats and Kerry to be reasonable, but to demand that U.S. troops leave Iraq immediately. To demand an end to the colonial occupations of Iraq, Palestine and Haiti. To demand U.S. hands off Venezuela, Cuba and North Korea. To demand U.S. out of Colombia, Puerto Rico, Afghanistan and the Philippines.

To demand money for AIDS, jobs, housing, education and health care, not the Pentagon war machine.

To demand an end to the attacks on

undocumented workers, to stop racist detentions, roundups and deportations. To demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, Leonard Peltier, the Cuban 5 and all political prisoners.

To stand up and say no to racism, sexism, anti-lesbian/gay/bi/trans bigotry and all forms of oppression.

For more information about the July 25 march on the DNC, or about how to volunteer to help, contact ANSWER Boston: phone (617) 522-6626, email info@answerboston.org or visit www.answerboston.org. □



LeiLani Dowell
Peace & Freedom Party candidate
in the 8th Congressional District,
in San Francisco.

Teresa Gutierrez
for vice president

I want to help the Parker-Gutierrez-Dowell election campaign!

Here's my contribution of \$10 \$25
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www.vote4workers.org

Will the 2000 Florida 'vote' repeat itself in 2004?

By Monica Moorehead

With the presidential elections scheduled less than four months away, Florida's election process has once again caused a national firestorm of protest over the sabotaging of voter registration rolls where convicted "felons" are concerned. This recent development was proving to be such an embarrassment for Gov. Jeb Bush—George W.'s brother—that the purging program was suddenly halted if not scrapped altogether.

At the heart of this controversy is the fact that out of Florida's list of an estimated 48,000 convicted "felons," 22,000 of them are African Americans. That amounts to 46 percent. Yet African Americans make up just 11 percent of the overall Floridian registered voters. Those who consider themselves "Hispanic" or Latin@ make up 8 percent of Florida's registered voters; they accounted for only 61 of the individuals listed as "felons."

The vast majority of Black voters, more than 90 percent, reportedly identify with the Democratic Party, while many Latin@s vote Republican. Many of the pro-Republican Cuban Americans in Florida view the Bush administration as more anti-communist than the Democrats. It is little wonder that the state Republican administration would want to get rid of many of the Democratic Party electorate through purging to help George W. Bush carry the vote in Florida.

During the 2000 presidential elections,

Bush beat his Democratic opponent, Al Gore, by a mere 537 votes due to the disenfranchisement of thousands of African American voters and other oppressed sectors. This scandal included denying Black convicted "felons" the right to vote, many for the rest of their lives.

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld Bush's theft of the national election with a 5-4 vote. When members of the Congressional Black Caucus, a number of them representing Florida districts, tried to have a petition protesting the selection of Bush as president, not one Senator would back the petition.

This latest purging saw the light of day when it was discovered that more than 2,100 people on the "felons" list had won clemency, meaning that they were supposed to automatically have their voting rights reinstated. There was just one problem. These names were never removed from the "felons" list.

A matter of racism

The big-business media likes to frame this controversy within the context of Democrats vs. Republicans, but it goes much deeper than political affiliations with the capitalist parties. What lies

underneath this scandal is racism, pure and simple.

There are more than 2 million people presently incarcerated in local, state and federal prisons inside the U.S., the largest such population in the world. A hugely disproportionate number of these inmates are people of color, primarily Black, Latin@ and Native. There are more young Black men incarcerated than in U.S. universities. A large majority of those behind bars were convicted of drug related, non-violent felonies.

An estimated 4.7 million people in the U.S. are barred from voting due to felony convictions. That amounts to about 2 percent of the entire adult U.S. population. These startling figures do not factor in those who are undocumented but are still caught up into the vicious web of the U.S. criminal justice system.

Thirteen percent of Black men have had their voting rights taken away due to felony convictions, which is seven times the national average. Black people make up between 13 and 15 percent of the overall U.S. population.

According to a July 11 New York Times editorial, each state has its own rules and regulations on how ex-felons can restore

their right to vote. These rules are not made easily available for those who are released from prison. And the rules are written in a way that is very hard to understand. Thirty five states prohibit some "felons" from voting once they are released. Four states, including New York, allow "felons" who are on probation to vote, but not those on parole.

John Parker, Workers World Party's 2004 presidential candidate, remarked, "What is happening to Black voters in Florida, whether convicted 'felons' or not, is a racist attack on their democratic right to decide who will represent them whether in the State House or the White House. And Florida is just the tip of the iceberg. There are many other states, North and South, that are disenfranchising people of color in order to maintain the status quo.

"Our campaign is all about exposing the fact that there is no fundamental difference between the pro-war, pro-big business platforms of Bush and Kerry. At the same time, our campaign stands in complete solidarity with the struggles of oppressed peoples who to this day are still fighting for fundamental rights that whites on the whole have had for many decades." □

Socialist candidates on the ballot

A real choice for workers in Washington state

By Workers World Seattle bureau

Washington State election officials announced on July 9 that Workers World Party had achieved ballot status. Workers and progressives in that state now have the opportunity to vote for WWP presidential candidate John Parker and vice-presidential candidate Teresa Gutierrez in November.

Parker and Gutierrez are workers, people of color, anti-war activists and socialists running a protest campaign. They are challenging Republican George W. Bush and Democrat John Kerry, who they denounce as willing tools of big business and the military-industrial complex.

The Workers World Party candidates say workers, the poor, people of color, women, the lesbian, gay, bi and trans communities, immigrants, youth and students, rank-and-file soldiers, and all who are oppressed need their own party—one that fights for them and represents their interests.

Among the demands in Parker and Gutierrez's campaign platform are: Bring the troops home from Iraq now, union jobs and a guaranteed income for all, same-sex marriage rights now, abolish the Patriot Act, and extend full rights to immigrants, including the undocumented.

"Washington, like all the states, has complex and challenging rules for ballot access," explained Jim McMahan of Seattle, a campaign organizer. "These regulations were designed to keep progressive, working-class parties off the ballot. But we worked hard and overcame these obstacles, because we knew poor and working people in Washington State need an alternative to the twin parties of war, racism and cutbacks."

McMahan said WWP's message would resonate with millions of workers statewide who've suffered layoffs in recent years, including more than 75,000 Boeing workers who have been laid off since 1999. "Although some who lost their jobs have gotten new ones, most are working for lower pay, with fewer benefits and less job security."

The official Voters Guide mailed to every registered voter in Washington State will include a statement from the WWP candidates.

Big issues: LGBT rights, war, jobs

Parker-Gutierrez supporters gathered close to 2,000 signatures from registered voters in one week, from June 27 to July 3. The petitioning took place during WWP's statewide convention in Seattle. Many signed at Seattle's Lesbian/Gay/ Bi/Trans Pride Festival.

"People in Seattle were very responsive to our campaign and our candidates," reported Sue Kelly. "It was exciting to see how many folks responded positively to the fact that we are a socialist party. Quite a few recognized WWP."

