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Washington discounts role of Iraqi people

Bush hopes to get out of quagmire by killing Saddam's sons

By Fred Goldstein

The Bush administration and the entire ruling class in the U.S. have pumped up their hopes over claims that the colonial occupation authorities in Iraq have killed Saddam Hussein's two sons, Uday and Qusay, in a massive attack on a residence in Mosul.

The capitalist press and electronic media are overflowing with optimistic triumphalism over the deaths, while the Bush administration is grasping at this much-needed respite from the attacks over its lies and machinations used to promote the war of aggression against Iraq.

It is too early to tell what, if any, impact the deaths of Uday and Qusay Hussein will have on the resistance and the situation of the U.S. occupation forces in Iraq. But the authorities should certainly be careful of premature triumphalism.

It was not long ago that Gen. Tommy Franks, then head of the Central Command, and his commanders sat gloating in the Republican Palace after the occupation of Baghdad on April 9. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld went to Iraq to triumphantly survey the Pentagon's victory over the Iraqi conventional forces. And then there was George Bush's landing on the aircraft carrier on May 1 to pronounce that "major combat is over." What an embarrassment that turned out to be.

The fundamental problem that led the White House and the Pentagon astray, both during and after the war, was their illusion that defeating the Iraqi army in conventional warfare and destroying the government was the same thing as defeating the Iraqi people. Thinking that their conquest would be secure with the removal of leaders, and totally discounting the Iraqi masses and their will and ability to resist colonialism, was the basic mistake then. Of course, leadership in warfare is of the utmost importance. But in celebrating the killings of Uday and Qusay Hussein as the beginning of the end of their troubles, the U.S.

occupation authorities are likely to be repeating this fundamental error.

Troops' euphoria short lived

A July 23 Associated Press dispatch describes American soldiers on patrol in Tarmiyah, a town 30 miles north of Baghdad, as "elated." "This is the best thing that can happen to the coalition," it quotes Army Capt. Sean Nowlan of the 4th Infantry Division as saying. "It deflates the campaign against us."

'Bring the troops home' will be focus of Oct. 25 mass rally 7

"But the euphoria was short lived," continued the AP dispatch. "On Wednesday, a U.S. soldier was killed and six wounded in an attack on a convoy near Mosul, the same northern town where Uday and Qusay died, the military reported. In a separate incident Tuesday night, a convoy was attacked in Ramadi, 60 miles west of the capital, killing one soldier and wounding two more."

As long as the resistance continues and the anger of the Iraqi people against the occupation authorities continues to build up, it is unlikely that the Bush administration can escape the campaign of criticism over its lies about alleged uranium purchases by Iraq from the country of Niger and for its pronouncements being generally out of sync with events on the ground in Iraq.

In fact, the media campaign against Bush was used by the ruling class as a battering ram to break the stranglehold of the Rumsfeld Pentagon and the ideologically driven right wing over the occupation process. The barrage of media criticism was a signal that large sections of the ruling class felt that the ideology of the right wingers had led them too far from reality, to the point

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1969: GIs led anti-war struggle

200 GIs from nearby bases led this anti-war march in Seattle on Feb. 16, 1969.

PHOTO:THE BOND

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Repression and prison-industrial complex

Statistics expose U.S. racial fault lines

The following is based on a talk by Gloria Verdieu to a June 29 community forum organized by the Serudj Institute of Effective Socialization. It was held at the Malcolm X Library in San Diego, Calif.

Mumia Abu-Jamal has become an international symbol of the struggle against the racist, anti-poor death penalty, police brutality and other forms of political repression in the United States. He is also known as “the voice of the voiceless,” speaking out again and again on behalf of the millions who have been victimized by racism, bigotry and the capitalist system in general.

Mumia has said, again and again, that the worldwide movement fighting for his freedom has a deeper meaning. It is really a movement that confronts the issues that face all of us who do or could find ourselves victims of state repression. Those of us who are participants in that movement have an obligation to educate our communities about state repression and the U.S. prison-industrial complex.

The U.S. State Department recently issued a review of global human rights statistics to Congress. The report presumes to analyze human rights problems in 195 countries, excluding the U.S. This report accused mainly countries with which the U.S. has cool or openly hostile relations of serious human rights violations.

But we shouldn't let the U.S. government try to shift attention away from what's going on right here at home. The U.S. prison population has grown by 44.5 percent since 1990, to more than 2 million men and women. These victims of the U.S. prison-industrial complex represent 25 percent of the world's prison population. Looked at another way, some 1.5 million children living in the U.S. have one or both parents in prison.

Nearly half of the U.S. prison population is African American. Another 16 percent is Latino. The U.S. is one of only five industrialized countries that sentence juveniles to death and has the highest number of such sentences of any country. According to Department of Justice figures, between 1985 and 1997, the number of inmates under 18 years of age being held in adult prisons increased from 3,400 to 7,400.

So the country that holds itself up as “the land of freedom” incarcerates a higher percentage of its people than any other country. The human costs of this—wasted lives, wrecked families, troubled children—are incalculable, as are the adverse economic and political consequences of weakened communities, impoverished families and extensive disenfranchisement.

