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Malcolm X tribute



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Bush agenda in Europe

Hatchet man for Wall Street looters

Downplays role of USSR in defeating Hitler 60 years ago

By Fred Goldstein

President George W. Bush has used the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler's fascist armies in Europe to launch an aggressive campaign of reactionary propaganda and diplomacy aimed at reinforcing Washington's growing encirclement of Russia.

It is significant that Bush, on his way to attend the anniversary celebrations in Moscow, began his foray in Riga, Latvia. Bush chose to address a gathering there of the presidents of the three Baltic states: Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

The Baltic ruling classes were pawns and dependencies of U.S. imperialism during the entire Cold War, which they spent in exile. They returned after the collapse of the USSR. Their anti-communism carried over into the post-Soviet period, making them a pliant anti-Russian tool in the hands of Western imperialism.

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are on the borders of Russia and Belarus. After the collapse of the USSR, the three countries rushed straight into the arms of U.S. and European imperialism. They begged to join the European Union and NATO. Both these things were accomplished in 2004. All three countries are part of the "coalition of the willing" and have contingents in Iraq and Afghanistan, fighting alongside their master.

The Bush visit to this outpost of imperialism comes in the wake of the pro-U.S. reactionary takeovers in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan—each on or near the Russian border. Bush also plans to visit puppet President Mikhail Saakashvili of Georgia after the Moscow ceremonies.

The U.S. and Georgian governments are also talking about Georgian membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But Georgia is not north or anywhere near the Atlantic. It is on the Black Sea and would, like Turkey, be another Black Sea NATO member, a military and economic base for Washington directed against Russia and the peoples of the Middle East.

What Bush means by 'free'

At a press conference before the ceremonies in Riga, Bush said, "We had a really good discussion today about Belarus. We talked about the Ukraine and Georgia and Moldova. We talked about

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18 CITY TOUR OF KOREAN SPEAKERS TO COMMEMORATE

n May 18, 1980, the people of Gwangju, a city in the southwest of the Korean peninsula, organized spontaneous resistance to liberate their city from the military dictatorship of General Chun Doo Hwan. The people, organized by citizens' councils, held the city for five days before elite south Korean troops under U.S. military command were deployed from the De-Militarized Zone (DMZ) to brutally crush the uprising. More than 2,000 men, women and children were killed, thousands of others injured, tortured and imprisoned. Their martyrdom and the struggle for democracy self-determination and re-unification that followed sparked a fundamental transformation of south Korean society that continues to reverberate to this day. Now a national holiday, this uprising is revered as a source of inspiration for activists around the world and as a point of unity for the Korean people.

Activists from Gwangju will be on a speaking tour in the U.S. and Canada this May to discuss the legacy of the Gwangju People's Uprising and the prospect for peace on the Korean peninsula, as well as their current involvement in the antiwar movement against the U.S. military occupation of Iraq and Korea. The aims of the tour are to raise awareness on this historic event, make connections between the past and present and strengthen solidarity among the Korean people with the peoples of the U.S. and Canada.

Sponsor: 25th Anniversary Gwangju Peoples Uprising US/Canada Tour For more information about the tour go to www.koreatruth.org • 917. 225.9615



Gwangju People's Uprising, South Korea - May 1980

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'Historical materialism in 3/4 time'

LAVENDER & RED

By Leslie Feinberg

Long before Harry Hay made his landmark contribution to a historical understanding of how sexuality and gender diversity evolved over the millennia, he honed his theoretical tools by delving into a deep and comprehensive study of Marxism-particularly the historical materialist view of the past patterns of changes in the organization of human society.

Hay carefully studied anthropology from a Marxist vantage point and applied and developed this knowledge in his teachings on the history of folk music.

"During his years in New York City, between 1939 and 1942," observed editor Will Roscoe, "when he had access to the [Communist] Party's library, he read the historical writings of Marx and Engels and took advanced classes in

Marxist theory with the intention of becoming a Party educator." ("Radically Gay")

Lesbian•gay•bi and trans In addition, Hay turned to anthropological studies. Biographer Stuart Timmons noted, "Many Marxists, particularly Europeans, published extensively in the fields of history and anthropology in the thirties and forties, and Harry read their books avidly." ("The Trouble with Harry Hay")

As early as 1933, Hay found Robert Briffault's "The Mothers," which contrasted the important social role of females in ancient, cooperative societies to the oppression of women in class-divided societies.

By 1945, Hay was studying the findings of Marxist archaeologist Gordon Childe. He also read the works of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Jane Harrison, Gilbert Murray and Robert Graves. Hay remarked that he found the writings of the British Marxist scholar George Thomson, who wrote "Studies in Ancient Greek Society," to be "an absolute eye-opener." Hay was also influenced by British Marxist Christopher Caudwell. (Roscoe)

"Harry's teaching put him in contact with information that later influenced his gay thinking," noted Timmons. "While digging through books about the historical development of economics in Europe, he amassed data about pagan religion, the oppressive campaigns of Christianity, and roles seemingly assigned to gay men in certain former societies. (The latter subject was, of course, a secret study.) He rediscovered Edward Carpenter in 'The Making of Man,' by V.F. Calverton, an anthology of anthropological articles. Carpenter and Edward Westermarck discussed these roles."

Hay also found information about sexuality/gender/sex diversity among Native nations in North America. The umbrella term "two-spirits" is the language chosen by many Native activists today to describe sex/gender/sexuality-variant people in their nations.

Roscoe, who has himself written extensively about twospirit people, stressed, "[Hay] was particularly impressed by (and often cited) Ruth Benedict's account of Two-Spirits in 'Patterns of Culture.' As Benedict relates, Two-Spirits enjoyed a reputation not only for excellence in crafts and domestic work, but in many tribes they were religious specialists as well."

Hay: 'Theoretician of People's Songs'

While living in Manhattan, Hay became excitedly swept up in the left-wing folk music movement.

The impact of the African American struggle was so

enormous that, Roscoe stated, "Leftist performers and folklorists began to collect and record Black spirituals, folk songs and jazz music. Because this culture had emerged from the chrysalis of a struggle against oppression, progressives argued that it was a valuable resource for present-day movements, as well."

Roscoe added, "Hay dates his own interest in folk music to the summer of 1937, when he worked on his grandfather's ranch in central California and helped organize a dance for local people where he heard a variety of traditional music. In 1940, while living in New York, he met Pete Seeger and followed his efforts to revive folk music. Five years later, after he had returned to Los Angeles, he attended an early 'hootenanny' organized by Earl Robinson, Ray Glazer and Bill Wolfe."

Together with those three men, Hay established Los

Angeles People's Songs in early 1946, which later affiliated with Pete Seeger's New York-based "People's Songs, Inc."-which had been set up to make folk music accessible for leftwing organizing campaigns and struggles. That same year, the People's Educational Center-which unionists and other progressives set up as part of adult education programs—asked People's Songs to develop a music history class.

Hay enthusiastically took up the challenge. He began with a 10-lecture series, but it quickly expanded to 20.

By the fall of 1947, Timmons explained, "Harry had outlined and begun to teach his music class, 'The Historical Development of Folk Music." In retrospect, Hay called it "a survey of historical materialism in three-quarter time."

Historical materialism is the lens with which Marxists view stages of human economic development. Increasing efficiency of human labor in producing food, clothing, shelter and other necessities of survival lies at the root of changing social organization.

Hay's research, Roscoe stated, armed him with the historical data and theoretical tools he would need to draw on less than a decade later in organizing the Mattachine movement-the first successful mass homosexual emancipation organization in the U.S.

Folk music: barometer of class struggle

According to progressive composer Earl Robinson, who wrote "Joe Hill" and "That's America to Me," Hay became "the theoretician of People's Songs."

In response to an e-mail query asking if the lectures are still preserved in any form, Timmons wrote back: "Unfortunately, Harry's lecture series was never recorded in any form to my knowledge."

All that exists is an outline, which is included in the book of Hay's writings entitled "Radically Gay," edited by Will Roscoe. (Hay and Roscoe, Beacon Press, 1996)

"Radically Gay" provides the following information.

In his lecture notes for Session 1 on Music and Survival, Hay wrote: "To all of history and to two-thirds of the world today, music is a language, an encyclopedia of patterns, a science—or organization. A method of communicating, organizing, educating, mobilizing in ways beyond the scope of language or static illustration.

He added, "But it talked to you only because you knew its patterns and no matter where you encountered the pattern you recognized it."

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WW CALENDAR

DENVER

Tue., May 17

Hear Monica Moorehead speak on the legacy of Malcolm X today. Sponsored by Denver FIST, 6:30 to 9 p.m. Dinner available. At Jeff's Cultural Center & Cafe, 2836 Welton St. For info (303) 863-

LOS ANGELES

Friday, May 13

Friday the 13 Forum: Axis of Evil-What is Bush so Afraid of? Report by Ken Roh on his recent trip to North and South Korea. Discussion will include Iraq and Iran. 7:30 p.m. At the Int'l Action Center 5274 W Pico Blvd, Suite 203, L.A. For info (323)936-7266.

Sat., May 21

Film Showing: Rachel: An American Conscience. A film by Palestinian director Yahva Barakat about Israeli-murdered Rachel

Corrie. Corrie, a member of the International Solidarity Movement, was murdered on March 16, 2003, with an Israeli bulldozer as she tried to defend the home of a Palestinian. Sponsored by Int'l Action Center, Al-Awda, Palestine Right to Return Coalition, 7:30 p.m. At the Int'l Action Center, 5274 W Pico Blvd, Suite 203, L.A. For info (323)936-7266

NEW YORK

Friday, May 13 Workers World Party meeting

Topics: Defending Assata Shakur, immigrant rights, and the meaning of Bush's trip-an escalation of U.S. imperialism's expansionary drive against Russia and the former Soviet Republics. 7 p.m. (Dinner at 6:30) At 55 W. 17 St. 5th Fl., Manhattan. For info (212)

Workers World

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Washington, D.C.

Anti-racists block neo-Nazi march

By Peter Cook Boston

Hundreds of anti-racist protesters came out here May 8 to protest a planned march and rally by the neo-Nazi organization "White Revolution." This vile group of bigots, based in Arkansas, had intended to hold a rally at the New England Holocaust Memorial to coincide with the annual Holocaust commemoration.

The anti-Nazi demonstration was organized on short notice by a number of organizations and community leaders, including Boston City Councilor Chuck Turner; the International Action Center; USWA Local 8751, Boston School Bus Drivers; Bromley Heath workers; Women's Fightback Network; International Socialist Organization and many others.

Chanting "Gay, straight, Black, white—all unite to fight the right" as well as chants against racism, anti-Semitism, Zionism, sexism and LGBT bigotry, the demonstrators held a militant and loud protest in front of Faneuil Hall, adjacent to the memorial. Protesters were Black, Latin@, Asian, Arab, white, young and old. They included a large number of anarchist youth, as well as supporters of the Palestinian people who made it clear that their opposition to the Israeli occupation of Palestine has nothing in common with the vicious anti-Semitism of the neo-Nazis.

When a small group of racists tried to enter the protest area, they were quickly surrounded by angry demonstrators and forced to flee in the back seat of a police car.

In spite of the heavy police presence, the protesters quickly took over Congress Street when police armed with clubs and in riot gear started to provide an escort for 10 to 15 of the racist thugs. Instead of holding a rally at the Holocaust Memorial, the members of "White Revolution" were forced to stand a block away, behind a wall of Boston police.

The police showed they were not there to protect the people of Boston from the violence and terror that this neo-Nazi group

espouses; they were there to protect the neo-Nazis from the righteous anger of the people. When a young African-American protester tried to defend himself after being hit in the face by a racist, the police surged in, some on horseback, and arrested both of them.