"At Pride, our candidates being an African American man and a Latina lesbian was a huge positive. There and in general, most people were attracted by our opposition to the Iraq war. Our demand for money for jobs and human needs was the next most important issue," Kelly said.

"In the succeeding days, depending on where we were, the economic issues were often foremost. The people see the connection between the war and the economic issues. A few people—more than I expected—said they had been classified as convicted felons who had lost their voting rights, and wanted them back."

"I petitioned for two days at the Pride Festival and got a good response," said David Sole. "The hardest thing was that there are still many people who want anyone but Bush. These folks admitted that Kerry was for sending more troops to Iraq and not favorable to same-sex marriage, but still weren't ready to break with the Democrats. But it was important for them to hear an independent view."

"While LGBT rights was a big issue at the festival," he added, "the war in Iraq was also important to many who signed."

Maggie Vascassenno explained, "At the community college where I petitioned, close to the LGBT community, the response to my appeal for signatures was very gratifying—a high percentage of people that I approached were glad to sign."

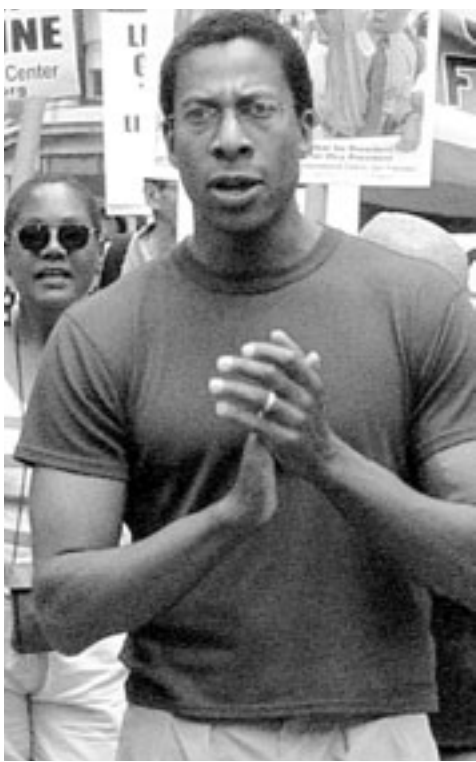
"One of the most poignant moments was when I was speaking to the father of an 8-year-old African American girl. After listening closely to my rap, and repeatedly looking at the campaign literature, she asked in a quiet voice, 'Is that a Black man running for president?'"

Presidential candidate John Parker told Workers World that a July 13 demonstration by Latinos in Washington's Yakima Valley showed why WWP is running. The group was protesting government round-ups of immigrant agricultural workers in the region.

"We want to represent the interests of our fellow workers, including immigrants who are under attack, regardless of whether they can vote for us," said Parker.

He explained: "We are building a people's movement that will continue far beyond the elections."

To learn more about WWP campaign, visit www.vote4workers.org. □



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for president**

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323.936.1416

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JOIN WWP

War crimes tribunal to kick off week of resistance

By Heather Cottin
New York

The People's War Crimes Tribunal on Iraq, set for Aug. 26, will draw antiwar activists from around the world to New York City to kick off the Week of Resistance to the Republican National Convention. Beginning a week that will escalate into protests of hundreds of thousands against the Bush administration, the Aug. 26 hearing will be coordinated by the International Action Center, said IAC co-director Sara Flounders.

"We expect the hearing to demonstrate that the U.S. war on Iraq has been a unilateral attack on the lives, sovereignty, culture, health and future of the people of Iraq," said Flounders. "It will show that the United States government has broken international laws and committed crimes against humanity. It will demonstrate that the resistance of the people of Iraq is a legitimate response to the invasion of their country."

During the U.S. war against Vietnam, British philosopher Bertrand Russell first

proposed the idea of an international war crimes tribunal that would expose U.S. aggression, resulting in 1967 in a tribunal that was a powerful condemnation of U.S. policies.

When former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and others founded the IAC, one of its chief purposes was to oppose the U.S. lawbreaking that marked the first Gulf War and the killer sanctions. Subsequently, the IAC has conducted a people's tribunal against the U.S./NATO aggression against Yugoslavia, and assisted a tribunal reviewing the genocidal U.S./UN attack on Korea in the 1950s.

Groups from many countries got together to form the World Tribunal on Iraq, based on Russell's tribunal. These groups have already organized tribunal hearings in Japan, Belgium, Germany, Sweden and Turkey and here in New York, where they found evidence of U.S. guilt of war crimes, including crimes against humanity and the most serious, crimes against peace.

The IAC has participated in this effort. IAC spokespersons testified in a hearing in

Japan in March via video and Flounders testified at the Brussels, Belgium, three-day hearing in April that examined U.S. policymakers' long-term plans to wage war on Iraq.

Representatives from many of these tribunal groups will join with anti-war activists from India, South Korea, the Philippines, England, Spain, Italy, and Egypt in New York on Aug. 26 to bear witness to the U.S. criminal war and occupation of Iraq.

Solidarity of world anti-war movement

The organization of these international tribunals is a testimony to the strength and solidarity of the worldwide anti-war movement. In some of these countries, Spain and Turkey for example, the people's movements have forced the recall of troops or prevented their governments from joining the bogus "coalition of the willing." Movements in South Korea and the Philippines have shaken their government's resolve to participate in the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq.

Flounders said that the Aug. 26 program would include "testimony on the treatment of Iraq's civilians, including the children. Expert witnesses with experience during the war and after in Iraq's hospitals will speak on the health crisis brought about by the war."

She explained: "We have invited experts to give testimony on the destruction of the water system of Iraq, on the sacking of the museums and libraries, on the deliberate targeting of hospitals, universities and schools. Testimony about the weapons of war, from depleted uranium to cluster bombs, will show a deliberate pattern of waging war on the civilian population."

"We also expect to bring up the torture carried out, not only in Abu Ghraib prison, but as a routine part of the U.S. occupation of Iraq, including the illegal arrest of thousands of Iraqis," said Flounders.

"We also have invited representatives of the movement of U.S. servicepeople who oppose the war, including war resisters and their relatives and supporters, to testify about the growing GI resistance," she said.

The IAC has announced it will publish a journal with some of the text, photos and documentary evidence that will make its case against the U.S. authorities. The group plans to distribute thousands of copies of this document during the week of resistance against the Republican National Convention that follows the tribunal.

"We are constructing a new website to publish the results of the People's War Crimes Tribunal hearing on Iraq," said Flounders. "There will be testimony on the website with evidence of the havoc the U.S. occupation has created in Iraq."

"Most significantly, the website will allow people around the world to see that the anti-war movement in the United States is ready to judge the Bush administration guilty. Visitors to the site can vote to judge this criminal U.S. gang guilty." □



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Protests set in U.S. to enforce action as

International court condemns Israeli 'Apartheid Wall'

By John Catalinotto

The International Court in The Hague ruled on July 10 that the 20-foot-high concrete wall under construction by the Israeli state is "in breach of international law." The judges said that "the construction of the wall and its associate regime creates a 'fait accompli' on the ground that could well become permanent, in which case, and notwithstanding the formal characterization by Israel, it would be tantamount to de facto annexation."