Using Department of Justice statistics for “Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2002,” if we add up the figures for Black, Hispanic and Other, we get a total of 65 percent of the prison inmates estimated to be people of color. We feel confident in including “Other” because we know it includes Native Americans and Asian Americans and we also think it probably includes immigrants from Africa who do not consider themselves to be African Americans. It may also include people of mixed race.

Comparing the figure of 65 percent, for those in prison who are people of color, with the figure of 31 percent, which



Gloria Verdieu

is the U.S. Census estimate in 2000 for people of color in the population as a whole, the fact of a racist system of repression screams out for recognition and condemnation.

Unfortunately, most people do not give a lot of thought to the prison population. The response, when the subject is brought up, is that people are in prison because they are criminals. So it is a non-issue, at least until someone close to them is incarcerated. But we all need to look more closely at the significance of this vast number of incarcerated for society as a whole.

Maybe the figure of 2 million doesn't seem like so much when you compare it to the total U.S. population figure of over 280 million. But we need to look closer. There are approximately 34 million African Americans—men, women and children. The majority of prisoners are male. To simplify, let's divide 34 million by three for an estimate of the number of African American adult men. So, out of 11 million African American men, on any given date 880,000 of them are in

prison.

An interesting comparison suggests itself. Cuba's overall population is also 11 million. But the total prison population there is only 30,000. The source for these figures is “The World Prison Population List” (4th edition) by Roy Walmsley.

The total number of state prison inmates serving time for drug-related offenses in the year 2000 was 251,000. Of these, 145,200 (58 percent) were Black, 43,300 (17 percent) were Latino, and 58,200 (23 percent) were white. The racially disproportionate nature of the so-called “war on drugs” is not just devastating to Black Americans. It contradicts any assumption of equal treatment and equal protection underlying the U.S. legal system. It exposes and deepens the racial fault lines that divide U.S. society. It belies any promise of equal opportunity. And it undermines any faith people might have in the fairness of the criminal justice system.

Of course, the total number of people caught up in the criminal justice system far exceeds the number of prisoners. If we include, in addition to prisoners, those waiting for trial, on probation and on parole, the total rises to over 6,600,000 people. So, close to 20 million mothers, fathers and spouses are dealing with sons, daughters and partners in legal trouble. And this figure multiplies when we include brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts and uncles.

The vast majority of them are poor and working class people who are also often forced to live in substandard housing; try to make the best of inferior educational facilities; suffer with limited, unaffordable or nonexistent medical care; and struggle with unhealthy physical and social environments. These are often people who cannot afford adequate legal counsel. They have to depend on public defenders to save their loved one from the fate of doing cold hard time or, if not out-

right execution, dying alone in a state-operated dungeon.

The prison-industrial complex is big business. And where there's money to be made, we usually find, in addition to business people, politicians. The “law and order” politicians of the last few decades tried to take credit for a decreasing crime rate. Of course, they were merely capitalizing on the economic boom. Crime goes down during periods of economic prosperity. And recent figures that show an upswing in serious crime give the lie to the argument that more prisons and heavier sentences reduce crime.

The truth is, where there is greater economic security for the people, there is much less crime. This truth is borne out by the low crime rates in socialist countries and even in capitalist countries where the working class has won some measure of job security, guaranteed benefits and union-level wages.

The answer to crime is jobs, affordable housing, increased educational opportunities and subsidized health care, not jails. And the terrorism implicit in the racist death penalty is incompatible with true justice.

Mumia Abu-Jamal stands out among the many political prisoners in the U.S. because he is still facing the possibility of execution although he is still alive in soul and spirit. He is a true revolutionary who continues to speak out against war, racism and imperialism. Mumia is living proof that the prison-industrial complex, as brutal and inhuman as it is, is incapable of forever holding back the people's aspirations for social, economic and political justice. Mumia provides an example of resistance and dedication to justice that we all should seek to emulate.

The road to a just world has been long and tortuous, frustrating and arduous. Mumia reminds us: with a united and informed people in struggle, we will get there! □

Judge drops ‘terrorism’ charge against progressive attorney

By Leslie Feinberg
New York

In a rebuke to the Ashcroft Justice Department, charges of “supporting terrorism” against lawyer Lynne F. Stewart were dropped by a federal judge on July 22.

Stewart has been legal counsel for Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, a blind cleric convicted by the U.S. government of conspiracy to bomb the World Trade Center in 1993. The progressive attorney was charged with using her position to pass messages to his followers.

At her arraignment, Stewart pleaded “emphatically not guilty.”

The charges against Stewart were lodged by Attorney General John Ashcroft at a news conference in April 2002. Ashcroft called the case the first use of a new rule allowing the Bureau of Prisons to tap conversations between lawyers and prisoners who the government alleges could commit “future acts of violence or terrorism.”

Ashcroft's ballyhoo in the media came at a time when a movement of solidarity with the besieged Palestinian people was

surging in the streets in this country and around the world.

The government move was clear: to menace any lawyer who dared to defend someone caught in Big Brother's political dragnet.

In his July 22 ruling, Judge John G. Koeltl of the United States District Court characterized the terrorism charges against Stewart and translator Mohammed Yousry as unconstitutionally vague. Koeltl said Ashcroft's announced statute could not apply to a lawyer working with a client.