The crowd quickly took up the chant, "Cops and Nazis are the same—the only difference is the name." After standing behind their cop defenders for a short time, the neo-Nazis left, again under heavy escort, and were loaded into police wagons.

It should be no surprise that the neo-Nazis chose to come to Boston at a time when racist forces are raising their ugly heads in yet another attempt to re-segregate the Boston public school system. The religious right is also trying to overturn an historic victory by the lesbian, gay, bi and trans community here for equal marriage rights.

Nor should it be a surprise that the fascists chose Boston at a time of increased police brutality—such as a case involving

Continued on page 4





WW PHOTOS: LIZ GREE

Boston anti-Nazi protest.

Buffalo support for Cuban 5

Antoni Guerrer an Gerard



Every seat in the house was full at the May 6 Western New York premiere showing of "Mission Against Terror," a stunning award-winning documentary film on the Cuban 5. Afterwards the audience bought all available copies of the videotape, saying over and over that they were determined to spread the word not only of the unjust imprisonment of the Cuban 5, but also of the decades-long murderous U.S. campaign against Cuba.

The showing was co-sponsored by the Latin American Solidarity Committee of the Western NY Peace Center, the Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association Niagara Region, and the International Action Center of Buffalo/Western NY.

- Ellie Dorritie

ght all / Fernando González ty n Ramón Labañino

FORT STEWART

Soldier speaks out against Iraq War

By Dianne Mathiowetz Atlanta

"I'm not going to take part in it anymore," Sgt. Kevin Benderman told an attentive audience at Georgia Tech on May 7, just days before he was scheduled to be court-martialed on charges of desertion and missing movement by design.

Benderman, a 40 year-old mechanic, explained that he came from a family with a long tradition of serving in the military. Born in Alabama and raised in Tennessee, he first joined the army in 1987 when he was 22 and served a four-year term. In 2000, Kevin re-upped and was part of the "shock and awe" invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

During those six months in Iraq, he says he "learned the truth about war, not the Hollywood version that is sold to recruits." Memories of the total destruction of Iraqi homes and hospitals, schools and shops; the smell of death, burning buildings and explosives; the sight of mangled bodies, grief-stricken mothers and shell-shocked fathers haunted his sleep after his return to Georgia.

Benderman recalls that his commanding officer ordered his unit to shoot at sixand seven-year-old boys if they continued to throw pebbles at their armored vehicles. He still anguishes over the severely burned little girl by the side of the road, whose cries for help he was ordered to ignore. He identifies with the Iraqi men struggling to feed their families and keep them safe while a war is waging around them. Ten days before his unit was scheduled to return to Iraq for a second tour, Sgt. Benderman applied for conscientious objector status and asked for an honorable discharge. Several others at Ft. Stewart went AWOL and two attempted suicide. One of them, Justin Burt, was scheduled to be discharged within weeks but the stoploss order issued by the Pentagon voided his service completion date. Both of those men have since been deployed to Iraq.

Benderman and his wife, Monica, share a deep commitment to tell the truth about what is really happening in Iraq to U.S. troops and Iraqi civilians. They are critical about the lack of services and aid to the families of soldiers despite all the official government rhetoric. They especially want to make sure that young people are not taken in by the false promises and glib sales pitch of military recruiters.

Benderman's application for CO status has been turned down. His court-martial is scheduled for May 12. He says that the army is trying to make an example of him by charging him with desertion because he has publicly explained why he now opposes war. "They don't want one of their own to reveal the truth."

For a person who faces seven years imprisonment if found guilty, Benderman's manner is calm and steady. He has made up his mind. He will not take part in this war again.

For more information on Kevin Benderman's case, go to www.bendermandefense.org.

'He kept his eyes on the prize'

By Betsey Piette Philadelphia

Bill Hill, a long-time activist with the Philadelphia International Action Center, died in early May of complications from a stroke suffered in February. He was 80 years old.

Hill's life was dedicated to advancing the struggle against war, racism, ignorance, poverty and all forms of discrimination. From marches to meetings, picket lines to protests, Bill would be there, usually with his boom box to provide music, his hand-carved walking stick for support, and his seemingly boundless energy.

Hill would be found on the front lines of demonstrations demanding freedom for political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. He rode countless buses to anti-war rallies in Washington and New York, where he would help staff tables, sell buttons or distribute literature. He was a tireless worker, always one of the first people to show up to help set up for an event and one of the last to leave. He walked miles putting up posters and distributing fliers for activities in solidarity with Palestine, Cuba and Iraq. He spent many years helping to raise funds by working at baseball concession stands for the All Peoples Congress.

Hill was a self-taught artist, creating jewelry, designs for buttons, posters for



demonstrations, and graphics for fliers. He created walking sticks from tree limbs, adorned them with African cultural designs, and sold them to raise funds for the movement.

His special interest was the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and he devoted many years to solidarity work with the African National Congress. He was dedicated to raising awareness among youth in his community about the African Diaspora and the diversity of African languages and cultures. He would encourage youth from his neighborhood to attend meetings, especially Black History Month events he helped to organize during the 1990s as a member of the All Peoples Congress.

Hill's life read like a history of the antiracist struggle in Philadelphia. He was born in Southern New Jersey, and would often speak about his mother's uphill struggle to support him and his many sib-

Continued on page 4

Union, community action needed

Detroit city workers asked to 'sacrifice'

By David Sole Detroit

The City of Detroit administration is making it more and more clear that it intends to solve its economic problems by making city workers pay for them.

In an April 29 letter sent to many unions that represent over 15,000 city workers, Labor Relations Director Roger Cheek demanded that union members immediately accept 26 days off without pay (DOWOPs) in the fiscal year starting July 1—the same day the unions' contracts expire.

Cheek appealed to "those of us who love the City of Detroit" to "sacrifice" as a "primary focus." He called for this to be done "fairly" among "all employees, all retirees and all citizens."

The letter insisted that the unions accept the plan by mid-June with no discussion and no negotiations. He also insisted that this "concession" could not be tied to other contract matters.

Detroit's City Council voted to apply the

10-percent cut in hours to non-union city employees.

City workers are in no mood to listen to these demands. Only 13 years ago, all city workers suffered a 10-percent cut in hours or pay (applied differently to different unions, but amounting to the same thing) for two years. And the four-year contracts that most unions are finishing now included wage freezes for the first two years.

Cheek's call for "equal sacrifice" rings hollow.

The fire and police departments won't be affected. The Fire Department and EMS drivers had earlier been targets of planned city layoffs.

Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick has been widely exposed in the media for extravagant spending. It was revealed several months ago that the mayor's wife was driving a new Lincoln Navigator leased for \$25,000. He tried to deny the story for weeks before finally admitting it. Just weeks ago the press ran front-page stories about the mayor running up a \$210,000 tab on a city credit card for champagne

"We fight back!" chanted picketers on May 6. Investors and developers are remaking downtown Detroit for the Super Bowl next winter, but an unadvertised part of that plan was the firing of union janitors after decades of service. SEIU Local 3, Jobs with Justice, Million Worker March and Michigan Welfare Rights served loud notice that Detroit is still a union town.

—Story & photos by Cheryl LaBash



Maureen Taylor (MWM shirt) Michigan Welfare Rights candidate for Detroit City Council and Marian Kramer also of Welfare Rights.

and lobster dinners for over two years.

At least one city union went beyond these exposures. Auto Workers Local 2334's newsletter, SCATA-News, stated: "But to be fair, it's not just the Mayor, For decades big tax breaks have been given to the corporations and real estate developers. Has anyone asked them to 'sacrifice?' And how about the big banks who have pushed all kinds of development loans onto the city ... and then gouge us for the interest for the rest of our lives. How much are these loan sharks sacrificing for the city they love (to exploit)?"

Union, community action needed

A Detroit-area coalition of union, community and political leaders has also been educating the public on the growing costs of the Iraq war and the Pentagon budget, and the resulting cuts to vital local programs.

The National Conference to Reclaim Our Cities has shown that the entire Detroit budget deficit (a total of \$300 million for three years) could be wiped out by reclaiming Detroit's contribution to the recent \$81-billion appropriation for the occupation of Iraq.

It is not clear, however, that the true dimensions of the attack on the city workers and their unions is understood by the union leadership. Until now only a few unions have even organized public protests. These have drawn at best a few hundred workers.

When large numbers of bus drivers were scheduled for layoffs, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 26 held picket lines and mobilized riders to pack City Council hearings. This resulted in fewer service cuts and layoffs. Threatened layoffs of firefighters and EMS personnel brought over 100 of them into the streets April 27 in a picket of City Hall. But the firefighters didn't show up at the bus drivers' protests and the bus drivers were absent when FFA Local 334 walked the line.

While over 20 State, County and Municipal Employees local presidents voted in April not to accept DOWOPs, most have not been seen at recent protests.

Today's assault on city unions shouldn't be seen simply as the result of a temporary budget crunch. The budget crisis results from over 20 years of federal budget cuts to the cities, directing the funds instead to military expansion. It will not

Wall Street bankers who finance the huge municipal debts are also eager to

undermine and destroy the largest body of unionized workers in the United States. While only 9 percent of private-sector workers are unionized, over 30 percent of public sector workers are.

A presentation to the Detroit City Council by outgoing City Auditor Joe Harris made it clear that this is their real agenda. Harris started with the familiar claim that city workers must be "realistic" and accept concessions in pay and benefits. But he went much further. He claimed that unions were the real problem and the cause of the city's and state's decline.

A program for fightback

Detroit city workers' unions can play a leading role in the coming struggle to preserve jobs, wages and city services. But the leadership needs to understand what it is facing. What is needed?

1. Immediate convening of a committee of all city union leadership (from stewards up to presidents) under the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

2. If this body is to successfully lead and defend the workers, it must also open itself up to the leadership of the broader community that will suffer from service cuts, including rank-and-file union members, youths, seniors, the unemployed, welfare recipients, etc. The unions cannot afford to allow themselves to be divided from the community. This crisis calls for the formation of a union/community alliance.

3. The union/community alliance must demonstrate to the public that the money is there--but it is going to the banks, the corporations and the Pentagon instead of to those who need it most, the people. This means a tremendous education campaign to counter the anti-union, anti-poor mass

4. The union/community alliance must prepare for a serious struggle-openly and calmly. If the unions refuse to accept pay and benefit cuts, the city may try to impose them unilaterally. Or the state may put the city under receivership. Receivership would allow immediate cuts and cancellation of union contracts-a virtual dictatorship over the city. Would the unions just submit to this dictatorship? If not, then plans must be made now to respond, including the possibility of a strike, or even a general strike that goes beyond just city workers to include all unions in the metropolitan area.

A lot could be learned from the Detroit

Continued on page 5

Hotel workers press fight for contract

By Joan Marquardt San Francisco

Several hundred unionized hotel workers and labor supporters marched from Union Square to the Hilton San Francisco on May 3, where they held a sit-in. While chanting "What do we want? Contract!" 37 workers were arrested for "trespassing" on the lobby steps inside.

The 4,300 members of Local 2 UNITE HERE! have been working without a contract since August at 14 San Francisco hotels. The workers endured a lengthy lock-out when hotel owners retaliated for the union's two-week strike. The lock-out ended last fall and a "cooling-off period" was called for a couple of months.

The hotels have not met with the union since Feb. 14 and significant differences remain regarding length of contract, health care, wages and pensions. Local 2 has asked people to boycott the 14 hotels and many groups have canceled their reservations and moved their meetings to other locations.

The hotel workers' act of civil disobedience was meant to "demonstrate that we're just as determined as we were last fall to get a fair contract," said Lamoin Werlein-Jaen, vice-president of Local 2.