The court ordered the Israelis to stop building, to tear down those sections of the wall that are on the occupied territory of the West Bank, and to compensate the Palestinians for what they have lost because the wall was built.

While technically Israel's refusal to agree to this ruling makes it an outlaw state, it would be a mistake to think that some international sanctions are in the works. As of now this court's ruling only has the effect of recognizing that the Israeli state—with its U.S. supporters—has added another criminal act to a long list of crimes against the Palestinians.

Even the Israeli Supreme Court found fault with this wall, which many call the

"Apartheid Wall," made of concrete and barbed wire and trenches. Only limited fault, of course. In its June 30 judgment, it only required that the wall's builders take into account the needs of the Palestinian population it was walling off, instead of just riding roughshod over them.

The only one of the 15 International Court judges who dissented from the ruling was the U.S. judge, Thomas Buergenthal. Later, a judge from the Netherlands joined the U.S. judge in refusing to ask that the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council take up the question.

The European Union supported the ruling. The Bush administration opposed it and continued to support Israel's construction of the wall, just as it has supported every aggressive action taken by the Ariel Sharon regime against the Palestinian people.

Just as he has supported the continued occupation of Iraq, the Democratic Party challenger to Bush—John Kerry—has also come out in favor of the wall, even reversing a position he took a year ago.

Call to end 'Apartheid Wall'

Palestinian President Yasser Arafat on July 10 called the court's decision "a victory

for justice in the land of peace. We salute this decision condemning the racist wall."

Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmad Qurei said, "The international high court decided clearly today that this racist wall is illegal to the root and Israel should stop building it and take down what has already been built of this wall. We welcome this decision."

The Palestinian National Authority said it will ask the United Nations Security Council to adopt the ruling so that actions could be taken against Israel's construction of the wall. If the United States representative were to veto such a resolution, as is expected—as the U.S. has vetoed almost all resolutions against the illegal actions of its client settler state—then it will ask the General Assembly to adopt the ruling.

Relief from these international agencies, which are so dependent on the imperialist powers, is unlikely.

But there is still the option of independent mass action. In the United States, the Free Palestine Alliance, a member organization of the ANSWER steering committee, has announced a series of three sets of two-day actions—including setting up tents in public spaces combined with hun-

ger strikes to protest the wall. These are set for July 24-25, on the eve of the Democratic National Convention; on Aug. 28-29, leading up to the Republican National Convention; and on Jan. 19-20, 2005, leading up to the presidential inauguration.

"In solidarity with the ongoing Palestinian hunger strike against the Israeli Apartheid Wall," says the group's call to action, "and in honor of all who are struggling against war, racism and poverty across the globe, from Iraq, to Haiti, to Afghanistan and beyond, the Free Palestine Alliance calls for a 'Solidarity Fast' in Tents of Justice and Peace throughout the country" on those six days.

"We will fast to bring down the Apartheid Wall that is placing the Palestinian people in a segregation prison of racism and bigotry. We will fast to call for the right to return of the Palestinian people to their homes and homeland after 56 years of exile and dispossession," the group says.

Workers World newspaper urges its readers to support these actions and to join in the call to end the Apartheid Wall. For more information, or to join/organize a "Solidarity Fast", please write to: info@freepalestinealliance.org. □

The material basis for a U.S. setback

A large & growing Iraqi resistance

By Sara Flounders

The Iraqi resistance is so large and has so much popular support among nationalist Iraqis angered by the presence of U.S. troops that it cannot be defeated militarily. That was the conclusion of U.S. military analysts in a July 9 Associated Press article, "Iraq insurgency larger than thought."

These analysts each said the insurgency is large, has broad popular support, and is well armed and organized for a guerrilla force, made up of dozens of regional cells and exhibiting many specialized skills, and that, "Ridding Iraq of U.S. troops was the motivator for most insurgents, not the formation of an Islamic state."

Anthony Cordesman, an Iraq analyst with the Center for Strategic and International Studies said: "They have learned a great deal over the last year, and with far more continuity than the rotating U.S. forces and Iraqi security forces. They have learned to react very quickly and in ways our sensors and standard tactics cannot easily deal with."

Looking for a news scoop, Australian journalist Michael Ware, in Baghdad for Time magazine, had sought contacts with armed resistance units. He finally received videos made by resistance camera units. According to Ware, these confirmed that for months Iraq's resistance had been recording its most spectacular hits of U.S. military targets.

These videos were similar to those Hezbollah guerrillas released immediately after recording well-planned and sophisticated resistance attacks in Lebanon against Israeli occupation in the 1990s. Like those earlier releases, this current one to U.S. media seems intended as psychological warfare aimed at demoralizing the occupation and its collaborators.

In a CNN posting July 7, Ware described the video of the attack on the four armed mercenaries working for the Blackwater Corp. who were killed in Falluja last March. In the video a hooded man shows how a satellite image was used to map out the attack route, circling the point of contact. The video also shows a military map, Blackwater letterhead, the names of the recipients, the dates.

Then the video records the actual attack. A group of men, their faces covered, split into two groups and throw hand grenades into the two vehicles carrying the Blackwater contractors. As the vehicles are engulfed in flames, they are sprayed with small arms fire. Until the video arrived, U.S. officials said they didn't know just how carefully the resistance had planned this attack.

Another video records the attack on the convoy and the assassination of the chairman of the U.S.-appointed Iraqi Governing Council, Izzedine Salam, on June 14.

Ware says that "in the last three days, I've received seven new tapes from different parts of the resistance—Islamic guerrillas, Iraqi nationalists and independents... They have reached a level of organization and sophistication that we have not seen previously. They have become incredibly savvy... This is far more serious, far more organized, committed, than many of us realized."

People's war more powerful

This is what the CIA and all the intelligence arms of U.S. imperialism failed to predict or warn. The Pentagon is up against a far more formidable, organized

and determined opponent in Iraq than it anticipated.

The Pentagon and the entire U.S. ruling class forgot what they learned in Vietnam about the power of a popular national resistance. In their arrogance of power they have made an historic miscalculation.

In Vietnam they committed a half million troops and built up a puppet army of almost a million equipped with the most powerful and sophisticated weapons. Still, they could not defeat a guerrilla movement rooted in determination to free their land from colonial occupation.

Fifty-six years ago the same lesson came out of China. Mao Zedong, who led the largest guerrilla army in history, explained this in the simplest terms: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a question of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale."

French colonialism learned the same bitter lesson in Vietnam and later in Algeria. The Israelis had the same experience in Lebanon and today on the West Bank and in Gaza.

After Vietnam the U.S. military-industrial complex developed a whole new series of weapons that convinced the Pentagon it was invincible. With night-vision goggles, body-heat detectors, eavesdropping equipment, satellites that could read the license plate on a car and firepower that could scorch the earth, the brass couldn't wait to try out their new high-tech equipment. They beamed images of their enormous firepower throughout the Arab world in an effort to demoralize the Iraqi military.