Stewart's attorney, Michael E. Tigar, had argued in motions that the “anti-terrorism” statute violates the First Amendment. Hearing the July 22 decision, Tigar reasserted that the edict “endangers the rights of people, lawyers, journalists and citizens to assert certain political views.”

Stewart herself assailed the Ashcroft decree after the July 22 ruling. “It's so broad that you can sweep anybody under its rug. A conduit of communication. How could you not be if you're taking phone calls from your client?”

“We tried to mount a real defense and



Lynne Stewart

organize as many people as possible to understand that what was at stake here was the ability of defense counsel to fully represent and make decisions concerning political clients.”

Stewart still must defend herself against remaining lesser charges of making false statements and conspiring to defraud the government.

Prosecutors said they were exploring the possibility of appealing the July 22 ruling. □

LONG ISLAND, N.Y.

Immigrant workers defy racist terror

By Heather Cottin
Freeport, L.I., N.Y.

On Long Island, contractors hire thousand of Latino immigrants as day laborers. These workers face dangerous conditions and severe exploitation. Now they are facing another danger. Violent and cowardly racists are threatening the very lives of these workers, especially the Mexican immigrants of Farmingville, N.Y.

On July 5, in Farmingville, nightriders hurled firebombs through a window at 41 Granny Rd., the home of Sergio Perez, Marcia Garcia, their children Laura, 5, and Sergio, 1, and Hugo Perez, the children's uncle. If a neighbor had not alerted the sleeping family, they would all have perished in the blaze.

The house was completely destroyed. It was next door to one from which two Mexican workers had been kidnapped and beaten three years ago by two racists.

Farmingville is the headquarters of an anti-immigrant group calling itself the Sachem Quality of Life. It is linked with Glenn Spencer, a Californian whose

national organization, "American Patrol," is overtly anti-Mexican. Members of the Farmingville group carry signs every Saturday calling for the deportation of all "illegal aliens."

The Workplace Project, a Long Island organization that supports Latin American workers, organized a vigil of over 400 people on July 19 in solidarity with the Mexican community. Carlos Canales of the Workplace Project told Workers World that the police did not call the incident a bias crime right away.

Finally, 11 days after the fire, the police began to investigate it as a crime of racial hatred. Canales explained that day laborers in Farmingville, mostly from Mexico, and their families "are not strangers to oppression. We understand that the rich and powerful exploit us and oppress us at home. But we are not used to racism.

"The Sachem Quality of Life organization is trying to organize in other villages on Long Island. They threatened a landlord who was going to rent us quarters for a hiring hall in the village of Farmingdale in Nassau County. They went to Freeport and recruited local racists there to try to

do the same thing, but they met strong opposition there and in Glen Cove as well."

Day laborers in the New York metropolitan area perform necessary work that few other workers are willing to do. A group of four men can mow and weed 20 lawns per day. Contractors pick up the workers at fast-food parking lots or outside Home Depots throughout the metropolitan suburbs. While the contractor charges homeowners \$25 per lawn, each worker makes only \$80 for a day that goes from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. These immigrant workers, mostly from Latin America, do backbreaking work gardening, pouring cement and roofing. They also work in chemical plants and restaurants.

This work is not only difficult, it is dangerous. As a group, Latino immigrant workers have the highest percentage of occupational deaths of any ethnic or racial group in the United States. They face some of the worst safety and health problems and are especially vulnerable to unsafe working conditions because many are undocumented. "We do a lot of work with day laborers who get hurt in con-

struction and landscaping," said Nadia Marin-Molinas, executive director of the Workplace Project.

"The landscapers never let the workers turn off the power mowers, and many are burned or injured when they are working on these machines," said Canales.

Stories of immigrants facing harsh conditions while the bosses profit are nothing new in the history of the United States. Neither are attempts to separate workers by threats and violence. "What's sad to see is that many of the people who are against these workers are the grandchildren of Italian and Irish immigrants who used to 'shape up' on the street corner and faced the same problems," said Marin-Molinas.

"The Mexican workers are organizing, but the work goes slowly, and an incident like this one makes it harder for the day laborers to get together and struggle for better conditions," said Canales. "We feel that the firebombing shows that the racists are opening another cycle of violence, but we see also that their numbers are diminishing, and that they are facing strong opposition." □

Ruckus in House session as

Pension crisis grows worse

By G. Dunkel

It may have been only a spat between Republicans and Democrats when, on July 18, House Republican leaders on the committee handling pension reform called in the cops after Democrats walked out in protest over Republican changes to new legislation. But it was no charade. Hundreds of billions of dollars are at stake.

Not that the Democrats went to the mat to protect workers' interests. They just wanted to prevent the Republicans from ramming through a bill that would damage their allies in the business world.

The major issue is a change in the law and regulations concerning private pensions. A Democratic bill would have forced the 32,300 companies offering traditional pensions to set aside \$200 billion over the next 10 years. A Republican substitute bill reduced that to \$48 billion.

Watson Wyatt Corp. estimates that 63 percent of these traditional plans don't have enough money to meet their obligations to workers.

Basically, the companies, having made lots of profit off these workers over the years, have used the workers' pension money for other things. They have

invested some of it on the stock market, and had losses. They have used some of it to expand in order to knock out their competition, only to find that everyone else expanded too, and now they've outgrown the market. This is typical of capitalist firms in a period of boom, and leads directly to recession.

