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In aftermath of bombings

Debate over Iraq rages in Britain

Anti-war & Muslim groups call solidarity rally

By Deirdre Griswold

July 13—Two opposite reactions have emerged in Britain since the four coordinated bombings on the London transit system on July 7 that reportedly killed over 50 people.

As transit and emergency workers continue the grisly work of recovering the bodies of people blown apart on three subway trains and one double-decker bus, the government has announced that it believes four suicide bombers from the West Yorkshire city of Leeds were responsible. It has identified the four as young men of Pakistani heritage born in Britain.

West Yorkshire is a declining industrial area in the north of England with areas of deep poverty where the British National Party, a far-right anti-immigrant group, has been trying to blame the long-time failings of British capitalism on immigrants.

The police announcement was preceded by massive sweeps in Arab and Muslim communities, especially in the north. Some 1.6 million Muslims now live in Britain. They come largely from

the countries in Asia and the Middle East that once were British colonies and still are a lucrative source of profits for British corporations and banks.

The Guardian of London on July 13 reported that at least 300 incidents of violence identified as "hate crimes" have taken place since the bombings—in other words, racist bashings of people perceived to be Muslims or, in some cases, merely non-white, including "the killing of a man in Nottingham after anti-Muslim abuse was shouted at him."

This vicious racism has been egged on by the tabloids and by the pronouncements of the Tony Blair government, which is using the "bad guys versus good guys" logic and rhetoric of the George W. Bush White House to characterize this terrible tragedy that has fallen on the heads of British workers.

Queen Elizabeth added her two cents, saying that the bombings would not change "our way of life." It wasn't clear if she was referring to the life of the royal family, which recently spent half

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London, July 9: anti-war vigil supports Muslims against bashing.

PHOTO: STOP THE WAR COALITION

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Hay studies ancient history, finds pride

By Leslie Feinberg

Harry Hay's broad study of same-sex love throughout the changing history of the organization of human society and the method of his approach are achievements in themselves. He also made some important contributions of thought.

Hay talked about his discovery that "Within this matriarchal village structure, we find a new type of household, a separate household consisting of either one or two men. This household is called, anthropologically, the *Berdache*, or *Bardache*, a word applied to this phenomenon by 16th-century French and Spanish explorers."

The word *Berdache*, when applied to Native peoples on this continent by European colonialists, was used as a pejorative. It also lumped together diverse forms of social expression in disparate Native nations. In the decades since Hay made his study, Native peoples have made definitive and landmark reclamations of their own histories. Gay American Indians, for example, published "Living the Spirit" in 1988, which documented alternative sex/gender roles in more than 135 Native nations in the Americas, as well as the language used to describe them.

Today, the term *Berdache* has been rejected; Two-Spirit is the language that many Native people have chosen instead to describe those with diverse gender expression, sexualities and sexes. Out of deep respect for Native nations, therefore, the word *Berdache* is used here only when Hay refers to his observations about European traditions.

Developing a division of labor

Hay speculated that Two-Spirit people, in contrast to the family households, had "no old ones or young ones to care for" and "could provide for their own needs in one-quarter of the time spent by the rest of the village. ...

"In many cultures of Asia, Africa and South America, [Two-Spirits] carried the responsibility as the medicine-men, or shamans, of their village cultures. In medieval Europe, Donald Webster Cory reports that homosexuals were known as 'witch-men.'"

Hay drew the conclusion that, freed from the primary division of labor between females and males, a new work sphere developed. Two-Spirit people, he said, began to record social history and patterns of agricultural knowledge and taught new generations. "He began to make signs and designs to record the ritual festivals of dance, which were nothing more than the necessary natural imitations by which wind, rain, heat, and cold were summoned—which everyone must know and be able to perform if nature were to respond."

Hay surmises "Thus, in the [Two-Spirit] we see arise the great social division of labor which becomes the groundwork of industry as we know it today—the artisan and the cultural craftsman."

Hay theorized, "Thus, in America, Asia, Africa and Europe the [Two-Spirit] was not only the initiator of arts and crafts as specialties, but he begins to prepare the organization of teaching through design, story-telling, singing and organizing the practice of ritual—of these women's prerogatives and inventions—but also cultural patterns for which the women never had quite enough time. But this development of community tools and weapons, as a craft specialty of the [Two-Spirit], gives the men, in their leisure time from hunting, an opportunity to

develop a new food-producing technique—the capture and domestication of animals."

Editor Will Roscoe, who has himself made contributions to research about Two-Spirit people on this continent, notes that "In the ethnographic literature, the role of Two-Spirits as specialists in arts and crafts is constantly stressed." But no other historian or anthropologist had made this link with economic specialization.

'Priests' or priestesses?

Hay explored the role of the *Berdache* in early slave and later feudal societies in Europe. He saw the remnants of the division of labor from pre-class society in the prominence of cross-dressed individuals in festival traditions that endured throughout European feudalism.

"Games and festival, in this social relation of ritual agriculture—equally true in the European feudal villages—were not times of fun and recreation. Rather, they were very serious and vitally important sociopolitical necessities through which everybody practiced and rehearsed, by formulas recorded in work-dance songs, the calisthenics of labor-patterns that would be needed in the coming season."

Hay tried to connect the "administrative role" of the *Berdache* in pre-class European societies with the fact that in villages in Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Thracia "the mayors were men who were married to other men."

And he inferred that with the development of class society, when science and religion

split into irreconcilable opposites, the role of Two-Spirit people as "priests" in pre-class societies led to what he called the "State *Berdache*" or "state priest craft"—the religious institutions and church clergy that worked with ruling powers and maintained a hold over agricultural knowledge.

"It must be conceded that under State *Berdache*, as under its original form of tribal priestcraft, there was a percentage of recruits that were not Homosexually inclined," Hay noted.

What? Here's cause for pause.

Hay used the term *Berdache* as synonymous with homosexual men. But historical evidence suggests that Hay, in reality, was looking at much more complex and varying sex/gender and sexuality roles throughout history.

It might be more accurate to refer, not to gay male "priests," but to a tradition that more resembles what would today be described as transsexuality.

Roman historian Plutarch described the "Great Mother"—worshipped by pre-class societies throughout the Middle East, Northern Africa, western Asia and Europe—as an intersexual deity.

The Great Mother's priestesses were born male-bodied and were inducted through ancient and sacred rituals that included castration. This is documented in Mesopotamian temple records from the middle of the third millennium B.C.E., and also in Assyrian, Akkadian and Babylonian records.

These ancient rituals demonstrated an understanding of surgical technique. Folk medicine, before the advent of Western medicine, also recorded ancient knowledge of herbal, root and floral properties. Did these ancestors also have the hormonal knowledge to aid in "sex reassignment"?

More than 2,100 years ago, the poet Ovid, exiled to a

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PART 42

The entire Lavender & Red series, which explores the history of the socialist movement and the struggle for sexual & gender liberation, can be read online at www.workers.org.

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LOS ANGELES

Sat., July 16

Brunch & book signing with Leslie Feinberg. Feinberg is a managing editor of WW newspaper and an author of *Stone Butch Blues*, and *Trans Liberation*, among other works. Sponsored by Workers World Party. 11 a.m.-1 p.m. At 5274 W Pico Blvd, Suite 203. For info (323) 936-1416.

Sat., July 16

IAC Forum: Lavender & Red, featuring Leslie Feinberg, lesbian transgender author and activist. 2 p.m. At the Gay & Lesbian Center, Village at Ed Gould Plaza, 1125 N McCadden Pl. (one block E of Highland, N of Santa Monica Blvd). For info (323) 936-7266.

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Peltier transferred, supporters urged to take action

By Stephanie Hedgecoke

Indigenous political prisoner Leonard Peltier, a Lakota-Anishnabe, has been moved from Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary to the maximum security prison at Terre Haute, Ind., and is being kept in the hole indefinitely.

The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee (LPDC) is calling on all supporters to call and write the prison to allow Peltier to contact his family, "ask how he is, ask where to write, ask if he's okay, ask about his health, his privileges (phones, letters, visits, religious rights, ability to paint)" and to let them "know that the entire world is watching." The contacts for the prison are: USP Terre Haute, 4700 Bureau Rd. South, Terre Haute, IN 47802; phone (812) 244-4400 and fax (812) 244-4789.

As Leavenworth is being converted from maximum to medium security, prisoners are being transferred to Terre Haute and also a "supermax" prison at Florence, Colo. Prisoners at Terre Haute are forced to work and its prison industry includes ammunition production for the U.S. military. Peltier's attorney, Barry Bachrach, told Democracy Now! reporter Amy Goodman that Peltier will stay at Terre

Haute "unless we can change his security level." Peltier is an elder and has health issues.

Leonard Peltier has been in prison for almost 30 years for a crime he did not commit. Two FBI agents died in 1976 at Pine Ridge Reservation during a shootout which the FBI had started in a tiny reservation village as children, adults and elders slept in their homes. There was never any evidence that Peltier fired the shots. The U.S. suppressed hundreds of thousands of documents in his favor to extradite him from Canada.

U.S. prosecutors have publicly admitted that they do not know who actually fired the shots that killed the agents. The FBI has never released these documents, despite many Freedom of Information Act actions brought by Peltier's lawyers.

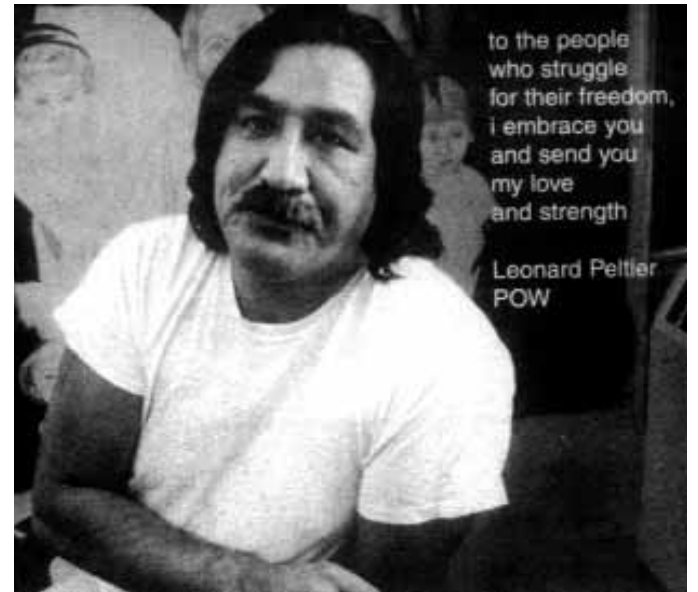
One of the FBI officers who directed COINTELPRO—the illegal counterintelligence program that targeted and assassinated many members of the American Indian Movement, the Black Panther Party and other groups in the 1960s and 1970s—was Mark Felt, recently praised in the media as the news source for the Nixon Watergate crimes.

The U.S. government, in violation of its

own statutes, has repeatedly refused to parole Peltier since he became eligible over 11 years ago and will not consider him for parole until he has served over twice the normal term for his alleged offense.

On June 15, a hearing in Peltier's case held in Fargo, N.D., addressed the illegality of his sentencing based on the sovereignty of the Lakota Nation. The U.S. District Court used a statute citing the "territorial jurisdiction of the United States," but the incident for which he was charged took place on reservation lands, which have been ruled "domestic, dependent sovereigns" by the Supreme Court. Bachrach states, "The hearing is important because Mr. Peltier was never charged with crimes over which the U.S. had jurisdiction."

Leonard Peltier is recognized around the world as a political prisoner. Everyone



FREE LEONARD PELTIER

from Nelson Mandela to past and present members of the U.S. Congress and many human rights organizations have called for his freedom.