Guerrilla warfare planned before war

The Iraqi leaders knew from the 1991 war that they had no missiles that could hit a U.S. jet bomber or stop a tank. Anyone visiting Iraq in February and March 2003 heard them openly repeat what Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz even said in interviews: "What the jungles were to Vietnam, our cities will be to us."

The entire population received basic training in urban guerrilla warfare tactics. Iraq announced that in a population of 22 million, some 7 million people, both men and women, had received basic militia training. They could function as a guerrilla army against the U.S. occupier. The regime distributed hand weapons and explosives to the population and trained them in their use.

The regime explained that since the government apparatus could not survive a U.S. bombing, it would open the warehouses and distribute six months of basic rations to every family, then appealed to the public to remember to feed all resistance fighters.

Nightly TV broadcasts covered neighborhood militias and army units drilling for urban warfare. The leadership constantly referred to the history of militant anti-imperialist struggles that had forged Iraq as a nation in the modern era. These included the lessons of 1920 when Iraqis—Shia and Sunni—united and together rose against British colonial authority; the 1958 revolution that overturned the British-installed monarchy; and the 1973 oil nationalization.

The Pentagon dismissed this popular mobilization. U.S. military planners expected the "shock and awe" of mass bombing and "blitzkrieg" to overwhelm

and demoralize the population. After the military victory, countless stories were leaked through the media that the entire Iraqi leadership had made a deal and fled into comfortable exile. All symbols of Saddam Hussein's regime were publicly destroyed.

Occupation troops allowed every government ministry except the oil ministry, as well as museums, the national archives and universities, to be looted and stripped bare, destroying every symbol of national identity.

No one knew for sure just how the population would use the training and weapons once the Baathist regime was smashed. Would the population ground down by more than a decade of U.S. sanctions be too weary to sacrifice and fight?

Before long the racist arrogance and sheer brutality of the occupation lit the spark of resistance.

Low- and high-tech vulnerability

The Pentagon's war planners made another historic miscalculation. They were so drunk with the power of their high-tech weapons they didn't consider that this higher technical level is now a world phenomenon.

The Pentagon is no longer up against an illiterate and isolated peasantry. The global working class, which includes Iraqi workers, is technically sophisticated.

Iraq's many tens of thousands of trained engineers, technicians and scientists are able to fashion many low-tech ambushes of occupation convoys, set off from blocks away with cell phones or remote-control doorbells. There are an average of 50 roadside ambushes per day using just this simple technology.

An article in Wired News of May 26, entitled "Wartime Wireless Worries Pentagon," states that the rapid proliferation of digital cameras, and wireless gadgets among soldiers and military contractors troubles senior officers. The hundreds of images of abuse in Iraqi prisons or the image of rows of coffins that reached the Internet demonstrate just how difficult it has become to control today's information technology.

No longer is one official spokesperson's word the only information. The officer corps has a whole new problem with controlling what rank-and-file soldiers know and can disseminate.

They also find it much more difficult to limit what information their opponents have about their every movement. According to Department of Defense spokesperson Lt. Col. Ken McClellan: "We're in a situation today where everyone is using a cell phone, Blackberry or some sort of wireless device that can carry voice, imagery or text... We don't want a situation where anyone with a scanner can figure what we are about to do."

Myth of Iraq's weapons

The entire ruling class here backed the war when it looked like an easy victory. The U.S. Congress overwhelmingly voted to give full authorization to Bush to wage war. The corporate media totally fell in line. The decision to initiate an overwhelming attack and to occupy Iraq was never based on fear of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Rather, the Pentagon

attacked because its officers calculated that Iraq was effectively disarmed of all heavy weapons. With their eyes on the prize of re-conquering and reshaping the entire Middle East for Corporate America, the Pentagon miscalculated that the fear their assault sowed would be greater than the rage it would ignite.

It is no surprise that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction—the lie that the Bush administration used to justify the war. For most of 13 years every truck into Iraq was stopped and minutely inspected by United Nations inspectors. Thousands of ships in the Persian Gulf were routinely boarded and inspected in the hunt for smuggled goods.

Iraq's trade was totally frozen. Billions of dollars of the country's assets were seized and held in Western banks. All imports for any kind of spare parts for any industry, including sanitation and sewage, were banned, except under a strict UN-monitored review.

Every single industrial location in Iraq was inspected numerous times, along with schools, science labs and administrative buildings in the country. Cameras with 24-hour monitoring were put up in many hundreds of industrial locations. There were more than 9,000 inspections. Iraq was systematically de-industrialized.

The CIA received the inspectors' reports before the UN Security Council did. Satellite photos monitored every movement of every truck.

Deeper into the quagmire

The current U.S. force of 138,000 troops is supplemented by 10,000 British troops and 10,000 troops bribed and pressured from other countries, along with 20,000 well-paid mercenaries working for private contractors. The generals now admit this force cannot crush the resistance.

Yet the political stakes for U.S. imperialism's control in the whole region are so great that no top U.S. political leader dares to insist that the U.S. pull out.

Maintaining even this level of forces has become a strain. Twenty-one out of 33 regular U.S. Army combat brigades are on active duty in Iraq, Afghanistan, South Korea or the Balkans. The Pentagon has

repeatedly issued "stop loss" orders, called up all possible reserves and recalled retired soldiers. This can only become harder as more publicity shows U.S. soldiers dying or returning with horrific injuries.

All four branches of the military missed their enlistment quotas last year. According to a poll conducted by Stars and Stripes, 49 percent of soldiers stationed in Iraq do not plan to re-enlist.

Both George W. Bush and John Kerry, candidates for the presidency in November, call for continuing the U.S. occupation of Iraq. U.S. imperialism has so much geared its competitive success toward controlling the Middle East region that it will try everything else before leaving. The contradiction between the drive to keep controlling Iraq and the growing resistance to U.S. rule has created a crisis of historic proportions. It also has the potential to radicalize U.S. troops trapped in an untenable situation along with the people at home who are forced to bear the cost of endless war. □





Unbossed & unbought

In Selma, Ala., a monument commemorates the Rev. Hosea Williams, late African American civil rights activist, with these words: "Unbossed and Unbought!" In Georgia, Cynthia McKinney continues that defiant tradition of resistance to oppression as she campaigns for re-election to the U.S. House of Representatives in the 4th Congressional District, just east of Atlanta.

In 1991, McKinney, then a member of the Georgia House of Representatives, denounced the U.S. war on Iraq while her colleagues walked out on her. Urged by women civic leaders to run for Congress because of her anti-war stance, McKinney did—and won, becoming in 1992 the first African American woman from Georgia to go to Washington.

She then served five terms, battling for the disenfranchised, workers and impoverished people, and against racism and exploitation by transnational companies worldwide.

She fiercely opposed U.S. sanctions on Iraq. At the same time, she worked to end Pentagon abuse of U.S. soldiers forced into the armed forces by the "poverty draft," sponsoring legislation to limit the use of depleted uranium (DU) weapons.

