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Baltimore jail deaths exposed Protest hits

killer guards

Community demands 'Justice for Raymond Smoot'

By Sharon Black Baltimore

10

The recent death in custody of Raymond Smoot at the hands of prison guards in Baltimore's notorious Central Booking facility has aroused strong protests, especially from the African American community.

Smoot, a Black man in his early 50s, had been arrested May 3 for failing to appear in court on a prior charge. On May 14, still jailed because he didn't have \$150 to buy a bail bond, he was brutally beaten by guards at Central Booking. He later died in the hospital. Smoot's death was ruled a homicide.

Smoot's family, who said they intended to bail out the victim on May 16, has demanded a thorough investigation of his death. Delvonna Smoot, the victim's niece, said her uncle's face was bruised and bloody. "The doctors said they've never seen another human being beat somebody as bad as they beat my uncle, never," she said.

State Senator Verna Jones called for a task force to investigate the jail. She said that 27 inmates have died at Central Booking since 2002, and that Smoot's death "illustrates a system that is overwhelmed and broken."

Central Booking, which is run by the state of Maryland, was built in 1995 with a capacity of processing 45,000 people a year. In 2004, some 100,000 people were processed there. Cells built to hold five to eight people often hold 18. In April, a judge ruled that people held longer than 24 hours should be set free.

Because of the scandal around Central Booking, the brutality of Smoot's killing, and the response from community organizations, including the Baltimore NAACP, the story made national news. It also sparked a mass response to the daily police repression that has become part of everyday life in Baltimore.

Everyone is aware the police have arrest quotas. They stop vehicles at random in the Black community, insisting people

Continued on page 4

NEW YORK 'ASSATA SHAKUR IS WELCOME HERE'



A news conference was held on May 25, African Liberation Day, at New York's City Hall to support Black freedom fighter Assata Shakur.

City Council members Charles Barron (pictured, front center), Larry Seabrook and James Sanders announced that a resolution will be brought before the City Council to demand that the U.S. government revoke a \$1 million bounty placed on Shakur May 2. The resolution will also demand that Shakur be granted amnesty

to allow her to return to the U.S. from Cuba, where she has been in political exile since 1984.

Barron publicly thanked President Fidel Castro and the Cuban people for supporting Shakur.

"U.S. Hands Off Assata Shakur" coordinated actions will take place on July 17, her birthday. See related story on page 7.

—Story & photo by Monica Moorehead

Bachelors for Wallace'

By Leslie Feinberg

On Aug. 10, 1948, Harry Hay first formulated the organizational and political call for what would become in just a few short years the Mattachine movement for homosexual emancipation.

That was the night that Ray Glazer—who wrote for both the left-wing People's Songs and for the popular radio program "Duffy's Tavern"-invited Hay to be one of 90 people at a public signing of presidential hopeful Henry Wallace's candidacy petition in California. (Stuart Timmons, "The Trouble with Harry Hay")

Hay was thrilled about Wallace's campaign. Henry Agard Wallace was running for president on the Progressive Party ticket against incumbent Democrat Harry Truman and Republican Thomas Dewey. Wallace had been Franklin D. Roosevelt's secretary of agriculture during the Depression and then vice president from 1941 to 1945.

Wallace was still publicly championing the "New Deal" reforms he helped craft for FDR's administration-economic concessions designed to save capitalism from a potentially revolutionary movement of workers and oppressed people. As a third-party candidate, he opposed the Cold War already begun by the right wing of the U.S. capitalist class, which had emerged from World War II with military, political and economic supremacy over the world.

The Communist Party USA (CPUSA), of which Hay was an active leader, was putting its weight behind the Wallace campaign. Some Democrats became enthused and were registering as Progressives. And for many who hungered for progressive change, Wallace's slogan of faith in "the quietness and strength of grass"—the grassroots—infused them with hope and energy.

In virtually every campaign speech, Wallace denounced Jim Crow segregation—even in the rural Deep South. Wallace spoke to 16,000 cheering people in Louisville, Ky., in 1947—the biggest unsegregated meeting ever held in that city. ("Subversive Southerner," Catherine Fosl)

Students for Wallace at UCLA marched in protest against "whites only" barber shops near the Westwood campus. (Timmons)

Bachelors for Wallace

That night of Aug. 10, still exhilarated by the signing event, Hay went to a party in which the two dozen guests were all men who he later said seemed to be "of the per-

A French seminary student at the party asked if Hay had heard about the recently published "Kinsey Report." Hay himself had been interviewed and become part of that study eight years earlier.

It was a bit of a code for a male stranger to open up with talk about the Kinsey Report. Timmons points out, "Its first volume, 'Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,' was the season's most talked-about book, especially among homosexuals, with its claim that 37 percent of adult men had experienced homosexual relations. To Harry, that newly revealed number suggested the dimensions of an organizable minority. He voiced the idea. When his friend protested that organizing homosexuals was impossible, Harry rebutted him. There could be millions of people who might fall into a group that would find great benefit in organizing. Certainly it would be difficult, but it was not impossible."

Others at the party were drawn to this debate. They

reportedly disagreed with Hay: "There was too much hatred of homosexuals. Any individual who went public could be entrapped and discredited. There were too many different kinds of homosexuals; they'd never get along. And anyway, people belonging to such an organization would lose their jobs."

As Hay batted away at each argument, he reportedly became more convinced himself that it was possible to organize homosexuals. He raised the idea of creating a "fast bail" fund and seeking out progressive attorneys for victims of anti-gay police entrapment. This was an important concept, since getting caught in a sting operation by cops meant shelling out lots of money to shady lawyers and crooked officials. LAVENDER & RED

Hay also suggested incorpo-Lesbian•gay•bi and trans rating education about homosexuality in high school hygiene classes. Soon Hay was leading a discussion about building a gay male organization to support Wallace's presidential bid, which in turn might win a sexual privacy plank in the Progressive Party platform. (John D'Emilio, 'Making Trouble")

> By then, Hay was winning over some of his audience. They suggested some defiantly campy names, but Hay put forward a more subtle one: "Bachelors for Wallace."

> While still at the party, Hay wrote out all the ideas that had been discussed that night about homosexual organizing on a sheet of butcher block paper.

'It was high time!'

Biographer Stuart Timmons offers the following detailed account of what Hay thought about and did that night after the party.

As he drove home, Hay thought about how the reactionary post-war period "was already of concern to many of us progressives. I knew the government was going to look for a new enemy, a new scapegoat. It was predictable." African Americans were galvanizing a movement for civil rights, buttressed by world horror at the mass extermination of Jews by German fascism. But those he called "the Queers" would be a natural scapegoat.

"They were the one group of disenfranchised people who did not even know they were a group because they had never formed as a group. They-we-had to get started. It was high time."

That night he sat up in his study writing two papers. The first was a proposed plank for the Progressive Party platform. The second was a proposal for an organization of gay men that could continue after the party convention was

Timmons described the document concerning homosexual organizing in some detail. "This second, much more elaborate paper, based in a Marxist perspective, forged a principle that Hay had struggled years to formulate: that homosexuals were a minority, which he temporarily dubbed 'the Androgynous Minority."

Hay referred to the shared characteristics of what constitutes a nation to argue that homosexuals were a cultural minority. Hay wrote, "I felt we had two of the four, the language and the culture, so clearly we were a social minority."

'Some day a reckoning!'

Hay's thinking in that document reflected the profound impact of the fight against racism on a white activist. Being a gay man whose sexuality made him an outlaw in every Continued on page 4

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This week ...



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WW CALENDAR

NEW YORK

Fri., May 27

Workers World Forum: Focus on Iraq. • Update on the criminal U.S. war and the Iraqi resistance to occupation by John Catalinotto, a WW managing editor • Report from the Barcelona session of the World Tribunal on Irag by Sharon Black, a labor coordinator for the movement by Larry Holmes, a

WWP leader and IAC co-director Also: Update on the struggle to defend Black revolutionary Assata Shakur and to demand extradition to Venezuela of right-wing terror ist Luis Posada Carriles by LeiLani Dowell, a leader of radical youth group F.I.S.T. (Fight Imperialism) Stand Together).

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

Workers World

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Boston Youth Pride:

'Use your voice'

By LeiLani Dowell Boston

"Use Your Voice" was the theme of the 11th annual Youth Pride 2005 held here on May 21. And the thousands of lesbian, gay, bi, trans and queer-identified youths—including many high-school students and youths of color—gathered in the Boston Commons did just that.

The event, which is state-sponsored but run by the youths themselves, drew people from across Massachusetts, Rhode Island and other nearby states.

They cheered the revolutionary words of Black poet Letta Neely—a call to action.

They roared when Workers World Managing Editor Leslie Feinberg asked, "Is this racist war for empire a youth issue?" Thousands of youths shouted, "Yes!" They cheered her call to boot military recruiters out of their high schools and campuses, and to resist the draft. Most importantly, they raised their voices and applauded the right of the Iraqis to resist, and they thunderously agreed with the demand, "Bring the troops home now!"

Feinberg concluded with a call for young people who want to become a new generation of revolutionaries to check out Boston Youth Pride march, May 21. Leslie Feinberg holding banner on left.

WW PHOTO: MARILYN HUMPHRIES

the youth group FIST—Fight Imperialism, Stand Together. A delegation of FIST youth—lesbian and straight—took part in the rally and march with their placards and banners.

Thousands of youths then filled the wide streets around the Commons and marched past the state legislature building. Many passersby of all ages and nationalities applauded the marchers, who were still raising their voices—chanting "Hey hey, ho ho, homophobia/transphobia has got to go!"

Dowell, a national leader of FIST, will be speaking in Boston on June 4 at a meeting sponsored by Stonewall Warriors, FIST and Workers World Party. For more information, readers can call 617-983-3835.



BALTIMORE

Students march for equal education

By Sharon Black Baltimore

Several hundred high-school students and their supporters marched in downtown Baltimore May 17, from the harbor to the nearby school board, to demand an end to unequal funding and abysmal conditions in city schools. Later they faced arrest.

The students shouted, "Arrest Gov. Erhlich," and, "Arrest Nancy Grasmick!" They also chanted, "We don't want your racist Iraq war."

Members of the Baltimore Teachers Union, Service Employees-1199 and the All Peoples Congress also marched with the students.

When the students arrived at the State Board of Education, scores of police formed a line between marchers and the building.

Several students who had planned to participate in civil disobedience, along with a teacher and a community representative, crossed the street and slipped behind police lines. Police had quickly locked doors to the building. The group refused to leave and instead began to poster the building with "Wanted" posters with the pictures of the governor, mayor and superintendent of schools. The posters charge them with "failure to pay child support."

Steven Ceci, a union and community organizer with the All Peoples Congress who was also a participant with the students, said: "The students who are risking arrest are very brave. The youngest of our group is 13 years old. The reason for

this action is because the schools are so horrible—overcrowded classrooms, lead in the drinking water, the students don't even have toilet paper."

For about 20 minutes the group faced off against police, who were obviously angry but who also refused to arrest the group. Two police officers grabbed both Ceci and Jay Gillian, a teacher and adviser for the Algebra Project. They twisted Ceci's arm and pushed Gillian.

Despite the intimidation, students continued to tape posters on the Board of Education building and surrounding poles.