Now they don't want to dip into other funds to meet their obligations to retired workers. Companies in some industries, like the airlines, which have \$22 billion in unfunded pension obligations, say they might go under or out of business if they have to make these payments. The companies are even resisting calls to provide

more timely information to their covered employees.

The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. is a federal agency that insures the pension plans of 44 million workers and retirees. When a company can't meet its pension obligations, the PBGC is supposed to step in. It reported in 2002 "a net loss of \$11.4 billion, the largest in the pension-insurer's 28-year history" (Wall Street Journal, Jan. 31), and blamed much of the losses on bankrupt steel companies. The workers in Bethlehem Steel's pension plan also suffered a severe loss when Bethlehem went bankrupt and PBGC took over pension payments. They got far less than they were entitled to.

The PBGC estimates that today company pension plans are "underfunded" to the tune of \$300 billion; as recently as 1999 that figure was only \$23 billion.

A pension is not a gift from an employer to reward faithful service. It is salary retained by the boss that is supposed to provide income for workers when they cannot or no longer want to work. In many countries, all pensions are publicly guaranteed and administered, but not here.

In the United States, the government plan paid to almost all workers is Social Security, but for many workers it doesn't cover even basic expenses. Many workers rely on private pensions to provide the bulk of retirement income as well as significant medical benefits.

Workers have earned their pensions and have a right to them. Bosses should not be able to play financial games with the connivance and agreement of the government.

A real reform would not only force companies to pay what they've promised—it would force them to pay a fair pension that reflected the true value of what the workers produced for the company and would guarantee that every worker can retire in comfort and dignity. □

Marchers arrested while demanding 'No police state'

By Leslie Feinberg
New York

Police surrounded a group of some 50 protesters on July 19. Tim Eubanks explained to Workers World, "We were protesting the war at home on our civil liberties and the war abroad."

The activist group "No Police State" called the demonstration. It began with a rally at Union Square and was followed by a march to Washington Square Park. Along the way, two marchers had been arrested, Eubanks related.

So activists set out on a march to the Ninth Precinct, where the two were being held. "The police had been following us," recalled Eubanks. "But on 10th Street near Broadway, they surrounded us on all sides. They told us we were blocking traffic; we were on the sidewalk—actually it was the police who were in the street blocking traffic.

"They ordered us to disperse. Once we

did, they started picking people out selectively and wouldn't let us leave."

Eubanks described the demonstration. "It was multi-racial: Black people, white people and Latinos. And a group that had joined in with more young people. The march was predominately white.

"But in terms of the arrestees, it was more diverse than the actual march and more of the younger people, which leads to questions about who the police picked out. Six more people were taken into custody, and of those, three were African American, including myself."

All eight taken into custody were jailed at central booking overnight. "Police basically said they made a decision to put us through the system. They could have given us a desk appearance ticket.

"The next day we were eventually able to see the legal aid lawyers. I believe they had charged everyone with resisting arrest and disorderly conduct," Eubanks said. Both are misdemeanors. "The

lawyers said if we pleaded guilty to disorderly conduct, the resisting arrest charge would be wiped away. But the actual prosecutors said no to any sort of deal."

Now activists face different upcoming trial dates.

"The police know we didn't do what they said we did: lie down on the street and refuse to be arrested. The police have a videotape. The protesters also have a videotape. But I don't know if it covers the arrest.

"So basically what we need is people who witnessed the arrests, anyone at the march, to step forward and also for people to appear at the different court dates." For more information, contact Geoffrey Blank, (718) 945-5188.

Eubanks concludes, "It's a scary day when we see repeated recent instances of police arresting protesters for simply standing on a sidewalk. And it speaks a lot to the nature of where we're at right now in this country." □

Women in the crosshairs

By Leslie Feinberg

Does anyone think it's hyperbole to demand an end to the war on the domestic front? News about hunting women in Nevada ought to clear up that misconception.

Men with \$10,000 can track down naked women, who are allowed to wear only sneakers, in undisclosed locations in southern Nevada. They use paintball rifles that fire projectiles at an estimated 200 miles an hour and draw blood.

Feminist groups and their supporters, enraged by these degrading and violent hunts, are exerting pressure on local and federal government agencies to shut down this anti-woman "sport," organized by Real Men Outdoor Productions, Inc.

The media empire in the United States has helped Michael Burdick, the founder of "HuntingForBambi.com," to create a tempest of publicity that has focused international attention on this burgeoning industry and its brutal entrepreneurial web site.

Susan Cooper, executive director of the Rape Crisis Center in Las Vegas, condemned the "hunts" as promoting violence against women. She stressed that only three states have a higher rate of violence against women than Nevada. (reviewjournal.com, July 17)

Jodi Tyson, director of the Nevada Coalition Against Sexual Violence, characterized it as "a human rights violation." And the group sent an "action item" e-mail to mobilize its members statewide to send protests to elected officials and to Burdick.

Even Brass Eagle Inc., the world's largest paintball products manufacturer, denounced the hunts, warning that the women run the danger of injury.