In scathing comments, she questioned the trillions spent on the Pentagon and its sweetheart deals with Halliburton and other corporations. And she sought to hold U.S. companies accountable for "the culture of racism in corporate America."

McKinney confronted the president of Lockheed Martin about conditions in its southern plants, saying, "It's time to leave the KKK membership cards, robes and racist activities at home." Lockheed did nothing and three years later, a white worker who had once worn a Klan hood to work shot 14 co-workers, 12 of them African American.

McKinney stood for Indigenous people in Australia against exploitation by mining corporations, and for poor Georgia farmers, Black and white, against South African companies operating in the U.S.

She has been a staunch supporter of Palestinian self-determination, and a stern challenger to the Bush administration's racist profiling of Muslim, Arab, and Southeast Asian people during its so-called "war on terrorism."

She was one of the first members of Congress to demand an investigation into what the Bush administration knew about events leading up to 9/11. For this she was vilified by the Republicans, characterized as a "loose cannon" by ostensibly liberal National Public Radio, and described as "loony" by a senator from her own Democratic Party—while white senators who similarly called for an investigation of intelligence failures were treated seriously.

In 2002, McKinney was unseated in her bid for re-election. Her opposition to U.S. policy in the Middle East and her support for Palestine drew the ire of Republicans and of a Zionist lobby organization, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). They were supported by so-called "moderate" Democrats who were frightened by her fearless challenge of Bush after the events of 9/11.

Years of struggle for equal representation for African Americans in Georgia was subverted as an estimated 40,000 Republicans crossed party lines to vote against her in the Democratic primary, and money from outside the state poured in to ensure her defeat.

But the struggle for African American self-determination in the South continues today as it has from the moment the first enslaved African was forcibly kidnapped to Virginia in 1619. African American people and their allies have waged this fight in armed rebellions, in untold daily resistance, in political marches through rural counties and city streets where they were shot at and met by tear gas, police dogs, bludgeons, knives and fists.

Cynthia McKinney will attempt to write another chapter in that struggle, by re-taking her seat in Congress on July 20, the date for this year's Democratic primary. The winner of the primary is considered a shoo-in for November.

She is supported by a broad coalition united around her—labor unions, women's rights groups, Jewish progressives, environmentalists, Arab and Muslim organizations, lesbian and gay activists, and anti-racist groups. The 200,000-strong Georgia State AFL-CIO has just endorsed her, saying she is "100 percent for labor as well as other working people's issues."

Workers World Party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates, John Parker and Teresa Gutierrez, send Cynthia McKinney heartiest well-wishes for victory! □

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LOS ANGELES

IAC forum on Africa



The Los Angeles International Action Center hosted a July 9 forum on Africa with featured speaker Donatien Bukuba, a New York-based IAC activist. His remarks focused on the current imperialist-led war in Congo and the impact of U.S. sanctions on Zimbabwe. A leader from the Congolese community attended the meeting along with many new visitors from the Black community. □

Donatien Bukuba
PHOTO: MINJOK-TONGSHIN

A brief history of imperialist intervention in East Africa

By G. Dunkel

Chad and the Sudan are two extremely poor countries in East Africa that were linked in the 19th century by the scramble of French imperialism, in competition with British imperialism, to divide Africa.

To understand the current political situation in the Sudan, and how the United States is intervening there, some background information is useful.

The United States has basically shoved Great Britain out of Africa, and taken over its neocolonialist interests. U.S. military forces are spread throughout the continent. France still has a considerable presence in Africa, including major elements of its armed forces, but has adopted a policy of not directly confronting the U.S.

Geographically, the Sudan is about as large as the United States, with an estimated population of 33 million. Average per capita income is \$300 a year. Roughly speaking, northern Sudan is part of the Sahara, with the Nile and its sources running through it. The southern part gets more rain and has trees, grasslands and marshes.

The Sudan has over 200 ethnic groups with as many languages. In the north of the country, most people call themselves Arab and use a dialect of Arab as their language. Classical Arabic is its official language. In the south, people regard themselves as African and use a variety of languages, but generally not Arabic.

The Sudan was a collection of independent principalities and sultanates, running from the southern border of Egypt to Ethiopia, before the Egyptians conquered it in the early 19th century. In 1881, the Sudanese rose up against Egyptian control, under the leadership of the Mahdi, an Islamic religious figure.

The Mahdi state was overthrown by the British army under the command of Gen. Horatio Herbert Kitchener in a series of battles that saw the British use machine guns to slaughter thousands of Sudanese while suffering less than a hundred casualties themselves.

The British were in competition with a French army contingent under the command of Capt. Jean-Baptiste Marchand, who had planted the French flag at Fashoda, a small fort on the White Nile in the south of Sudan. It was a race to see whether the British would control a north-south axis from Cairo to Cape Town or the French would control an east-west axis.

The French lost the confrontation, which involved threats of war between the two countries. Britain maintained control of the Sudan and France got the Western Sudan, which included the present-day countries of Chad and the Central African Republic.

Britain did not have full control over the Sudan until 1916, when it replaced the Sultan of Darfur. It mounted its last expedition against a

revolt in the south in 1928. British rule depended on dividing the Muslim north from the Christian or animist south. It left isolated, unprofitable regions like Darfur, where both the Arabs and the Africans were Muslims, to work out their own arrangements.

Independence and after

After Sudan's formal independence in 1956, relations between the north and the south were tense. The guerrilla group Anya Nya took the field in 1964. It petered out but the economic and political differences didn't.

Finally in 1983, after a mutiny of an army battalion at Bor, the Sudanese People's Liberation Army was established and the civil war commenced. It has lasted ever since, though serious peace talks are currently taking place in Kenya.

The United States now wants peace in the Sudan because substantial oil reserves have been discovered in the south, but can't be exploited while a civil war is going on.

John Parker, Workers World Party's candidate for U.S. president, visited the Sudan as a journalist in 1998 after the U.S. government sent cruise missiles crashing into a pharmaceutical plant in its capital, Khartoum. Then-President Bill Clinton claimed he had "convincing information" that the plant had been used to manufacture chemical weapons, a claim refuted by experts who examined it.

In a Sept. 3, 1998, article in Workers World newspaper, Parker pointed out that the United States had imposed economic sanctions on the Sudan for years and had strengthened them. They are still in effect.

The U.S., according to Parker, had also sent significant military aid to the SPLA. According to an article in the December 2002 issue of *Afrique-Asie*, this aid has continued to flow to the SPLA and military forces allied with them.

Darfur, in the western part of the Sudan, bordering Chad, became the focus of another civil war in 2003. In 1989, it had been the base for Idriss Deby, a Chadian general who was in the process of overthrowing President Hissène Habre. France went along with Deby's coup because he promised to put an end to armed anti-imperialist resistance to French neocolonialism in Chad—another country with significant oil deposits. Deby is a Zaghawa, an ethnic group found on both sides of the border.