The group returned to a cheering crowd of supporters.

The march itself was called to coincide with the 51st anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court's Brown vs. Board of Education ruling, which ordered an end to school segregation. A coalition of groups led by the Algebra Project, a group of young students, has been fighting to force the state to abide by a court ruling that would give equal funding to Baltimore city schools. City schools receive less than the surrounding counties, which are more affluent.

Maryland Gov. Robert Ehrlich has ignored court orders. Baltimore Mayor Martin O'Malley has also been silent on the issue. The court had ordered \$225 million additional spending on Baltimore schools every year.

The Algebra Project, Baltimore Education Advocates, All Peoples Congress, Council of PTA's Parent-Community Advisory Board, Generations for Peace and Democracy, Green Party, SEIU-1199, and others called the May 17 action. □

SOMERVILLE, MASS.

Black athletes targeted by racial profiling

Following are excerpts from a news release sent out May 20 by the Committee to Defend the Somerville High School 5 Against Police Brutality with the support of the Women's Fightback Network in Boston. A growing conspiracy is being carried out by the corporate media, police, Somerville, Mass., School Board and the courts to suppress the facts behind this important anti-racist, anti-repression case. The victims, five prominent African-American athletes, are being falsely portrayed as criminals.

Supporters of the SHS 5 packed a Somerville District Court hearing May 24 to demand that charges against the athletes be dropped and that their unjust suspensions from school be revoked immediately. The hearing resulted in an adjournment until early July. The media boycotted a news conference after the hearing. For more information about this important case, call 617-522-6626 or email iacboston@iacboston.org

The SHS 5 are Calvin Belfon, Cassius Belfon, Earl Guerra, Isiah Anderson and Marquis Anderson. On April 20, these five young Black men were the victims of racial profiling and a brutal, unprovoked attack by Medford, Mass., police. They were beaten, clubbed, maced and arrested.

A massive police cover-up of this abuse ensued, with the police spreading outrageous lies about what happened that night.

In mid-May, in an outrageous decision by Somerville School Superintendent Albert Argenziano and Somerville High School Principal Thomas Galligani, the SHS 5 were suspended indefinitely from school.

In a May 11 letter of protest to Argenziano, Boston City Councilor Chuck Turner wrote: "They are well respected, serious students, and promising athletes. Coming at such a key and pivotal time in

their academic career, these actions of suspension threaten to do permanent damage to their future and their reputation.

"This decision callously disregards the hundreds of people across the U.S. and even the world who called, emailed and faxed Dr. Argenizano's office all last week demanding the five students' immediate reinstatement, said Phebe Eckfeldt of the Committee to Defend the SHS 5 Against Police Brutality. "It also callously disregards the 300 SHS students who signed a petition asking for their peers' immediate reinstatement.

"It can only be seen as a racist, vindictive act as even Massachusetts law does not require Argenziano to suspend—it leaves it up to his discretion. But apparently, the school superintendent and the principal have appointed themselves judge and jury in this case and decided that the five students are 'guilty until proven innocent.' What ever happened to due process?

"The SHS 5 were caught up in the dragnet of racial profiling," Eckfeldt continued. "A dragnet that captures hundreds of innocent young Black men across the country every day, subjecting them to physical abuse, jail and even death at the hands of racist cops. To fear for your life is real. But if you defend yourself this becomes a 'crime.'

"The SHS 5 were forced to defend themselves and as a result the police, media, courts and school department are conducting an especially vicious campaign against them."

Robert Traynham of the Committee said: "This must stop. We will not allow the dreams and aspirations of our youth to be stomped out by racism and police terrorism. We demand all the charges be dropped now and an independent investigation be conducted into the Medford Police Department. We will continue to fight until justice is done."



WW PHOTO: SHARON BLACK

Students demand more teachers, more classes.

Exciting developments in Venezuela



An audience of anti-war and justice activists in Buffalo was full of questions, discussion and hopeful excitement after hearing a presentation May 20 by Betsey Piette of Philadelphia about Venezuela. Piette was a participant in the Third Gathering in Solidarity with the Bolivarian Revolution, which took place in Venezuela April 13.17

Piette presented an account of the recent events transforming Venezuela. She described how President Hugo Chávez's program is gaining greater support not only in Venezuela but throughout Latin America—

despite continuing threats from Washington. Videos accompanying her talk showed the determination with which the workers of Venezuela are pushing forward and leftward. The International Action Center sponsored the meeting.

-Photo and story Ellie Dorritie

Baltimore protest hits killer guards

Continued from page 1

show ID. Many compare the situation to South Africa during its apartheid days. And everyone can see the lines of people outside Central Booking waiting hours to be processed.

On May 20, some 150 people from the community came to a news conference outside the prison called by the Baltimore All-Peoples Congress. Most had heard of the event by word of mouth. The NAACP, the Nation of Islam and most local politicians elected to represent the Black community were there, as were the television and print media.

The Smoot family attended, along with many of their neighbors. They repeated their charges against the guards at Central Booking

On May 24, the Rev. Willie Ray, the Smoot family's minister, held a vigil. Sixty people attended, including Millie Reves, whose sister died in Central Booking six weeks earlier after being denied medical care. She came to show solidarity with the Smoot family and to join in their demands.

Andre Powell from the State, County

and Municipal Employees union and the All-Peoples Congress, spoke at the May 24 vigil. He denounced the police as "nothing but hired guns for the banks" while pointing to Baltimore's downtown skyline.

"The prisons are concentration camps for the poor," Powell explained. He called for "medical treatment, not incarceration."

Renee Washington, whose fiancé was murdered by police five years ago, was loudly applauded when she said: "We must end the police practice of 'zero tolerance.' Their quota system must go."

Longtime Baltimore organizers say the surprisingly strong community response may indicate a general growth in resistance, not only to police abuses, but to budget cuts, utility cutoffs, unemployment and low wages that have pummeled Baltimore residents.

At the vigil, Eric Easton of the All-Peoples Congress called for a June 14 demonstration at Central Booking. Further actions will be discussed at a community meeting on May 26 at the All-Peoples Congress Hall, 426 E. 31st Street. □

1948

'Bachelors for Wallace'

Continued from page 2

state, and who lived in fear of police and right-wing violence, certainly magnified his rage against other forms of inequality and injustice—particularly racism.

Hay often recounted a trip he had made to a political conference in Chicago in May 1940 with a Black married couple and a white man. En route, the four stopped at an all-night diner in Gary, Ind. The waitperson poured coffee for Hay and the other white man, but she balked at serving the African American woman and man. Instead, she dusted off a little sign and placed it in front of the cash register. It read: "We reserve the right to refuse service to customers whose patronage is unwelcome."

Hay and the other white man gave their coffee to their friends, waited until their omelets arrived and then ground their meal checks into the freshly-delivered meals. The four walked out, knocking over the racist sign as they all left.

Years later Hay recalled vowing as he left the restaurant, "Someday, someday, there's going to be a reckoning if I can help it."

Hay also remembered being part of an anti-racist protest in autumn 1945 in Silver Lake, Los Angeles, when Josephine Baker came to town. The management at the Thistle Inn refused to seat some 50 to 60 luminaries from Los Angeles's African American community who were waiting for Baker to arrive.

Hay described his excitement as those who were turned away immediately set up a picket line outside the restaurant. And, he recalled, when Baker and her entourage arrived, she immediately joined them in protest.

One culture or many cultures?

Hay's attempt to compare homosexuals to African Americans as a "cultural minority" demonstrated how powerful the Black movement was in the United States.

However, African peoples, who had come from many nationalities and cultures with different languages, were forged into an oppressed nation by mass kidnapping and chattel slavery historically imposed by the landowning class with complicity from the captains of banking and commerce and industry.

Hay and others who wanted to struggle against the degrees of discrimination and disenfranchisement that they experienced were inspired by the rising resistance of African Americans, who had been blocked from achieving even basic equal democratic rights with whites by the overturning of the revolutionary effort at Black Reconstruction.

The period in which the CPUSA had recognized the right of African Americans to self-determination as an oppressed nation—including the right to a separate state in the South—must surely have inspired Hay to consider that it was not a contradiction to fight against oppression while waging the class struggle to overturn capitalism. In fact, fighting oppression is a prerequisite for building class unity.

Hay's early formulation that homosexuals were a cultural minority was also a political approach that in many ways was aimed at answering the social current of opinion, voiced by the men at the Aug. 10 party, which argued that homosexuals were not "organizable" because they shared nothing in common except their sexual attraction.

However understandable and well-meaning Hay's political equation was, attempts to compare gays, lesbians, bisexuals and trans people as a group with oppressed nationalities as a political model—a political equation which continues to this day among many in the modern LGBT movement—has not brought greater theoretical clarity to the movement for sexual and gender liberation. Where this view has not been dealt with thoughtfully, it has done harm to solidarity with nationally oppressed peoples as a whole.

In truth, homosexuals and bisexuals—female and male—transsexual, gender variant and intersexual people, then and now, belong to many diverse cultures and nationalities.

And they are represented in every economic class in capitalist society. In this country, for example, the vast numbers of men who are sexually and affectionally attracted to other men are not all white and small-business owners or mega-

rich—as they are often divisively portrayed in the spin of the modern monopoly media machine.

The overwhelming majority are from the laboring class—and this is even more true for lesbian and bisexual women. And certainly the segment of the transsexual and transgender population that is socially visible and recognizable in the U.S. is particularly marginalized in the workforce, if able to find work at all.

As workers they all have nothing to rely on to survive economically but their own labor or that of their families—chosen family as well as those related through patrilineal blood lines.

However, even among LGBT workers as a whole, those from oppressed nationalities—Black, Latin@, Arab, Native, Asian—face a much different social, political and economic reality overall based on inequality, discrimination and other forms of institutionalized racism than do white LGBT workers.

Cold War created fear of fascism

As Hay worked throughout the night on his first manifesto, certainly easier to assess from today's historical vantage point, he farsightedly aligned the struggle of "androgynes" with the left. However, he saw them uniting against what he thought was the encroachment of fascism.

Timmons wrote, "He suggested a comparison of the political manipulation and murder of homosexuals in Nazi Germany to recent firings of gays by the State Department. This particularly alarmed him; could what happened in Germany happen here?"

Hay's incorrect view that a fascist takeover was looming was shaped by the CPUSA's similar assessment. This led the party to send its cadre underground and it also resulted in Hay later stressing the need for Mattachine to be a clandestine organization.

In the statement Hay worked on all night, he did emphasize that civil rights for homosexuals was a struggle that would have an impact on the civil rights of all heterosexuals, as well. He explained that "guilt of androgynity BY ASSOCIATION, equally with guilt of Communist sympathy

by association, can be employed as a threat against any and every man and woman in our country as a whip to insure thought control and political regimentation."

In this very accurate line of reasoning, he was sadly far ahead of the overall CPUSA leadership, which was caught in the Cold War between the anvil of the "Red Scare" and the hammer of the "Lavender Scare" without being able to politically arm the movement against both forms of capitalist reaction.

Arguing that U.S. laws were rooted in fundamentalist religion, Hay called for application to homosexuals of international laws that he believed more broadly protected overall human rights.