You can't buy publicity like this

Much debate initially raged in the media as to whether this "game" was a hoax to market a \$20 video of combat-dressed hunters chasing nude women in the woods. But after the storm of publicity, Burdick claims his business is booming. And this "game" is reportedly being offered at cut-rate prices in other parts of the world for those wealthy enough to afford it.

After KLAS-TV Eyewitness News of Las Vegas ran a feature story in mid-July, interviews with Burdick and video clips from an actual "hunt" have appeared on major media features, including "The O'Reilly Factor" and MSNBC. Burdick was interviewed by ABC's Diane Sawyer and other journalists.

Major media reports have also given airtime to Marv Glovinsky, a clinical psychologist who says a "game" that mixes violence with sexuality can be dangerous for men who cannot distinguish fantasy from reality. But they feature his assertion that "Hunting for Bambi is every man's fantasy come true."

Burdick: oink

The fury that women feel about this misogynistic crime has been paid lip service in some news reports.

But Burdick has been given ample time to promote his business under the guise of equal time for his woman-hating line.

He has aired his refusal to allow women to wear any protective gear at all, although not all "hunters" followed the rule of not shooting any woman above the chest. "The main goal is to be as true to nature as possible. I don't go deer hunting and see a deer with a football helmet on so I don't want to see one on my girl either." (KLAS-TV, July 21)

The web site boasts: "Women are being hunted down like animals . . ." After being shot with the projectiles, the woman is captured, demeaned



and "mounted" as prey on a wall. This is all videotaped. It is an aping of snuff films in which women actors are actually murdered.

In fact, the company website offers a video it says is actual footage of one of the women fleeing her stalkers and being killed by a semi-truck on the highway. The video is used to promote sale of the "game."

One of the women pictured being dragged by the hair by men in combat fatigues is transsexual. Among the prominent women the owners "invite" to take part in the hunt are Oprah Winfrey and Rosie O'Donnell, an African American and a lesbian woman, respectively.

It would do further injury to women to repeat the violently vulgar, anti-woman details so graphically spelled out on Burdick's company website.

It would be easy to label Burdick a chauvinist pig—but that would insult an intelligent species. The truth is, Burdick is a capitalist.

Casualties of class warfare

Many of the women exploited by this company have worked in the euphemistically named adult entertainment business. They are driven to try to earn \$1,000 to \$2,500 for what is portrayed as "sport."

This "woman-hunting" is part and parcel of the multi-billion-dollar sex-for-profit industry that often employs violence against women and other sex- and gender-oppressed people.

The Nevada "hunts" take place on private land owned by capital investors in the company. (reviewjournal.com)

They are an integral part of the ongoing war on women in this capitalist divide-and-conquer economic system.

None of the media coverage has dealt with the relationship between this Rambo mentality and the U.S. war to re-colonize Iraq. But the video clips of men in combat fatigues hunting down women follow closely on news footage of Pentagon troops bursting into Iraqi homes in the middle of the night, pointing their high-tech weapons at women in night clothes.

Spin doctors here hyped the wars against Yugoslavia and Afghanistan as helping to "liberate" women in those countries. And Washington claims to be bringing human rights to the countries it aims to conquer—on the tips of bayonets.

But the reality of the class war is starkly clear. Rich men can don military garb and hunt women for pleasure. Working-class and poor men—and women—are ordered to hunt down other working and oppressed people in an army of conquest that only profits the wealthy elite. □

By Mumia Abu-Jamal from death row:



Affirmative (distr)action

"The life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuitions of public policy, avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices which judges share with their fellow-men, have had a good deal more to do than the syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed."

— Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. (later U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice), "The Common Law" (1881)

With a pair of cases announced days before their summer retirement—Gratz v. Bollinger and Grutter v. Bollinger—the U.S. Supreme Court decided the constitutionality of affirmative action, at least for the next generation.

The issue had been long-awaited by conservatives, and dreaded by those of a more liberal persuasion, who feared that the notoriously right-wing jurists would sound the death knell to the practice. Affirmative action in higher educational admissions survived, if just barely, because of one vote: that of Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, who provided the fifth vote to uphold the admissions program of the University of Michigan Law School.

Her 5-4 majority in Grutter was offset by the separate 6-3 vote garnered by the companion Gratz case, which struck down the university's undergraduate affirmative action policies.

For liberals, the decision was hailed as a "huge victory," in the words of one of the litigators, Maureen Mahoney, a former Supreme Court law clerk. Conservatives saw it as a betrayal of sorts, especially as it came from the pens of several Republican appointees—like O'Connor and David Souter.

But what moved Justice O'Connor to merge with, and create a bare majority, was hardly the lure of liberalism. As she explained both in her oral remarks and in her written text, the arguments raised by the U.S. military, top Pentagon officials, and military training academies made all the difference. What "made" the case, in other words, were not the individual beneficiaries of affirmative action—meaning Blacks—but the institutional beneficiaries. The Army. The Navy. The Coast Guard. The Marines. These are hardly "liberal" institutions.

Perhaps just as important were the amicus curiae briefs filed on behalf of American businesses. For them all, Gratz and Grutter represented good business, and good military sense.

For it is in the interests of both corporate America and the imperial military to have Black faces projecting their messages to a predominantly multi-colored world. Look at the recent Iraq adventure; the faces of Black soldiers and generals formed an important element in selling the PR side of the debacle.