The Sudanese Liberation Army, one of the armed groups from Darfur that began this civil war with attacks on army bases and guard posts, was commanded by Abdallah Abakkar, one of Deby's officers in his military campaign to become president of Chad. (*Le Monde diplomatique*, June 2004)

Sources: "The Race to Fashoda," by David Levering Lewis, and "The History of the Sudan," 5th ed., by P.M. Holt and M.W. Daly

Capitalism shakes the branches

By Leslie Feinberg

As city life and capitalist industrialization were shaking up family and sexual relations for Russian male workers, women also felt their impact.

Historian Dan Healy wrote, "Same-sex relations between women in tsarist and early Soviet Russia reflected the general transformation of women's roles and opportunities. For increasing numbers of women, the ties of the patriarchal village were loosening and breaking, and as with migrant men in the city, links to family ... were not always sufficient to maintain traditional forms of surveillance, including the monitoring of sexual behavior." ("Homosexual Desire")

While capitalism shook the branches of this rooted patriarchal system, it left the trunk intact.

Russian women were still weighed down with the burden of patriarchal family relations that served the class interests of the semi-feudal, semi-imperialist state.

Laura Engelstein writes, "Imperial Russian law established a system of power within the family at least as autocratic as the one governing the operation of the state: the husband wielded absolute authority over the wife, and the father entirely dominated the children. Women could not leave their households or undertake paid employment without the formal permission of father or husband, who controlled their access to the necessary official papers. No law protected women against physical abuse short of severe bodily injury.

"No formal grounds existed for legal separation; divorce, for which adultery constituted one of the few legitimate reasons, could be obtained only after elaborate and humiliating (or duplicitous) procedures; annulment was a rare and arduous attainment. No one of any age, male or female, could marry without the permission of parents or other appropriate authorities. By ancient custom, women had the legal right to maintain their own property after marriage, but they suffered severe disadvantages when it came to inheriting family wealth." ("Fin-de-Siècle Russia")

Nadezhda Krupskaya, a Bolshevik leader and author of the pre-revolutionary pamphlet "The Woman Worker," described company housing at the Thornton Broadcloth Mill, which, like much of Russian industry, was foreign-owned. Workers lived in "a huge building with an endless number of rooms, the partitions not up to the ceiling. ... The din was ear-splitting. The walls were green with damp. There were two families in each of the rooms, which were not large. ... They dried their laundry in the room, and it was so stifling the oil-lamps sputtered. ... Dormitory rooms were terribly crowded. ... The working day was incredibly long (12-14 hours at the textile mills). We saw some of the women workers lying on the cots in exhaustion, their faces in their pillows." ("Soviet Women")

Urban living also left its mark on the lives of male workers. "The rapid expansion of Russia's industrial base was accomplished by large numbers of male workers living in cities where there was neither space nor money for the replication of peasant marriage and family patterns," Healey wrote. "In tsarist Moscow, working men in the sexually active younger age groups outnumbered women, and they were crowded together in accommodations precluding any possibility of starting families or of bringing a wife and children from the village to join them." ("Homosexual Desire")

As peasants were pulled towards the vortex of urbanization in search of jobs, "A significant proportion of these newcomers stayed only temporarily or seasonally; many left wives and families behind in the village," Healey notes. "Others settled and became the basis of an urban proletariat in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and a handful of other centers. Urban workers' housing was crowded. A huge proportion lived in barracks, flop-houses, or shared rooms and even shared beds; a significant percentage lived in employers' households and workshops.

"Men found opportunities for sexual expression with each other in Russia's industrializing centers. As they exploited these new possibilities, they transformed Russian masculinity's traditional patterns of mutual male eros." ("Homosexual Desire")

That same-sex Eros—including, in some instances, lesbian love—was expressed eloquently in the literature and arts produced in the late 19th century by the radicalized intelligentsia that was funded and flourished in the battle of the rising bourgeoisie and their imperialist backers against feudalism.

This articulation of the love that was finally speaking out in its own name flowered after the easing of censorship of books and periodicals following the 1905 Revolution against Tsar Nicholas II.

Two currents in women's struggle

The emancipation of women and the overall struggle for sexual liberation are closely tied, in particular because sexual subjugation in general is historically a key weapon of patriarchal domination.

That connection was visible in the late 19th century as revolutionary activists established collective living spaces. These political revolutionaries, writes Mandel, "established communes in the largest cities that were, particularly for women, places of refuge for runaways from the patriarchalism of smaller towns or family estates."

Mandel describes this collective living and the gender expression that was its hallmark in his own words, perhaps limited by his own concepts: "The members of the communes shared money, food, and possessions. The women particularly expressed their contempt for existing society by violating its rules of dress. They wore their hair straight, their clothing severe and comfortable, glasses whenever they needed them, and particularly violated convention by smoking. A unisex effect was striven for, not in the wearing of trousers, which was unthinkable, but in the abandonment of everything that made for femininity and for regarding women as sex objects." ("Soviet Women")

Between 1905 and 1917, two clear currents emerged in Russia that vied for leadership in the women's movement. One was socialist, seeking nothing less than the complete liberation of all workers and peasants from class domination. The other was a feminist grouping that was more middle- and upper-class in its composition and political orientation. It

focused its struggle on the right to vote—an important bourgeois democratic demand.

In December 1908, for example, the feminists organized a Russia-wide congress in which more than 1,000 delegates took part. Only 45 working women were present and not one single woman from the peasantry—the class that represented Russia's vast majority of laborers.

The revolutionary women's current looked very different. In 1913, the Bolsheviks organized an important first celebration in Russia of International Women's Day. Their organizing was in sharp distinction to a January congress on women's education convened by liberal intellectuals to which only a few women workers had been invited.

The Bolsheviks knew that in the repressive political climate of that year, the police would not issue a permit for a demonstration. So they secured the Grain Exchange for a "learned symposium." On the day of the event, March 8, the federal police—who were present at all meetings and could end any gathering at a whim—filled the first two rows in the hall.

The speakers at the Bolshevik-organized event were all women—working women. One of the leading voices at the meeting was a 25-year-old weaver who had been a member of her union executive board for six years. The weaver described the class composition and mood of the event: "No matter how poor the working women were, on 'their day,' the first holiday of women in Russia, they put on the very best they had, and the packed hall looked like a meadow in May from the brightness of the colors. ... [The police] didn't succeed in spoiling our holiday, although every speaker had to get her most private thoughts across to the audience as though breaking through the alert silence of the first rows." ("Soviet Women")

The outbreak of the inter-imperialist World War I in 1914 illuminated the bourgeois political foundation of those who identified with the feminist current. According to Richard Stites, a researcher in Denmark, "The feminists were rhapsodic about the great possibilities of serving the [Russian] fatherland and, in return, gathering political dividends for themselves. They showed no subtlety in connecting their 'sacrifices' to eventual payment in the coin of women's suffrage." ("Soviet Women")

Stites notes it was not well-to-do movement women who did most of the sacrificing during WWI. It was the women and men of the laboring classes who sacrificed.