The defense committee must now move to Terre Haute from Kansas, an expensive undertaking. It asks that donations be sent to the Peltier Legal Fund in care of his attorney, Barry Bachrach Esq., Bowditch & Dewey LLC, 311 Main St., Worcester, MA 01615. □

Patriot Act, retroactive

Hearing calls attention to LA 8

By Scott Scheffer
Los Angeles

The 18-year-old case of the Los Angeles Eight was thrust into the spotlight once again when a deportation hearing was scheduled in Los Angeles for July 13—and then postponed again. As of July 12 it isn't known when or whether the hearing will be rescheduled.

The L.A. Eight are seven Palestinian men and one Kenyan woman. In 1987, gun-toting FBI agents raided their southern California homes in the middle of the night and arrested them. The arrests culminated a long witch-hunt-type investigation.

Initially, charges were based exclusively on the Red-Scare-era McCarran-Walter Act: that the eight supported the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and had raised funds and passed out literature that aided the Marxist group. At that time, the PFLP was the second biggest group among those that made up the Palestine Liberation Organization.

For the eight, the case seems eternal. They struggle to lead normal lives, raise families and work. The threat of deportation looms for two respected Palestinian activists, Michel Shehadeh and Khader Hamide. The fate of their cases may signal what will happen with some of the others.

Decisions in the case have already had a significant legal impact, some progressive and some setbacks. Based on it, in 1988 a federal district judge ruled the McCarran-Walter Act unconstitutional because it denied immigrants their First Amendment rights. Congress repealed McCarran-Walter two years later, but the repeal allowed pending cases to proceed.

A Supreme Court opinion that came about as a result of this case stated, "An alien unlawfully in this country has no constitutional right to assert selective

enforcement as a defense against his deportation." This was exactly what the lawyers for the L.A. Eight had done.

The high court went on to state that the government "should not have to disclose its 'real' reasons for deeming nationals of a particular country a special threat—or indeed for simply wishing to antagonize a particular foreign country by focusing on that country's nationals."

Scalia allowed racial profiling

In effect, Justice Antonin Scalia, who wrote the opinion, validated the type of profiling that was put into wide use after Sept. 11, 2001.

Throughout the years, charges have been dropped and added. The Clinton administration's repressive 1996 anti-immigrant law allows the government to use guilt by association in the case of immigrants, thereby strengthening the prosecution of the Eight. Charges were added later under provisions of the Patriot Act that allow prosecution for things that were not illegal at the time they occurred.

In 1987, no one—citizen or not—could be prosecuted for association with an organization, regardless of the group's relationship with the U.S. government. Yet the case proceeded—first based on the PFLP's Marxist character, then on the FBI's assertion that the PFLP intends 'destruction of property,' and, still later, on the government's accusation that the PFLP intends to do violence and assassinate leaders of states.

This is also the first instance of the Patriot Act being used to try to deport anyone. In fact, provisions of the Patriot Act were written specifically to prosecute the L.A. Eight.

Over the years, as the case wound its way through the courts, the defendants and their attorneys were continually sur-

prised by the U.S. government's determination to prosecute, especially given the case's flimsy legal foundation and the fact that it flouts the constitution.

A recent two-part article in the Los Angeles Times attributed that to the dogged and almost obsessive pursuit of convictions by one FBI agent named Ted Knight. The article, which was somewhat objective and sympathetic to the defendants, pointed out that Knight was often at odds with others in the FBI because he wanted to continue his investigation.

It's true that Knight has fanatically pursued the conviction of these innocent people. But at a certain point he not only received the resources he needed from superiors in the FBI, but the Immigration and Naturalization Service became a factor in the case; immigration laws were used to hound the defendants when the government felt its case under the McCarran-Walter Act was too weak.

This was not an example of one determined individual moving mountains. It was an effort that spanned government agencies. And, as the Times piece pointed out, the case became a sort of model for attacks on immigrants after post Sept. 11, 2001.

The case of the L.A. Eight has important implications for the Palestinian struggle for

self-determination, for everyone's right to protest in the United States, and for immigrant rights.

The progressive Arab community in Los Angeles, along with anti-war and social-justice organizations, is responding to the latest developments in the case by intensifying the effort to raise funds and educate the general public about this important struggle. A website—www.committee4justice.com—has been set up by organizers. It is a valuable resource for information, including articles by the attorneys as well as from major establishment newspapers, and directions on how to contribute funds. □

Celebrate International HANDS OFF ASSATA! Day

The U.S. government has raised the bounty on Assata Shakur, now living in exile in Cuba, from \$150,000 to \$1 million. This courageous sister's supporters in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago are offering testimonials to her life with meetings, teach-ins and on-line editorials.

For people in the New York area, there will be a Community Teach-In at St. Mary's Episcopal Church, 521 W. 126th St., between Amsterdam and Broadway, on July 16 from 4-7 p.m. Take the #1 train to 125th Street.

Organizers invite people to "come support and learn about Assata, her case, why the U.S. government is after her, the cases of other political prisoners, and the Cuba connection."

—LeiLani Dowell



Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Cuban 5!



ON THE PICKETLINE

By Sue Davis

SF newspaper workers in struggle

Workers in the five unions at the San Francisco Chronicle and their supporters rallied July 11 to demand decent contracts. The rally was called in response to the June 30 expiration of the contract covering the 900-member Northern California Media Guild. The Guild, which represents staff writers, has been in around-the-clock negotiations since mid-June.

The Hearst management at the Chronicle won't budge. The workers can tell the bosses have been preparing for a strike—or maybe even a lockout—since January. That's when Hearst hired Frank Vega as publisher. Vega headed the Detroit Newspaper Agency for 14 years, during which time he earned the name "Darth Vega" because of his role in the hard-fought newspaper strike there 10 years ago.

Vega is using the same anti-worker tactics in San Francisco. He recently hired an outside security company; in Detroit he ordered the hired guns to attack the strikers. And he's trying to divide and conquer the five unions that represent the workers at the Chronicle.

But the unions have pledged not to ratify or sign an agreement until every union has an agreement. While the unions concede that some job cuts may be inevitable based on their examination of the Chronicle's books, which show the paper has been in the red since 2002, they are determined to stick together. Their pledge has been in effect for more than 40 years, reported the website of The Newspaper Guild (www.newsguild.org). (June 17) That gives new meaning to the old labor slogan: An injury to one is an injury to all!

Guild holds the line in Youngstown

Though they've been on strike for the past eight months, staff writers represented by the Newspaper Guild at the Youngstown, Ohio, paper owned by the Vindicator are hanging tough. The Detroit Guild hosted a party July 9 to raise funds for the Youngstown strikers. They also billed the event as a 10-year reunion to commemorate their hard-fought battle in Detroit.

The last federally mediated negotiating meeting in Youngstown ended May 31 without progress. The National Labor Relations Board heard three complaints against management on June 14.

Immokalee activists target other chains

In June, after the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' recent precedent-setting agreement with Taco Bell, activists announced the second phase of their campaign. Now they're targeting McDonald's, Burger King and Subway.

After a nearly four-year boycott, Taco Bell agreed to pay a penny-per-pound increase to nearly 1,000 workers who harvest tomatoes for its suppliers. That marks about a 75-percent increase over the usual rate of 1.3 cents per pound. In addition, the fast-food chain's parent company agreed to lead an industry-wide effort to provide greater protections and better working conditions for the migrant workers, predominantly immigrants, who earn about \$8,000 each year.

BART workers defend contract

Bay Area Rapid Transit workers and representatives of all the local labor councils rallied inside the BART administrative office building June 28 to support their representatives in intense contract negotiations with BART management. This

unity brought a tentative agreement in the early morning of July 6—when the five unions involved, including Amalgamated Transport Local 1555 and Service Employees Local 790, were set to strike. BART bosses met most of the unions'

pension, health-care, work-rules and wage demands, thus avoiding the certain nightmare of some 2,700 strikers shutting down the transit service used daily by thousands of Bay Area workers.

—Story and photos by J. Marquardt

Hay studies history, finds pride

Continued from page 2

colony bordering the Scythian steppe, wrote about the priestesses there. Referring to them as witches, he wrote that they knew "how to extract that stuff from a mare in heat."

The hormone estrogen is distilled from the urine of pregnant mares.

Ovid repeated in the poem "On Facial Treatment for Ladies": "Put no faith in herbals and potions, abjure the deadly stuff distilled by a mare in heat." (Timothy Taylor, "The Prehistory of Sex")

Les Mattachine

Hay also delved into research about the societies or guilds of "fools" in Renaissance France.

Enid Welsford in her 1935 classic "The Fool: His Social and Literary History," explained, "Always masked in public, the members of this society, through their plays, or *sotties*, gave voices to the people's complaints against both Church and king. ... Not even the highest dignitaries in the country escape their satire."

Their politically barbed performances were outlawed in 1547.

Will Roscoe noted that during the medieval Feast of Fools celebrated by the lower clergy throughout Europe and England, "All sanctity towards religion and authority was suspended. The mass was burlesqued, asses were led into the church, and priests and clerks wore masks, danced in the choir, and dressed as women."

He continued, "Another Fool tradition, perhaps even older, was represented by the folk dance known in France as Les Bouffons or Les Mattachines. ... Some form of this dance appears to have been known throughout Europe—as the Matachin in Spain, the Mattacino in Italy, and the Moresca elsewhere."

Roscoe added, "The literature on European folk traditions provides many examples of the Fool dressed as a woman or in both male and female clothes, of cross-dressing by men and women during the Feast of Fools, and even cross-dressed Mattachine/Sword dancers. In this capacity, the Fool served as a deputy of pre-Christian goddess figures, a practice Hay traces back to the Berdache priestesses of the ancient societies of the Near East."

This is what Hay drew from his study of

the medieval Feast of Fools tradition: "Thus the pyrrhic mime of Les Mattachine portrayed in vivid drama, for all to understand and take courage from, the ancient imitative ritual of initiation made military and political—that the lowly and oppressed would rise again from their despair and bondage by the strength of *their own faith and their own self-created dignity.*"

'Take a leaf from history'

The early Mattachine founders discussed holding a "Feast of Fools" dance as an educational component of organizing a homosexual movement. ("The Trouble with Harry Hay")

They were trying to bring a historical understanding of homophile oppression that would lift individuals out of guilt, shame and fear and help instill them with pride. Hay urged those who attended Mattachine discussions to "take a leaf from their long and productive history. They can learn to realize in all previous economies where the Berdache was an accepted institution, it was so because the Berdache, like the Albanian Berdache mayors, having no household and children to care for, could devote most of their time—aside from filling their own two bellies—with the social, economic and educational needs of their communities generally."

The Mattachine founders, all influenced by a Marxist economic view, saw the modern heterosexual nuclear family as the "established vehicle for the outlet of social impulses" that enforced a "socially predetermined pattern" for human relationships. Being raised in these patriarchal nuclear families, they emphasized, molded women and men to believe that this model of social roles was "natural"—a prescribed role "which equates male, masculine, man ONLY with husband and Father and which equates female, feminine, woman ONLY with wife and Mother." ("Making Trouble")

Homophiles, they argued, "did not fit the patterns of heterosexual love, marriage and children upon which the dominant culture rests." Excluded from this economic and social unit under capitalism, homophiles found themselves "an enclave within society ... an undesirable and despicable group worthy only of

ridicule and rebuke."

Hay invited further study, and that is just what is still needed today. Of course, many LGBT couples now are parents or are an integral part of extended families—related through patrilineal bloodlines or chosen through love. Others are in polygamous formations.