It's like putting a rap song on a car commercial; blackness is but another commodity to sell the system.

Lost in the sauce around the hoopla raised by Gratz/Grutter is the simple, inescapable reality that a relatively small percentage of Americans ever go to college; something like a fourth. In other words, 25 out of 100 Americans make it to college. What happened to the vast majority—75 percent—who don't go? They don't go, not because they're "unqualified" or stupid.

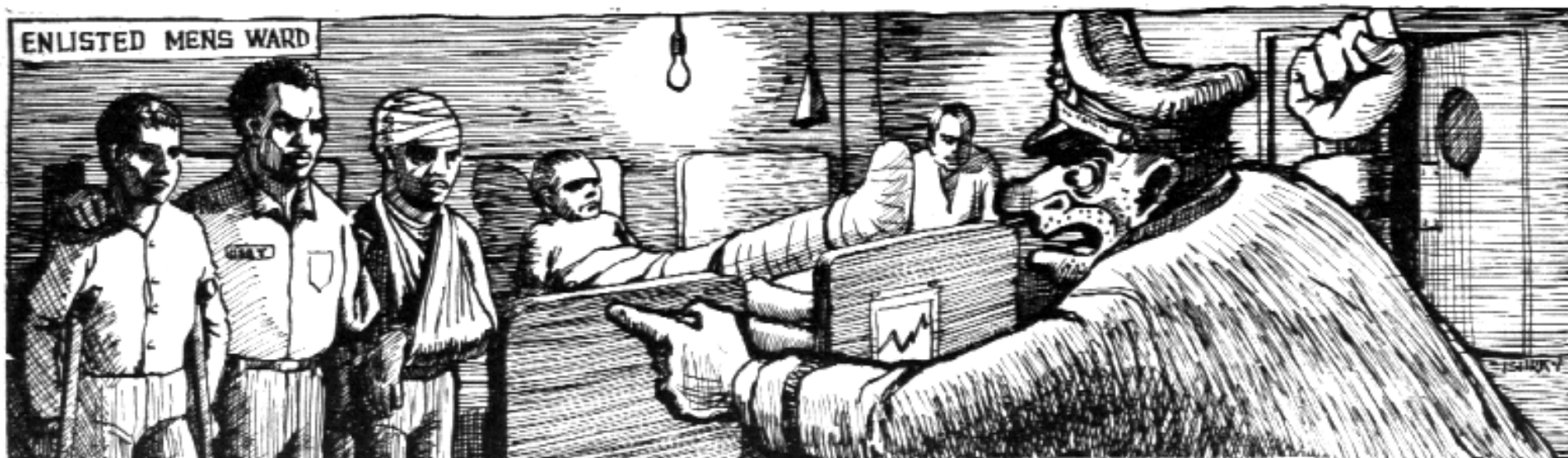
Most simply can't afford the increasing costs of college.

That is an indictment of the American educational system—certainly nothing to celebrate. Because education, so vital to job opportunities, is just another commodity, one that millions of Americans cannot afford.

The real scandal about all the hoopla surrounding the affirmative action cases is the dire state of secondary—elementary, junior high, middle school, high school—education in America. Social critic Jonathan Kozol has written movingly about the dreadful state of such institutions for years, but conditions continue to deteriorate. Nor is a Supreme Court case the be-all/end-all of a problem.

It has been almost 50 years since the historic Brown v. Board of Education case that outlawed school desegregation in U.S. schools. Yet, a generation after Brown, this writer went to schools that were as Black as anything in Dixie. Such schools still stand, generations later, in Black, Puerto Rican or Mexican ghettos and barrios across the land, where millions of American kids get just as miseducated as their parents before them. They are just as segregated; but under the rubric of class, which hides the same racist character of the system.

Indeed, Brown became "law," in part, because a U.S. anti-communist campaign would have been harmed in the Third World if U.S. courts upheld racial discrimination. Similarly, Grutter serves other interests. Blacks are merely incidental. □



What's a matter, don't you men know how to stand at attention when you see an officer?

This cartoon, from the Jan. 17, 1969, issue of *The Bond*, the newspaper of the American Servicemen's Union, was inspired by a letter the union received from a GI at Tripler Army Hospital in Honolulu

INTERVIEW WITH VIETNAM-ERA ORGANIZERS

Prospects for GI resistance in Iraq

By John Catalinotto

Last year, in the Oct. 31 issue of *Workers World*, we interviewed former American Servicemen's Union chairperson Andy Stapp. He told us then that "It's hard to say what will happen in a short war, fought mostly from the air. But in a long occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan with guerrilla fighting and steady casualties, a real opposition movement within the military is possible."

Stapp, who was drafted during the Vietnam War after having burned his draft card, appends the rank "Private E-1 (retired)" to his name. E-1 is about the lowest rank a soldier can leave the Army with, and indicates the extreme displeasure of the brass with his/her performance.

Workers World recently continued its discussion on the mood in the military with Stapp and another anti-militarism expert and "retired" private E-1, Larry Holmes. Holmes was an ASU organizer from 1972 to 1975, and is currently on the steering committee of the ANSWER anti-war coalition.

WW What's your assessment now of the mood of the U.S. troops?