And women workers paid with their sweat in toil, too. The percentage of women workers in factories had reached 30 percent of the total when the war broke out.

By 1917, as the imperialist war brought hunger and want, death and disability, thousands of women in the St. Petersburg needle trade walked out on strike, marching through the streets demanding "peace, bread and land." Male workers joined them, swelling the ranks of protest to 90,000.

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PRIDE
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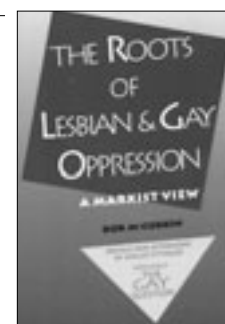
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That strike broke out on March 8—International Women's Day—and it was the first shot of the anti-capitalist Russian Revolution.

Capitalism's historical task

Capitalism in Russia, like feudalism, relied on the patriarchal family structures as economic units. The rule of capital accumulation created its own super-structure of law, religion, politics and education to justify the inequality of its economic base. And it enforced this economic and social injustice with brutal state repression.

World War I—an outgrowth of capitalism's drive to expand its relentless search for profits beyond its own border—was also having a profound impact on patriarchal family relations. The war uprooted millions of peasants and workers in Russia and elsewhere, disrupting planting and harvesting, production and family reproduction.

This clash of imperialist titans over who would steal the land, labor and resources of colonized peoples only profited the imperial victors. The war was slaughtering tens of millions of laborers and oppressed peoples, and exacerbating the super-exploitation and suffering of peoples caught in the grip of colonialism.

Capitalism, in relation to feudalism, was a progressive force in that it was a superior economic system—a qualitative leap in human productivity. Capitalism eradicated much of the medievalism of feudal autocracy with its need for science and technological advance. Capitalism socialized the artisan's individual tools, forging them into massive means of production. It galvanized a working class.

But the social relationship of capital—of exploiter and exploited—is a brutal one for workers and oppressed peoples.

And capitalism in Russia was too weak and too subordinated to the existing imperialist countries to even fulfill its bourgeois democratic promises to the masses. The brief liberal capitalist regime ushered in by the February 1917 Revolution solved none of their problems. It couldn't get out of the war that was killing the workers and peasants because the ruling class had imperial ambitions. It couldn't distribute the land to the peasants. And it couldn't meet the most elementary demands of the workers. Thus, the Bolshevik slogan of "Bread, land and peace" won the masses over to the need for a second revolution.

And this revolution in October 1917 created a workers' state that began the work of uprooting the entire trunk of ruling-class economic structures. It was no accident that one of the first acts of the Bolshevik government was to abolish the tsarist anti-gay and anti-woman laws.

Next: Bolshevik Revolution advances women's and gay rights.

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EDITORIAL

Bush y la OTAN

La pandilla de Bush ha sido tan arrogante en utilizar su poder militar unilateralmente en Irak que la petición de Bush de ayuda a la OTAN puede parecer erróneamente como un paso hacia la paz. Eso sería un enorme malentendido sobre el papel que juega la OTAN. La OTAN no es una organización de “guardianes de la paz.” Es una alianza militar liderada por los Estados Unidos y las potencias más antiguas de Europa, dirigida contra los obreros y las naciones oprimidas.

Los Estados Unidos fundó la OTAN en 1949 para prevenir que la revolución socialista entrara a la Europa Occidental y amenazar a la Unión Soviética. También garantizó la supremacía de la política exterior de los Estados Unidos en cuanto a sus aliados europeos. La estructura de la OTAN tenía a los oficiales estadounidenses a la cabeza, y los poderes imperialistas más débiles en la Europa Oriental subordinaron sus intereses individuales a la confrontación con el campo socialista.

Mientras que la URSS y el Pacto de Varsovia existían, la OTAN no atacó militarmente. No podía. Pero los planes de la OTAN formaron las bases para el golpe militar pro fascista de los coroneles griegos en 1967. Los agentes de la OTAN trabajaron con los militaristas y fascistas en Italia sembrando terror en la década de los años setenta. Los ejércitos de la OTAN amenazaron con intervenir en la revolución portuguesa de 1974-1975 si los trabajadores intentaban tomar el poder.

El colapso de la URSS en 1989-1991 dejó a los Estados Unidos con un problema en cuanto a la OTAN. Los estrategas estadounidenses querían tomar este pacto anti-soviético y convertirlo en arma de intervención en Europa Oriental, África y el Medio Oriente. Esto dejaría a los Estados Unidos como dirigente de la intervención militar, pero enlistaría a los imperialistas británicos, franceses, alemanes y otros rivales igualmente imperialistas para que sus tropas terrestres sufrieran las bajas.

La primera área importante de intervención fue en los Balcanes. Contando con el poder aéreo de los Estados Unidos, la OTAN dio su primer paso de intervención militar en el período post soviético contra el pueblo de Yugoslavia, bombardeando objetivos civiles despiadadamente por 78 días en 1999 en el 50 aniversario de la OTAN. Esto comprobó una vez más que la OTAN era un pacto entre las potencias depredadoras, dirigidas a la opresión y explotación de la gran mayoría de los pueblos del mundo. Al final de esa guerra, fue simbólico que las potencias más grandes dividieran a Kosovo, provincia de Serbia, compartiéndose los despojos al igual que las potencias coloniales del siglo 19 dividieron África.

La aventura de la pandilla de Bush en Irak fue un paso más allá de la OTAN. Fue un atentado de saqueo al país sin tener que compartir los despojos con los rivales de los Estados Unidos. La falla de Bush en Irak ha forzado a la clase gobernante de este país a regresar a la OTAN, ya sea que Bush o Kerry estén en la Casa Blanca el próximo año.

El caso de Milosevic

Con la probabilidad de que la OTAN siga teniendo un mayor enfoque para la política exterior de los Estados Unidos, este sería un buen momento para que el movimiento progresista aquí preste atención al caso en contra del ex Presidente Slobodan Milosevic de Yugoslavia en La Haya. Después de tres años en una vieja prisión nazi y un desfile de 300 testigos fiscales que nada comprobaron contra él, Milosevic estará comenzando su defensa en julio. Aún durante los dos últimos años de interrogatorios judiciales a los testigos fiscales, Milosevic pudo exponer la agresión de la OTAN. Su defensa probablemente expondrá al mundo los propios crímenes de guerra de la OTAN en los Balcanes. □

Se alzan protestas contra redadas inmigratorias

Por Adrian García
Los Angeles, California

Mientras las patrullas de las fronteras del estado de California conducían una campaña racista de redadas específicamente dirigida a las comunidades latinas, cientos de trabajadores indocumentados, miembros de organizaciones pro derecho de los inmigrantes, iglesias y grupos contra la guerra, se lanzaron a las calles de Los Angeles el 26 de junio para exigir el cese inmediato de las redadas.

La estación de televisión KCAL reportó que durante el 1º al 16 de junio aproximadamente 7.000 trabajadores indocumentados habían sido detenidos y/o deportados. Las familias inmigrantes se encuentran en un estado de terror. No dejan ir a sus niños a la escuela, no van a trabajar y ni siquiera van a las tiendas por miedo a ser aprehendidos.