But the early Mattachine founders were trying to reveal a deeper institutionalized mechanism for oppression in a patriarchal class-divided society. Historian John D'Emilio explained further that the Mattachine leaders understood that "Exploitation and oppression came not from simple prejudice or misinformation, but from deeply embedded structural relationships. ... This led them to reject a narrowly pragmatic approach to the problems of the homosexual, one that focused only on a set of reform goals, and instead pushed them to seek a theoretical explanation of the sources of the homosexual's inferior status. ("Making Trouble")

The first task of this emancipation movement, D'Emilio wrote, "was to challenge the internalization of that ideology by homosexuals, to develop among the gay population a consciousness of itself as an oppressed minority. Out of that consciousness homosexuals could then evolve a 'highly ethical homosexual culture and lead well-adjusted, wholesome and socially productive lives.' And, from the cohesiveness that such a process could stimulate, the founders expected to forge, in time, a unified movement of homosexuals ready to fight against their oppression."

These communist leaders "held the Marxist view that capitalism required the oppression of minorities. They believed that homosexuals had to organize so they could explore their sexuality, become aware of how it equipped them to contribute to a more humane society, and prepare to join with other organized minorities in the struggle to replace capitalism with socialism." ("The Politics of Homosexuality")

Jim Kepner, a Mattachine leader, summed up, "[T]here was really the feeling that for thousands of years we'd been secret and hiding and alone. Now we were on the march and were convinced of the idea, 'We'll solve this problem within a few years!'"

Next: Mattachine takes up fight against police brutality.

Million Worker March Movement

Worker's group backs upcoming Millions More March

Following are excerpts from a recent call by the Million Worker March Movement in support of the Millions More Movement, upcoming in the fall. The MWMM emanated from International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, which has a long history and legacy of providing leadership within the union movement in the fight for economic and social justice. The Black-led MWMM organized the historic Oct. 17, 2004, protest held at the Lincoln Memorial, which called for an independent workers' movement in the United States.

The principal leaders of the MWMM are ILWU Local 10 President Trent Willis, Local 10 Executive Board member Clarence Thomas, Teamsters National Black Caucus Chair Chris Silvera, AFSMCE District Council 1707 former President Brenda Stokely, Transport Workers Local 100 President Roger Toussaint, Saladin Muhammad of Black Workers for Justice, and anti-war leader Larry Holmes. The excerpts follow.

On May 14 and 15, the Million Worker March Movement held a National Report-back and Networking Meeting in Detroit, which brought together MWMM organizers and leaders representing various regions of the country.

The consensus of those present expressed strong support for the MWMM's endorsement of the 10-year commemoration of the Million Man March, which is being organized as the Millions More Movement. The MMM will seek to mobilize millions to Washington, D.C., on Oct. 14 through Oct. 16.

Ninety-five percent of all African Americans are workers; 30 percent of

African American workers are union members and make up an important segment of the labor movement; nearly 50 percent are women; and 55 percent live in the U.S. South, where right-to-work laws are part of the Southern states' structure as a low-wage region with the lowest percentage of unionized workers.

We see the MMM as a very important vehicle for convening a national Black united front to help reunite the fragmented forces of the African American liberation movement and to help facilitate the unity of Black workers.

In 1995 the Million Man March mobilized close to 2 million people to Washington, D.C. Despite some warranted criticisms it helped to propel successive grassroots mobilizations over a 10-year period, as represented by the Million Women's, Million Family, Million Youth, Million Reparations and Million Worker marches, the latter helping to spawn an independent workers' movement.

The majority at the 1995 march were Black workers, organized and unorganized. Many came despite opposition and threats of retaliation from their employers. Most, including those in unions, used their personal resources to attend because most of trade unions did not support the march. This failure to carry out and support struggles against racism inside and outside of the trade unions is a major weakness of the U.S. trade union movement and a key reason for its current crisis of direction. Black workers must continue to struggle to change this reality.

The 1995 march represented an historic event as it was the largest single national mobilization of African Americans in U.S. history. However, the organized identity and demands of Black workers, which are

at the core of the issues facing all workers, were not strongly represented.

In the words of Minister [Louis] Farrakhan, the main convener of the Millions More Movement, "Millions More," he explained, "means that we are reaching for the millions who carry the rich on their backs." We agree totally with this formulation. We believe this points out the importance of Black workers mobilizing the broadest possible base of the U.S. and international working class regardless of race or gender to this historic mobilization. The MWMM has demonstrated an ability to advance demands that build international worker solidarity.

The MMM organizers reached out to MWMM to participate in this historical mobilization. Knowing that the MWMM involves workers of all races, nationalities, genders, religions and sexual orientations indicates the breadth of the mobilization that is being called for by the MMM.

The MMM will be a major mobilization linking the U.S. war at home with the U.S.-led and -supported wars and occupations abroad. This will send an important message of hope around the world that there is a powerful movement on the horizon.

Now, 10 years later, the present attacks on the workers have made the stakes much higher than 1995. No one can afford to sit this one out! Therefore, we see the main task of the MWMM as organizing and mobilizing the conscious and enthusiastic participation of workers in our own name.



ILWU Local 10 Executive Board member Clarence Thomas.

Our demands must include:

- National health care
- Bring the troops home now
- Preserve and protect Social Security
- Family-supporting living wage
- Repeal U.S. Patriot Acts
- Protect worker pensions
- Stop dismantling of public education
- Bring jobs back to America
- End to privatization
- Affordable housing
- Protection of the environment
- Progressive taxation
- Amnesty for all undocumented workers

Black workers must build a Black- and People of Color-led broad workers' coalition to mobilize for the MMM. We must bring together organizations like Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, A. Philip Randolph Institute, National African American Caucus-SEIU, Teamsters National Black Caucus, Black Workers For Justice, Black Telephone Workers For Justice, Harlem Fight Back, Global Women's Strike Committee, Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance of AFL-CIO, Pride At Work and immigrant rights organizations, and many others.

We call on all of the unions, worker groups, anti-war and social-justice activist organizations who are affiliates with or supporters of the MWMM to sign on and help build for the MMM!

Mobilizing in Our Own Name! □

Family seeks justice for youth killed by cops

By Larry Hales
Denver

"They've taken my son—they won't take anything else from me," said Bobby Bonner. Aurora, Colo., police gunned down his son, 20-year-old Jamaal Bonner, an unarmed Black male, in December 2003. Community leaders have rallied behind the Bonner family.

Bobby Bonner and Brenda Bonner have vowed that they will continue to seek justice for their slain son. They filed a civil lawsuit against the city of Aurora after a grand jury failed to bring charges against the cop who shot him.

The story of the night Jamaal Bonner was killed is suspect, and has changed many times. Bonner was netted in what cops call a sting. He was approached by an undercover cop, dressed up as a prostitute. The cop was wired and is heard on tape asking if Bonner would come to her room in a nearby hotel.

Bonner replies, "No." He is heard saying "no" on the tape several times.

The undercover cop continues to press him, but Bonner insists that he only wants to sell a small amount of drugs that he had on him.

The cop buys some of the drugs and

lures Bonner back to her room. She goes into the bathroom. That's when SWAT officers break into the room. At this point, the video and audio tapes are turned off.

The story of what happened next has never been consistent, but both ballistics and forensic evidence show that Jamaal Bonner was hit with fire from a tazer and shot three times in the back at pointblank range. Every bullet had a downward trajectory.

Bonner was unarmed. He was most likely on his knees when he was shot. Yet the officers say he made a threatening lunge.

That this young Black man was slain in cold blood seems obvious, especially since three of the five cops who were in the room have testified that Bonner was on his knees when shot. Only Bill Woods, the shooter, says Jamaal Bonner was on his feet.

Shortly after the shooting, the media, city officials and police tried to justify the killing by dragging out Bonner's history. Before the grand jury hearing, the assistant district attorney told the Bonner family that they shouldn't believe that the case was a slam dunk, because "no one wants



Jamaal Bonner

to jeopardize a cop's career."

It is clear that Jamaal Bonner was slain. Regardless of what Bonner's past may have been, what has to be clarified is what is truly criminal: that young people, especially young people of color, have few options open.

Bonner had as much potential as the great majority of young people. But this brutal capitalist system, to which racism is endemic, invariably pushes the poor and people of color toward illegal acts, as legal ways of earning a living are closed to them.

The effects of the lack of a decent public-school system, of health care, jobs, housing and true solidarity under capitalism are visited upon the most oppressed in society. It's all to keep people divided, so the plunder of labor can continue unabated.

Police are tied to this system. They are the armed wing of the ruling class, terrorizing workers, the poor and people of color, and protecting the rulers' interests. Their brutality stems from this. And they are more brutal in communities of color, because of the history of struggle of the oppressed—the vanguard in the struggle to overthrow this capitalist system. □



Remembering victims of police violence

By Workers World Denver bureau

On July 11, Black and Latino community members and leaders held a protest at police headquarters in Denver. Those gathered had come to remember Jamaal Bonner, Paul Childs, Frank Lobato, Greg Smith, Deniece Washington, Harrison Owens, Ishmael Mena and others who have been killed by Denver and Aurora cops.

The crowd, nearly 30 people, listened to embattled anti-racist activist Shareef Aleem, Fight Imperialism Stand Together activist Larry Hales and the hip hop act the Strugglas. FIST activist Melissa Kleinman led the crowd in anti-cop chants.

When two Denver cops approached those gathered and asked them to leave, saying their presence was dishonoring a nearby cop memorial, people in the crowd asked where the memorial was for those unjustly killed by cops.

The cops left when the protesters vowed to continue the protest. The rally and speak-out continued, gathering momentum as passersby stopped to join.

The rally ended with a call to unite the struggle against racism and police repression to the anti-war struggle. □

Signs of U.S. defeat in Iraq adventure

By John Catalinotto

The news out of Iraq was more of the same this week, and the signs from Fort Monmouth, N.J., to Sydney, Australia, from the Pentagon to Rome, were that the world's people, including those in the U.S. armed forces, are fed up with the occupation.

On July 11, a bomb killed 20 Iraqis west of Baghdad who were waiting to enlist for a job with the pro-occupation army. Resistance fighters killed another 10 Iraqi troops outside Baquba in a firefight. According to the Graduate Institute of International Studies based in Geneva, Switzerland, nearly 40,000 Iraqis have been killed as a direct result of combat or armed violence since the U.S.-led invasion. Military deaths in the U.S.-led coalition forces totaled 1,937 as of July 11. (The Age, July 13)

In the south of Iraq, Muqtada al-Sadr's group began a campaign among his Shiite following to gather 1 million signatures demanding the occupation troops leave Iraq. Early indications were that this drive would be successful. Meanwhile, armed resistance operations in the mostly Sunni areas and Baghdad hit a high of 700 in May, with a similar count expected for June.

With Sunni and Shiite groups both working to end the occupation, a new kind of battle was reported from Iraq. This one was between U.S. occupation troops—Marines in this case—and U.S.-hired mercenary troops or “contractors.” Sixteen employees of Zapata Engineering, a security firm that gets big contracts from the U.S. government, were arrested by the U.S. Marines and charged with firing on civilians and on the Marines in Falluja.

Headed for collapse?

The signs from outside Iraq point even more to a potential collapse of U.S. imperialism's aggressive adventure. George W. Bush and Britain's Tony Blair kept proclaiming that the only thing that would defeat the U.S.-UK resolve to “stay the course” in Iraq was the loss of will at home. Their statements had a prophetic ring.

On July 6, newspapers reported that top Pentagon officers were thinking of dropping the U.S. strategy of being “able to fight two wars at the same time.” This change of attitude has been imposed on them by the Iraqi resistance, which is showing that the U.S. Army can't win even one war against a guerrilla army backed by the population, even under the difficult conditions that exist for the Iraqis.

This followed an announcement from Italy's Premier Silvio Berlusconi that he would start pulling 300 of Italy's contin-

gent from the “coalition of the willing” in September. The Italian population is strongly opposed to the government's participation in the war on Iraq and the right-wing media magnate, who faces an uphill reelection battle, is torn between his fealty to Bush and his desire to remain in office.