"In the upcoming weeks there will be more demonstrations, more protests and more action inside the hotels until they realize that their stalling is not going to dilute the determination to fight for a fair contract." □

BILL HILL Eyes on the prize

Continued from page 3

lings in a climate of racism and extreme poverty. On many occasions, rather than provide the economic support the large family needed, government officials would place the children in separate foster homes. Hill also spoke of the nightmare of being confronted by hooded Klansmen outside the family's home, north of the Mason-Dixon Line.

While in his late teens, Hill joined the Navy during World War II. He often told how, as an African American GI, he was encouraged after the war to "just go home and make babies," while white GIs were informed about GI benefits for education and low-interest housing loans.

Shortly after returning from the war, Hill became involved in a struggle to integrate the unions representing workers in Philadelphia's transit system. African Americans picketing the transit company would point out the hypocrisy that, while they had risked their lives driving tanks as soldiers, they were refused jobs driving



buses as civilians. During the 1960s Hill also participated in a seven-month picketing campaign led by Cecil B. Moore to force the integration of Girard College.

Hill always served as an inspiration to those much younger than he, keeping people's spirits high with the right words at the right time, always done with eyes focused on the prize. \Box

Rising prices and stagnant wages

What's war got to do with it?

By Milt Neidenberg

Is inflation creeping up and stagnation setting in? Alan Greenspan, chair of the Federal Reserve Board, says no. This Wall Street master of manipulation and double talk calls this just another "soft patch."

He claims the FRB can fine-tune the economy by a "measured" increase in the interest rate and prevent it from falling into that nightmare. Not likely.

The board's Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC), which controls monetary policies, has decided to raise interest rates to 3 percent—the eighth raise since last June. But Greenspan committed a cardinal sin. He removed from the committee's announcement a phrase saying "longer-term inflation expectations remain well contained"—and then restored it four hours later. This sowed confusion and doubt about the intentions of the FOMC in dealing with inflation and a slowdown in the economy.

When the sentence was removed, Wall Street, corporate America and their investors believed the FOMC was signaling that inflation was out of control, prices would spike, and interest rates would go sky high, sending government and corporate borrowing costs through the roof. Wall Street and bond market investors scrambled to adjust, many selling off their holdings.

Inflation is the bond market's worst enemy. Untold losses resulted—until four hours later, when Greenspan and company restored this phrase. The roiling markets were calmed and the investors who trade and speculate in government bonds and Treasury notes were reassured.

This 180-degree turn was no slip of the lip. The indisputable fact is that inflation is here to stay. It has put down roots during the current cycle of U.S. monopoly capitalism due, in part, to the mountainous U.S. debt. The Treasury Department has flooded global currency markets with cheap dollars to pay its bills. The growing current trade and budget deficits are bankrolled by Asian and European central banks and private investors, with grave consequences for the global markets.

Continued from page 4

newspaper strike, whose 10th anniversary is being marked this year. In the months leading up to that strike, union leaders apparently didn't recognize the magnitude of the attack that was coming.

Even after it began, they never grasped how to respond to the escalation of threats and violence against their members. They feared injunctions and fines and ended up calling off picket lines that had drawn up to 10,000 workers from across the state to help shut down the Sterling Heights North Plant.

The strike dragged on for years, became a lockout, and ended in a serious setback for the newspaper unions and workers.

The Detroit city workers and the larger Detroit community have shown that they are ready to defend their jobs and services. Like the newspaper workers, they will sacrifice and fight to the utmost. But only a clear program and a trusted leadership can put up the kind of fight needed to win.

Sole is president of Auto Workers Local 2334, representing workers at the Detroit Water and Sewerage Department. He was a steering committee member of the AFL-CIO-sponsored Labor-Community-Religious Coalition to Support the Newspaper Strikers in 1995. In a trade and currency war now brewing, triggered by the Bush administration, bitter competition will intensify among the imperialists and with the developing countries—China, India and Brazil, for example—for market hegemony.

Monopoly and the military

The inflation is being blamed on a spike in oil prices, but that is only a symptom of economic malaise. The cause lies deep in monopoly capitalism. The centralization of the means of production in fewer hands—the banking and corporate megamerger frenzy—has accelerated price inflation.

The five largest mega-merger oil companies control 48 percent of domestic oil production, 50 percent of domestic refining and 62 percent of the retail gasoline market. They have driven the price of a barrel of oil to over \$50, raking in recordsetting profits. General inflation grows directly out of the unchecked price hikes of the monopolies.

U.S. military spending is also a major cause of price inflation. The military does not bid in an open market. Prices are rigged by the military-industrial complex and myriads of subcontractors. The recent \$82-billion supplemental increase for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, added to the \$419.3-billion military appropriation for fiscal 2006, will equal the combined military budgets of the rest of the world.

The hundreds of billions already appropriated for the Iraq and Afghanistan wars and endless occupations has raised inflation and accelerated the tendency toward capitalist stagnation.

Military expenditures are positive to the economy only when imperialist adventures are successful—when they can conquer vast territories with an abundance of raw materials such as oil and sources of cheap labor, providing an avenue for the disposal of capitalist surplus production. Otherwise, they act as a depressant and lead to stagnation of the capitalist economy.

Inflation and stagnation

The Commerce Department reports that the Gross Domestic Product in the first quarter rose at the "most sluggish" pace in two years. The GDP is the broadest barometer of an economy's health, measuring the value of goods and services. Capital-goods orders, excluding aircraft and defense products, fell 4.7 percent in March, the biggest decline since September 2002. Consumer spending, which accounts for two thirds of the GDP, fell to 3.5 percent in the first quarter of 2005, down from 4.2 percent in the preceding quarter.

In the troubled manufacturing industries, both General Motors and Ford, which have plants all over the world, have been reduced to junk bond rating by Standard & Poor's.

IBM, one of the world's largest technology companies, announced it would lay off between 10,000 and 13,000 workers, primarily in Britain, France, Germany and Italy. The decision by the world-wide computer giant is a harbinger of global stagnation within the 12-nation euro zone. Recently, IBM sold its entire personal computer division to Lenova, a Chinese technology company.

A sputtering technology

Is the drop in productivity causing stagnation? The scientific-technological revolution, which has been behind the expansion of the capitalist economy, is lacking

venture capital. It has been the driving force in the growth of productivity. Research and development (R&D), particularly in the physical sciences and engineering, was the foundation of this growth. It spawned the transistor, fiber optics, integrated circuits, wireless communication, lasers and the internet, among others.

These technologies came out of many decades of research. Now, as a percentage of the GDP, federal investment in physical science research is half what it was in 1970.

Today, spending on U.S. productivity is losing momentum. In China, by contrast, R&D expenditures rose 350 percent between 1991 and 2001; in South Korea, they rose by 220 percent. India, Brazil and several other Latin American countries whose economies are expanding are spending more on R&D.

To spur production and growth, the U.S. is relying more on labor-intensive, service-oriented, low-paid industries where women and nationally oppressed workers are doubly exploited. This is no substitute for technological development. Structural change in the capitalist economy will only add to the stagnation.

There is just so much exploitation that can be squeezed out of low-wage workers before they will resist and fight back. The creation of 274,000 jobs in April and a modest wage increase of 5 cents an hour are far short of what the working population needs to survive in an inflationary cycle and creeping stagnation.

Employment rose in the service-oriented sectors of the economy last month. There were more jobs in construction companies; restaurants, bars, and coffee shops; health care; telephone companies; and movies and television production. But higher-paid manufacturing jobs were "down another 6,000 workers in April." And "the average time that the unemployed spent in their search ticked up to 19.6 weeks from 19.5 in March." (New York Times, May 7)

The job statistics are not impressive or sustainable. Despite the abundance of goods and services, many are beyond the incomes of the majority of workers, the oppressed and the poor.

Increasing interest rates and monopoly prices together with humongous expenditures for the military and endless wars of plunder and profit will lead to a deepening crisis in the capitalist economy.

In the cities, where the workers and the oppressed are concentrated, borrowing costs on money needed to pay down budget deficits will increase, diverting critical funds from people's needs to the super-rich banks and financial institutions. The budget crisis has torn apart the network of entitlements. Problems with housing, health care, education and layoffs, plus a projected \$10-billion cut in Medicaid, are plaguing the workers, especially people of color and the poor.

A group of Black trade unionists from the Million Worker March Movement has called on organizers to come to a conference in Detroit on May 14-15 to strategize over this nationwide urban crisis. MWMM is a coalition that unites unions, community groups and anti-war activists.

It's protest time. It's marching time. \Box

Letter to the editor

'Organize & unify'

An Emergency Crisis has been declared by the community of Asbury Park to combat attacks by business and bourgeois politicians. The community is coming together and has formed the All Peoples' Movement, a multi-racial group of local activists who see the defense of our communities and the needs of its people as our immediate obligation.

We see how big developers are intentionally destroying our working class neighborhoods and small business and forcing us out. This is most severe for the Black community. We see how the developers sell out our futures while planning their own, buying out corrupt politicians to do their bidding. We see the city being sold (really given away), tax abatements for "investors," chopping block prices on historic sites, offering the necks of the community as collateral.

The situation for youth is a disaster and the APM is organizing a Jobs for Youth Campaign.

On May 4th we held a rally at City Hall one week before town elections. We wanted to make sure that regardless of who is in office they are made aware that the people are angry and finished with their false promises and exclusive backroom deals. With a loud sound system heard in the Council chambers, we chanted and held signs reading "Jobs, not jails and war," "Summer jobs for youth now," and "Money for the community, not the developers." People walking by joined in and there were honks of support and clenched fists out of car windows.

The rally moved inside to the Council

meeting where we spoke out. Chris Newman read a statement asking the Council to declare an emergency crisis in youth unemployment. He demanded that jobs for youth be funded by a tax on developers, and demanded city funds for a program carried out by a community council.

Sister Isis gave a passionate voice to the daily struggle for survival against the racist police force and racism in hiring. Gavrielle Gemma called for the tearing up of the deals given to the developers and took on their representatives attending the meeting. About 40 Asbury Park residents cheered and chanted "Jobs now, jobs now."

We will never forget the look of shock and fear on the Council members' faces. For years, Council members have carried out the orders of the developers, with the exception of Councilman John Hamilton who has consistently stood with the community. On the spot, the Council and the developer agreed there would be an emergency meeting held with the All Peoples' Movement to address this "obvious" need for summer jobs for youth.

The APM is in no sense naïve to the lies and trickery of bourgeois politics. We know that the only way our demands will be met is to continue to organize and unify the people—who must become their own political force, which speaks on its own behalf and answers only to the needs of this diverse working class community, who are the past, present and the true future of Asbury Park.

Steffan Manno Asbury Park, N.J.

The transformation of Malcolm X

The following is excerpted from a talk by San Diego International Action Center organizer Gloria Verdieu to a Feb. 19 anti-war and social justice conference held in Los Angeles.

A library in San Diego is the only library in the country named after Malcolm X. The children were asked to name this library. There should be many libraries named after Malcolm, being that Gloria Verdieu



he read the entire Merriam-Webster dictionary while spending six years in prison.

When people refer to the transformation of Malcolm, we have to ask which transformation are they referring to.

The first Malcolm is the child, Malcolm Little. By age 13, Malcolm had seen his house burn down. He had been exposed to the violent death of his father by racists and seen the slow breakdown of his mother. His brothers and sisters were placed in foster homes.

When asked by a teacher in the eighth grade what he wanted to be, Malcolm's reply was "a lawyer." This teacher had not studied the history of Black people. If he had he would have strongly encouraged Malcolm to become a lawyer so that he could fight the draconian, backward

The second Malcolm, a teenager, searched and examined the values of his peers, which included the zoot suit and the burning of your scalp enough to approximate the appearance of a white man's hair.