Holmes It was only an illusion that the war was short. The "conventional" war was short, but only then did the real war begin. This is now a war between the U.S. occupying force and a guerrilla army that has the support and sympathy of the Iraqi people.

As for the U.S. troops' mood, it was never really "good." The morale of the several hundred thousand troops sent over was down even before the war started, when most of them were waiting in Kuwait.

Pro-war morale was down because many of these soldiers had access to email, instant communication with their families and also to the news. And they learned before the war started that there were huge demonstrations against the war.

One of the reasons why the anti-war movement has a pretty good sense of the morale of the troops is because of the communications revolution. Unlike in other wars, the troops' feelings can be communicated instantly.

neously.

Anyone with relatives over in the Gulf knew the troops were asking themselves, "What are we doing here, everyone is against this war?" Then things went from bad to worse. Once the relatively brief invasion was over, the occupation began.

Stapp It has obviously turned into a guerrilla war against the U.S. occupation forces, with now maybe a thousand U.S. casualties, killed and wounded, since the war began. The soldiers are distressed. They were told they wouldn't be there long, among many other lies. They answer: "Tell Rumsfeld to get our sorry asses home."

Soldiers were told they would be freeing people, who would be throwing flowers at them. Instead the Iraqis view the U.S. troops as a hostile occupation. Now guerrillas attack the GIs 25 times daily. The military brass doesn't report half the attacks.

The generals say the "losses are acceptable." This is typical of high-ranking people. Meanwhile, the GIs begin to distrust all Iraqis: "They smile but they want to stab you in the back," they say, or "The kids throw stones at us."

In raids the U.S. troops swoop into villages, drag people off from their homes, shoot some. This leads to anger among the Iraqis, more recruits for the guerrillas, more attacks on the U.S. and then more raids. The U.S. generals talk as if there is a certain limited number of people attacking the soldiers, and that continued attacks could deplete them. It's not true. New recruits come daily from the population.

Holmes That's right. Moreover, the government lies to the troops again. Take the Third Infantry Division out of Ft. Stewart, Georgia. This division led the assault on Baghdad and is one of the main divisions doing occupation duties there. First the officers told them they were going home shortly. Then the day they expected to receive their orders to leave, they found out they were staying longer.

There are all sorts of rumors, even that some soldiers talk of mutiny. General John Abizaid, the commander there, admonished soldiers who spoke to the press about [Defense Secretary Donald] Rumsfeld and Bush using expletives.

WW You mentioned that Gen. Abizaid demanded that discontented GIs stop publicly criticizing their commanders. Your reaction?

Stapp The military suppresses free speech. The GIs have to live under chain of command. This is inherently undemocratic. It's obvious they all want to come home. They should come home. The anti-war movement and their families would welcome this.

After World War II there were mass demonstrations that forced the generals to send troops home following the end of the war.

Holmes The Pentagon is absolutely terrified over the perspective of GIs speaking out against continuing the occupation. They fear that what begins by talking could quickly evolve into organized GI resistance to staying in Iraq. This can reach the point where the U.S. rank-and-file troops view their enemy not as the Iraqi resistance but as anyone over the rank of lieutenant.

Also frightening the Pentagon is the "bring the troops home" movement that has sprung up among the families of GIs. Both with the families and with the GIs themselves, the Pentagon's instinct has been to lash out with threats of punishment. But it remains to be seen whether that will quell the dissent. Indeed, it may have the opposite effect.

The anti-war and GI support group SNAFU has just issued a statement supporting the right of the troops and their relatives to speak out against the military and the war and their right to demand to be brought home.

WW At a conference we attended in

He said WHAT?

No one is more responsible for the unprovoked U.S. onslaught against Iraq than Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. He recently made a well-publicized, high-security visit to that country. Wolfowitz said at a news conference in Mosul, Iraq, a city soon to become the scene of a massive U.S. attack on the home of a cousin of Saddam Hussein: "I think all foreigners should stop interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq. Those who want to come and help are welcome. Those who come to interfere and destroy are not." (New York Times, July 22) □

'Get us out of here now!'

The following letter from a soldier's father appeared on the web site of the *Nashville Tennessean* newspaper.

My son is in the U.S. Army and currently stationed in Baghdad. I hear from him every three or four days. He is like most of the young men and women who went to fight over there inasmuch as he was proud to go and achieve what President Bush said was necessary.

I have seen his attitude take a U-turn during the last month. At first he was saying: "I wonder why we are not doing this or that to help make life better for our soldiers?" Then he started to wonder why we were not doing more to help the Iraqi people who are suffering under terrible conditions. Not enough water or food, no electricity most of the time, a terrible shortage of medical supplies and medical staff, basically they are living like animals. Then he started to worry about the safety of our troops in the area. He says they are sitting ducks and easy targets for Iraqi people bent upon gaining revenge for slain family members and by those who hold the U.S. responsible for the terrible conditions they find themselves in.

Yesterday he had a different message

altogether: "Get us out of here now! There is nothing we can do to pacify the Iraqi people except get out of their country and allow them to restore order in whatever way THEY wish."