'Secret memo' details pullout

On July 10, the Washington Post ran an article on a “secret memo written for British Prime Minister Tony Blair by Defense Secretary John Reid,” which details U.S. and British plans to withdraw most of their troops from Iraq within a year. “The paper, which is marked ‘Secret — UK Eyes Only,’ said ‘emerging U.S. plans assume that 14 out of 18 provinces could be handed over to Iraqi control by early 2006,’ allowing a reduction in overall U.S.-led forces in Iraq to 66,000 troops.”

The Pentagon wouldn't verify even that such plans existed, let alone that this is the policy that has been decided on. But whoever leaked this story was giving another sign that some elements among U.S.-UK governing circles might think that “staying the course” wasn't such a good idea, and that there may soon be a sharp struggle over policy.

That same day the New York Times gave another distress signal with an editorial suggesting the Times' own plan for what the Pentagon strategy should be over the next four years. The Times wants the Pentagon to cancel two Air Force flight wings and one Navy carrier group, cut out some high-tech developments and use the money saved to recruit another 100,000 troops into the active army. The Times fears that Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's plan will be completely different.

According to the Times, “recruits should be attracted by allowing enlistees to fulfill their entire service obligation through four years of active duty and ending senseless and offensive restrictions on openly gay people serving in the military and on women serving in combat.” The Times, in other words, is offering working-class youth and especially women and gays equal opportunity to kill and be killed by Iraqi resistance fighters, something the Army already offers to people of color.

Anti-war resistance on the ground

While it is obvious that Rumsfeld's plan for a quick, mechanized war has ground to a halt in the sands of Iraq, the Times' plan fails to take into account the growing resistance, not only of U.S. working-class youths but also of their parents, when it comes to having anything to do with the U.S. Armed Forces.

The Pentagon this July tried to put a happy spin on its recruiting disaster. From January to May, the generals had set quotas of about 8,000 per month and recruited only about 6,000 per month. In a stroke of public-relations genius, they set the June quota at 5,600, recruited 6,100, and called it a flaming success. It's hard to say who they were fooling. On the other hand, the Army National Guard's quota was 5,032 new recruits in June, but it signed up only 4,337.

Another sign from the home front came in to Workers World from Al Strasburger in Fort Monmouth, N.J. Between 10 and 20 local anti-war activists have been holding a vigil at the fort's main gate every Saturday since soon after Bush exploited the Sept. 11, 2001, attack to declare endless war.

The slogans were “U.S. Out of the Middle East,” “Israel Out of Palestine,” “Bring the Troops Home Now,” and No Blood for Oil.” “Our ‘Honk’ signs have been particularly effective in recent months, with the vast majority of responses being favorable to us,” writes Strasburger. “Indeed, we have clearly seen the public response go from vile and patriotic insults in 2001 to the current situation of obvious appreciation of our pickets.”

U.S. sailors meet peace activists

The strongest sign came from Sydney, Australia, with one of the first examples of widespread fraternization between the anti-war movement and U.S. sailors.

Three major U.S. warships were in port: the aircraft carrier USS Kitty Hawk and the guided-missile destroyers USS John Paul Jones and USS Cowpens, with a total of about 6,000 officers and sailors.

On July 7, as “a small group of peace activists conducted a candlelit vigil at the main gates of the naval base through which all service personnel coming or going passed and in full view of the bridge of the Kitty Hawk, we laid out candles in the shape of the peace symbol,” writes James Courtney of Greenpeace in Australia.

“The response was moving and inspiring. We had naval personnel helping to light candles and taking photos. Many words of thanks from ships crew, some with tears welling in their eyes. We had nothing but positive feelings from the ships' crew that spoke with us. We managed to hand out around 200 copies of *Traveling Soldier*,” a U.S.-based anti-war GI newspaper. (www.traveling-soldier.org)

The demonstrators set up a data projector and sound and broadcast David Zeiger's documentary about GI resistance in the Vietnam War, “Sir! No Sir!” onto the side of a shipping container sitting beside the Kitty Hawk. “We estimate that at least 700 personnel saw some of the movie,” writes Courtney, and “around 200 or so watched it for 10-15 minutes.”

“We felt moved by the plight of the young men and women that we met. There was one line that we heard from many: ‘Sometimes I feel that we are fighting for the wrong reason.’” □

Stop recruiters' lies!



More military recruiters are due for nervous collapse. A groundswell of anti-recruiting activity is keeping them away from U.S. youths in the schools and neighborhoods, and now anti-war activists are targeting recruitment offices. This one being picketed by a group from the International Action Center on July 12 is on Sixth Ave. and 22nd Street in New York. The IAC says it's only their first step in an ambitious campaign to stop the “economic draft” and make sure no one is forced into military duty to carry out more U.S. aggression.

—Story and photo by John Catalinotto



Peace activists in Chelsea, Manhattan, N.Y., bring anti-war struggle to the neighborhood.

WW PHOTO: JOHN CATALINOTTO

ARMED



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U.S. strategists awake to new reality in Central Asia

By Leslie Feinberg

U.S. imperialists, still dreaming of exerting their economic, political and military hegemony over Central Asia, are awakening to a new reality.

The July 5 expanded Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) summit in Astana, Kazakhstan, adopted a resolution calling on Washington to announce a timetable for Pentagon withdrawal from Afghanistan and for dismantling what were supposed to be temporary U.S. military bases in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

"However, the SCO states would not allow a security vacuum to emerge following the anticipated coalition withdrawal from the region," the July 6 Eurasia Daily Monitor added. "The SCO leaders would rather fill the vacuum themselves: they pledged to boost security cooperation. Chinese President Hu Jintao said after the summit meeting in Astana: 'We have to make every effort to step up security cooperation or else all our talks about stability will be pointless.'"

China chaired this year's SCO, which was established on June 15, 2001, in Shanghai. Other members of the alliance include Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. With the recently added semi-membership of Iran, India, Pakistan and Mongolia as official observers, the organization represents half of humanity, as Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev pointed out in his opening speech on July 5 welcoming the SCO.

An SCO-Afghanistan contact group is due to be established soon, as well, according to Russian Foreign Ministry Roving Ambassador Vitaly Vorobyov. (RIA Novosti, July 5)

Confidential U.S. sources told the Russian business newspaper Kommersant that the demand to set a time limit on the Pentagon's presence "was a great surprise, to put it mildly." (July 7)

The declaration was made one day before Chinese leader Hu Jintao and Russian President Vladimir Putin were set to meet with U.S. President George W. Bush in Scotland at the Group of Eight summit.

Washington officials, including U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and her spokesperson, Sean McCormack, immediately and flatly refused to discuss the matter of pulling up U.S. military stakes. Rice rejected the SCO call on July 9 during a trip in which she met with Chinese government leaders. According to a July 10 Bloomberg report, "Afghanistan was one of the areas of disagreement in the talks, which focused primarily on the July 25 resumption of the six-nation talks on North Korea's nuclear weapons program."

Uniting against 'regime change'

The SCO summit resolution also stated the inadmissibility of "monopolizing or dominating international affairs" and an end to outside intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the region.

"The SCO declaration, as well as a bilateral Russo-Chinese declaration on 'World Order in the 21st Century' adopted on July 2, did not mention the United States directly," explained the July 6 Eurasia Daily Monitor. "However, these documents are understood to target perceived U.S. domination in international affairs."

Washington has been accused of engineering "regime changes" in three former Soviet republics in the last two years: Ukraine, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan.

The SCO declaration was a warning to Washington to stop using nongovern-

mental organizations as instruments for carrying out destabilization and coups in the region, the July 11 New York Times explained.

This year's SCO summit was the first since former Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev fled to Russia on March 25 after armed bands stormed his offices in what the media dubbed the "Tulip Revolution." Akayev accused Washington of instigating his overthrow to expand its grip on Central Asia. He charged that when he let Russia set up a military air base 18 miles from the Pentagon installation in his country, "That marked the start of the preparation of plans for my ouster." (MosNews, July 1)

A week after the SCO summit, Kurmanbek Bakiyev, who had been a leader of the anti-Akayev protests in Kyrgyzstan, was elected president by a large majority. He surprised Washington, however, when he immediately reiterated the need for discussion about whether U.S. military forces needed to be in his country.

And at a July 5 SCO media conference Uzbek President Islam Karimov thanked China and Russia for their support. The U.S. had led demands for an inquiry into the reported suppression of rioting dissenters there in May. Uzbekistan officials restricted U.S. military flights from the Karshi-Khanabad airbase in retaliation. Karimov emphasized that outside forces had been threatening to "hijack stability and impose their model of development" on Central Asia.

Lily pads sinking into quagmire?

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Washington used the National Endowment for Democracy, "Freedom House" and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty to funnel hundreds of millions of dollars into social forces in the former Soviet Central Asian republics that they judged were willing to collaborate with U.S. plans for the region.

What U.S. strategists wanted most of all was, 1) influence over the rich oil and gas deposits of the Caspian region and 2) military bases that could both "pacify" the area if necessary and put the Pentagon's forward position closer to both Russia and China.

Little of the money made its way to the



people who live and work in the mountains and plains. Poverty and unemployment have grown as the post-Soviet regimes that took over found it impossible to sustain the living standards of the broad masses on a capitalist basis.

These bourgeois regimes also found themselves collaborating with the imperialist power whose brutal wars and occupations against Iraq and Afghanistan have aroused the anger of most of the world, especially the Muslim areas.

When the 9/11 attacks took place, the U.S. had used them as a pretext to gain a military foothold in Central Asia. But its bases in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, for example, were supposed to be "temporary." These military installations have been used for logistical support and deployment of 10th Mountain Division and Special Forces troops to Afghanistan.

But they are more than a "rear base" in the imperialist aggression against Afghanistan.

Central Asia sits atop some of the largest pools of petroleum and natural gas in the world. The massive Tengiz oil fields of Kazakhstan lie just to the north of Uzbekistan. Huge gas reserves lie just to the south in Turkmenistan. To the west,

across the Caspian Sea, is the Azerbaijan offshore oil industry.

Capitalist monopolies like ExxonMobil and Chevron/Texaco are determined to suck out these energy profits from resources that once fueled the revolutionary growth of production and living standards in these former workers' states.

Central Asia is also a geopolitically strategic part of the globe over which the "Great Game" of big-power colonialists and imperialists has been fought since the 19th century. The five nations of Central Asia are today home to some 55 million people and the gateway to all of Asia. They stretch from Russia to Afghanistan, bordering China on the east and Iran in the southwest.

The establishment of U.S. imperialism's military footprints on Central Asian soil has been described as the greatest change in Pentagon overseas military deployments since the end of World War II. (globalsecurity.com, July 26, 2004)

"This marks a new epoch in [U.S.] force posturing," said John Pike, director of globalsecurity.com, which describes itself as a Washington clearinghouse for strategic intelligence. "It's one of only a half-

Continued on page 9

Israel's 'apartheid wall' provokes protests

By LeiLani Dowell

The Israeli Cabinet moved on July 10 to push for completion of an apartheid wall that Israeli officials acknowledge will block some 55,000 Palestinians from freely entering Jerusalem, where they work and go to school. Ha'aretz reports that the cabinet has set a date of Sept. 1 for completion of the wall in Jerusalem.

Palestinian officials, including Prime Minister Ahmad Qurei, President Mahmoud Abbas and chief negotiator Saeb Erakat all condemned the Israeli decision as a threat to any peace process. According to the Palestine Media Center, Qurei called the decision a land grab "in the broad daylight" which makes any talk about peace "a farce."

That same day the Palestinian National Authority rejected Israel's decision, saying that it would reach out to the United Nations General Assembly to push Israel

to stop building the wall. The UN General Assembly has adopted the July 2004 ruling of the International Court of Justice that deemed the wall illegal because it is built on occupied land.