The third Malcolm stood up for his people when Black people were being beaten in the streets, publicly humiliated and killed. He understood that people like himself in the streets, and in the prisons, had contributions to make. Malcolm, like Mumia Abu-Jamal, spoke for the voiceless. He spoke for the jobless and for the homeless.







Boston celebrates legacy of Malcolm X

A Boston Workers World Party program on May 7 examined the legacy of Malcolm X, who would have turned 80 years old May 19. The meeting was chaired by Robert Traynham, a Boston school bus driver and former Black Panther.

Monica Moorehead (above left), a former WWP presidential candidate, talked on Malcolm's indispensable role in the development of the Black Power nationalist movement. She also spoke of Malcolm's political evolution into becoming an internationalist and making the links between racism and capitalism.

She spoke of WWP's support of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination inside and outside of the U.S.

Moorehead paid tribute to the important intervention of the Black worker-led Million Worker March Movement in stressing the links between the struggle for workers' rights and opposing imperialist wars.

Yves Alcindor of the New England Human Rights Organization for Haiti spoke on the severe repression by the U.S.-backed puppet regime in Haiti and the situation of Yvon Neptune, the legitimate prime minister of Haiti, who has been imprisoned and is on the verge of death due to a protest hunger strike.

Najah Abdullah (above center) of the Rank and File Committee of maintenance workers at the Bromley Heath housing project described the struggle of these African American and Latin@ workers who have been working for over two years without a contract.

Margaret Campbell (above right) from the Politicin' with the Sisters group and Women's Fightback Network stressed the importance of passing down Malcolm's true legacy to the younger generations. She and her daughter Sharel'le read poetry by the exiled Black freedom fighter Assata Shakur. -Frank Neisser

The fourth Malcolm announced his split with the Nation of Islam in March 1964. He then made the pilgrimage to Mecca and flew to Beirut, Cairo, Lagos and Accra. He encountered people of all races, many fighters against all kinds of oppression. He spoke to whites as well as Blacks.

In June 1964, Malcolm announced the formation of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Malcolm attended the Organization of African Unity conference in Cairo. He was the only North American allowed to attend and submitted a paper on the plight of the 20 million Afro-Americans in the U.S. He had lengthy conversations with Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Milton Obote in Uganda, Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, and Sekou Toure in Guinea.

On his return home, Malcolm announced, "The newly awakened people all over the world pose a problem for what is known as western interests, which are imperialism, colonialism, racism. ... Just as the external forces pose a grave threat, they can see that the internal forces pose an even greater threat."

In February 1965 this statement was made by Malcolm concerning the OAU: "We Afro-Americans feel receptive toward all peoples of goodwill. We are not opposed to multi-ethnic associations in any walk of life."

Malcolm explained why the OAU must be exclusively for people of African descent, but also indicated that he was willing to work with whites.

Malcolm spoke in Alabama on Feb. 3 and 4, 1965, before traveling to Britain and France on Feb. 6-13. He was detained in France and put on a plane back to London.

He returned to the U.S. on Feb. 14 to find his home had been fire-bombed, but he spoke in Detroit, after making sure his family was taken care of.

Malcolm knew his days were numbered. This is a statement by Malcolm in his autobiography, which he did not live to

"You'll find very few people who feel like I feel that live long enough to get old. ... When I say by any means necessary, I mean it with all my heart, and my mind

'We will not forget!'

20th anniversary of police bombing of

By Betsey Piette Philadelphia

On May 13, 1985, Philadelphia police dropped a bomb onto the headquarters of the MOVE organization in a residential Black neighborhood, starting a fire. City officials allowed it to burn, resulting in the murder of 11 people, five of them children, and the destruction of 61 homes.

On the 20th anniversary of the state's bombing of the MOVE organization house on Osage Avenue, there is still no justice for the victims of this horrific police assault. No state official was ever tried or convicted of murder.

A recent article in a Philadelphia newspaper opined that "the stigma has faded," that "the ineptitude, the miscalculations, the miscommunications" of city officials on that day start "to pale" when compared to more recent events like "the Oklahoma City bombing and the 9/11 attacks." (Philadelphia Inquirer, May 8) Not once did the newspaper raise the racist nature of this abhorrent attack or point out the glaring injustice that no officials were charged with the murders.

Let us not forget.

The MOVE organization, started in the 1970s by John Africa, quickly earned a reputation for opposing social injustices. While often described as a "back to



nature" movement, it was MOVE's opposition to police brutality that led to confrontations with the state in the 1970s.

MOVE is not a pacifist organization. Its members believe in the right to bear arms in self-defense, and did so in 1977 after police jailed three members and attacked their home in the Powelton Village section of Philadelphia, killing a young child. A year-long siege by police came to a head on Aug. 8, 1978, when officers fired hundreds of rounds of ammunition into the MOVE bombed, 1985.

basement of the MOVE house, where members had retreated.

Nine MOVE members were later convicted in connection with the shooting death of Philadelphia police officer James Ramp, even though evidence indicated that the bullet that killed Ramp could not have been fired from the MOVE house. Within 24 hours of the assault, police completely destroyed the MOVE home in Powelton Village, along with any evidence that would support the MOVE

members' defense. Three police officers who brutally and publicly beat MOVE member Delbert Africa after the shootout were acquitted.

Anticipating a renewed police attack, MOVE fortified the group's new home in the 6200 block of Osage Avenue in a predominantly African-American area of west Philadelphia. They used a loud speaker system in an effort to educate their neighbors about the case of the MOVE 9 and the ongoing danger of police attack.

Saying they were responding to neighbors' complaints, 500 police evacuated the neighborhood at dawn on May 13, 1985, then surrounded and attacked the house with over 10,000 rounds of ammunition in 90 minutes. Small explosive charges and water from fire department hoses were also used to attempt to penetrate the house. All the while, police and city officials were aware that several children were inside.

In January 1985, four months before the siege, a special agent of the FBI had given the Philadelphia police bomb squad 30 blocks of C-4, the most lethal of military plastic explosives. In the afternoon of May 13, a police helicopter dropped a bomb containing C-4 on the roof of the MOVE home on Osage Avenue, starting a

The fire, which started on the roof of the house, was allowed to burn for 45 minutes before fire hoses were turned on. By then, the blaze was starting to devour the entire block. MOVE members who attempted to escape from the rear of the building were shot at by police. Only Ramona Africa and 13-year-old Birdie Africa escaped the fire. Eleven MOVE members were killed in the fire, and 250 area residents were left homeless.

Even though a special commission formed in 1986 to investigate the bombing concluded that police fired on MOVE

Modern fugitive slave bounty:

U.S. menaces Assata Shakur, Cuba

By David Hoskins

One day after millions of workers around the world had reclaimed the streets in celebration of May Day, the U.S. ruling class launched an attack on a powerful symbol of liberation for the workers and oppressed inside the United States.

On May 2, the Justice Department announced that it had posted a bounty of \$1 million for the capture of Assata Shakur, a former Black Liberation Army leader who escaped from state prison in 1979.

Shakur's case came to international attention in 1973 when she was pulled over along with two other liberationists on the New Jersey turnpike. The police claimed that the vehicle was stopped because of a faulty taillight. However, within minutes of being pulled over, Shakur and her companions found themselves in a shootout almost certainly started by the notoriously racist New Jersey State Troopers. Shakur was seriously wounded in the gun battle and one of her comrades was killed by the police. One police officer was also killed in the incident.

and my soul. But a Black man should give his life to be free, but he should also be willing to take the life of those who want to take his. It's reciprocal. And when you think like that you don't live long."

At the Feb. 16, 1965, Rochester meeting, Malcolm said, "Anybody of African ancestry in South America is an Afro-American. Anybody in Central America of African blood is an Afro-American. Anybody here in North America, including Canada, is an Afro-American if he has African ancestry—even down in the Caribbean, he's an Afro-American ... the Afro-American is that large number of people in the Western Hemisphere ... all of whom have a common heritage and have a common origin."

If Malcolm X were alive today, he would turn 80 years old on May 19. \square

MOVE

members trying to escape, a grand jury denied this in 1988. No government official or police officer has ever faced criminal charges in connection with the MOVE deaths. All the Philadelphia bomb squad officers took the Fifth Amendment and refused to cooperate in any way with the commission.

Ramona Africa, however, was convicted of riot and conspiracy and served seven years in prison. After her release she won a federal civil-rights judgment against the city for \$1.5 million. The only person to serve any prison time in connection with the bombing was Ramona Africa, the only adult member of MOVE to survive the fire.

More information on MOVE and the bombing is contained in an award-winning documentary produced by Cohort media called "MOVE." It's a must-see for any activist too young to remember the events of 20 years ago. Information on this documentary is available at www.move-film.com.

On Saturday, May 14, MOVE and supporters will hold a rally and march to honor those killed on May 13, 1985, starting at 63rd and Osage. The march, from 10:30 a.m. until 12:30 p.m., will conclude at Malcolm X Park at 52nd and Pine, where speakers will give updates on the struggle to free the MOVE 9 and Mumia Abu-Jamal. \square

Shakur was subsequently arrested and framed on charges of carrying out an execution-style killing of the police officer. She was found guilty of the charges against her, despite the fact that all evidence indicated she was too injured to have carried out the act. She went on to spend six and a half years in prison.

In 1979, five years after having been forcibly separated from the child she gave birth to in prison, Shakur escaped from the maximum security wing of the Clinton Correctional Facility for Women in New Jersey. She lived underground for the next five years before publicly surfacing in Cuba in 1984.

'I am a 20th-century escaped slave'

In a 1998 open letter to the nationally oppressed living inside the United States, she wrote: "My name is Assata Shakur, and I am a 20th-century escaped slave. Because of government persecution, I was left with no other choice than to flee from the political repression, racism and violence that dominate the U.S. government's policy towards people of color. I am an ex-political prisoner, and I have been living in exile in Cuba since 1984."

She continued, "Free all Political Prisoners, I send you Love and Revolutionary Greetings from Cuba, one of the largest, most resistant and most courageous palenques (Maroon Camps) that has ever existed on the Face of this Planet."

Shakur's allusion to slavery and southern palenques contains more than a hint of truth. Before the Civil War, the Southern land-owning class benefited from the super-exploitation of Black slave labor. The country was divided between slave states and so-called free states where slavery was illegal.

Slaves who resisted the cruelty and inhumanity of plantation life had two primary havens of escape. Some chose to go to the maroon camps of runaway slaves who hid out in remote places like the forests and swamps of Louisiana. Other slaves would attempt to make it to the free states where slavery was outlawed and where they hoped they could freely live in an open community.

In 1850 Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, requiring that citizens assist in the recovery of fugitive slaves, and denying the right to trial for any individual accused of being a fugitive slave. The act was intended to allow southern slaveholders to efficiently reclaim the individuals they held as property and was a controversial part of the Great Compromise of 1850 between slave and "free" states.

The recent \$1 million bounty is a contemporary version of the Fugitive Slave Act. It is an attempt to allow the U.S. ruling class to reclaim a latter-day fugitive who has fought so heroically to free not just herself, but all those held captive by racism and modern wage-slavery. It is also

a targeted attack on the great refuge—the palenque—of socialist Cuba.

U.S. act of intimidation

Perhaps not coincidentally, the posting of the State Department bounty follows on the heels of two important announcements by the Cuban government. Cuba said in April that it was planning to double the minimum wage and significantly increase welfare payments for single mothers, widows and the disabled by May Day 2005. (BBC, April 22)

Cuba's economy, recently buoyed by trade agreements with China and Venezuela, is the strongest it has been since the collapse of the Soviet Union, when the island had to face a punishing U.S. economic blockade almost alone.