When the sun came up, Hay had signed this five-page organizational outline and manifesto which he termed "the Call" with his nom de guerre: Eann MacDonald. This original document was lost during the 1950s. (A version he revised and expanded on July 7, 1950, is included in "Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of its Founder—Harry Hay," published by Beacon in 1996)

That morning, Aug. 11, Hay phoned everyone from the party who had shown serious interest in this prospectus for organizing homosexuals. But in the light of day, their hope for its possibility burned off like the mist.

Hay described how during the next two years he faced a "Catch 22" situation. When he approached progressive social workers, teachers and ministers with his idea, they told him to come back when he got a discussion group on his ideas underway. When he talked to progressive-minded gays, they told him to get prominent support first.

"So—there it was!" he concluded. "I couldn't get a list of sponsors until I got a discussion group going, and I couldn't get a discussion group going until I had a committee of sponsors."

It took two more years before Hay found one other person who shared his vision. Once this "society of two" discovered each other in 1950, the history of homosexual organizing in the U.S. accelerated.

Next: Communists ignite dry tinder of material conditions

Guided by 'great feelings of love'

By Shelley Ettinger and Monica Moorehead

PAT CHIN, contributing editor at Workers World newspaper and Workers World Party national committee member, died on May 16. She was 56.

She was originally diagnosed with breast cancer in 1994. Throughout the almost 11 years that followed, including the two-and-a-half years after she learned that the cancer had metastasized and could not be cured, this stalwart revolutionary socialist carried on with her life's work of fighting to overturn capitalism and build a new world of justice and equality.

In fact, only three days before she was hospitalized with seizures in February, she had driven from her home in Brooklyn, N.Y., to Boston to speak at a Haiti solidarity event. Her last words in what would prove to be her final speech: "On your feet, on your feet and get back into the street!"

This was Pat Chin, fighter to the end.

She was a fighter—and fearless—from the start. One day when Pat and her older sister Veronica were little girls walking home from school, a boy started teasing Veronica. Pat grabbed a tree branch, jumped in front of her sister waving the branch and shouting at the boy to leave her alone, and drove him off.

This was in Kingston, Jamaica, where Patricia Rose Chin was born on Jan. 13, 1949. The family lived in the working-class community of Fletchers Land, on Love Lane.

The Chinese Revolution took place that same year. This great event in the world's most populous nation would always have a special resonance for Pat, not least because her grandfather was Chinese.

Later, as an adult, Pat would talk about what it was like growing up in Jamaica at a time when that country was still a British colony. The masses of people, descendants like Pat of enslaved Africans, were trapped in poverty. Meanwhile the imperialists got rich off Jamaicans' labor and Jamaica's resources such as sugar.

Pat attended schools under British control, learned about British laws, British history, British arts and letters. The racism of the colonial rulers was pervasive. Black schoolchildren were expected to learn to submit.

But this, the post-World-War-II era, was also a time when nations around the world were waging anti-imperialist struggles. From Africa to Asia to the nations of the Caribbean, among them Jamaica, oppressed peoples were rising up and kicking out the colonizers. All this had an impact on Pat.

Then, on Jan. 1, 1959, came the Cuban Revolution. The breathtaking news from the nation just to the north swept across Jamaica. Pat—about to turn 10, an avid reader, interested in everything happening in the world, a working-class Black child with a rebellious spirit —must have been thrilled.

Developing political consciousness

Pat's family immigrated to the United States in 1962. They settled in Brooklyn, where Pat would live for the rest of her life.

Like so many others, Pat came to full political consciousness as a student in the 1960s and early 1970s. She attended Maxwell High School and graduated from Queens College-after taking part in several sit-ins. This was the period of the Vietnam War and the struggle to drive the United States out of Southeast Asia. In this country, the Black masses were in motion with the civilrights movement.

Marches, sit-ins and urban rebellions swept the country. In the rest of the world, the vast millions mobilized against U.S. imperialism.

Pat became an activist. She would take to the streets countless times over the next 35 years.

She also became a scholar of the world-wide class struggle. Pat studied the history of the Russian Revolution and the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. She read the works of thinkers and leaders like Mao Zedong, Che Guevara, Amilcar Cabral, Kwame Nkrumah, C.L.R. James, Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, W.E.B. Du Bois and Malcolm X. She researched the development of U.S. capitalism and how this country's wealth was built on the backs of African slaves, learning about Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, and about John Brown, too.

In the early 1970s, soon after the Stonewall Rebellion, Pat came out of the closet as a lesbian. Later she helped found Salsa Soul Sisters, an organization of Black, Latina and other lesbians of color.

A turning point in Pat's life came in the mid-1980s, when she traveled to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade. She was already a Marxist. But she was so profoundly moved by the experience that she decided to commit the rest of her life to fighting for revolutionary socialism.

She started reading Workers World newspaper. A fierce opponent of male supremacy, Pat attended her first Workers World Party meeting to commemorate International Women's Day in 1986. In 1987, she decided to join the Party.

A passionate internationalist

She quickly rose to leadership. It's impossible to enumerate Pat Chin's contributions to WWP and the class struggle over the ensuing 18 years. But many of them involved this newspaper.

After publication of the book, Haiti A Slave Revolution. Pat went a a speaking tour. Here she is at a book signing event in Los Angeles

WW PHOTO: JULIA LA RIVA





TOP: WW PHOTOS: L IZ GREEN; ABOVE, PAT CHIN Pat Chin in Boston Feb. 5, top; Children in Cuba (above); Against the war in Union Square Park

WW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Pat was an extremely talented—and

self-taught—photographer. She was adept at catching the most striking images, especially of people in motion. She had an eye, a feel, for the beauty and dignity of the workers and oppressed.

She was a gifted and disciplined writer. She'd turn in a concise news report on a protest demonstration one week, a political analysis of an ongoing struggle the next, an in-depth examination of a historical event the next—and in between, she'd be preparing a major talk or packing for another solidarity trip.

For Pat was a participant, not merely an observer. Whenever she was asked to speak—at a rally, to a class, to a forum or community meeting in cities across the country—she went. And she was asked often, because it was both enlightening and energizing to hear what she had to say. She ended many of her talks with the slogan associated with the martyred Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop: "Forward ever, backward never!"

What she knew came not just from book learning or her own instinctive understanding. Pat walked the walk—in many countries, and at considerable personal risk.

She first traveled to Haiti in December 1990 during the first presidential campaign of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. There she attended a mass rally, witnessing the strength of the popular movement known as Lavalas—and the U.S.-backed repression against it, when that rally was bombed 10 minutes after Pat left. Her photographs of those killed in the bombing are among the most powerful she ever took.

Pat loved the Haitian people. She returned to Haiti several times. She met with labor union activists, women leaders, mass organizers. She talked and ate and sang and danced and marched with them, knowing all the while that Tonton Macoutes death squads could strike at any time and that her own well-being was precarious.



Pat was enraged by the Feb. 29,

national War Crimes Tribunal on Yugoslavia in New York, at which the United States was tried and found guilty of war crimes. The November before, she had traveled to Novi Sad. Yugoslavia. There. she attended the International Symposium on NATO Aggression on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. While in

Novi Sad, she toured the many bridges and other facilities that had been destroyed in the U.S.-led bombing campaign earlier that year. She made many new friends on this trip, and was stirred by the beauty of the culture there.

Pat had also traveled to Cuba a second time earlier in the 1990s, and come back an even more fervid supporter of that revolution.

A short but full life

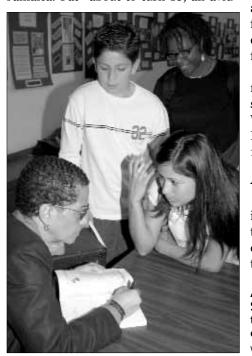
It is as if he was speaking of Pat Chin when Che Guevara said, "At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love." For Pat's love was large. It fueled her lifetime of fighting against racism and injustice.

She loved her class. For most of her adult life, she made her living as an office worker. She worked for Legal Services, first in Queens—where she helped organize a union, insisting that lawyers and secretaries be in the same bargaining unit—and later in Manhattan. She also worked for a time at the Center for Constitutional Rights. Her last job was in the benefits department at Service Employees Local 32B-32J, which represents building maintenance workers throughout New York City.

She loved Brooklyn, and her community of Bedford-Stuyvesant. She did some of her last organizing there. She helped to organize the Bed-Stuy Coalition for Peace in 2003 in response to the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq.

Politically single-minded though she was, she was also multi-faceted. She was a star gazer and music lover. She filled her house with art. She tended her flower garden. Pat adored good food—who can ever forget her zeal for lobster on City Island, or how she'd swing by the Chinese community for some roasted duck, or the delicious rice and peas she'd cook for parties—

Continued on page 10



From Mumia Abu-Jamal from death row

Harder and harder to recruit

cross the nation, from city to country, from urban to rural areas, the U.S. Imperial Army is finding it harder and harder to meet its recruitment targets.

While the corporate media like to call it "a volunteer army," in truth, many young people opt for the Army out of sheer economic necessity. They also often do so because they've been promised the moon by Army recruiters, who tell them things like, "We'll give you up to \$70,000 for college!" or, "You won't have to go to Iraq!"

Like high-pressure salesmen, recruiters must get the old John Henry on a contract, and the rest, as they say, is history.

In 2004, the National Guard fell short of its quota by 13 percent. The Reserve is down 10 percent, and the Army fell behind some 27 percent in February.

Parents are quietly steering their children away from an increasingly unpopular war, where they may be killed or maimed. There is also the undeniable factor of the raging Iraqi resistance.

People know, now by the millions, that the U.S. isn't in Iraq to "bring freedom," as King George so blithely states.

While largely ignored by the corporate press, demonstrations are happening all across the country, in high schools and on college campuses, against military recruitment

It's also true that much of this recruiting is among young people of color; Black and Latino, working-class kids; those with the least economic prospects are targeted with promises of money for college and vocational training. The promise of four years for a livelihood seems quite attractive.

But, in fact, many young people will be bound for eight years—not four—if the administration declares such a necessity. Many of the people who lost their eyesight, their limbs, their very lives in Iraq were actually past their due dates.

Remember the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002? A little-known section of the law required "all" public high schools to deliver personal contact data on juniors and seniors to military recruitment officers.

It kinda gives a whole new meaning to "No Child Left Behind"—doesn't it?

Interestingly, the nation's private schools, where the economic elite are educated, are not subject to that law.

Hundreds of students at San Francisco State and University of California-Santa Cruz marched against Army, Navy and Marine recruiters, kicking them out of their annual job fair.

The protests that opened this war may have dissipated when it came to later mass demonstrations. But that obviously doesn't mean that people are not deeply opposed to this mad adventure in Iraq.

Even the corporate media's polls show a majority of respondents feel Iraq simply wasn't worth it. That number will only

In times of war, governments try to advance their most noxious brand of repression; yet people always find ways to resist.

That resistance must grow until it gives voice to a true, solid anti-imperialism that washes away the corporate political elites

that use ruinous wars for private profits.

This war isn't a war against terrorism; it's a war for Halliburton, for Bechtel, for Lockheed-Martin and the oil giants.

It's not a war for freedom, but for unfreedom; for more government control, and less freedom for every American.

It seems that this simple truth is getting through.

Colorado meeting celebrates Malcolm X

F.I.S.T.