In response, Israeli Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom warned the Palestinian Authority against attempts "to internationalize the conflict," saying "it harms the positive atmosphere which can and should develop around the Disengagement Plan."

If completed, the wall would extend for 40 miles, cutting through four Palestinian neighborhoods and a refugee camp. The Palestine Media Center reports that an estimated 65,000 Jerusalem Arabs will daily have to pass through military checkpoints along the wall and around 3,700 Palestinian students will be cut off from their schools.

People in three different Palestinian cities marched on July 9 to demand an

end to the occupation and the tearing down of the wall. More than 1,000 marched in Ramallah, while in Beit Liqya—site of the Israeli killing of a 15-year-old Palestinian the day before—protesters were attacked with rubber bullets, sound bombs and tear gas by the occupation forces.

In the area of Kafr Thulth, occupation forces used batons to beat back villagers who attempted to remove the roadblocks there.

On the same day solidarity protests and events took place in Canada, Chile, Egypt, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, South Korea, the United Kingdom and the United States.

According to www.stopthewall.org, "Recently the U.S. has contributed \$50 million in direct aid to finance checkpoints, gates and high-tech terminals to control Palestinian movement in their own land." □

Labor delegation reports massacre in Port-au-Prince, Haiti

By G. Dunkel

United Nations troops patrolling in Haiti carried out a massacre of Haitians in poor, working-class areas of Port-au-Prince on July 6, according to a visiting labor delegation from the United States. Haitian police carried out another massacre on July 8. The massacres occurred in communities where the support for deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide is the strongest.

U.S. Marines had kidnapped Aristide on Feb. 29, 2004, and removed him from office and from Haiti as part of a right-wing coup. The troops of three imperialist countries—the U.S., France and Canada—first occupied Haiti after the kidnapping. They have now been replaced by the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), which was created by the Security Council.

According to the U.S. delegation's report, 350 UN soldiers from Peru and Jordan, using 35 armored personnel carriers and two helicopters, began their assault on Cite Soleil between 2 a.m. and 3 a.m. on July 6. Once the troops were in position to seal off the alleys of Boisneuf and Projet Drouillard—two neighborhoods inside Cite Soleil—with tanks and troops, they began firing around 4 a.m. It appears that the Haitian National Police (PNH) did not have much of a presence in this operation.

This massacre was only lightly reported in the imperialist media. AP carried a story of 440 words, UPI used 67 words. Five or six Canadian newspapers picked it up, and about the same number of U.S.

papers. One British paper, the Independent, ran a longer story.

But, unfortunately for the UN forces, which claimed that only two to six people were killed, a labor/civil rights delegation was in Port-au-Prince at the time. Dave Welsh, a member of the San Francisco Labor Council, had organized a delegation to a congress of the Confederation of Haitian Workers.

Welch told Workers World, "One member of our delegation, Seth Donnelly, who belongs to the California Teachers Association, went to Cite Soleil 24 hours after the UN attacked. He and a team of Haitian human rights workers counted 23 bodies lying in pools of blood in the streets and in their homes."

The delegation interviewed scores of people and videoed where the attack took place. According to Welsh, their footage shows "the homes—in some cases made of tin and cardboard—that had been riddled by bullets, tank fire and helicopter ammunition."

He continued, "The team also filmed a church and a school that had been riddled by ammunition. Some community members allowed the team to interview them, but not to film their faces for fear of their lives. People were traumatized."

'Systematic firing on civilians'

The press release from the delegation goes a bit further: "There was systematic firing on civilians," said one eyewitness to the killing. "All exits were cut off. The community was choked off, surrounded—facing tanks coming from different angles, and overhead, helicopters with

machine guns fired down on the people. The citizens were under attack from all sides and from the air. It was war on a community."

The chief target of the UN attack on Cite Soleil appears to have been a popular leader of Fanmi Lavalas, Emmanuel (Dread) Wilme, who had organized a number of mass protests for the restoration of democracy, the return of Aristide and the overturn of the interim government. He, his wife and one of his children were killed and his house destroyed.

The head of the police, Leon Charles, was quite definite that Dread Wilme had been killed, even though his body had not been recovered.

Many people in Cite Soleil—young and old, men and women—spoke highly of Dread Wilme, referring to him as their "protector" or "father." Earlier this year in April, Dread Wilme had been a target of a UN attack and was wounded. He gave an interview to Radio Lakou, a Kreyol station out of New York. Some of its broadcasts are also available on the Internet.

At that time, Wilme said, "Well, the situation is very serious, not just in Cite Soleil but all over Haiti. ... The way things are in the country today, journalists are being killed, school children are being killed, business people are being killed. Many people who would have been useful to the country are being killed. As Lavalas militants throughout all parts of the country, ... we are standing up to defend our rights, to demand that President Aristide return to the country and for us to live in peace, because without President Aristide there can be no peace."

Police shoot into houses

According to the Haitian Press Agency (AHP), an independent press service headquartered in Port-au-Prince, a dozen people, most in their own homes, were killed on July 8 in the district of the capital called Bel Air by Haitian cops driving in a red Nissan patrol car. As the Nissan drove up and down the streets, the cops fired blindly into houses. AHP reported that six cadavers lay in a pool of blood on Macajoux Street until the end of the afternoon.

The UN forces' mandate states that every operation of the PNH has to be approved by the commander of MINUSTAH, Brazilian Gen. Augusto Heleno Ribeiro Pereira. He in turn answers to the UN Security Council, which is dominated by the imperialists.

Family and friends of the victims denounced these summary executions, but said the killings would not shake their determination to keep on demonstrating until democracy was restored with the return of President Aristide.

The day before the attack on Bel Air, the leader of Fanmi Lavalas there, Samba Boukman, denounced the assassination of Dread Wilme as "brutal and indiscriminate."

The same day as the police attack on Bel Air, dozens of people who work for the city of Port-au-Prince demonstrated in front of the Ministry of the Interior. They hadn't been paid for 18 months and accused the mayor of Port-au-Prince, Carline Simon, of acting against the interests of the poor and working people of the city. □

Impact of the French 'no' vote

PART I/ A look at the EU referendum

By Rémy Herrera
Paris, France

With a vote of 55 percent, the French electorate rejected the proposed European Constitution in a May 29 referendum. This proposal had aimed to write into constitutional law the policy of economic neoliberalism that for years has been defended by right-wing libertarians, in Europe as well as the United States.

Their dream was to equip Europe with a Constitution that, by installing flexible supranational institutions, would deprive national states of the most essential part of their sovereignty, and in turn reinforce the rule of finance capital.

This proposal was heavily promoted by the transnational monopolies, whose managers in France invited the public to vote "yes for a prosperous Europe."

These included the petroleum concern Total, which reported \$10.9 billion in profits in 2004, the highest ever recorded by a French firm, and which is laying off workers on French territory; the cosmetics firm L'Oréal, whose CEO is the highest paid in the country at \$7.9 million per year and whose owner is "the richest woman in France" with a fortune of \$13.7 billion.

Meanwhile, one of every six French workers is paid only the minimum wage and 7 million people in France live in poverty.

There is also the machine tools company Schneider, whose shareholders enjoyed the biggest increase in dividends last year—63.6 percent—and which is out-

sourcing its production. And don't forget the armaments firm Dassault, which has just bought part of the media. The last-mentioned bombarded the public with "yes" slogans, attempting to manipulate public consciousness and bludgeon them with lies.

The French still said "no." This "no" vote was along class lines. It is a reminder to the elites that the people exist, that the popular classes resist, and that the world of labor can still be mobilized.

The "no" rallied the votes of 80 percent of production workers, 70 percent of small farmers, 67 percent of white-collar workers, 64 percent of civil servants and more than 50 percent of craft workers, small shopkeepers and intermediate professions. It got the vote of 66 percent of households with monthly incomes less than \$1,800, 75 percent of those without degrees and 71 percent of the unemployed. Among those voting "no" were many young people from working-class neighborhoods.

This result was the product of the consciousness, resistance and unity of the popular classes. It was their first victory in a confrontation with neoliberalism since the great strikes of 1995. This "no" was a rejection of those politicians, whether from right-wing parties or the traditional "left," who over the last 20 years have handed the country over to speculators for plunder.

The French people know how much they lost when the right-wing parties in power carried out a drastic destruction of social services—the pension "reform"

under the government of Premier Jean-Pierre Raffarin—but they also have not forgotten that neoliberalism was first implanted in France in 1984 by the socialist government of President François Mitterrand and Premier Laurent Fabius. It is more accurate to call them members of the Socialist Party (PS), a social-democratic and pro-imperialist party, than real socialists.

Alternation without alternatives

Alternating the government between the PS and the rightists, with each of them managing the neoliberal program, provided no real alternative for the workers and poor but only shades of difference in rhetoric. The PS governments wiped out workers' past social gains, imposing the neoliberal program on trade unions paralyzed from acting against a PS government. This made them as essential to the ruling class as the right-wing parties with their open neoliberalism.

More and more French people became aware that there is a close connection between neoliberalism and U.S. hegemony. Neoliberalism can be defined as the power of finance capital, rule by the owners of capital. And those who dominate internationally are essentially based in the United States. Neoliberal "globalization" was imposed, starting from the United States, especially after the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank, the Fed, unilaterally increased interest rates in 1979.

The Europe now under construction (without its citizens) is a Europe planned to serve the interests of big West European

capital. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, this Europe has been trying to turn the economies of the Central and Eastern European countries into subservient subsidiaries. This Europe is market-driven and has been oriented to U.S. imperialism since its origin.

Indeed, after the collapse of the USSR these dominant European forces limited their ambitions to a prudent defense of their interests while remaining subordinate to U.S. finance capital, to its neoliberal-warlike strategy and to the instruments used to enforce its hegemony: NATO for its military component; the International Monetary Fund-World Bank-World Trade Organization for its economic domination.

Europeans did not put up any significant resistance—outside of some speeches at the Security Council of the United Nations, which are already well-known—to the crimes and plunder perpetrated by U.S. finance capital, whose tool is the Bush administration.

In France, it was by a consensus among the PS and the right-wing parties that the Maastricht treaty was adopted for the Common Market in 1992, an example of neoliberalism. This is also how it decided to enter the war against Yugoslavia in 1999, another submission to U.S. policies that is known here as Atlanticism.

Is France really democratic?

This alliance between the dominant classes of Europe and the United States, with which Japan is also associated, is basically directed against the people of the

Africa's debt crisis calls for reparations

By Monica Moorehead

The plight of Africa has recently received a great deal of worldwide attention, and rightfully so.

During the first weekend in July, Live 8 concerts took place in various countries to help elevate mass consciousness on the grinding poverty and the HIV/AIDS crisis that afflict tens of millions of African people.

Artists such as Stevie Wonder, Will Smith, Madonna, Paul McCartney, U-2's Bono and many others lent their talents to this worthy cause. The concerts were timed to occur right before the G-8 summit was to take place in a remote town in Scotland July 6-8.

G-8 refers to the richest capitalist countries—the United States, England, France, Italy, Canada, Germany and Japan—whose top leaders meet annually to discuss current economic and trade developments, and Russia, which also sits in at the meeting.

One of main topics of discussion was the debt crisis that has engulfed Africa for many decades. Official representatives of

many African countries were invited to sit in on the proceedings.

Based on news reports, it's apparent that these African leaders had very little influence regarding the outcome of this summit. It was U.S. President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair who dominated the airwaves during the summit, and even more so after the July 7 bombings on the London subways.

There was a general agreement coming out of the summit that the debt of 18 out of the 54 African countries, considered the poorest on the continent, would be canceled. An increase of \$50 billion in aid over the next 10 years to Africa was also approved.