Cuba has also given outspoken support to Venezuela's extradition request for right-wing terrorist Luis Posada Carilles to face charges for the torture of human rights activists in the 1970s. Posada Carilles was found guilty of masterminding the 1976 attack on a Cubana Airlines plane that resulted in the loss of 73 lives. He also played a role in terrorist attacks on Cuban hotels in the late 1990s. (Prensa Latina, May 2).

Posada Carilles has a long history of working with the CIA. He carried out these terrorist activities and human rights abuses with the full knowledge and blessing of the U.S. government. He recently returned to the U.S. and now resides openly in Miami, Fla., where he is free to plot and network with other anti-Cuban terrorists.

By posting an increased bounty for the capture of Assata Shakur, the State Department hopes to fulfill three simultaneous goals. First, divert attention from its own history of harboring terrorists by resurrecting the phony charges against Shakur in an endeavor to undermine Cuba's credibility on this issue. Washing-

ton is hoping that this smokescreen will provide a shield from the international scrutiny that could force it to take action against Posada Carilles. It is also a way of deflecting criticism over the harsh sentences dealt to the Cuban 5, who were in the U.S. trying to protect Cuba from terrorists like Posada Carriles

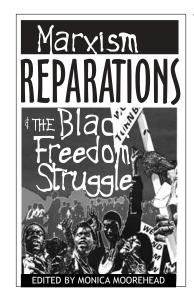
Secondly, the bounty could become another piece of the overall strategy to isolate Cuba and sabotage its economy. The U.S. ruling class cannot be pleased with the news that Cuba's revolution is once again on solid financial footing. The increased bounty may grant the U.S. propaganda machine an opening to distort the case of Assata Shakur and pressure other governments to break diplomatic relations and economic ties with Cuba.

A third goal furthered by this bounty is to intimidate the revolutionary antiimperialist movement inside the United States, particularly young people and students. Shakur is a symbol of struggle for millions of working-class youth and young people of color. As the godmother of Tupac Shakur, she holds a special place inside the hip hop movement for culture and justice.

Her message is carried on through progressive and revolutionary hip hop artists such as Chuck D, Common and Paris. The story of Assata Shakur demonstrates that it is possible to stand up against injustice, to carry out revolutionary action against the state, and in the end to still live outside the confines of prison.

Her story enables the new rising generation of revolutionaries to build a bridge to their dream of liberation and transform it into reality. When all is said and done, that is why the U.S. ruling class views Assata Shakur as a real threat. And that is why no amount of money is too much to attempt to strip this fugitive slave of her freedom. \Box





Marxism Reparations and the Black Freedom Struggle

- ♦ Racism, national oppression & the right to self-determination Larry Holmes
- ♦ Black labor from chattel slavery to wage slavery Sam Marcy
- ◆ Reparations & Black Liberation Monica Moorehead
- ♦ Harriet Tubman: woman warrior Mumia Abu-Jamal (Guest Commentary)
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FTAA conference:

Cuba & Venezuela declare 'Year of Bolivarian Alternative'

By Kris Hamel Havana, Cuba

On April 27-30, over 1,000 delegates from around the world attended the Fourth Hemispheric Conference on Struggle Against the FTAA (Free Trade Areas of the Americas) here in Havana.

Delegates came from over 40 countries, the majority from Latin America. The largest grouping of workers and activists came from Mexico, while the next-biggest delegation, over 50 people, came from the United States. Some were unionists and activists who came with the U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange under threat of criminal charges by the Bush administration.

Washington is trying to make it illegal for U.S. citizens to exercise their constitutional right to travel to Cuba and exchange views with workers from other countries—especially if those countries have rejected capitalism in favor of a more humane system. Activists have vowed to exercise their rights and take on the Bush administration if necessary.

The FTAA is the U.S.-championed plan to expand the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to every country in Central and South America and the Caribbean—except socialist Cuba and, now, Venezuela.

The FTAA, like NAFTA before it, would increase capitalist privatization and deregulation throughout the Western Hemisphere. It would cause further lowering of wages, worsened living and environmental conditions, and more poverty and devastation for the people of Latin America.

Cuban President Fidel Castro joined in welcoming the participants in a session chaired by Chilean-Canadian activist and conference organizer Marcela Escribiano. A major victory was declared: The FTAA, despite U.S. braggadocio, did not meet its goal for implementation on Jan. 1 of this year. Because of the anti-FTAA struggles of people throughout the hemisphere, a brake has been placed on the U.S. capitalists' dreams of further expansion and plunder.

The opening plenary session began with remarks by Osvaldo Martinez, a Cuban economist, who called the FTAA doomed to fail: "It will disappear with shame and without glory as it is incompatible with the national self-determination of the peoples."

Martinez's remarks set the groundwork for several days of intense discussion on how to continue the struggle and defeat the FTAA. Workers and activists from Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay and every other country in the Americas shared their struggles in an atmosphere of solidarity and fightback.

Castro, Chavez break new ground

This pivotal conference coincided with the First Cuba-Venezuela Meeting on the Application of the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA), which included a major speech by the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez Frias. President Castro greeted Chavez on the night of April 27 at the Jose Marti International Airport in Havana. Chavez was accompanied by members of his cabinet as well as hundreds of Venezuelan students, workers and activists.

President Chavez came to the socialist island to sign ALBA trade accords with Cuba. On April 29 delegates to the anti-FTAA conference attended a special session where Chavez and Castro addressed an audience of 6,000 at the Karl Marx Theater. The two leaders announced the beginning of the implementation of ALBA, a cooperative and non-exploitative trade

accord and consortium started in December 2004. Unlike the FTAA, ALBA will greatly benefit the working people of both countries.

Instead of international trade based on the dominance of big capital and the plundering of other nations' resources and labor, ALBA is based on mutual benefit, solidarity and increased cooperation and development. "The ALBA," said Chavez, "can be a concrete model for all the peoples and countries of Latin America who oppose the FTAA."

The strategic plan drawn up by the two countries states ALBA's purpose: "... to guarantee the most beneficial productive complementation on the bases of rationality, exploiting existing advantages on one side or the other, saving resources, extending useful employment, access to markets or any other consideration sustained in genuine solidarity that will promote the strengths of the two countries."

Cuba is a socialist country that has faced over 45 years of a criminal U.S. blockade. It is relatively poor in natural resources but has tremendous human resources, such as doctors and teachers who have placed Cuba at the top of health care and education worldwide.

On the other hand, Venezuela has plenty of wealth and natural resources, including oil, but working people and the poor have had little or no access to medical care and education.

In Cuba, these services and benefits are considered a right of the people and are completely and universally free of charge. Cuba has already sent over 15,000 medical personnel to Venezuela as well as thousands of volunteers who are teaching the masses to read and write. Venezuela in return is providing much-needed oil, technology and other resources to Cuba.

Health care for all

President Castro reported that 20,000 Venezuelans recovered their vision in Cuba in 2004. This year it is expected that over 100,000 additional Venezuelans will come to Cuba for restorative eye surgery at no cost.

Castro praised President Chavez's plans to extend health care to the poorest barrios and throughout the entire country. He pointed to the recent creation of over 600 diagnostic medical centers and the plans this year for 600 physical therapy and rehabilitation centers, as well as 35 high-tech medical centers to provide professional medical services free of charge to the Venezuelan population.

The Cuban president spoke excitedly of the program to assist in training 60,000 doctors in order to help with the medical needs of not only Venezuela, but "the world, Latin America, the hundreds of millions that lack medical care."

The ALBA accords also contain provisions for thousands of Cuban volunteers and educators to assist Venezuela in wiping out illiteracy and raising the educational level of the masses. Soon Venezuela will be able to declare itself the second "illiteracy-free territory" in the Americas, with over 1.46 million Venezuelans having recently learned to read and write.

Cuba and Venezuela will also embark on "the design of a continental project to eliminate illiteracy in Latin America."

In all, over 45 major accords and agreements were signed by representatives of the two countries. In addition to continuing to provide Venezuela with assistance in the fields of medical care and education, Cuba will initially acquire over \$412 million in Venezuelan goods that will be distributed for the purpose of elevating the living standard of Cuban workers while at

Venezuelan models of co-management

By Betsey Piette Carabobo, Venezuela

Two experiments with workers' control or "co-management" were discussed in mid-April during an electrifying two-and-a-half day conference on the role of workers in the Bolivarian Revolution. The meeting was facilitated by the National Union of Workers (UNT) in the Venezuelan state of Carabobo.

Over 500 Venezuelan workers from oil, transit, electric, aluminum, paper and other industries were joined by international delegates from Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Argentina, Cuba and the United States.

It is important to understand that the models of co-management or self-management being promoted by the UNT have nothing in common with the top-down versions often promoted by bosses in the U.S. attempting to break unions by circumventing contracts. Joaquin Osorio, representing the Bolivarian Workers Force, told the gathering, "We are not talking about the Toyota model of quality control."

Alexis Onero, a national director of the UNT and a leader of the workers now controlling the Invepal (formerly Venepal) paper plant, was a keynote speaker. Venepal had been one of Venezuela's main producers of paper and cardboard,

employing 1,600 workers. In 2003 the plant's owners—supporters of the attempted anti-Chavez coup—let the plant lose revenue and filed for bankruptcy, announcing plans to sell off the company's assets.

Workers at Venepal responded by occupying the plant. As Onero described it, when no bosses showed up, the workers did what workers know best and ran the plant until they exhausted raw materials. The workers made Venepal more productive than the bosses ever had. During the occupation the paper workers received broad support through donations collected by other workers and food provided by local fishers and farmers.

Workers transformed

Onero described the transformation workers underwent as they became aware of their collective power through their struggle to keep the plant open and productive. These workers, having just organized into a union, proceeded to take on the tasks of running the plant, creating committees to learn about sales, developing production schedules, figuring out how to get raw materials, etc.

Onero noted that a big part of this education came when the workers opened the books and learned just how much the previous owners had lied to them about profits and benefits.

"Everything that workers visualize can

be achieved," Onero told the gathering, emphasizing that "unity was the key to our success."

In January, President Hugo Chavez signed decree number 3438, expropriating Venepal and opening the way for a 51-49 percent co-management arrangement between the government and Venepal workers. When it resumes operation soon, the plant will produce books for use in Venezuela's literacy campaign.

Conference participants were able to tour the plant on the final day of the gathering.

The other model of co-management discussed at the gathering was the CADAFE electric company. CADAFE's Planta Centro in Carabobo is Venezuela's largest power plant, producing 80 percent of the electricity used in the country. CADAFE is a public utility, where comanagement allows workers to elect plant managers who are subject to recall. Angel Navas, president of Fetraelec, a UNT-affiliated union representing 34,000 workers, sits on the CADAFE board.

This experiment with co-management has improved benefits, made for safer working conditions, and given workers more say over production, but it has stopped short of workers' control.

Speakers and participants addressed the importance that workers' control not

be limited to failing industries like Venepal or public utilities like CADAFE. Concerns were raised about the need to protect the role of the unions; how comanagement would affect relationships between worker-owners and consumers; and who would "own" Venezuela's resources under co-management.

Maria Cristina Iglesius, Venezuela's minister of labor, addressed the conference. She cautioned, "It's not possible to succeed by having capitalism with a more humane face. The idea of co-management is not for the unions to give up power, but for the workers to gain power. We have to change labor relations—we have the power to make the extreme change in the productive apparatus that will bring us revolutionary socialism."

The final morning of the gathering was set aside for workers to meet in small groups to evaluate what they had heard and make recommendations to be presented to President Chavez. It was an example of true participatory democracy—only possible when workers are in control.

Piette participated in the Third World Gathering in Solidarity with the Bolivarian Revolution April 13-17 and in the conference workshop in the state of Carabobo that examined the experiences of workers with co-management of their workplaces. the same time creating 100,000 new jobs for workers in Venezuela.