OFFICIALISM
STAND
TOCETHER

By Workers World Denver bureau

Thirty people came out to commemorate the life of Malcolm X on May 17 in the heart of Five Points, one of the historically Black communities in Denver.

The main speaker at the meeting was Monica Moorehead, Workers World managing editor. She stated early in her talk that, if Malcolm X were alive today, he would most likely be on the front lines of opposing the war in Iraq and all wars for empire. Malcolm would be defending the right to sovereignty and self-determination of not only Iraq, she said, but also Cuba, Venezuela, North Korea, Iran, Zimbabwe and other countries that the United States is attempting to bully with its military and economic aggression.

Moorehead quoted Malcolm X to illustrate his political development, to show how he had become an internationalist: "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negroes simply as a racial conflict of Black against white, or a purely American problem. Rather we are today seeing a global

rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Peggy Burress from the Pastors for Peace/Caravan to Cuba spoke about this year's trip to Cuba. The caravan will take



Monica Moorehead

material aid to the island—material that is not readily available, partly because of the racist blockade of the island by the United States—and challenge the travel restrictions to Cuba.

Paul Lopez from the Service Employees union talked of the battle to win justice for janitors at AFL Maintenance Group. The Justice for Janitors campaign is being extended to organize workers at AFL to win improved wages, health care and better working conditions. The AFL has retaliated against workers for trying to organize, but the union campaign is gathering momentum.

FIST activist Melissa Kleinman, who chaired the meeting, noted that the event was the first of its kind in Denver. Larry Hales of FIST—Fight Imperialism Stand Together, a revolutionary youth organization—brought up the struggle of embattled anti-racist activist Shareef Aleem and called for solidarity with Aleem. He explained why Aleem's defense must be political and linked it to the struggle against police brutality and racism.

NEW AUDIO DOCUMENTARY

Black Liberation leader Robert Williams remembered

By J. Marquardt Oakland, Calif.

Hundreds of people packed an Oakland church May 20 to celebrate the release of a new audio documentary about civilrights leader Robert F. Williams. The documentary is titled "Robert F. Williams—Self-Defense, Self-Respect & Self-Determination (as told by Mabel Williams)."

Organized and funded by several foundations, including the Paul Robeson Fund for Independent Media and the Freedom Archives, the event brought together at least three generations of progressive activists and artists, primarily from the Black communities in the San Francisco Bay area.

In the late 1950s, Williams became president of the Monroe, N.C., chapter of the NAACP. At that time, the African American neighborhood of Monroe was sometimes attacked by groups of Ku Klux Klan. When North Carolina Gov. Luther Hodges did nothing to stop the attacks, Williams and the local NAACP chapter formed a National Rifle Association chapter and

trained their members in using firearms.

In the summer of 1957, when a Klan motorcade attacked the home of NAACP member Dr. Albert E. Perry, an armed defense squad drove them off. Klan night riding came to a sudden stop in Monroe.

This famous incident electrified many Black people and identified Williams with armed self-defense for Black people.

Mabel Williams, who had been together with Robert Williams for almost 50 years when he died in 1996, spoke eloquently of the historic struggle in Monroe in the late 1950s and through the 1960s. The government's phony charges for an alleged kidnapping, but really for their militancy, forced the couple into exile in Cuba. There they became de-facto representatives of the oppressed and working class people in the United States.

She said that everywhere they went—Cuba, China, Vietnam and African countries—Williams told her that he did not want to represent the "ugly America" but be a good ambassador "for our people and for the whole human race."

The Williams' son, John C. Williams,

told the audience what it was like to be raised by his activist parents. Forced into exile in Cuba, the Williams family saw firsthand what a socialist government can do for its citizens and guests.

John Williams also recalled the struggle to integrate a public swimming pool back in Monroe. Black people were forbidden in the pool because the white racists spread the lie that Blacks would leave an untidy discolored ring on the sides of the pool. By contrast, Williams said, the public schools and recreation areas were integrated in Cuba.

Other speakers included world-renowned activists and artists Amiri Baraka and Amina Baraka, and Yuri Kochiyama. Kochiyama spoke about Black freedom fighter Assata Shakur, herself now living in exile in Cuba, and the \$1 million bounty the FBI recently place on her life. Quoting Cuban president Fidel Castro, Kochiyama said, "Nothing will happen to her—she will be protected."

Amiri Baraka recalled his many years of friendship with Robert Williams, whom he first met in Cuba in the early 1960s. He pointed out that Robert F. Williams was an advocate for armed self-defense before Malcolm X became known and before the emergence of the Black Panther Party.

Baraka also talked about the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, reminding the crowd how truly correct Williams was in promoting the idea of "treat people as they treat you." Racist White Citizens Councils and KKK members—also known as the state police—burned and bombed homes and shot dead or beat to death Black people. Baraka compared these acts of terror to the present international activities involving the terrorist Luis Posada Carriles' attacks on socialist Cuba.

All the participants shared the sentiment of Robert F. Williams' words on the banner hung in the front of the church: "We are going to have justice or set the torch to Racist Amerika. Let our battle cry be heard around the world—Freedom, freedom, freedom now or death."

HAITI A SLAVE REVOLUTION

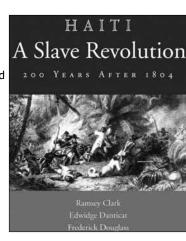
The Haitian Revolution is a singular event in history. Never before or since has an enslaved people risen up, broken their chains, and established a new state. Haiti was a beacon of hope and inspiration to the enslaved Africans of the United States.

Haiti's history has been turbulent, but not for the reasons given by mainstream historians. Racism underlies their charges that the first Black Republic lacks "democratic traditions and

is prone to violence." Drawing from a wide range of authors, experts, and historical texts, this book challenges these stereotypes and counters 200 years of cultural myths. It exposes disinformation about Haiti from the 18th century until today. Above all, it reveals the intertwined relationship between the U.S. and Haiti, and the untold stories of the Haitian people's resistance to the U.S. aggressions and occupations.

Includes Ramsey Clark, Edwidge Danicat, Frederick Douglass, Ben Dupuy, Paul Laraque, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Pat Chin, Greg Dunkel, Sara Flounders, Stan Goff, Kim Ives, Fleurimond Kerns, Maude Le Blanc, Sam Marcy, Franz Mendes & Steve Gillis, Felix Morriseau-Leroy and Johnnie Stevens.

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Benton Harbor, Mich.

Rally supports community leader

By Abayomi Azikiwe Benton Harbor, Mich.

Activists from various Michigan cities and Chicago came to this predominantly African American city in the southwest region of Michigan on May 21 to express support for a community leader, the Rev. Edward Pinkney, who is facing prosecution on four felony charges and a misdemeanor. If convicted, he could face 20 years in prison.

Berrien County prosecutors filed the charges against Pinkney in the aftermath of a successful recall election Feb. 22. The recall removed Commissioner Glenn Yarbrough, brother of the former mayor and a supporter of Police Chief Samuel Harris. County officials claim that Pinkney engaged in voter fraud by buying off people to support the recall and influencing individual voters.

Pinkney, executive director of the Black Autonomy Network of Community Organizers in Benton Harbor, has been an outspoken critic of the local political establishment and corporate elite. His supporters cite the history of racism and police brutality directed toward the people of Benton Harbor as the underlying cause of the city's economic plight.

Years of deprivation and poverty reached a boiling point in 2003. That June, the people of Benton Harbor rose up in a rebellion that lasted for three days. The governor called in the state police against them.

The 2003 outbreak occurred after the death of a young African American man who was chased on his motorcycle by the Berrien County police. These develop-

ments drew national and international media coverage.

The May 21 rally, which took place at the Benton Harbor Public Library, was held in response to the April 18 arrest of Pinkney. Members of various organizations attended. These include the Michigan Emergency Committee Against War & Injustice, Michigan Welfare Rights Organization, Detroit Coalition Against Police Brutality, League of Revolutionaries for a New America, Michigan Green Party and the National Lawyers Guild.

Pinkney thanked the people who came out from the local community and throughout the region. Reading from the BANCO mission statement, he said the organization exists "to help or force Berrien County to administer justice with fairness, equality and integrity. To resolve matters for our community and in the courts in a timely manner ... to provide courtesy and proper service in a manner that is for public trust and confidence.

"What we have now is that we are fighting a war," Pinkney said. "It is the haves versus the have-nots. It's the rich against the poor. We are here today to tell you that we are not going to take this anymore. This is just the beginning. This thing is bigger than what they think it is."

Marian Kramer, co-chair of the Michigan Welfare Rights Organization from Highland Park, asked those who came from Detroit to stand. She recognized MECAWI activist and labor leader David Sole for coordinating the transportation to Benton Harbor for the rally.

"Highland Park is a battleground area." Detroit is a battleground area," Kramer said. "They claim that we have democracy

in this government we live under in the United States. But as soon as you make a step to defend your democracy in regard to what is happening here with the recall campaign, they tell you that you do not have the right to do that. As soon as you move to exercise those rights you find out that it is democracy for the rich, and not for us.

"When injustice raises its ugly head we as mem-

Benton Harbor, Mich. Rev. Edward Pinkney, below with bullhorn.

WW PHOTOS: DAVE SOLE



bers of the working class are going to be here to stomp it down," she concluded.

After the meeting, there was a spirited march around the Benton Harbor police station. Demonstrators chanted, "What do we want? Justice! When do we want it? Now!" and, "Hands off Rev. Pinkney!"

Pinkney appealed for ongoing support for his case. His defense lawyer has filed a motion with the court for a reconsideration of the charges. The Berrien County Prosecutor's Office has 14 days to respond.

Azikiwe is editor of the Pan-African News Wire.

Mos Def defends Assata Shakur

Acclaimed actor and popular hip-hop artist Mos Def authored this commentary, entitled "Stop the Stalking of our Sista! Assata Shakur: The Government's Terrorist is Our Community's Heroine," which first appeared on the internet May 16.

Earlier this month the federal government issued a statement in which they labeled Joanne Chesimard, known to most in the Black community as Assata Shakur, as a domestic terrorist. In so doing, they also increased the bounty on her head from \$150,000 to an unprecedented \$1,000,000.

Viewed through the lens of U.S. law enforcement, Shakur is an escaped copkiller. Viewed through the lens of many Black people, including me, she is a wrongly convicted woman and a hero of epic proportions.

My first memory of Assata Shakur was the "Wanted" posters all over my Brooklyn neighborhood. They said her name was Joanne Chesimard, that she was a killer, an escaped convict, and armed and dangerous. They made her sound like a supervillain, like something out of a comic book. But even then, as a child, I couldn't believe what I was being told. When I looked at those posters and the mug shot of a slight, brown, high-cheekboned woman with a full afro, I saw someone who looked like she was in my family, an aunt, a mother. She looked like she had soul.

Later, as a junior high school student, when I read her autobiography, "Assata," I would discover that not only did she have soul, she also had immeasurable heart,



Mos Def, above and Assata Shakur,

courage and love. And I would come to believe that that very heart and soul she possessed was exactly why Assata Shakur was shot, arrested, framed and convicted of the murder of a New Jersey state trooper.