The roots of underdevelopment

Did this G-8 summit do justice by the African people? Will an additional \$5 billion for the next 10 years help to lift millions out of impoverishment and destitution? Will the cancellation of debt of one-third of the African countries help their devastated economies rebound? The answers to all these questions is: absolutely not!

Reality in Central Asia

Continued from page 7

dozen similar reposturings since the American Revolution. It's a very significant change."

The strategy is to replace huge garrison bases that traditionally held more than 80 percent of U.S. troops overseas—like those in Germany, Japan and South Korea—with an arc of numerous small "lily pad" bases, arching from the Caribbean, Africa

South, including China. They justify it in ruling-class ideology by the democratic values they claim to incarnate. As their post-referendum activity shows, however, bourgeois democracy, as it functions in France, is fictitious.

Almost the entire collection of French traditional politicians supported the European Constitution. They all were beaten. Yet they all remain in power.

Jacques Chirac remained president with only a 24-percent favorable rating in June 2005 opinion polls. Nicolas Sarkozy is still head of the leading right-wing party (UMP), François Hollande is head of the PS, with a popularity rating of about 35 percent as of now, lower than that of the leaders of the Communist (PCF), Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) and Workers' Struggle (LO) parties.

If, for the large majority of the French people, democracy is reduced to a small walk in silence to the polling booth one Sunday every 12 or 18 months, to get into the voting line in silence, to nod one's head in silence when one's name is called, to slip an envelope into the ballot box in silence and to go back home in silence with nothing changed, then this democracy is much noise about nothing. The bourgeoisie is in power and has no intention of giving it up. Could it be then that we do not really live in a democracy?

Next: Where is France headed?
Rémy Herrera is a researcher at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) and teaches Economics of Development at the University of Paris—Panthéon-Sorbonne.

and the Middle East to the Caucasus, Central Asia and southern Asia. Pentagon brass hope these small bases will enable them to quickly and flexibly airlift forces.

Pike concluded last summer, using the spin that presents imperialist aggression as self-defense, "We don't know exactly where the next threat will be. It could be Iran, North Korea, China or other parts of the world. This redeployment is designed to allow us to quickly respond to any of those challenges." (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, July 26, 2004)

Establishing U.S. bases in Central Asia was supposed to tighten the grip of Wall Street and the Pentagon on the region. But, in response, what was a loose coalition of the SCO is evolving into a defensive political, economic and military alliance encompassing more than half the population of the planet. □

The fact that Africa is both the richest continent in terms of resources and the poorest in terms of underdevelopment did not come about over a span of years or decades but centuries. Three of the G-8 members—Germany, France and England—expanded their capitalist economies with the African slave trade beginning in the middle of the 16th century. The United States became involved in the slave trade a century later. An estimated 40 million African people were stolen from their homeland during slavery.

Europe became the main colonizer of the entire African continent. The result was millions more lives lost and resources and land plundered from the late 19th century until African struggles brought about nominal independence in the 1960s and 1970s.

Today the greatest part of Africa is a neocolony under control of imperialist banks through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Since the post-colonial period, whole African economies have been caught in a vicious cycle of bank loans and structural agreements that have plunged them into a spiraling debt they can never pay off in several lifetimes.

According to World Bank statistics, Africa spends an estimated \$15 billion annually on debt repayments but receives less than \$13 billion in aid during the same time frame. For every dollar that an African country receives in grants, it pays \$13 in interest on debt.

Africa's entire debt stands at \$300 billion. (Nepad Secretariat) To illustrate the tremendous gap between the haves and have-nots on a global scale, the richest 18 North Americans could pay off Africa's total debt with billions of dollars to spare. (Forbes Magazine, 2002)

This debt crisis has meant nothing but underdevelopment, poverty and misery, largely concentrated in the sub-Saharan region. African countries spend more on the debt than on providing health care, housing, food and education.

Thirty million Africans have been diagnosed with HIV, the great majority of them women. The African infant mortality rate is 92 per 1,000 live births.

Salih Booker, executive director of Africa Action, stated: "This G-8 plan is inadequate and a contemptuous response to African demands for justice. It is an unapologetic confirmation of the global apartheid system in which the most impoverished continent bankrolls the development of the rich world.

"Their announcement to increase aid to Africa is the greatest hoax of our time," Booker added. "While they trumpet minuscule increases in development assistance, they continue to extract billions of dollars a year in debt repayments from countries excluded from this diminutive debt deal." (blackamericaweb.com)

Reparations, not the free market

The G-8 leaders, especially Bush and Blair, have cried crocodile tears before the worldwide media regarding the situation in Africa. Their "solutions" for the African crisis—better governance and increased trade—show where their real interests lie: in increasing corporate profits.

African exports, from oil to textiles, are generally unable to compete with the imperialist countries, which can flood the worldwide capitalist market with cheaper goods and rich subsidies.

Africa is in the dire situation that it is today because capitalism, a system that has to either expand or die, has denied it the right to develop.

Even if the debt were cancelled in all of the African countries, which should be done immediately, this would not automatically solve Africa's crisis of underdevelopment. Short-term solutions are needed to deal with the current suffering, like free on demand HIV/AIDS drugs, food, health care workers and much more.

The African continent has been bled dry because of the devastating slave trade, colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism. Africa does not owe the banks one red cent. It should be the other way around—that is, the class of greedy bankers and bosses owe the African peoples billions if not trillions of dollars in reparations, especially providing state-of-the-art technology with no political or economic strings attached. □

Puerto Rico's teachers battling takeover by U.S. union

By Arturo J. Pérez Saad

The Puerto Rico Teachers Federation (FMPR, its Spanish initials) was formed in 1966 and has been affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers since then. Last year, on Sept. 29, the members voted by an overwhelming 70-percent margin to disaffiliate from the AFT, charging corruption and demanding self-management and self-determination.

Before last year's vote to disaffiliate, the AFT had launched an all-out attack to try by extra-legal, backroom and illegal means to place the FMPR—the largest union in Puerto Rico, representing 43,000 teachers—under AFT trusteeship.

Now, on July 7-8, FMPR President Rafael Feliciano Hernandez denounced the continuous assault at the AFT's Quest Conference in Washington, D.C.

The FMPR brought a small delegation of representatives to expose the undemocratic assault via a news conference, daily pickets and distributing literature to AFT representatives. The FMPR delegation also held signs reading, in Spanish, "Dues Suckers" and "AFL-CIO, Out of Puerto Rico."

This latest protest came after the AFT moved to self-appoint Félix Rodríguez, ex-president of the FMPR, as overseer of the FMPR. Under his watch the FMPR health-care plan and funds totaling \$43


million disappeared; the U.S. AFT did nothing to investigate this horrendous assault on the Puerto Rican workers.

Since the privatization of public services begun under Gov. Roselló a decade ago, a number of unions formerly affiliated with the AFL-CIO have taken an independent route. These unions voted successfully to disaffiliate from the U.S. AFL-CIO, due largely to the workers' desire to have a direct say in how their dues money is managed and how the union is run.

Feliciano Hernandez said that since the democratic vote last September, "The AFT has neither legal nor moral authority over the Puerto Rico Teachers' Federation. What it must do is accept and respect the will of our membership and leave us alone so we can work peacefully in representing the teaching professionals of Puerto Rico." (indymediapr.org, July 7)

Words of solidarity to the FMPR can be sent to endefensa@fmprlucha.org or by calling 787-766-1818 or fax 787-282-6122 or visiting their website at www.fmprlucha.org (Spanish) as well as sending letters to the AFT. □

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Jailing the news

The image and the message should be perfectly clear. The image is of New York Times reporter Judith Miller being put in jail. The message?

Just what is the message when the government starts throwing journalists into prison?

The imprisonment of Judith Miller has been one of those forest-trees things. You know, lost is the bigger picture.

Now we have to admit that if Judith Miller were to be put on trial by a jury of her peers, she'd stand a good chance of spending many of her remaining years in jail. When the New York Times editors admitted to, well, lying repeatedly about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, they said that they could find only 12 of their articles with such lies. Judith Miller wrote or co-wrote 10 of them. Earlier, Miller had done similar reporting that helped justify the murderous war on Yugoslavia. (N.Y. Times, May 26, 2004)

Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) describes Miller as acting like a fourth branch of the government. ("Judith Miller—Drum Major for War" by Normon Solomon)

Miller may be a drum major for war, but she has worked in what has been a marching band for war: the big-business controlled media in the U.S.

So why Miller? The federal prosecutor has put Miller in jail because she and the New York Times refuse to reveal what a special prosecutor is demanding she reveal. In fact, the government is demanding information from Miller on something that she never wrote about, but which they allege she knows from conversations she had while working as a reporter.

This goes back to January 2003 when Bush said in his State of the Union speech: "The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." Six months after that speech former Ambassador Joseph Wilson, who was part of the CIA investigation into this claim, publicly revealed that it had been determined that Iraq had never sought weapons-grade uranium from Africa or anywhere else. Wilson's wife, Valerie Plame, was the secret CIA officer responsible for investigating what Washington calls "nuclear proliferation." Someone in the Bush administration "outed" Plame through a leak to columnist Robert Novak.

Miller is one of only two reporters who originally wrote stories "verifying" Bush's uranium claim. But she's not being punished for that. She probably knows who leaked Plame's identity to Novak. That is the information reportedly being sought by the government prosecutor.

Never before, even at the height of the Cold War and the Vietnam War, did the U.S. government jail journalists for what they did or did not report. They certainly have jailed militant journalists—like

Mumia Abu-Jamal—but have always found a pretext for it, other than their writings.

To jail reporters for their writing is an act of intimidation that has surely already had an effect on all journalists. It is about control of the news and what is reported. It tells journalists that no matter who they are, the government can demand their complete cooperation, even if it is on something they never wrote about.

The Boston Globe wrote on July 6: "Nor is it an accident that this investigation, rather than fingering whoever inside the administration broke the law by outing Valerie Plame, is instead putting the squeeze on two news organizations that just happen to have been critical of the Bush administration, Time magazine and the New York Times, and by extension the entire press corps."

Of course, this is about the Iraq War. But it is an expansion of the government's unofficial program to control the media and the way that the imperialist wars launched by Washington are being reported. CNN's former president Eason Jordan brought this into the open when he said this past Jan. 27 that U.S. troops had deliberately killed a dozen journalists. A few weeks later he was forced to resign.

The International Press Institute says that 11 more journalists have been killed by U.S. troops since January. Linda Foley, president of the Newspaper Guild—the labor union for journalists in the U.S.—said on May 13, "Journalists, by the way, are not just being targeted verbally or politically. They are also being targeted for real in places like Iraq."

As for the jailing of Miller, the New York Times now reports that the source she is protecting is a top aide in the Bush White House—Karl Rove. Rove is Bush's chief political strategist and claims to be the architect of Bush's 2004 election victory. In a background report on Rove, the July 13 Los Angeles Times says that in 1992 "during George H.W. Bush's second presidential campaign, Rove was fired from the campaign team because of suspicions that he had leaked information to columnist Robert Novak." That's the same Novak. A long-time right-winger, he is NOT being threatened with jail even though he's the one who outed Plame.

Calls for Rove's firing are coming from several top Democrats. It's more than just partisan politics. With the Iraq War descending into open failure, the two parties that had both been enthusiastic supporters of the invasion and occupation appear to be opening an internecine war over who's responsible for the Iraq fiasco. Is the CIA to blame or is it the White House? The answer, of course, is that the whole state and corporate superstructure of U.S. imperialism is to blame. □

July 7 bombings:

Another reason to end war and occupation

July 7, 2005

Will the July 7 bombings in London be followed by greater opposition to imperialist war and occupation—which has already cost so many lives and so much suffering in so many countries? Or will the political forces of corporate expansion and empire building in the United States and Britain be able to utilize them to further their aggressive agenda of war and plunder? That is the question now before the progressive movement.