The ALBA accords include agreements and contracts relating to tourism, communications, transportation, education, sports, biodiversity, the environment, science and technology, hydraulic resources and construction.

The use and processing of crude oil and its derivatives and other raw materials, railway infrastructure, maritime and agricultural development, and plant and animal health were among the many other areas covered in the ALBA accords.

'A socialist revolution'

At the special session on April 29, President Chavez, who spoke for almost four hours, also clarified the nature of the Bolivarian process unfolding in his country: "I want to be very clear about something—in Venezuela we call our revolution Bolivarian. But it is a socialist revolution. Bolivarian principles are socialist principles." A thunderous standing ovation greeted the Venezuelan leader's affirmation of the struggle for socialism.

It is no wonder the U.S. government has stepped up its attacks on both Cuba and Venezuela and wants to prevent U.S. workers from seeing in person what socialist planning and cooperation are all about.

The profit-hungry capitalist class and its officials in Washington hope to keep the U.S. working class from coming to realize, like their counterparts in Cuba and now Venezuela have, that a better world is indeed possible. □

Vermont signs trade pact with Cuba

By Bryan Pfeifer

The Cuban food marketing and import company ALIMPORT and the U.S. state of Vermont have signed a two-year memorandum of understanding to promote the sale of foodstuffs to the socialist Caribbean nation, as reported in the Cuban newspaper Granma May 4.

In the last three years, new Cuba-United States trade relations led to Cuban purchases of \$1.2 billion worth of U.S. goods.

Sen. James M. Jeffords of Vermont and Pedro Alvarez, ALIMPORT president, signed the agreement May 3 in Havana for the purchase of products from Vermont, including livestock, milk and apples.

Jeffords said that he will do everything within his power "to lift the trade embargo and promote closer relations between our two peoples and our two governments" by opposing Washington's economic, trade and financial restrictions against Cuba. Currently there is a ban on Cuban exports to the U.S.

Alvarez said recent restrictive measures imposed by the White House ignore the will of the U.S. Congress, which has authorized sales of food items to Cuba.

Since December 2001 Cuba has imported more than 4.176 metric tons of U.S. foodstuffs including bread, wheat, yellow corn, milled and paddy rice, chicken, soy beans, and corn meal and has made punctual payments of more than \$1.188 billion.

The imports received by Cuba come from 37 of the 50 states in the U.S. where ALIMPORT maintains links with more than 4,000 companies.

In other Cuba trade relations, on April 28-30, businesspersons from 200 Venezuelan companies visited Havana with President Hugo Chavez Frias and signed contracts worth over \$412 million, which will create over 100,000 new jobs in Venezuela, according to Granma. □

Faced with Scylla-Charybdis choice

British voters 'punish' Blair over Iraq war

By Deirdre Griswold

The world had a chance to see the deep contradictions in Western capitalist democracy with the recent British elections. Yes, the electors "punished" Prime Minister Tony Blair by costing his Labor Party parliamentary seats. There is even talk that Blair may have to step down as party leader. His successor, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown—roughly the U.S. equivalent of Treasury secretary—has already been chosen, it seems.

But the punishment is light, indeed, for the monstrous crimes of Blair and the rest of the British imperialist government. Blair is hated by the British working class for his servile support of George W. Bush and the U.S. wars and occupations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Huge demonstrations even before the war on Iraq started showed how much the people were against these imperialist adventures.

Since then, perhaps 100,000 Iraqis have died. Almost 1,700 young worker-soldiers from the U.S. and Britain—the only other significant partner of the U.S. in the ludicrously labeled "coalition of the willing"—have also perished in Iraq, according to official sources.

Iraq's modern infrastructure has been destroyed. Its once admirable health system, schools, industries and culture have been set back to the days before its revolutionary independence struggle. An ugly anti-Muslim chauvinism has been unleashed, culminating in barbaric acts of

torture and humiliation by both U.S. and British soldiers.

Revulsion over all this resulted in sharp opposition to Blair and his ministers wherever they campaigned.

As much as the multinational working class in Britain rejected the war, however, they found it very difficult to get what they wanted at the polls. They want to restore the social programs that the Conservatives took an ax to, beginning with the Tory government of Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s. In particular, they want their nationalized medical system and retirement plan restored to health. So, despite the war, they gave a majority to the Labor Party again, but a much reduced majority.

The dilemma they faced was: how can you get what you want at the ballot box when the party that claims to be for social welfare and greater equality is also the party that is waging a cruel war?

The voters faced a Scylla-Charybdis choice. The snobbish Conservatives hammered away at Blair for lying to the people about Iraq, but everyone knew they would also hammer away at social programs. And they made no promise to bring the troops home.

Blair and Company tried to steer the discussion away from the war and talk about how they would improve housing, health and so on.

Britain's third party, the Liberal Democrats, just hoped people would be so fed up with both Labor and the Tories that they'd go for the fuzzy middle ground. They didn't.

One interesting race was in London's East End, where George Galloway, running on the newly created Respect Party ticket, defeated the pro-Blair candidate in a working-class district that normally is a shoo-in for the Labor Party.

Galloway had been an early and strong opponent of the war. He was expelled from the Labor Party in October 2003 after what he termed a "kangaroo court" of the party found him guilty of inciting Arabs to attack British troops, urging British troops to defy orders, congratulating a Socialist Alliance anti-war candidate who defeated Labor in a local election, and threatening to run against Labor himself.

After his expulsion, Galloway had told BBC, "The Labor Party will rue the day they took this step. ... With every bone in my body, I will fight to hold to account a lying, dishonest Prime Minister."

And so he did.

Britain's Labor Party has been part of the imperialist political establishment for many, many years, even though it has maintained a weak social democratic stance on domestic social policy. During the Vietnam War, Prime Minister Harold Wilson, also of the Labor Party, shamelessly capitulated to economic and political pressure from Lyndon Johnson and endorsed that dirty war in exchange for massive loans.

The working class, now infused and invigorated with many people of color from Britain's former colonies, has spoken, but it has not won any real victory. That can only come in the streets and in the class struggle. □

Haitian leader on hunger strike

Yvon Neptune declares: Liberty or death

By G. Dunkel

Since the February 2004 coup-napping of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, organized by the United States government, thousands of Haitians have said "Liberty or death" by going out to protest in the streets, facing down Haitian cops and U.S., French, Canadian and United Nations occupation forces.

Hundreds have been killed in these protests. But still the Haitian people fill the streets, not only in Port-au-Prince but in other cities and towns like Lenbe, where a militant protest took place April 15. (Haïti-Progrès, April 27)

The protesters are demanding the "physical return of President Aristide," as well as a return to the constitution and justice.

Yvon Neptune, Aristide's prime minister, stayed in Haiti after the coup, during the transition to the regime of Gerard Latortue, the defacto, U.S.-approved, illegal prime minister.

His efforts at compromise were spurned by the new regime. He was quickly thrown into prison on accusations of participating in a massacre which many believe never happened. He has not been formally charged with any crime.

Those who know Neptune describe him as careful, quiet and courteous. LeiLani Dowell, a FIST organizer who was part of a U.S. delegation that visited him last September in the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince, says Neptune made it clear then that he would not let the new puppet government force him to leave the country.

Neptune has been on a hunger strike since mid-April. He is demanding to either be freed or be brought before a judge and charged, which under Haitian law should have happened within 48 hours of his detention 18 months ago.

He has put his life on the line, demanding liberty while accepting death. His lawyer and doctors who have examined him say he is in his last days. He won't accept Latortue's proposal of exile. Neptune intends to stay in Haiti.

Being a prisoner, he can't go into the streets to protest. But the hunger strike of this internationally regarded Haitian has put tremendous pressure on the Latortue government and its masters in Washington.

Rep. Maxine Waters of California, who knows both Aristide and Neptune personally, has issued a strong statement in his support. Amnesty International, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and religious leaders like Bishop Thomas Gumbleton and Haitian priest Father Gérard Jean-Juste have called for Neptune's release or trial.



von Neptune

On May 4, Thierry Fagart, who heads the UN "peacekeeping" mission's human rights division in Haiti, called Neptune's treatment "illegal." Luigi Einaudi, acting secretary general of the Organization of American States, warned that the case had "serious moral and political implications for the Haitian government and for the international community."

"The international community is giving lip service to human rights, but at the same time they're supporting a murderous regime," commented Brian Concannon, director of the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti.

The Haitian people won their freedom and liberty from French slave masters 200 years ago under a flag bearing the slogan "Liberty or death." The protesters in the streets and Neptune in his jail cell know this tradition and its consequences. For liberty, self-determination and social justice, they are willing to risk death and suffering.

They need and deserve the solidarity of the real world community. □

editoria

Iraq & Afghanistan

ach week the truth about Iraq comes through more clearly for those who choose to look. The U.S. occupation is brutal, criminal, killing civilians as much as combatants. The Iraqi resistance is growing and gathering more support from a population that may be war-weary but is determined to free itself from foreign rule. The equally vicious imperialist occupation of Afghanistan, which Washington tried to justify with the pretext of the post-9/11 "war on terror," is also arousing mass opposition.

The monopoly media here has paid little attention to the battle looming around the Iraqi city of Qaim near the Syrian border and the towns around it for the past six weeks. But a heavy force of U.S. Marines at nearby Camp Gannon has been surrounding the populated areas since early April, cutting off water and electricity to the civilian population. Those resisting the U.S. occupation from Qaim warned at that time that there would be a spike of attacks across Iraq if the U.S. siege against the population was not lifted.

That spike has taken place. Since early May hundreds of Iraqis, many of them soldiers in the puppet army or police or new recruits for these collaborationist forces, have been killed. The count of U.S. troops killed has also increased.

So have Iraqi casualties at the hands of the occupation troops.

On May 9 the U.S. opened an offensive against the town of Ubaydi in the Qaim area that was reported as the largest since the murderous assault on Falluja last fall. Many suspect it also threatens to spill over into nearby Syria, which the Pentagon charged with harboring "terrorists"—one of Washington's terms to describe those resisting its attempt to rule the country with an iron

The U.S. command announced a glorious victory. With a body count reminiscent of the war on Vietnam, news

media announced that 100 "insurgents' had been killed by the Marines. For sure, Iraqis were killed. But many were civilians, non-combatants, killed by U.S. 500-pound bombs and shelling.

The Baghdad command's exaggerated claims were quickly debunked, even by local commanders. One reporter from the pro-U.S. press, writing for the May 10 Chicago Tribune, shed some light. "Marine commanders expressed surprise Monday, not only at the insurgents' presence [in Ubaydi] but also the extent of their preparations, as if they expected the Marines to come."

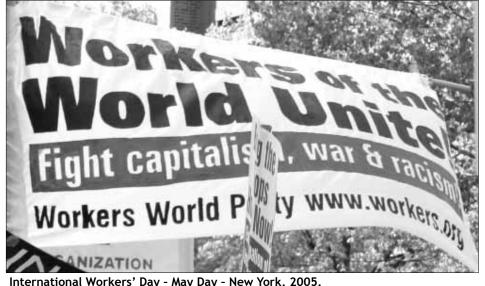
The resistance fighters dug in, fought back and handed the Marines casualties.

The insurgents knew more about the Marines than the Marines knew about them. Marine Col. Steven Davis told the reporter it was more like "two dozen" Iraqi fighters killed, and even that was a guess. Davis credited the resistance fighters with skill and training. Then on May 11, a resistance unit kidnapped the governor of Qaim's Anbar province, telling his family they'd let him go when the U.S. withdraws from Qaim.

It sounds more and more like Vietnam.