There are some undisputed facts about the case. On May 2, 1973, Assata Shakur, a Black Panther, was driving down the New Jersey State Turnpike with two companions, Zayd Shakur and Sundiata Acoli. The three were pulled over, ostensibly for a broken tail light. A gun battle ensued; why and how it started is unclear. But the aftermath is not. Trooper Werner Forester and Zayd Shakur lay dead. Sundiata Acoli escaped (he was captured two days later). And Assata was shot and arrested.

At trial, three neurologists would testify that the first gunshot shattered her clavicle and the second shattered the median nerve in her right hand. That testimony proved that she was sitting with her hands raised when she was fired on by police. Further testimony proved that no gun residue was found on either of her hands, nor were her fingerprints found on any of the weapons located at the scene. Nevertheless, Shakur was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to life in prison.

Six years and six months to the day that she was arrested, and aided by friends, Shakur escaped from Clinton Women's Prison in New Jersey. As a high school stu-

dent I remember seeing posters all around the Brooklyn community I lived in that read: "Assata Shakur is Welcome Here." In 1984, she surfaced in Cuba and was granted political asylum by Fidel Castro.

There are those who believe that being

convicted of a crime makes you guilty. But that imposes an assumption of infallibility upon our criminal justice system. When Assata Shakur was convicted of killing Werner Forester, not only had the Black Panther Party been labeled by then-FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as "the greatest internal threat" to American security, but Assata herself had been thoroughly criminalized in the minds of the American public; she'd been charged in six different crimes ranging from attempted murder to bank robbery, and her acquittal or dismissal of the charges outright notwithstanding, to the average citizen, it seemed she must be guilty of something.

And she was. She was guilty of calling for a shift in power in America, and for racial and economic justice. Included on a short list of the many people who have made that call and were either criminalized, terrorized, killed or blacklisted are Paul Robeson, Martin Luther King Jr., Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman, Medgar Evers and Ida B. Wells.

Perhaps what is most insulting about the government's latest attack on Assata is that while they vigorously pursue her extradition, a few years ago using it as a bargaining chip for lifting the embargo [on Cuba] itself, they have been decidedly lackadaisical in pursuing the extradition to Venezuela of an admitted terrorist, Florida resident Luis Posada Carriles. Carriles is likely responsible for blowing up a Cuban airline in 1976, an act which claimed the lives of some 73 innocent civilians.

For those of us who either remember the state of the union in the 1960s and 1970s or have studied it, when we consider Assata Shakur living under political asylum in Cuba, we believe that nation is exercising its political sovereignty, and in no way harboring a terrorist. Cubans sees Assata as I and many others in my community do: as a woman who was and is persecuted for her political beliefs.

When the federal government raised the bounty on her head this May 2, one official declared that Assata was merely "120 pounds of money." For many of us in the Black community she could never be so reduced. For many of us in the Black community, she was and remains, to use her own words, an "escaped slave"— a heroine, not unlike Harriet Tubman. \square

Assata Shakur's book is available at www.Leftbooks.com

Iraq resistance grows under U.S. provocations

By Leslie Feinberg

The Pentagon war to annex Iraq as a profitable region of U.S. capital's empire is still raging, long after the fragile pretexts for invasion have torn like tissue. The sheer brutality and colonial-style character of the occupation have unleashed a firestorm of resistance that enjoys widespread support in the Iraqi population.

But not many people here—in what Vietnam-era anti-imperialist activists referred to as the "belly of the beast"—are seeing the reality of life for Iraqis and GIs on TV news or in newspapers.

A Los Angeles Times survey examined the war coverage of six major newspapers and two news magazines from Sept. 1, 2004 to Feb. 28, 2005. The results revealed that although 559 U.S. troops and other Western "Coalition" soldiers died during that period, the Los Angeles Times, New York Times, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Washington Post and Atlanta Journal-Constitution did not run a single photo of a dead GI.

War correspondents in Iraq are either "embedded"—stenographers for the military brass—or their lives are in danger. Newspaper Guild President Linda Foley said May 20 that the U.S. military is deliberately killing reporters, particularly Arab journalists, in Iraq.

Her statement in St. Louis was reminiscent of CNN executive Eason Jordan's statement at this year's World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Jordan said that U.S. troops had specifically targeted some of the 63 journalists who had been killed at that point in Iraq. He was forced to resign soon after; Foley is already under political siege.

In an April 15 report on its website, the Newspaper Guild charges that on April 8, 2003, troops from the Pentagon's Third Infantry Tank division fired an incendiary shell at the Palestine Hotel where two journalists—Jose Couso and Taras Protsyuk—were standing on a balcony. Both journalists were killed.

On May 24, two unions—the Newspaper Guild-Communications Workers and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists—sent official letters to the White House asking the Bush administration to "heed the requests from journalists around the world for an independent investigation into the record number of deaths."

The Guild represents 35,000 reporters and other media workers in the United States and Canada. AFTRA represents close to 80,000 news media employees.

The Committee to Protect Journalists, based in the United States, is demanding that the United States and its puppet forces reveal where at least eight Iraqi reporters have been held since they were detained in March.

War rages, without being televised

Whether the cameras are rolling or not, furious battles are still joined between GIs, increasingly weary of being foot soldiers for the imperial legion, and Iraqi resistance forces determined to oust the occupation through military and political pressure.

Abul Waleed, commander of a brutal U.S.-trained police commando unit, boasted as he introduced a new music video to viewers on Iraqi "state-run" television May 23, "We will cut off the arms of insurgents." However, the resistance appears to have strong limbs that reach deep into the population.

Using car bombs, insurgents killed three U.S. troops on May 24 in two attacks in Mosul. The same day, in Samarra, two suicide combatants detonated themselves outside a Pentagon military base, wounding four U.S. soldiers.

The day before, three separate insurgent bombings had injured a total of three U.S. soldiers in Samarra. Three U.S. troops were also killed and one wounded when resistance fighters rained mortar fire at a joint army/police base in Samarra. In Tikrit, one GI was killed and two others wounded in a bomb assault.

U.S. military forces, leading battalions of Iraqi puppet forces to help do their dirty work, have carried out a terror sweep dubbed "Operation Squeeze Play." In Baghdad neighborhoods adjacent to the U.S. prison at Abu Ghraib, and near the road that runs from downtown to the main airport, hundreds of Iraqis have been trapped in a dragnet of mass arrests.

This offensive in the western part of the capital is a Pentagon attempt to quell ongoing attacks on the U.S.-run dungeon. The insurgents exert strong control over the six-mile stretch of paved road to the airport, now ruefully characterized by GIs as the "highway of death."

The bloody operation itself demonstrates that, no matter how the Iraqis are outgunned by U.S. capital's high-tech weaponry, sheer force alone is not subjugating the population.

Who profits from 'divide & conquer'?

The motive of some other bombing attacks is less clear. Faced with a population that wants the U.S. force to leave their country, Washington stands to gain from what is often vaguely reported in the U.S. mass media as "sectarian violence."

The big-business media is aiding and abetting imperialist efforts to drive a wedge between Sunnis and Shias. Although some dispute these figures, they say the Sunnis make up some 20 percent of the population and that they held greater political power in the Ba'athist

government; thus the U.S. media treats them as the "bad guys."

On May 22 Associated Press writer Paul Garwood wrote, "The Sunni fall from grace is regarded by many as a key source of Iraq's raging insurgency, which claimed more victims Sunday, including Trade Ministry official Ali Moussa and his driver."

What's missing? No mention of the imperialist occupation fueling the resistance.

This AP report's approach is just the visible tip of the iceberg of Washington's attempts to pit Sunnis and Shias and Kurds against each other. It's an effort to keep the entire population divided in order to steal Iraq's natural wealth and defeat the fight against the occupation.

But the insurgency is so tenacious and so strong that even some of the brass hats themselves are, well, down.

Many years and many more troops are the best that even the most optimistic of the "unnamed" officials are willing to venture it would take to "stabilize" Iraq. By stable, they mean winning enough class peace to plunder Iraq's vast resources.

But the insurgency has claimed the lives of an estimated hundreds of mercenaries and contractors working for the Pentagon. As a result, a big chunk of those billions of dollars earmarked to build the infrastructure—necessary, for example, to funnel out Iraq's vast oil reserves—is being channeled instead into military "security."

For the people of Iraq, after enduring two years of life under occupation, most of the 27-million-strong population is still without adequate electricity, sewage disposal, clean water or other essential services.

Conditions like these, and the military boot heel of the occupation, drive the Iraqi people's determination to resist the occupation.

Oil-for-Food scandal?

Galloway opens door to expose U.S. crimes

By Tony Murphy

British Member of Parliament George Galloway's stinging anti-war testimony before a U.S. Senate committee in Washington May 17 electrified progressives. Galloway stunned the U.S. media—which are unaccustomed to seeing anyone, and certainly not members of the timid Democratic Party "opposition" to the Bush administration, match the right wing blow for blow.

The Senate committee, chaired by Republican ideologue Sen. Norm Coleman of Minnesota, is part of a Bush administration campaign targeting British, French and Russian politicians as people to whom Saddam Hussein supposedly "allocated oil" for "political favors." It is a witch hunt designed to discredit opposition to the war as the United States becomes increasingly embroiled in Iraq and isolated in the world.

Behind the committee's bogus allegations is the long war U.S. corporate interests have waged in order to seize Iraqi oil. The devastated state of Iraq today is not only due to the aftermath of 2003's shockand-awe campaign. It's the result of decades of U.S. intervention, war and CIA operations against the Iraqi people. It's long past time for the United States to get out.

Before 2003, more than a million Iraqis



British Member of Parliament George Galloway

had already been killed by U.S.-imposed sanctions. After Washington's 1991 bombing campaign against Iraq—which wiped out its electrical grid and water-purification system, as well as schools, roads, hospitals and bridges—the United States used the United Nations to prevent Iraq from rebuilding. It accomplished this by preventing it from selling oil, virtually its only commodity, or from buying anything on the world market.

The previously wiped-out diseases typhoid and cholera made a stunning comeback among Iraqi children, because water was contaminated and hospitals were deprived of medicine by sanctions. By 1996, UN agencies reported that over half a million Iraqis had died.

The 2001 declassification of 1991 Defense Intelligence Agency documents showed that the Pentagon's conscious goal was to cause widespread illness throughout the Iraqi population, through waterborne disease. "Conditions are favorable for communicable disease outbreaks, particularly in major urban areas affected by coalition bombing," is a chillingly typical quote.

This genocidal campaign, waged to get control of Iraq's oil resources, is the true crime behind the oil-for-food "scandal" now making headlines.

Washington's oil grab

In 1996, world outcry against the sanctions—overseen and renewed every three months by the Clinton administration—became so great that the United States set up the "oil-for-food" program. Now instead of an outright embargo, Washington arranged for UN officials to monitor the sale of Iraqi oil, specify how much Iraq could sell, and repeatedly use the specter of "weapons of mass destruction" to veto Iraqi attempts to buy equipment on the world market.

It wasn't a humanitarian program. It was outrageous harassment, an attempt to take over Iraq's economy. It certainly had nothing to do with helping the Iraqi peo-

ple, who continued to die at the rate of thousands every month.

Naturally the Iraqi government did everything it could—politically, legally and otherwise—to get around the sanctions.