The taking of innocent lives, most of them people on their way to work, is of course heart-rending and cannot be justified. All the more reason, then, to take a strong stand against not just violence and terror in the abstract, but against the daily bombings in Iraq and Afghanistan, where violence against innocent people is being carried out by Washington and London on a much, much larger scale every day.

For example, on July 1 a U.S. B-52 bomber, using guided missiles, struck a housing compound in Afghanistan's Kunar province, killing at least 17 people, including women and children. Even the pro-U.S. regime of Hamid Karzai had to condemn this bombing as totally unjustified. Where were the expressions of horror and outrage from Western leaders?

The indiscriminate bombings of cities, villages, even wedding parties, in which whole families are killed; soldiers dragging people out of their beds at night to be beaten, gagged, hooded, bound and taken to concentration camps, where they face torture, sexual humiliation, ridicule and desecration of what they hold sacred, and even murder; the rounding up and detention of tens of thousands of Arabs and Muslims by the Bush and Blair governments with no due process, often holding them in utter secrecy for indefinite periods—this is what has shattered the peace of much of the world. This is what has enraged the people of the Middle East.

No matter who is responsible for the London bombings—and we have every reason to be skeptical of information and conclusions provided by governments that have deliberately lied to the people at every stage of these wars—what happened in London is definitely related to the unjust, predatory wars and occupations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

We cannot allow the architects of these wars to use this terrible event as the excuse for even more aggression, killing and devastation. Already, the news media have focused solely on the bombings in London and virtually ignored the huge demonstrations in Scotland against the G-8, the war and the Blair government.

Nor can we allow them to use these bombings to strengthen repressive, anti-democratic laws and institutions at home that will inevitably be used against the just struggles of the workers and oppressed peoples, especially as living standards plummet to pay for the costly military

adventures of the ruling class.

The driving force behind these wars is not the threat of weapons of mass destruction, or terrorism, or any other of the excuses given by the invading governments. Their lies have been thoroughly exposed. So what is it? It is purely and simply the lust for profit by the small grouping in these two imperialist countries who control the world's largest oil companies and banks and thereby wield inordinate political power on a global scale.

In the 21st century, wars of colonial and imperial domination can no longer be contained within the countries overrun and exploited by the would-be colonizers. That is a fact of modern life. Once war is unleashed, the battlefield is global.

It wasn't always this way. For several centuries, the imperialist powers were able to extend their domination and exploitation over vast regions of the world, using the most brutal methods. Literally tens of millions of people in the oppressed countries were killed in wars, interventions, "police actions" and covert operations.

It was only when the struggle over colonies took the form of inter-imperialist world wars that the carnage and suffering caused by this profit-driven capitalist system was brought home on a huge scale, especially to the workers of Europe and Japan.

If we inside the imperialist countries are to end war and suffering, if we are to save our young people from fighting and dying in wars of conquest, if we are to reestablish friendly relations with the peoples of the world, we must consider the lives of Middle Eastern, Asian, African and Latin American peoples every bit as precious as our own. We must fight the terrible system of exploitation and racist oppression that extracts super-profits from the labor of billions around the world. We must organize and reach the masses in our countries with the truth about these wars and what class interests they serve.

Most of all, we must demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Middle East, Afghanistan and all the countries under neocolonial domination. It is the only way to keep this struggle from escalating into an even bigger catastrophe.

Reaction to the statement

The editorial above was posted to the Workers World website on July 7 and sent out widely in emailings. Many people around the world responded that they were encouraged to see such a position coming from an organization inside the United States. By the end of three days, we were notified that it had been reposted widely in English, had also been translated into Spanish, German, French and Portuguese for posting on websites in these languages, and had also been published in newspapers in Germany and France. □

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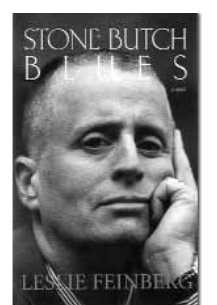
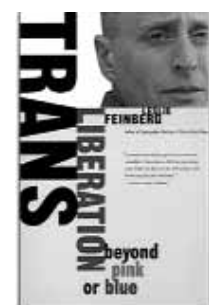
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Caravan challenges U.S. blockade of Cuba

By Arturo J. Pérez Saad

Hurricane Dennis, a category 4 storm and the strongest ever recorded this early in the hurricane season, plowed through Cuba the weekend of July 9-10 after having wreaked havoc in Haiti, killing an unknown number of people there.

Even the excellent organization and solidarity in socialist Cuba, which allowed the evacuation of 1.5 million Cubans from harm's way, could not prevent 16 deaths and extensive material damage.

Now this revolutionary country is preparing for the arrival of solidarity brigades from the U.S. and Puerto Rico that will openly defy Washington's travel restrictions. They are protesting the economic blockade of the island, which has lasted more than 45 years.

This year the 36th contingent of the Venceremos Brigade and the 16th U.S.-Cuba Friendship Caravan, both from the United States, plus the 14th Juan Rius Rivera Brigade from Puerto Rico are challenging the ban by traveling to Cuba. They return to the U.S. mainland or its territory on Aug. 1.

The caravan is organized by IFCO/Pastors for Peace, which is rooted in the advancement of the struggles of oppressed people for justice and self-determination.

Hundreds of IFCO activists will travel hundreds of miles throughout the U.S. with tons of humanitarian aid for Cuba before they cross the U.S.-Mexican border en route to Tampico, Mexico. They'll do this without a license from the U.S. government.

Pastors for Peace is dedicated to defying the travel ban and refuses a license even when the U.S. government tries to force one on them. IFCO Executive Director Rev. Lucius Walker explains that defying the U.S. travel ban is in the fine tradition of the civil rights movement, where the adage "Without struggle there is no progress" rings true.

The caravan's high spirit of struggle has brought a huge amount of attention to Cuba, the blockade and the travel ban. In its first week, a Google search on Cuba turned up two articles on the caravan in the first five listings. This shows that much progress can be made to reach the people of the United States with the truth

about U.S.-Cuba relations.

Some 120 people have already traveled 14 routes throughout the U.S. Their caravans will converge in south Texas on July 17 and cross into Mexico on July 21. They will return from Cuba across the U.S.-Mexico border on Aug. 1.

"I had the opportunity to be a caravan spokesperson for a short piece of the route," said Teresa Gutierrez, a co-director of the International Action Center and New York Coordinator of the Free the Cuban Five Committee.

It was exciting, she said, to see the tremendous support that both the caravan and Cuba have in this country. Five of the buses traveling to Cuba on the caravan are named for the Cuban Five—five Cuban defenders held in U.S. jails. Gutierrez was on the bus named for Ramón Labañino. Gutierrez has visited him in prison: "I had a special feeling of solidarity to be on that particular bus."

The caravan's goal is to bring attention to the fact that the people of this country are denied the right to travel to Cuba and that the longest economic blockade in U.S. history has been imposed against a

country whose government is providing free health care and free education for its people. The caravan also wants to spread awareness about Cuba's Latin American School of Medicine, where U.S. students can study medicine for free as guests of the Cuban government.

"People who feel solidarity with Cuba and those who defend the right to travel should be on the alert to support the caravan as it crosses into Mexico July 21 and crosses back into the U.S. on Aug. 1," said Gutierrez.

She added, that, "In addition to the Pastors for Peace Caravan, dozens more people are defying the travel ban and participating in the travel challenge with the Venceremos Brigade and the U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange. Anyone who would like more information is invited to visit www.pastorsforpeace.org or www.iacenter.org."

The Venceremos Brigade is an anti-imperialist educational project (www.venceremosbrigade.org). The Juan Rius Rivera Brigade is a political project from the Solidarity Committee with Cuba in Puerto Rico (solidaridad_cuba.tripod.com). □

Debate over Iraq rages in Britain

Anti-war & Muslim groups call solidarity rally

Continued from page 1

a million dollars sending heir-to-the-throne Prince Charles on a trip to Australia, Sri Lanka and Fiji.

In contrast to all this, however, is the analysis coming from the anti-war and anti-globalization movements. They have been able to turn out hundreds of thousands of protesters against the wars and occupations in Iraq and Afghanistan as recently as the G-8 summit meeting in Scotland, which was underway when the London bombs went off.

Several large rallies and vigils have taken place in London over the last week. Prominent speakers have called on the movement to stay strong in the face of a storm of political reaction.

The Stop the War Coalition and the Muslim Association of Britain have jointly called for a gathering on July 17 "in solidarity with the families of the dead and injured and in opposition to the racism and Islamophobia which have resulted since Thursday's attacks."

On July 9, two days after the bombings, a vigil was called in Peace Garden in the Euston section of London. A large multinational crowd attended. According to the Stop the War Coalition, "The overwhelming message was one of solidarity and sympathy with families who had lost loved ones in Iraq and Afghanistan and the London terrorist attack, of standing shoulder to shoulder with the Muslim community and of calling for an end to the war of terror and a commitment to peace."

One of the speakers was George Galloway, a member of Parliament who quit the Labor Party in disgust over Prime Minister Tony Blair's support for the U.S. invasions and occupations and was recently reelected as an independent running on the Respect Party ticket.

Galloway has come under enormous pressure from the British establishment media because of his opposition to the war.

He told the crowd: "When the U.S. armed forces, their backs guarded by our

armed forces, reduced Falluja to rubble, not a whisper found its way into the House of Commons.

"A swamp of hatred towards this country has been watered by the invasion and occupation of Iraq, by the daily destruction of Palestinian homes and by the occupation of Afghanistan. ...

"The only way out of this morass is to reverse the policies that have taken us into it. As the Spanish people showed us last year, the way out is to withdraw from Iraq and to break from Bush's war on terror. It is to address the grievances across the region, not to add to them by support for Israel's Ariel Sharon, and for the corrupt kings and presidents of Arabia."

Another prominent voice on the left in this period has been Tariq Ali, a Pakistani-born writer, journalist and film-maker, who told a Marxism 2005 gathering on July 8:

"We have to be very clear. If the killing of innocent civilians in London is barbaric, and it is, how do you define the killing of over 100,000 Iraqi civilians?"

"In the dominant culture of the West there is a deep-seated belief that the lives of Western civilians are somehow worth more than those living in other parts of the world—especially those parts being bombed and occupied by the West. ...

"If the media in Britain gave a quarter of the coverage that they devoted to the London bombings to what is being done to ordinary civilians in Iraq, you would have a gigantic, uncontrollable anti-war movement. ...

"Today there is publicly available information about U.S. soldiers shooting Iraqi prisoners dead. When they are asked why they did it they say, 'We were being kind to them, they were wounded and we were putting them out of their misery.'

"They have humiliated prisoners in Abu Ghraib, which is well known, but they also have torture centers in Jordan, Pakistan and Egypt where they send people to be tortured by specialists.

"We know that they have made it their policy to urinate and shit on prisoners to humiliate them.

"This is how colonials behave. They don't know any other way, because there isn't any other way if you are occupying someone's country. It's the logic of colonial occupation. There is continuity in what empires do.

"I remember the French occupation of Algeria. The French used to call the Algerians filthy terrorists because they bombed cafés in Algiers.

"The Algerian National Liberation Front used to reply, 'We do what we have

to do to drive you out of our country. If you don't want us to bomb cafés where you and your friends sit, then please lend us a few fighter bombers and we can bomb your barracks.'

"Throughout the Vietnam War the U.S. denounced the Vietnamese when they planted bombs in the capital, Saigon. But the resistance had to do this to make the country ungovernable.

"It is not a pretty thing. But the character of the occupation determines the nature of the resistance—this is true in every single instance.