If the Iraq occupation—so painful for the Iraqi people—wasn't enough of a debacle for the Pentagon, the news from Afghanistan piles it on. Hearing of a Newsweek article that reports that U.S. guards at Guantanamo Bay prison camp were placing the Koran in toilets in front of Muslim prisoners, 10,000 Afghanis took to the streets in Jalalabad. The puppet president, U.S. citizen Hamid Karzai, ordered his troops to fire on the demonstrators, killing three and wounding 60. The protesters were shouting "Death to America's allies," "Death to Karzai" and "Death to Bush."

The anti-war movement here can demonstrate its solidarity with the people of Iraq and Afghanistan by making its top priority the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. \Box



International Workers' Day - May Day - New York, 2005.

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Historical materialism

Continued from page 2

Hay looked at the inextricable relationship of music to group labor in early folkor cooperative-societies.

"The vast majority of music that we know is the social production of the world's people-and 90 percent of it was never written down," he observed. "Yet the forms, the patterns, the melodic ingredients have been remembered and passed on, as we shall see, for at least 5,000 years. Why? Because they were used, were needed, were vital, were basic to survival.

"Most folk collectors find that folk singers can remember neither words nor tune without doing the 'movement.' Thus the form and pattern of the dance-song are the production-tools of the work required-and not products of the fun. And the people preserved these patterns as long as the work these patterns produced was necessary to the struggle of daily existence"

Roscoe stressed that while Hay was not the first Marxist musicologist, "Hay's approach to the study of folk music was unique, however, in treating it as an example of dialectics in action—the same way Marxism viewed science, as a comprehensive system to knowledge and communication. Somewhat parallel to the work of Claude Levi-Strauss, the French anthropologist who developed structural anthropology, Hay sought to derive the 'message' of folk music from an analysis of the musical form itself."

As a Marxist, Hay studied the earliest and longest form of human economic organization: communal societies. He refers to them as "matriarchal" or "matriarchate." Today these terms may conjure up the image of a society based on the television cult classic "Xena, Warrior Princess" or Amazons, hatchets in hand, ruling over men.

In reality communal societies are more precisely defined as matrilineal, meaning blood descent was traced through females as mothers, not males as fathers, and matrifocal, which means that the extended family lived in the collective household of the mother's bloodline, not the father's.

Struggle to defend communal life

Hay traced the resistance of collective farmers against attempts to turn them into serfs, forced to till the earth as laborers by the land-owning feudal class. Since the work and music of the folk farmers were tightly woven, Hay argued that the battle to retain folk ways-including rituals and $music-was\,part\,of\,the\,struggle\,against\,the$ emerging threat of economic domination.

Roscoe explains, "In cultures without written records, Hay argues, music serves not only to preserve information, it provides the means of implementing knowledge as well, through songs and dance steps that organize work functions. For this reason, it was impossible for the folk to separate the tasks of planting and harvesting from the rituals that had always

surrounded these acts. Consequently, European tribal villagers clung to their pre-Christian customs and cultural forms, including music, not only to preserve their social identities, but because these forms were indispensable to their modes of production."

Hay also appeared to believe, as did Marxist Christopher Caudwell, that what are referred to as "magical beliefs" in preclass societies were an early attempt to understand the patterns of nature and humankind's relationship to it. In other words, they contained both supernatural beliefs and scientific knowledge about

Hay believed the pre-class rituals and belief systems that survived into feudalism still reflected communal values. "Ritual and magic are usable only on a group level, and serve to promote unity, to maintain identity, and even to offer the collective security needed to continue the struggle for survival so long as the group maintains a daily drive to maintain integration between all of its components."

Music of resistance

Hay traced the communal struggle to hold on to the old belief system and its rituals against feudal ruling-class religion, which sought to ideologically justify the enslavement of peasants and the brutal exploitation of their labor. In Europe, the demonizing of "pagans" and "witches" was in reality a bloody weapon against free farmers and rebellious serfs.

Roscoe noted, "In the context of feudalism and Christianization, these cultural forms took on an added dimension, becoming modes of political resistance and cultural survival as well."

He described, "Hay often had participants do exercises, such as composing and singing their own rounds or developing variations on a ballad to demonstrate how cultural and political resistance could be communicated beyond the spoken word."

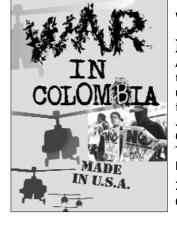
Hay pointed out that folk songs can communicate beyond the lyrics alone. He stressed that the tune later known as "Bergen-op-Zoom" was used as an organizing tool in 1622 to unite the Dutch against an invading army from Spain. They had no common tongue with which to speak to each other because they had grown up in different regions with distinct languages.

Roscoe concluded, "They all had their own words for the song, but its rhythms were everywhere associated with the same dance steps, which included, at one point, the formation of a double file-exactly the organization needed to start the soldiers on their march to rescue the town of Bergen-op-Zoom from the Spaniards.

"The song was also used by the Dutch resistance during World War II.

"At Hay's suggestion, the Mattachine organizers adopted it for their membership initiation ceremony."

Next: 'Bachelors for Wallace!'



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Bush agenda in Europe

Hatchet man for Wall Street looters

Continued from page 1

Russia" Bush continued, "These three nations ... who are free have a responsibility to help others be free outside of our neighborhoods."

Bush called Belarus "the last dictatorship in Europe." Washington has recently, and unsuccessfully, tried to engineer a Georgian-style overthrow of the president of Belarus, Aleksandr Lukashenko. Washington is not giving up and has enlisted border states in the Baltic in the effort. Including Moldova and Georgia in the mix is meant to cordon off Russia.

And Bush included Russia itself in the list of countries that need to be "free."

Bush expanded on his definition of "free" during the brief question period when asked by an Estonian reporter how relations with Estonia rank for the U.S.

Bush replied: "I praise Estonia for being an open market economy that is a free society. And therefore, if you're a free society that embraces market economies, you'll rank very high with me and the United States."

Later on, during his formal address, Bush praised the new, pro-Washington puppet president of Ukraine, Victor Yushchenko—who recently addressed a joint session of the U.S. House and Senate—as someone "who works to strengthen the rule of law and open Ukraine's economy."

Thus Bush has concisely stated the program of U.S. imperialism for the post-Soviet period in Russia and the former Soviet republics.

For decades of the Cold War, Washington threw all its might into destroying the economic and social foundations of socialism in the USSR. Now that private property and the profit system, capitalist exploitation and wage slavery have been successfully restored, the follow-up stage is for all the former regions of the USSR, Russia included, to open themselves up to Wall Street and the U.S. transnational monopolies.

Washington and the Pentagon did not strive merely to overturn the socialist base and then see the industrial foundation, the economic infrastructure, the scientific establishment and all the achievements of the socialist era be utilized by an upstart ruling class to rival U.S. big business. The ultimate goal of the Cold War was to reopen one-sixth of the earth's surface to U.S. capitalist penetration—to return Russia and the republics to the colonial and semi-colonial conditions that existed during the times of the czar, before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Washington wants the oil, the gold, the

uranium, the diamonds and the labor power of the former Soviet Union to feed its insatiable lust for profit. Each renegade, counter-revolutionary leader—whether it be Mikhail Gorbachev or Boris Yeltsin in Russia, Eduard Shevardnadze in Georgia, or Victor Yanukovich, the recently ousted bourgeois prime minister of Ukraine—is regarded as a tool to further the ends of Washington. When they have been used up in the process of U.S. political and economic subversion, or if they become an obstacle in that process, they are put on the list of "enemies of freedom."

Imperialist wolf at the door

Gratitude does not exist in the sentiment of imperialism. Even though Russian Premier Vladimir Putin backed Bush after Sept. 11, 2001, and allowed the Pentagon to put bases in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan and spread its agents all over the Caspian region, Washington and Wall Street plotted with ExxonMobil and Chevron to take over the largest oil company in Russia—Yukos.

When Putin realized that the wolf was at the door, he broke up the cabal and threw the president of Yukos, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, in jail for tax evasion. Khodorkovsky was the richest man in Russia and one of the several dozen "oligarchs" who enriched themselves during the wholesale robbery of socialist property under Yeltsin.

Bourgeois state banditry was the form that the primitive accumulation of capital took during the counter-revolution that overturned the former USSR. These capitalist oligarchs turned out to be dealing with imperialism and also wreaking lawless havoc on the economy.

Putin, in order to save Russian capitalism and protect it from the aggressive incursions by Washington, has used authoritarian methods to put a halt to these disintegrative processes.

Russian capitalism needs influence, allies and money. To that end it has given aid to Iran in its nuclear industry.

It does not matter that Putin publicly endorsed Bush in the 2004 election campaign. It is of little consequence that he is playing the game of U.S. imperialism against North Korea in the so-called sixparty talks. Putin is nevertheless being branded as against "freedom" by Condoleezza Rice and the White House. They are trying to discipline him.

Ironically, Bush is using anti-Soviet and anti-communist rhetoric of the Cold War to undermine the position of Putin, who represents the counter-revolutionary Russian bourgeoisie that overturned the Soviet Union in the first place.

During the commemorations in Russia of the defeat of the Nazis at the end of World War II, one of Bush's political tasks was to counter any tendency for pro-Soviet, pro-socialist sentiment to surface. After all, it was the Soviet Red Army that had inflicted the greatest defeats on Hitler's armies, and also took 90 percent of the casualties. It was the USSR which suffered 25 million killed, including 8.6 million soldiers and 16.9 million civilians. (www.secondworldwar.co.uk/casualty.ht ml)

The USSR survived the 900-day Nazi siege of Leningrad and fought the battles of Stalingrad, Kursk and Berlin—turning points in the war. The Red Army and the Soviet people destroyed most of Hitler's divisions. The socialist republic, still underdeveloped, defeated the fascist armies of industrially advanced German imperialism, which had marched through continental Europe with barely any resistance from the capitalist regimes.

The greatest resistance to the German and Italian fascists came from the communist-led Italian partisans and the French maquis, also organized by the communists. Gen. Dwight Eisenhower said of the French resistance that is was equal to five divisions.

Although the U.S., by contrast, suffered 291,000 combat casualties on all fronts and the war never touched U.S. soil, Bush's rendition of the victory over Hitler, as given in his speech in Amsterdam (he did not speak in Moscow), attributed the victory over Nazism to the "forces of freedom" without mentioning the Soviet Red Army or the Soviet Union.

In his speech Bush repeated an attack by the Baltic leaders, who condemn the period in which their republics were part of the Soviet Union. For example, President Vaira Vike-Freiberga of Latvia said, "For Latvia the beginning of the end of the Second World War arrived many decades later, on May the 4th, 1990, along with the collapse of the USSR."

Revival of Nazism in Latvia

Vike-Freiberga tried to sound evenhanded between the Nazis and Soviet socialism. But the recent record of "free" Latvia in the revival of Nazism has become an incendiary point with Russia, the Jewish community and all progressives. It has received little publicity in the imperialist world.

After the Nazis overthrew the Latvian Socialist Republic in 1941 and occupied

the country, nearly 80,000 of the 93,000 Jews living there were exterminated, many of them by the Latvian Waffen SS divisions formed by the Nazis.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center, which specializes in fighting neo-Nazism, issued a protest in March of this year against a march in Latvia of the Waffen SS. The Latvian police arrested protesters, including city officials, a former mayoral candidate and the head of a human rights organization in Latvia. (RIA Novosti, March 17, dispatch from Tel Aviv)

Last April the United Nations Human Rights Commission, in a 36-16 vote, approved a resolution introduced by Russia and directed particularly at Latvia. The resolution expressed deep concern over the building of memorials to the military section of the dreaded Nazi Schutzstaffel. (The Jerusalem Post, April 20, 2004)

The U.S. voted against the resolution, along with the European and Japanese imperialists.