In the late 1990s, Galloway mounted a campaign called the Mariam Appeal, designed to both publicize the crime of sanctions and raise money for Iraq. He was ousted from Tony Blair's Labor Party in 2003 for inviting British soldiers to disobey illegal orders. He now represents the anti-war Respect Party.

In 2003, the British Daily Telegraph and the U.S. Christian Science Monitor said documents had been uncovered in Iraq showing that Galloway was being bribed by Saddam Hussein to oppose sanctions by receiving "oil vouchers." Galloway successfully sued the Telegraph over this story, winning a 150,000-pound award and proving that the "documents" were forgeries.

The Christian Science Monitor attempted to avoid the same fate by formally apologizing to Galloway—who sued them anyway and won an undisclosed settlement.

The corporate media coverage of his Senate testimony captured his articulate defiance—but all left out the part of his statement that was most damaging to the frame-up. Almost universally, the bour-

Continued on page 11

Behind the nuclear issue in Korea

The real reasons for Washington's hostility

By Deirdre Griswold

When U.S. troops landed in southern Korea at the very end of World War II, the strategic planners for U.S. imperialism looked on the peninsula as just a stepping stone to eventual domination of the Asian mainland. They paid little attention to the revolutionary army of Koreans, organized by Marshal Kim Il Sung, that had come down from the north alongside Soviet troops and begun disarming and deposing the power structure set up during Japanese colonial rule.

The United States didn't take seriously the great social revolution that had begun in Korea. But Kim's liberation army was encouraging the people to overturn not just the officials who had collaborated with Japan but the landlords and capitalists who had exploited and oppressed them and had been the internal class base that Japanese imperialism had relied on for many decades.

Land reform in the north, begun in 1946, eased the dire poverty of the peasants and inspired the growth of revolutionary sentiment in the south.

As the Cold War began to emerge, the Truman administration started characterizing Kim Il Sung and his followers as nothing more than puppets of the Soviet Union, which had entered the war against Japan after it defeated Hitler's armies in Europe. Washington thought that once Soviet troops had withdrawn from northern Korea, the United States would be able to bring the whole area, including China, under its "sphere of influence."

But the revolution continued in northern Korea and in neighboring China. By 1948, the U.S.-dominated south of Korea had declared the formation of a separate government, thus making official the division of the country along the 38th parallel. In response, the revolutionary forces led by Kim Il Sung then established the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north.

Soviet troops immediately began withdrawing from the north, which has had to defend itself ever since. Some U.S. troops withdrew from the south, but many remained as "advisers" to the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee, a brutal right winger who had lived for decades in the United States before being anointed the leader of South Korea by Washington.

Repression and war

Rhee had begun a reign of terror against all progressives, including many who had been heroic fighters against Japanese colonialism while he was in Washington, sitting out the war.

Beginning in 1950, U.S. forces flooded back into Korea to prop up Rhee's tottering dictatorship. A horrendous three-year war against the DPRK followed in which millions of Koreans were killed. When a cease-fire was finally declared, U.S. imperialism, despite its enormous advantages in military technology and industrial might, had failed in its objective—to overturn the socialist regime in the north-and the country remained divided.

The war never officially ended. Washington has refused to even discuss a peace treaty with the DPRK. Nearly 40,000 U.S. troops have continued to occupy the south ever since, and the movement there to get them out has become enormous.

Today, the Soviet Union-the first workers' state and for over seven decades the main target of German Nazi imperialism and then of U.S. nuclear threats, economic and political subversion-is no more. Its demise was a great shock and material loss to all the countries trying to stay out of the clutches of imperialism.

But the revolution led by Kim Il Sung and his Workers' Party of Korea has proven its viability. The DPRK under the leadership of Kim Jong Il continues to defy the rulers in Washington and will not bow down to U.S. empire.

The Bush administration is now learning the hard way what previous U.S. administrations, both Democrats and Republicans, learned about the DPRK. It will not give in to threats. Threats only make the Korean people and leaders redouble their efforts to defend their sovereignty and their socialist system.

The issue today, as framed by Washington, is the DPRK's development of nuclear weapons.

DPRK's right to exist

From the Korean point of view, however, the issue is the continued hostility of the United States more than half a century after the 1950-53 war, and their right to maintain a strong defense against a nuclear power that has insulted their leaders and openly declared its intention of destroying their system.

It is clearly recognized by most of the world today that the collapse of the USSR was interpreted by an extremely aggressive grouping in the U.S. ruling class as a green light for global imperialist expansion. The so-called neocons, who have shaped many of the policies of the Bush administration, laid out their plans for world domination more than a decade ago.

Their military planning was focused mainly on undisputed control over the oil wealth of the Middle East-the first war against Iraq coincided with the crumbling of the USSR-but they also expected to prevail over what they called "rogue nations" that refused to fit into a world dominated by U.S. corporations and banks.

Cuba, cut off from trade and technology exchange with the Soviet bloc, was supposed to fall. So was the DPRK.

It is now 15 years later. Neither Cuba nor the DPRK has collapsed.

The DPRK has undergone years of extreme hardship while facing the possibility of renewed U.S. military aggression. But its political structure, based on a workers' party and a state forged out of a revolutionary struggle by the masses, has not fractured.

It is one of Washington's oft-repeated laments that it cannot get a clear reading or what is happening inside the DPRK. In other words, imperialism cannot find a social base from which to agitate against and subvert the leadership and the system. So it calls the DPRK a "hermit kingdom" and other disparaging labels.

In his January 2002 State of the Union speech, President George W. Bush included the DPRK in an invented "axis of evil," along with Iraq and Iran. A year later, the United States had launched a full-scale invasion of Iraq to overthrow its government and set up a puppet regime.

The DPRK took serious note of all this. "We consider Bush's State of the Union address to be a de facto declaration of war on the DPRK," the DPRK's ambassador to the UN, Pak Gil Yon, told Workers World at that time. (Workers World, March 28,

The ambassador also drew attention to the Pentagon's January 2002 Nuclear Policy Review, which projected plans to use nuclear weapons against seven countries, including the DPRK. "This is a very serious development," underlined the ambassador, saying that it canceled earlier agreements between the two countries.

For years, the United States had threatened the DPRK with its huge array of nuclear weapons. The Pentagon had landbased weapons in South Korea. It also had submarines, bombers and intercontinental ballistic missiles all armed with nuclear weapons that could be used against North

The Pentagon claims to have removed its nuclear weapons from South Korea, but there is no independent verification of that. Meanwhile, it continues to keep its "nuclear umbrella" menacing the area.

In his interview with WW, Ambassador Pak reiterated his assertion that Bush's speech was "a declaration of war," and added that "all counter-measures will be taken to defend the sovereignty of the country."

Since then, the Bush administration has kept up its diatribe against the DPRK, even while committing terrible war crimes in Iraq and Afghanistan. This April, Bush escalated his rhetoric, calling Korean leader Kim Jong Il a "tyrant" and claiming the DPRK's conduct justified U.S. plans for spending untold billions on a spacebased "anti-missile" system.

It should therefore come as no surprise that the DPRK has announced its own development of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to any attack from the United States. It is demanding that the broader question of the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula be addressed if there is to be a peaceful resolution of this issue.

The Bush administration had hoped to

make the DPRK's nuclear weapons a main target of criticism at the recent UN meetings on nuclear non-proliferation, and wants to get some kind of UN sanctions imposed on North Korea. But the delegates from around the world are much more worried about the thousands of nuclear weapons that the Pentagon has refused to dismantle and that are kept on

Analyst Peter G. Cohen writes: "The Bush administration has been requesting funds for the development of new weapons and to improve the reliability of older ones. Nuclear weapons are still a central element of the Bush defense policy." (Common Dreams, May 19)

Even former war hawk Robert McNamara wrote in the current issue of Foreign Policy magazine, "I would characterize current U.S. nuclear weapons policy as immoral, illegal, militarily unnecessary, and dreadfully dangerous."

As for economic sanctions, South Korea is now sending 200,000 tons of fertilizer to the north to help with its agricultural recovery. Three ships from the DPRK docked in South Korean ports in mid-May for the first time in 21 years. The last time ships from the north had gone to the south, it was to deliver cement, rice and other aid to their southern compatriots after a typhoon had devastated the area.

So far, the Bush administration's dangerous efforts to intimidate, isolate and economically strangle the DPRK, giving as an excuse that country's justifiable efforts to defend itself from the open threat of aggression by the world's number one nuclear power, have been to no avail.

18 CITY TOUR OF KOREAN SPEAKERS TO COMMEMORATE

n May 18, 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



the Korean people.

Activists from Gwangju will be on a speaking tour MAY 25 Detroit, MI 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 anti-war 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.

and as a point of unity for Gwangju People's Uprising, South Korea - May 1980

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Justice denied

Tell before the U.S. torture and killing of prisoners in Iraq and Afghanistan became worldwide news, George W. Bush was the admitted master of prison abuse in Texas.

No governor of Texas had ever executed so many people, the vast majority of them poor. During his time as governor he oversaw more than 155 executions—way more than any other state.

Today 15 Mexicans who were denied their legal right to seek representation and assistance from the Mexican government are on death row in Texas. Throughout the United States a total of 51 Mexicans are on death row; all were denied their right to representation and assistance. This is a violation of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, negotiated in 1963 and ratified by the U.S. in 1969. According to the U.S. Constitution, treaties—like this one—"shall be the supreme law of the land."

One of those prisoners denied his rights in Texas is José Medellín. He appealed to the Supreme Court to have his conviction overturned on the basis of international law signed onto by the U.S. government and therefore supposedly protected under the Constitution.

On May 23, the court turned down his appeal, sending his case back into the state court that had denied him his rights to begin with. The Supreme Court

cited a maneuver by the Bush administration, which had publicly requested that the state court review the cases of all the Mexicans on death row in light of an international ruling March 31 that found that all 51 Mexicans on death row in the United States were denied their rights.

The Bush administration may have bent a little in order to be seen as more in synch with its treaty obligations. But maybe not. Because on March 7, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice had sent a letter to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan saying her government was withdrawing from the Optional Protocol to the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.

This is the very protocol that several countries have used to successfully argue before the World Court that their citizens were sentenced to death by U.S. states without receiving access to diplomats from their home countries. (Washington Post, March 10)

Even as the U.S. military moved around prisoners who had been tortured in Iraq and Afghanistan so they would be "hidden" from view, the maneuvers of the Bush administration and the Supreme Court are aimed clearly at delaying justice. And as they know quite well, justice delayed is justice denied.

There is no reason to continue with this charade. Justice demands the immediate overturn of these convictions and the release of all Mexican citizens being held illegally in U.S. prisons. \Box

BOLIVIA

Miners, farmers, city poor join for general strike

By Leslie Feinberg

The specter of Che Guevara—assassinated in the Bolivian jungle by the CIA four decades ago—is alive in the streets of La Paz. Bolivian workers and peasants, more than 60 percent of whom are Indigenous, are shutting down the country and battling riot police in the capital hand-to-hand. The protesters are facing down a hail of rubber bullets and clouds of tear gas to press their demand for the nationalization of the country's natural gas and oil industry.