La consigna “Bush racista, eres terrorista” resonaba por la marcha militante a lo largo de la calle Broadway, recibiendo la aprobación de los transeúntes latinos, algunos uniéndose a la marcha.

Los organizadores de este evento-el Movimiento Latino USA, Hermandad Mexicana y la coalición ANSWER-exigían el cese a las redadas, amnistía para todos los trabajadores indocumentados y sus derechos para obtener sus licencias de conducir.

Sako Sefiani, un organizador del Centro de Acción Internacional y miembro del Partido Mundo Obrero, describió las redadas como “ataques raciales, simple y puro.” Sefiani hizo la conexión entre la guerra contra los

obreros aquí y la campaña del imperialismo estadounidense contra los obreros en el exterior.

“El pueblo de Falluja [Irak] luchó contra la ocupación de Estados Unidos y nos debemos unir y darle nuestra solidaridad a la resistencia iraquí, a los inmigrantes que se enfrentan a las redadas y a los africanos que enfrentan ataques en este país,” dijo Sefiani.

Hwan Sa Kim de la organización coreano-americanos por la Paz y la Justicia, habló sobre la necesidad de luchar por los derechos de todos los inmigrantes que se encuentran bajo ataque.

Muna Coobtee de la Alianza para Liberar a Palestina, habló sobre los incesantes asaltos ilegales contra el pueblo de Palestina por el estado de Israel y presentó las similitudes en los tratos contra los inmigrantes en este país con el trato de los palestinos en su patria ocupada.

Juan José Gutiérrez, coordinador del Movimiento Latino USA, pidió a la gente a que se mantuviera unida en la lucha. Pidió que participaran en una manifestación en el décimo aniversario para conmemorar la lucha histórica contra la reaccionaria Proposición 187 que estaba dirigida a prevenir que los inmigrantes recibieran cuidados médicos y educación.

Otra manifestación militante de 5.000 personas marchó contra las redadas de las Patrullas de la Frontera en el barrio obrero de Maywood, California, el 27 de junio. Estas protestas mandan un mensaje claro a los patrones en Washington, que la gente se unirá y llevará su lucha a las calles hasta que la justicia para todos los obreros y oprimidos se logre. □

Sindicatos de Aerolínea Coreana no transportarán soldados a Irak

Por Deirdre Griswold

Los trabajadores sindicalizados en Corea del sur están fuertemente opuestos a que su gobierno envíe soldados para respaldar la ocupación estadounidense de Irak. Y están haciendo algo al respecto.

El 24 de junio, los sindicatos que representan a los ayudantes de vuelo, pilotos y empleados del aeropuerto anunciaron que rehusarían transportar a soldados o equipos a Irak. Son parte de la Federación Coreana de Sindicatos Laborales, la cual ha encabezado luchas militantes en la última década.

Al anunciar su decisión, el presidente de la KCTU, Lee Soo-ho dijo que los líderes sindicales también han discutido una huelga general para detener los envíos, pero no han podido llegar a una conclusión. “Los medios de lucha son flexibles, variando con los cambios a la situación,” dijo Lee.

En febrero de este año, cuando el Parlamento surcoreano todavía era dominado por partidos conservadores, había cedido a las presiones de los Estados Unidos y votaron para enviar inmediatamente 600 soldados coreanos a Irak y 3.000 más este verano. Pero en abril el Presidente Roh Moo-hyun, quien es un liberal del establecimiento y ex abogado en defensa de los obreros, resistió un intento por los partidos reaccionarios de destituirlo.

Las elecciones parlamentarias en esos momentos resultaron en un giro hacia la izquierda, dejando a su nuevo Partido Uri con una clara mayoría parlamentaria.

La gente esperaba que Roh y el nuevo parlamento acataran sus demandas para cancelar el envío. Pero él no lo hizo, y ahora el pueblo está molesto.

Sin embargo, el Partido Laboral Democrático de Corea-un partido izquierdista de oposición que basa sus fuerzas tanto en los sindicatos como en el movimiento popular para sacar a las tropas estadounidenses de Corea, y el cual por primera vez obtuvo posiciones parlamentarias en las elecciones de abril-han puesto como primera demanda en su agenda la cancelación del envío de tropas.

Cuando un traductor coreano, Kim Sun-il, fue asesinado en Irak, la población en Corea respondió con más ira que nunca atacando a su gobierno y sus políticas. Las vigiliadas y marchas que resultaron reafirmaban la demanda de finalizar la violencia saliendo de Irak.

Estas manifestaciones tienen un carácter similar a aquellas en España en el mes de marzo, después de que 200

personas, en su mayoría obreros, perdieron sus vidas y 1.500 más resultaran heridas en la horrible explosión de cuatro trenes en Madrid. La gente culpó los ataques a la ocupación y guerra por Estados Unidos y a su gobierno por formar parte en ello. Tres días después, el gobierno centro derechista de José María Aznar, uno de los pocos aliados europeos de Washington respecto Irak, perdió las elecciones. Su sucesor, el social demócrata, Juan Zapatero, rápidamente anunció el regreso de las tropas españolas a su patria.

Por más de medio siglo, el imperialismo estadounidense, que ha ocupado Corea del sur con decenas de miles de tropas desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial, ha podido dictar a los gobiernos complacientes lo que tienen que hacer, tanto en su política doméstica como en la exterior. Pero la opinión pública ha cambiado grandemente en los años más recientes. Millones de sur coreanos han arriesgado represión y se han mantenido activos en los movimientos progresistas-de trabajadores, estudiantiles, inmigrantes y hay una amplia sección que quiere que los Estados Unidos firme un tratado de paz con la República Popular Democrática de Corea en el norte, que cese la ocupación de Corea del sur y que permita que ciudadanos coreanos de ambas sociedades trabajen hacia la reunificación de su nación.

Dentro del establecimiento capitalista de Estados Unidos, hay unos cuantos que temen que la obsesión de la administración de Bush con Irak solo ha servido para debilitar la posición de la clase multimillonaria de los Estados Unidos en otras partes del mundo, como en Corea. Han estado discutiendo en varios foros-como en conferencias, columnas periodísticas y comentarios televisivos-a favor de más amenazas y presión sobre la República Popular Democrática de Corea.

Los trabajadores estadounidenses, sin embargo, no tienen nada que temer al creciente movimiento progresista en Corea del sur. Al contrario, los sindicatos de las aerolíneas de allá, al rehusarse a cooperar en el cargamento de tropas a Irak, debilitará esta horrible ocupación, salvando así vidas de iraquíes, coreanos y trabajador@s estadounidenses.

Los sindicatos de aquí deberían dar su solidaridad a sus hermanos y hermanas coreanas y decir no a los empresarios de Halliburton, Bechtel, ExxonMobil, Chevron -Texaco y las otras corporaciones billonarias que apoyan la guerra. □