The UN resolution was a reaction to the erection of an SS memorial in the Latvian town of Lestene. "The event was attended by the country's government, religious and military officials. Three military orchestras of the Latvian Defense Ministry provided musical background" for profascist songs. During the war "the 15th SS Latvian Division was the most decorated foreign volunteer division of the SS...." After the Soviet Army pushed into Latvia, the remnants of this division surrendered to the U.S. forces. (www.aeronautics.ru/archive/wwii/baltic_nazis/latvia)

Waffen SS families and survivors now get government pensions and enjoy the full weight of government support, but there has been no attempt to revive working-class organizations or progressive organizations of any kind by the ruling class in Latvia.

The same general climate exists in Lithuania and Estonia, although not quite as blatantly or with such open government support. While this shows the character of the bourgeois forces being mobilized in the Baltic, and also in Ukraine, by U.S. imperialism, it is not the local Nazis that constitute the gravest danger to the people of the region.

The real danger is from Wall Street, the White House and the Pentagon. They are being frustrated every day in Iraq and Afghanistan, are losing their grip on Latin America, Asia and the Middle East, and are desperate for new imperialist conquest. □

Neo-Nazi march blocked

Continued from page 3

a vicious assault by the Medford police against five youth of color from Somerville. George W. Bush, the Congress, Massachusetts Gov. Mitt Romney and Boston Mayor Thomas Menino have created a climate of war, racism and hatred that promotes these fascist groups.

White supremacist groups such as the Nazis and the Klan exist in order to try to exploit the frustrations of those who have been impacted during times of economic crisis and high unemployment. They try to pit white workers against African-American, Latin@, Asian and immigrant workers; whip up anti-Semitism; and attack the rights of women and the LGBT community, including equal marriage rights.

In short, these white supremacist and

anti-Semitic organizations act as the shock troops for the wealthy and big business by trying to create artificial divisions among those who should be natural allies.

Corporate America and the Bush White House take advantage of these divisions in order to drive down wages and benefits, while federal and state politicians go on the offensive by slashing much-needed social programs such as housing, education and health care in order to feed the Pentagon's insatiable appetite and pay for an increasingly unpopular war.

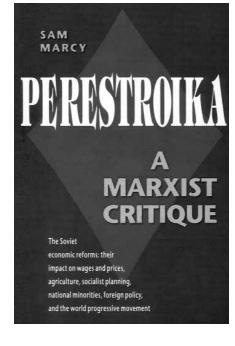
The hatred and violence that these groups promote are crimes. History has shown that only through organizing and mobilizing to fight back will the workers and oppressed be able to successfully defeat these fascist organizations and their supporters. \square

PERESTROIKA A Marxist Critique

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WW Publishers, 1990, 409 p.p., index List price is \$12.95 but at www.**leftbooks.com** it's 15% off only 10.99



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Mientras la avaricia capitalista profundiza el dolor Políticos y empresarios culpan a inmigrantes

Por Teresa Gutiérrez

No sorprende que el Gobernador de California, Arnold Schwarzenegger se haya unido a los crecientes ataques contra l@s inmigrantes.

El 28 de abril, Schwarzenegger habló muy elogiosamente del grupo de vigilantes que se hacen llamar 'Minutemen' quienes patrullan la frontera de los Estados Unidos y México en Arizona.

"Yo creo que han hecho un trabajo magnífico," dijo Schwarzenegger.

Esa misma semana Schwarzenegger dijo que EEUU necesitaba "cerrar las fronteras", dando así más aliciente a los derechistas.

Schwarzenegger llamó a una estación de habla hispana, la KRCA-TV, para que quitaran sus carteles publicitarios porque estos eran "extremadamente divisivos." Los carteles describen a la audiencia de la estación como "Los Ángeles, México."

Después de una oleada de críticas por las declaraciones, Schwarzenegger explicó que él es el "campeón de los inmigrantes."

Pero el gobernador también recibiría al grupo Minutemen en California, dijo un vocero suyo.

Crecen sentimientos contra inmigrantes

En California reside la población más grande de trabajador@s indocumentad@s. El Centro Hispano Pew, estima que la cifra de inmigrantes en California es cerca de 2.4 millones.

El lenguaje instigador utilizado por el gobernador de este estado solo sirve para incitar ataques contra l@s inmigrantes, algo que va aumentando en los Estados Unidos. Además, California le fue robado a México hace más de 150 años. Está justificado que la comunidad mexicana en Los Ángeles manificato esta

Los Ángeles manifieste este infame evento histórico de la manera que crea conveniente.

Los comentarios de Schwarzenegger van a la par del aumento de sentimientos contra inmigrantes. Mientras que este sentimiento no es nuevo en la historia de los Estados Un idos, sí ha habido nuevos desarrollos sorprendentes.

Muchos reportes de la prensa dicen que existe una cadena nacional sin precedente de instituciones políticas contra inmigrantes que están asociadas con campañas anti-inmigrantes muy bien organizadas y financiadas.

El primer instituto con política contra los inmigrantes— La Federación para la Reforma de la Inmigración Americana (FAIR por sus siglas en inglés)— fue fundada en 1979 por John Tanton, un vocero racista muy conocido por sus posiciones contra los inmigrantes. FAIR apoyó la reciente campaña de vigilantes en Arizona, la cual resultó en mayor militarización

de la frontera.

Desde 1998, muchos de estos grupos anti-inmigrante han ido tomando una línea más rígida, dice el Centro de Ley de la Pobreza en el Sur. Ese año, muchos de ellos comenzaron a trabajar con fuerzas que abiertamente difunden la supremacía blanca.

"Hoy, muchos de sus líderes se han unido a organizaciones racistas," agrega el Centro.

Un reportaje reciente sobre el Minutemen en Arizona ilustró el sentimiento contra inmigrantes en la frontera. Sin embargo, este sentimiento está también arraigado dentro de Washington D. C., donde es mucho más peligroso.

Por ejemplo, el Caucus Congresional sobre la Reforma de Inmigración (CCRI) ha crecido rápidamente en el período reciente. Antes del 11 de septiembre del 2001, el caucus sólo tenía 10 legisladores; ahora tiene 59. El presidente del CCRI es nada menos que el Representante Tom Tancredo, Republicano del estado de Colorado.

Colorado es el escenario de una derecha racista envalentonada que se manifiesta en muchas cuestiones, desde la inmigración hasta los derechos de l@s homosexuales.

El CCRI está aliado con los más importantes de la derecha racista quienes no tienen miedo de expresar su lenguaje más racista.

Tancredo muy a menudo lidera eventos contra inmigrantes en la capital. Durante una conferencia de prensa en Washington en febrero del 2005, Tancredo advirtió que otros países como China, están estimulando la inmigración como parte de un plan global para destruir a los Estados Unidos.

Un ex representante Republicano de

San Diego, Brian Bilbray, se le unió diciendo que los Estados Unidos está creando una "clase de esclavos en la cual se multiplican elementos criminales." Bilbray culpó a los indocumentados por la pérdida de su elección en el año 2000, porque ellos votaron contra él.

En ese evento, Barbara Coe, líder de la Coalición en California por la Reforma de Inmigración, repetidamente se refirió a los mexicanos como "salvajes".

Otras organizaciones incluyen a StopTheInvasion.com, American Border Patrol, el Centro para los Estudios de Inmigración, NumbersUSA, Save Our State y U.S. Inc.

Algunas de sus páginas en la red de Internet muestran horribles fotografías racistas. Una de las páginas hace la pregunta, "¿Si usted puede dispararle a los invasores de su hogar, porqué no se puede disparar a los invasores de la patria?"

Sentimientos anti-inmigratorios han penetrados hasta los grupos ambientalistas como el Sierra Club. Algunos miembros intentaron promulgar una resolución para el cierre de las fronteras por la "marea" de inmigrantes, como una manera de frenar el incremento de la población. Afortunadamente, fueron derrotados.

Estas organizaciones no están circunscritas solamente a Washington, o a los estados del suroeste. Desde Carolina del Norte hasta el Estado de Nueva York o Michigan, su influencia ha crecido.

Por ejemplo, Lou Dobbs de la cadena noticiera CNN recientemente ha intentado provocar los sentimientos anti-inmigratorios con reportajes inflamatorios. Cuando inmigrantes latinos indocumentados intentaron abordar un avión en Carolina del Norte en busca de empleos, fueron acorralados bajo el pretexto de que sólo produjeron documentos de identifi-

> cación mexicanos. Dobbs trató de caracterizar la situación como un ejemplo de "los terroristas que pueden apoderarse de aviones".

La campaña de provocar sentimientos contra inmigrantes ha resultado en un incremento en ataques racistas. Activistas en pro de los derechos de inmigrantes dicen que uno de los sectores más vulnerables es el de los jornaleros. Puesto que son muy visibles, concentrándose en lugares a través del país donde pueden ser escogidos para trabajar a diario, se vuelven en blancos fáciles para los vigilantes llenos de odio.

La organización nacional de jornaleros reporta que los "jornaleros inmigrantes se han vuelto en blancos de ataques organizados con más frecuencia en 2004. Jornaleros a través del país experimentaron un incremento marcado en ataques violentos, violaciones de sus derechos civiles, y abusos en sus lugares de trabajo".

A veces los medios de comunicación caracterizan a jornaleros como "invasores" y no como trabajadores forzados a venir a este país como resultado de políticas como el Tratado de Libre Comercio. Les culpan por el deterioro de las condiciones de vida y por la pérdida de empleos.

¿Qué hay detrás de convertir a l@s inmigrantes en chivos expiatorios?

Aunque los grupos organizados derechistas son pequeños, su ideología tiene el apoyo de toda la clase dirigente capitalista, a pesar de que puedan existir diferencias tácticas entre ellos.

Históricamente, la clase capitalista ha manipulado la cuestión de migración a beneficio de sus intereses. Cuando existe una carencia de trabajadores, cuando la mano de obra esta barata y fácil de explotar, la propaganda contra inmigrantes disminuye.

Pero hay una crisis económica inminente en los EEUU. El déficit presupuestario gigantesco y los gastos continuos para la guerra están llevando a recortes y, eventualmente, a despidos masivos. Cuando las políticas de los dirigentes del país resultan en más sufrimiento para los trabajadores, siempre se buscan chivos expiatorios.

La comunidad inmigrante, por otro lado, no solo está creciendo, sino que está organizándose. Cada vez más, l@s inmigrantes están saliendo de las sombras, con o sin documentos, reclamando sus derechos. Much@s están influenciados por los acontecimientos revolucionarios en Latinoamérica y en el Caribe. La conciencia de clase y el antiimperialismo están aumentando.

Los sentimientos derechistas contra inmigrantes en los EEUU podrán estar bien organizados y financiados, pero pueden ser derrotados. No representan los sentimientos de la clase trabajadora de este país, que es la clase mayoritaria.

La derecha puede influenciar a un sector de la clase trabajadora para que tome posiciones contra l@s inmigrantes, pero esos sentimientos pueden ser revertidos en muchos, y quizás en la mayoría de l@s trabajador@s.

El movimiento de la clase trabajadora puede señalar, por ejemplo, que no son l@s inmigrantes quienes cierran las fábricas en este país para trasladarse al extranjero donde la mano de obra está aún más explotada. Son los patrones quienes lo hacen.

En esta época del imperialismo, el capital está libre para cruzar las fronteras en búsqueda de ganancias enormes. Esto establece la base para una respuesta mundial, unificada y multinacional a los piratas capitalistas. Un ejemplo de esta unidad fue el Primero de Mayo de 2005 en los EEUU. Es posible que sólo miles participaran en las protestas y mítines en este país, pero alrededor del mundo, millones se unieron.

En este momento, es imperativo que l@s trabajador@s de todas las nacionalidades nacid@s en los EEUU organicen la más fuerte solidaridad incondicional con l@s inmigrantes, no-sólo porque es lo correcto, sino porque sirve a su propio interés de clase.