Here's how a May 23 French Press Agency report described the action in the streets in the capital of La Paz: Police fired blasts from a water cannon and canisters of tear gas to break up the demonstrations. Cops clashed with miners who detonated a tool of their trade—dynamite blasting caps—near the Plaza des Armas, where the Presidential Palace and Congress are located. Protesting street vendors tried to muscle their way past police lines and into the same main square before cops forcibly turned them back.

Then three huge protest marches—all calling for the nationalization of the valuable natural resources of natural gas—set off to march from different parts of the capital, heading for the plaza. Protesters in the rally, which began in El Alto, a suburb of La Paz that is home to the poor, demanded nationalization without compensation—in other words, expropriation. A march of shopkeepers closed virtually all the small stores in the capital.

Evo Morales, a former coca farmer and leader of the Movement toward Socialism (MAS), led a third large protest, of coca farmers and other peasants, on a 120-mile march to La Paz to demand that oil companies pay a 50-percent royalty to the state for the natural gas they extract.

Those pushed out of the plaza—miners, teachers and other workers, street vendors and representatives of neighborhood associations—regrouped in nearby San Francisco square and demanded a constitutional assembly.

Who owns the resources?

"Bolivia has natural gas, water, coca and all kinds of natural resources," said Zurita, a 35-year-old parent from the village of Eterazama. "But the problem is that they keep stealing it from us."

The April 4 Washington Post, to inform its own wing of the U.S. capitalist class,

assessed the mood of the Bolivian population: "This is the refrain these days among Bolivians like Zurita, who see life as a struggle of David vs. many Goliaths: the foreign companies that drill for natural gas; the U.S. government, which has spearheaded programs to eradicate coca fields; the private companies that have taken over some municipal water utilities."

As a result of the corporate takeovers, Bolivians—living on land rich with natural resources—are the poorest people in South America.

Bolivia has reserves of 48.7 trillion cubic meters of natural gas, second only to Venezuela in South America. A plan in 2003 to export fuel through nearby Chile sparked a popular uprising 19 months ago that forced President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada out of office.

Former presidents Sánchez de Lozada and Jorge Quiroga reportedly penned 76 contracts that heavily favored 12 transnational giants, including Enron, Shell and British Petroleum. They allowed the companies to buy natural gas at prices well below market value and then turn around and sell it back to the Bolivians at 12 times the price.

Carlos Mesa, who succeeded Sánchez de Lozada, was driven to the precipice of resignation in March 2005 as protests grew to an average of 40 each day. Now the most impoverished people are in the streets, vowing to push him out of office.

In March, the Bolivian Congress was forced to vote for an energy law that imposes a 32-percent tax on top of the 18-percent royalties that foreign oil giants like Exxon-Mobil, Total, Petrobras, British Gas and Repsol have been paying. That was less than the 50 percent additional royalties that the majority who cast their ballots in the June 2004 gas referendum demanded.

These transnational corporations use capital to exploit the natural gas and oil wealth. This legislative concession, which was passed because of mass struggle, made the corporations howl with outrage and vow to flout the law as "illegal."

Even before the final legislation was inked, U.S. Treasury Department Assistant Secretary of International Affairs Randal Quarles threatened that the new law would "inhibit foreign investment."

The U.S. is "worried," Quarles said. Sure, Wall Street and Big Oil are worried. They have every right to be. They fear another Bolivarian Revolution in this hemisphere. \square

PAT CHIN

Continued from page 5

and she was fond of a lazy day at the beach. She enjoyed movies, though mostly disdaining the Hollywood product, and she got a kick out of BBC mysteries on TV.

Pat's love, of course, was not an abstraction. As her lover Barbara, her sister Veronica, niece Helen, cousins Bev, Angela and Nicky, and all her family, friends, comrades, neighbors and co-workers can testify, her good heart was manifest in her day-to-day relations. This was a person without an ounce of meanness or malice, a generous person, gracious and kind. She had a sweet smile and a charming laugh. Even as she suffered terribly in her final months of illness, her beautiful essence

shone through. And she was political to her last breath, denouncing the U.S. imperialist government for stealing trillions of dollars in workers' taxes to wage war on Iraq instead of funding medical research to cure cancer.

Above all, Pat Chin burned with love of the struggle. And it lives on, this great love of the working class, of the oppressed, this devotion to the cause of human liberation, this fervor for freedom. As she knew we would, Pat's comrades around the world will carry her passion forward in the struggle for a new society of real equality and justice. She will be in our hearts every step of the way. \square



WW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

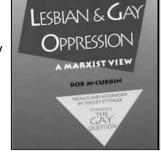
Pat Chin, left, with Anti War Proclamation at New York City Hall, February 2004.

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Fidel Castro says U.S. complicit in international terrorism

By David Hoskins

Cuban President Fidel Castro has revealed that the United States, under pressure from right-wing terrorists based in Miami, rejected Cuban offers of an anti-terrorist accord between the two countries.

Speaking on May 20 to over 200,000 Cubans gathered at the U.S. Interest Section in Havana, President Castro contrasted Washington's claim that it is fighting a global war on terrorism and its support of right-wing terrorist Luis Posada Carriles.

The Cuban president also discussed the case of the Cuban Five. The United States tried, convicted and imprisoned these Cuban anti-terrorist experts as "spies" after they provided the U.S. government with information on terrorist plots hatched in Miami against the Cuban people.

Castro outlined the history of the Cuban government's attempt to cooperate with the U.S. intelligence community to combat terrorism against Cuban civilians. A series of bombings against Cuban tourist establishments began in the spring of 1997. These bombings were planned by Luis Posada Carriles and funded by the extremist Cuban American National Foundation based in Miami.

Cuban officials made several attempts throughout the late 1990s to establish a formal protocol with the United States for sharing information regarding terrorist threats against the Cuban people. Colombian writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez took on the task to establish contact with the Clinton administration in order to communicate a message from President Castro.

Marquez eventually met with U.S. officials in 1998. He was granted an audience with White House Chief of Staff Mack McLarty, Richard Clarke of the National Security Council, and James Dobbins, head of the State Department Cuba Desk.

Garcia Marquez said the meeting was cordial. U.S. officials thanked him, he said, for the information communicated in Castro's letter. The U.S. government expressed its willingness to analyze Cuban intelligence to prevent individuals in the United States from organizing terrorist activities against Cuban interests.

Less than two months later an FBI team arrived in Havana, according to President Castro. Cuba turned over information detailing the plans and location of anti-Cuban terrorists. Many of these terrorists were living in the United States. Others, such as Posada Carilles, would eventually make their way back to the United States.

Months went by without the expected response from U.S. intelligence.

In September 1998 the United States arrested the five Cubans responsible for collecting the information given to the FBI for analysis, and charged them with conspiring to spy. They were tried, convicted and given prison terms ranging from 15 years to life in prison.

FBI Miami Bureau chief Hector Pesquera was the primary culprit responsible for the breakdown in intelligence sharing and the arrest of the Cuban Five. Pesquera has close ties to the right-wing Cuban community of Miami. His actions give the lie to Washington's claim that it is concerned about civilians and committed to fighting actual terrorism.

The arrest of the Cuban Five revealed more than just the U.S. government's disdain for Cuba's efforts to protect its citizens from terrorism. The U.S. intelligence community's obeisance to Miami extremists demonstrated a lack of concern for its own civilians.

"No less than 14 of the 19 responsible for the Sept. 11 attacks on New York's Twin Towers and other targets were living and training exactly in the area for which Pesquera was responsible, and right under his nose," said President Castro. The FBI chose to focus on U.S. imperialism's policy of destroying the Cuban revolution by any available method.

Pesquera's actions confirm the purpose of the United States armed forces and intelligence agencies: to safeguard not the masses of working people, but the property interests of the rich ruling class.

When Posada Carilles resurfaced in Miami earlier this year, U.S. officials initially denied that he had entered the United States. It took weeks of joint pres-

sure from Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and the revolutionary government of Cuba before the U.S. government admitted that Posada was in Miami.

Chavez has publicly called for the extradition of Posada to Venezuela to stand trial for the 1976 Cubana Airline bombing that resulted in the loss of 76 lives. Castro recently led a rally of over a million Cubans to expose U.S. hypocrisy about terrorism, and to support Venezuela's extradition request.

Posada carried out his terrorist activities while on the CIA payroll. Instead of immediately extraditing him to Venezuela where he would stand trial for his crimes of terrorism, the Immigration and Naturalization Service took Posada into

The only charge he currently faces is illegal entry into the United States. The U.S. government appears willing to give Posada a free ride in order to cover its own record of state-sponsored terrorism against Latin American movements and countries. \square

Food for oil scandal?

Continued from page 8

geois media wrapped up coverage of Galloway's testimony by focusing on the fact that he wouldn't implicate a Jordanian business executive who helped him with the Mariam Appeal.

Demonization of Iraqi leaders

In addition to infiltrating Iraq's economy, the oil-for-food program was a public-relations ploy. It was designed to make it look like Iraqi people were starving because Saddam Hussein was taking money from the "humanitarian" program.

This line falls apart when you remember that it wasn't until 1996—six years after sanctions were imposed—that the United States allowed a crack in the UN's total blockade of commerce in and out of Iraq. That crack, the oil-for-food program, was structured top to bottom by U.S. strategists themselves, who would have organized, overseen and overlooked any skimming of money from oil sales.

Because of the Saddam-is-Hitler campaign, anyone could be forgiven for thinking that Iraq was under sanctions because of tyrant Saddam Hussein.

But sanctions were part of the "Desert Storm" war strategy—the 1991 invasion of Iraq by the United States started supposedly because of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Israel invaded Lebanon with U.S. equipment, but President George H.W. Bush declared that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was "naked aggression," and launched a blistering air war, which crippled Iraq's electrical grid within 48 hours and lasted another 40 days.

The first President Bush's first act after the Aug. 2, 1990, Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was to sign an executive order, dated the same day, freezing Iraq's assets in the United States. Within two months, he had coerced the UN into imposing an economic blockade on Iraq. By December 1990, babies were already dying in Iraqi hospitals from lack of medicine that had recently been plentiful. ("The Fire This Time," Ramsey Clark, 1992)

One Pentagon planner quoted in a June 1991 Washington Post article put it bluntly: "People say, 'You didn't recognize that it was going to have an effect on water and sewage.' Well, what were we trying to do with sanctions-help out the Iraqi people? No. What we were doing with the attacks on the infrastructure was to accelerate the effect of sanctions."

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M★NDO OBRERO

Masacre y corrupción acompañan al Plan Colombia

Continua de página 12

CINEP, el Centro de Investigaciones y dejó herido de muerte a nuestro amigo y Educación Popular, el cual ha ido documentando los abusos en un banco de datos accesible en www.nocheyniebla.org. Los dos, Cuartas y Giraldo, han recibido amenazas de muerte.

El 21 de abril en el Valle de Cauca, 12 niños afro-colombianos fueron encontrados masacrados y doce más están todavía desaparecidos y se teme que estén muertos.

El primero de mayo, un jóven de 15 años, fue matado a tiros por la policía en Bogatá durante una manifestacióm del Primero de Mayo.