"We in the anti-war movement shouldn't lose our nerve when things happen such as the bombing in London. ... Unless there is a political solution, the terror will go on. ...

"The ideas we have put forward—the link between the bombing and the war on Iraq—is more or less common sense on the streets throughout Britain. People who might not even like us are saying, 'If we hadn't gone to Iraq, they might not have bombed us.'

"That's why the establishment have united around the idea that this has nothing to do with Iraq. We have to be clear—it does have something to do with Iraq and, unless we pull out, it may happen again." □

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EDITORIAL

7 de julio: Otra razón para terminar la guerra y la ocupación

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¿Seguirá a las explosiones del 7 de julio en Londres una mayor oposición a la guerra y ocupación imperialista que ya ha costado tantas vidas y tanto sufrimiento en tantos países? ¿O podrán las fuerzas políticas de expansión corporativa e imperial de los EEUU y Bretaña utilizarlas para continuar con su agenda de guerra y saqueo? Esta es ahora la pregunta con la que se enfrenta el movimiento progresista.

La pérdida de vidas inocentes, la mayoría de ellas personas en camino a su trabajo, desde luego que destroza el corazón y no hay forma de justificarla. Por eso precisamente hay que tomar una postura muy fuerte no sólo contra la violencia y el terrorismo en lo abstracto, sino contra los bombardeos diarios de Iraq y Afganistán donde la violencia contra personas inocentes es ejecutada por Washington y Londres en muchísima mayor escala cada día.

Por ejemplo, el 1 de julio un avión de bombardeo B-52 de los EEUU, usando misiles guiados a distancia, impactaron a un complejo de viviendas en la provincia de Kunar en Afganistán, matando por lo menos a 17 personas, incluyendo a mujeres y niños. Hasta el régimen pro-estadounidense de Hamid Karzai tuvo que condenar este bombardeo totalmente injustificado. ¿Dónde estaban las expresiones de horror e indignación de los líderes occidentales?

El bombardeo indiscriminado de ciudades, aldeas, incluso de fiestas de boda, donde familias enteras son asesinadas; soldados que sacan y arrastran a personas de sus camas por la noche para ser golpeadas, amordazadas, encauchadas, atadas y llevadas a campos de concentración donde encaran el tormento, la humillación sexual, la irrisión y la profanación de lo que para ellas es sagrado, e incluso el asesinato; el acorralamiento y detención de decenas de millares de árabes y musulmanes por los gobiernos de Bush y Blair sin ningún proceso jurídico, a menudo confinándolos en absoluto secreto por períodos indefinidos — esto es lo que ha quebrantado la paz en muchas partes del mundo. Esto es lo que ha enfurecido a los pueblos del Medio Oriente.

No importa quien sea responsable de los bombardeos de Londres — y tenemos razones sobradas para ser escépticos de las informaciones y conclusiones proporcionadas por los gobiernos que han mentido deliberadamente al pueblo durante cada etapa de estas guerras — lo que sucedió en Londres definitivamente está relacionado con la injusta y depredadora guerra y ocupación de Iraq y Afganistán.

No podemos permitir a los arquitectos de estas guerras que utilicen este terrible acontecimiento como excusa para mayor agresión, matanza y devastación. Ya los medios noticieros se han enfocado únicamente en los bombardeos en Londres e ignorado virtualmente las inmensas demostraciones en Escocia contra la G-8, la guerra y el

gobierno de Blair.

Ni podemos permitirles utilizar estos bombardeos para reforzar las leyes e instituciones represivas y anti-democráticas que inevitablemente se utilizarán aquí contra las justas luchas de los trabajadores y personas oprimidas, especialmente cuando el nivel de vida disminuye por pagar las costosas aventuras militares de la clase gobernante.

La fuerza motriz detrás de estas guerras no es la amenaza de armas de destrucción masiva, ni de terrorismo, ni de cualquier otra de las excusas dadas por los gobiernos invasores. Sus mentiras han sido totalmente expuestas. Entonces, ¿qué es? Es pura y simplemente la lujuria por las ganancias de un pequeño grupo en estos dos países imperialistas, que controlan las compañías de petróleo y los bancos más grandes del mundo y por lo cual esgrimen un poder político desmesurado a escala global.

En el siglo XXI, las guerras de dominación colonial e imperial ya no pueden contenerse sólo dentro de los países invadidos y explotados por los aspirantes a colonizadores. Esto es un hecho de la vida moderna. Una vez que la guerra se desata, el campo de batalla es global.

No siempre fue de esta manera. Por varios siglos, los poderes imperialistas eran capaces de extender su dominación y explotación sobre regiones vastas del mundo, utilizando los métodos más brutales. Literalmente decenas de millones de personas en los países oprimidos fueron masacradas en guerras, intervenciones, “acciones policíacas” y operaciones secretas.

Fue sólo cuando la lucha por las colonias tomó la forma de guerras mundiales entre los imperialistas, que la matanza y el sufrimiento causado por este sistema capitalista guiado por las ganancias, fue traído a casa en inmensa escala, especialmente para los trabajadores de Europa y Japón.

Si nosotros dentro de los países imperialistas vamos a terminar la guerra y el sufrimiento, si vamos a salvar a nuestros jóvenes de luchar y morir en guerras de conquista, si vamos a restablecer relaciones amistosas con los pueblos del mundo, entonces debemos considerar la vida del pueblo medio-oriental, asiático, africano y latinoamericano tan preciosa como la propia nuestra. Debemos luchar contra el terrible sistema de explotación y opresión racista que extrae super-ganancias del trabajo de miles de millones alrededor del mundo. Debemos organizarnos y acercarnos a las masas en nuestros países, llevando la verdad sobre estas guerras y a cual interés de clase sirven.

Más que nada, debemos demandar la retirada inmediata e incondicional de las fuerzas estadounidenses del Oriente Medio, Afganistán y de todos los países bajo la dominación neocolonial. Es la única manera de evitar que esta lucha se convierta en una catástrofe aún más grande. □

Entrevista a sindicalista colombiano

Detrás de la 'Ley de Justicia y Paz'

Por Berta Joubert-Ceci

En junio el Congreso Colombiano aprobó el proyecto de ley titulado “Ley de Justicia y Paz” (LJP) que reducirá las sentencias a los derechistas paramilitares—en realidad escuadrones de la muerte—que confiesen sus crímenes, retornen lo robado y compensen a sus víctimas. Los opositores de esta ley dicen que ésta conferirá inmunidad a los paramilitares por sus crímenes.

Al mismo tiempo, el Congreso de los Estados Unidos, extendió el plazo de vencimiento del Plan Colombia, el cual debía finalizar este año.

Para explorar las consecuencias de estas decisiones, Workers World/Mundo Obrero entrevistó a Gerardo Cajamarca, activista en pro de los derechos humanos y miembro del sindicato SINALTRAINAL, unión que también representa a los trabajadores de la Coca Cola. Cajamarca está en exilio en los Estados Unidos precisamente por las amenazas de muerte que ha recibido de paramilitares. Actualmente trabaja con el sindicato de trabajadores del acero en el proyecto de Justicia Global.

Cajamarca dijo que la Ley de Justicia y Paz “es una iniciativa de los Paramilitares para asegurar que no serán castigados por los crímenes atroces que han perpetrado, la ley también deja sin castigo el tráfico de cocaína y otras drogas prohibidas, y el robo de las tierras que la mafia paramilitar ha hecho a los 3 millones de desplazados en Colombia.”

Cajamarca dijo que aunque los paramilitares son considerados terroristas, aún por los Estados Unidos, el líder paramilitar Salvatore Mancuso ha declarado que estos tienen control del 35% del Congreso Colombiano, con influencia en muchas agencia gubernamentales.

También dijo que el 21 de junio mientras el Congreso Colombiano discutía sobre la LJP, Gina Parody, una uribista miembro del congreso, dijo a la prensa que los paramilitares controlan no sólo el 35 % sino el 70 % del Congreso. “Esto hace de Colombia un narcoestado,” dijo Cajamarca.

Los criminales incluyen al presidente colombiano. Los vínculos de Uribe con el narcotráfico y la formación de grupos paramilitares han sido expuestos en un libro escrito por Joseph Contreras y Fernando Garavito: “El Señor de las Sombras”.

Cajamarca también citó de dos artículos en la prensa estadounidense. Uno publicado por El Nuevo Herald el 23 de Junio de 2005 bajo el título “Acusan a Uribe de proteger a un hermano y a dos primos presuntamente asesinos” y el otro en el The New York Times del mismo día que criticó a la LJP y la complacencia de Uribe para con los paramilitares.

Cajamarca agregó que menos del 30% del Congreso Colombiano se opone a la LJP. “Aquellos que no son paramilitares son políticos corruptos o representantes de la oligarquía.”

Cajamarca señaló que “el pueblo tiene muy pocos representantes en el Congreso. Estos son miembros del Polo Democrático y el Frente Social y Político. Representantes como Gustavo Petro hablan claro pero están

amenazados de muerte, igual suerte corrieron Gloria Cuartas, ex alcaldesa de San José de Apartadó y el Padre Javier Giraldo, ambos defensores de los derechos humanos, que aportaron al debate con sus testimonios, pero en el mismo Congreso fueron irrespetados por los agentes del paramilitarismo con vestuario de parlamentarios.”

Se es revolucionario o reaccionario

Hablando sobre el impacto de la decisión congresional sobre la población en general, Cajamarca dijo que ha traído “miedo, desesperación, frustración e indignación”. Añadiendo que “en Colombia no hay movimientos “progresistas”, en Colombia se es revolucionario o se es reaccionario”.

La respuesta del movimiento a la decisión no tardó en llegar. El 30 de junio una nueva iniciativa contra la impunidad fue lanzada en Bogotá por el Padre Javier Giraldo y SINALTRAINAL, dijo Cajamarca.

“Se trata de un Tribunal de los Pueblos, ante la impunidad e injusticia de los gobiernos ahora apelaremos a los pueblos del mundo, la gran fuerza, las mayorías en este planeta estamos contra la guerra y acudiremos como siempre a la solidaridad internacional, a otros grupos y movimientos de juristas, de indígenas, de campesinos y de obreros. Seguimos organizándonos contra la guerra y contra la injusticia social”.

Sobre la decisión del Congreso estadounidense para continuar Plan Colombia, dijo Cajamarca que no entendía cómo una iniciativa cuyo propósito es supuestamente para combatir el narcotráfico y el terrorismo, aporta dineros para que sean manejados por oficinas del gobierno colombiano vinculadas con el paramilitarismo como la Fiscalía General de la Nación.

Y agregó: “ Mi opinión es que el Congreso de los Estados Unidos se equivoca al no escuchar las voces de las víctimas en Colombia sino todo lo contrario. La extensión del Plan Colombia significa otros \$800 millones para la fumigación de nuestros parques nacionales y selvas con glifosato peligroso. Para el movimiento social significa más de lo mismo más guerra y miseria.”

“Significa la continuación de la política de exterminación del movimiento social, se sataniza la lucha social, se le persigue, se le judicializa, se le asesina. Pero continuaremos porque nuestra lucha social es contra la guerra, contra la explotación del ser humano, nuestra lucha social es por la vida y por la soberanía nacional, por la soberanía de los pueblos, es por la dignidad.”

Cajamarca terminó al decir, “Mi mensaje al gobierno estadounidense es que los trabajadores colombianos vamos a llegar al poder y en ese momento queremos tener buenas relaciones con todos los países del mundo incluido los Estados Unidos, siempre que exista respeto a nuestra dignidad.”

En Colombia cambiarán las cosas, aquí también; la lucha en todo el mundo es por la justicia social y contra la guerra y la vamos a ganar, recuerden las palabras de nuestro libertador Simón Bolívar: Unámonos y seremos invencibles.” □