Ese mismo día, esta escritora recibió una comunicación por correspondencia electrónica de una amiga en Barranquilla, en la costa norte, en la que decía que "Mientras 15 mil trabajadores de Barranquilla desfilábamos bajo un sol espantoso y una temperarura decasi 400. en rechazo ala reelección de Uribe, el cierre de hospitales, la privatización de la Universidad del Atlántico y las violaciones

a los derechos humanos se produjo otro derechos humanos que trabaja con atentado que cobro la vida de un amigo y compañero de luchas." Añadiendo que mientras ellos esperaban en una terraza por la manifestación, para unirse a ella, les dispararon repetidamente. Uno murió, y el otro, miembro del Partido Comunista Colombiano, fue herido gravemente en la cabeza.

> Comunistas, miembros de la Unión Patriótica e izquierdistas son principalmente el objetivo militar de esta caza de brujas. Al día siguiente, el 2 de mayo, la Procuradoría estaba investigando fosas comunes al norte de Bogotá donde encontraron los cuerpos mutilados y torturados de 40 personas. Éstos pertenecían a miembros izquierdistas de sindicatos, asesinados por paramilitares desde el 2000.

> Mientras la represión salvaje aumenta en Colombia, así también aumenta la perseverancia y la voluntad del pueblo para derrocarla. Sin embargo, la solidaridad internacional es imprescindible. Ésta hará la diferencia para reducir el tiempo hasta que se consiga la victoria del pueblo. \square

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Masacre y corrupción acompañan al Plan Colombia

Por Berta Joubert-Ceci

Durante su viaje por América Latina a finales de abril, la Secretaria de Estado de los Estados Unidos, Condoleezza Rice se detuvo en Bogotá para decirle al presidente colombiano que su gobierno respalda firmemente su política y continuará financiando sus programas de contrainsurgencia. De hecho, el Presidente George W. Bush está pidiendo al Congreso \$741,7 millones de dólares para ayuda a Colombia en el año fiscal del 2006. Esta petición ha sido presentada por Bush a pesar de las crecientes críticas tanto nacionales como internacionales y de que el 2005 es el límite para el Plan Colombia.

Un artículo de Prensa Asociada escrita por Andrew Selsky, publicada por muchos periódicos estadounidenses el 7 de mayo, fue titulado "El respaldo para la Guerra contra las Drogas en Colombia es criticado".

El artículo comenzó así: "Rebeldes resistentes. Cosechas de drogas perennes. Soldados americanos delincuentes envueltos en planes para introducir cocaína y pasarle municiones robadas a los escuadrones de la muerte paramilitares. Las malas noticias se han ido amontonando rápidamente, casi cinco años después de que los Estados Unidos comenzara a gastar \$3 mil millones en su programa de ayuda Plan Colombia para destruir la producción de cocaína y heroína y acabar con la insurgencia izquierdista."

Selsky se refiere a las críticas del Plan Colombia en los EEUU y cita el editorial del Pittsburgh Post-Gazette: "Colombia se ha tornado en un hoyo sin fondo donde cae dinero y recursos militares en los últimos cinco años", y añade que "El Congreso debe terminar Plan Colombia ahora, en vez de tirar más dinero".

En otro párrafo Selsky escribió, "John Wash, oficial veterano en la oficina de Washington sobre América Latina dijo recientemente que, "la guerra contra las drogas no está logrando sus objetivos más básicos."

'Soldados delincuentes' – lo nuevo es la publicidad

Los 'soldados americanos delincuentes' se refiere a tres incidentes reportados recientemente en los medios. Apenas pasada la medianoche el 3 de mayo, una llamada anónima alertó a la policía de Cundinamarca, el departamento donde está la capital, Bogotá, sobre un evento 'grande' en la región —la entrega de un cargamento.

Cuando la policía llegó, encontró 29 cajas metálicas con 32.900 balas y a tres hombres, uno de ellos colombiano y un coronel y un sargento de las Fuerzas Especiales del ejército de los Estados Unidos. Los estadounidenses son dos instructores en el Centro de Entrenamiento Nacional del Ejército en la ciudad cercana de Tolemaida.



La mercancía se reportó que sería vendida a los derechistas paramilitares.

Este incidente ocurre luego de otros dos: el 29 de marzo, cuando cinco soldados estadounidenses, quienes eran parte de las operaciones 'anti-drogas' en el sur de Colombia, fueron arrestados por cargar 16 kilogramos de cocaína en un avión militar de los Estados Unidos, y otro caso reciente de un soldado estadounidense que está siendo investigado por un accidente automovilístico el año pasado que dejó muerto a dos soldados colombianos mientras este se escapó.

Estos episodios no son únicos ni aislados. Lo cierto es que parte del Plan Colombia el gobierno colombiano tuvo que firmar— a petición de Washington,— un tratado que le confiere inmunidad al personal militar estadounidense, los 800 oficiales y 600 contratistas —que operan en el país.

Lo que es nuevo sobre estos incidentes es que fueron noticias en las redes de comunicación de Colombia, que reflejan la opinión de parte de la oligarquía. Es todavía muy temprano para analizar su significado real.

¿Realineación de la oligarquía colombiana?

El gobernante Parido Liberal tendrá su convención en junio en medio de una polarización de su membresía. Un sector está totalmente respaldando a Uribe y el otro, al cual la popular Senadora Piedad Cordoba pertenece, parece que quiere tomar una ruta más populista. ¿Refleja esto una reposición de la clase gobernante colombiana?

Uribe también ha hablado de la posibilidad de formar un nuevo partido independientemente. Algunos analistas colombianos sugieren que éste podría ser un seguro en caso de que el Tribunal Supremo invalide una reciente decisión que permite la reelección. Su promesa de campaña electoral de terminar con la violencia, la cuál debe leerse como "terminar con la guerrilla", no se ha cumplido y ahora él está intentando un segundo término "para conseguir su meta."

No se debe olvidar que los paramilitares controlan más de un 30 por ciento del congreso, tienen posiciones en los gobiernos regionales y locales y administran cada vez más servicios importantes, incluyendo cuidado médico. Y que las llamadas negociaciones entre Uribe y los paramilitares en Santa Fe de Ralito, supuestamente para desmovilizar y desarmarlos, son descritas por los opositores del presidente como "monólogos" o "conversaciones del yo con el yo". De hecho, son un intento, disfrazado, para legalizar a los paramilitares.

Como resultado de la "desmovilización" están empleando a estos criminales en los programas de Uribe "de soldados campesinos" y se utilizan como informantes secretos para acusar, procesar, encarcelar y asesinar a líderes del movimiento social civil no armado, progresista y popular. Éstos "paramilitares desmovilizados" se dejan entonces libres en las comunidades rurales y urbanas, constituyendo así un peligro permanente. La conexión de Uribe con los paramilitares desde antes de que él asumió la presidencia está bien documentada.

Uribe está claramente poniendo todos las piezas en su lugar para un estado fascista. ¿Están todos los miembros de la clase dominante detrás de este esfuerzo? ¿Hay un sector entre ellos que siente que sus intereses económicos y financieros no se están sirviendo bien bajo estas circunstancias? Particularmente cuando los pueblos latinoamericanos están en semi insurrección y el presidente Bolivariano de Venezuela está avanzando rápidamente un plan de integración de la región y aumenta la posibilidad de comercio con otros países aparte de los Estados Unidos.

Los conservadores están criticando al plan Colombia por su fracaso en su meta declarada de suprimir la industria de narcóticos y su intención de destruir la insurrección armada, lo cual ya no se puede esconder más. Pero las organizaciones progresistas en Colombia y alrededor del mundo lo culpan por causar los abusos terribles de derechos humanos que han tomado la vida y la libertad de millares de colombian@s.

Con todo, el 27 de abril, durante una rueda de prensa con la Ministra de Asuntos Exteriores de Colombia, Carolina Barco, en la Casa de Nariño —el palacio presidencial—Condoleezza Rice dijo: "Acabo de tener una reunión muy productiva con el presidente Uribe. Fue una reunión en la cual pudimos discutir el progreso impresionante que el gobierno de Colombia ha hecho en mejorar la seguridad, la consolidación de la democracia, y de hecho, su compromiso con la protección de los derechos humanos".

Costo humano del Plan Colombia y del Plan Patriota

Esa "protección" estaba ausente para Gisella, una bebé de 19 meses de edad que fue asesinada por los paramilitares en la aldea de Cerro Azul en el nordeste de Colombia al mismo tiempo que el discurso de Rice. La casa de la bebé fue blanco de un tiroteo indiscriminado, supuestamente contra guerrilleros. Los campesinos residentes del lugar que habían advertido al gobierno local sobre la presencia de los paramilitares en su región, fueron ignora-

dos por las autoridades. Dicen que 15 personas o más fueron asesinadas.

Crímenes como este ocurren a diario en Colombia. Pero bajo Uribe han aumentado enormemente, particularmente en el año que lanzó secretamente un nuevo componente del Plan Colombia, el plan contrainsurgente Plan Patriota. Es el esfuerzo suyo y de los EEUU para destruir el liderato del ejército revolucionario, las FARC-EP, en el sur del país, donde la comandancia guerrillera supuestamente está localizada.

A pesar de duplicar el personal militar y contratista estadounidense, y de una infusión de equipo tecnológico avanzado, la guerrilla no ha sido diezmada. Al contrario, la insurrección armada ha intensificada desde febrero pasado sus operaciones guerrilleras por todos lados, algo evocativo del valiente ejército norvietnamita. Y a pesar de la extradición a los Estados Unidos de líderes de las FARC, Simón Trinidad y Sonia, y del secuestro en Venezuela de Rodrigo Granda, ninguno de los líderes más altos de la organización ha sido capturado.

La represión se ha hecho feroz contra el movimiento social no armado, el cual es considerado por Uribe y los paramilitares como la base de apoyo de la guerrilla y como tal, es acusado de ser "simpatizante de la guerrilla".

Esta suposición, basada sólo en el deseo de justicia social de ambas, la población armada y la población no armada, es suficiente causa para que el régimen lleve a cabo detenciones masivas, asesinatos selectivos, masacres y muchos otros actos violentos contra líderes sindicales, afrocolombian@s, indígenas, campesin@s, estudiantes, defensores de los derechos humanos y cualquier otra persona que se oponga a la violencia del Estado.

La lista de crímenes cometidos por el estado y los paramilitares, especialmente mientras está teniendo lugar el proceso de "desmovilización", es extensa.

He aquí sólo algunos de los casos que tuvieron lugar en abril y mayo.

A principios de abril el Ejército Colombiano disparó indiscriminadamente con ametralladoras desde helicópteros a una comunidad campesina. En otra comunidad, el ejército cerró una mina artesanal pequeña de oro donde 20 familias trabajaban, con el pretexto de que la mina pertenecía a la guerrilla. En un barrio en el sur del Putumayo cinco personas fueron asesinadas por los paras.

En Bogotá, el periodista y profesor italiano, Cristiano Morsolin, ha sido amenazado y perseguido por paramilatares después de escribir artículos, especialmente para medios europeos, en los cuáles denunció la masacre en febrero de residentes de la Comunidad de Paz de San José de Apartadó. Morsolin trabaja con Gloria Cuartas, la ex-alcaldesa de San José de Apartadó y la actual secretaria general del progresista Frente Social y Político. Trabaja también con el cura jesuíta Padre Javier Giraldo, un respetado defensor de

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