And, allow me to give you his remarks when he was informed of President Bush's brash remarks saying "Bring them on." He said: "Myself and every last man in my unit are deeply offended that our President would make such a statement inviting us to be attacked. President Bush has lost the respect of every soldier I have spoken to because of his speaking those irresponsible words. Those words spread like wild-fire among the troops. We are here because he ordered us to be here and now for him to make such a ridiculous statement inviting violence towards us causes us to lose respect for him and his judgment. We are learning that we never should have come here in the first place. Believe me Dad, there is a completely different attitude now. The fact that the President gave rich people a tax cut and didn't do anything for military families is hurtful. Where there was once pride and satisfaction in defeating an enemy there is now regret and shame. ..." □

ANSWER calls for united protest on Oct. 25 to bring the troops home

By Leslie Feinberg

Grassroots anger is building again at the Bush administration's aggression in Iraq and the lies it has told to put the war over. But this time the families of soldiers are joining the urgent demand to "End the occupation of Iraq and bring the troops home."

The International ANSWER coalition—Act Now to Stop War & End Racism—has issued a call for a mass march on Oct. 25 in Washington, D.C. More than 1,000 organizations and individuals have already endorsed the demonstration.

Brian Becker, a member of the ANSWER steering committee and co-director of the International Action Center, spoke to Workers World newspaper about the urgent need to build a unified, massive march.

Becker began: "We're not looking for a kinder and gentler occupation or for a United Nations occupation. We stand for the unrestricted, undiluted right of the Iraqi people to choose their own destiny, free from the brutal occupation launched by the U.S. and U.K."

"On Oct. 26 of last year, the ANSWER coalition initiated a mass people's anti-war movement in the United States with large demonstrations on both coasts. We knew that only the mobilization of the people on an enormous level had the possibility of changing the political climate and creating an effective obstacle to the Bush administration's path to preemptive war against Iraq."

"While other forces focused their attention on lobbying Congress, we believed that the organization and the mobilization of the people was the only effective power. It turned out that Congress easily rubber-stamped Bush's illegal war. In fact, the major-

ity in Congress, including the leadership from both parties, played the role of criminal co-conspirators as the Bush administration treaded on the Constitution and its legal obligations under the UN Charter in racing to carry out a war of aggression against Iraq."

Becker pointed out that on Oct. 26, more than 200,000 people marched from the Vietnam War memorial in D.C. and surrounded the White House. "It shocked the administration, it shocked the media and it was accompanied by similar large protests around the world on the same day."

"That was when the movement became a global movement and that's because of ANSWER," Becker said.

He explained that the reason that protest began at the Vietnam Memorial was that, "We believed that the invasion and occupation of Iraq would have many similar parallels to Vietnam. It was a war of choice, not a war of national defense. It was an invasion and occupation of a Third World country whose people had a long proud tradition of anti-colonial resistance. It would be a sinkhole into which hundreds of billions of dollars would be poured. And we believed that the people of the U.S. would learn—as they did during Vietnam—that the public rationale for the war was based on a pattern of lies and deceit."

"It was amazing to us, to the ANSWER coalition, and to the war makers that so many people came to the same conclusion and tried to go into the streets to prevent this adventure."

Bush administration isolated

"The people's movement became so powerful and so uniquely global," Becker continued, "that it did in fact

have the impact of changing the political climate."

"As a consequence, the usually pliable UN Security Council refused to rubber-stamp the war and invasion of Iraq. Bush and Blair were forced to set up a phony photo-op, stage-managed meeting on the Azores islands in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. It was the only place they knew for certain would not be confronted by huge anti-war demonstrations. This was in order to pretend that they had some level of international support and legitimacy for their planned criminal war against Iraq."

Becker explained that the U.S. government and Pentagon "had enough military power and enough determination to defy world public opinion and carry out the invasion of Iraq. They had enough military power that they could conquer Baghdad within three weeks."

"But make no mistake about it," he stressed, "the Bush administration still stands isolated and alone on the world stage as it carries out the occupation of Iraq—which it has now placed under a U.S. military dictatorship."

"The people of Iraq today are resisting the occupation. There is not only an armed resistance, but there is a multi-faceted political resistance that has impacted almost all layers of Iraqi society. The Iraqi people want the U.S. soldiers and occupation authority to leave. They want to determine their own destiny, as do all people everywhere."

Bring the troops home!

"At the same time," Becker said, "U.S. troops are quickly realizing that they are nothing but cannon fodder in the eyes of Bush, Rumsfeld and Gen. Tommy Franks. More and more U.S. soldiers are being killed and an

even greater number are being maimed."

"They are well aware that Bush made the comment 'Bring 'em on'—a comment that was affirmed by Tommy Franks, who had the gall to say on the day before he retired and went home, 'I agree with the president, bring 'em on.' Soldiers and their families are aware that the multimillionaire Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld could cavalierly state at a news conference held in Washington, 'Will more people be killed? You bet.'"

Becker continued, "The Iraqi people want the soldiers to leave and the soldiers want to come home."

"The GIs are learning the same bitter lesson as the result of their personal experience that thousands of soldiers learned during the Vietnam War."

All out for Oct. 25!

"The Oct. 25 mobilization is not simply a demonstration," explained Becker. "It is a tactic employed by the anti-war movement that takes into account the political situation."

"The Bush administration is isolated politically around the world. The Blair government could be on the verge of falling. The Iraqi resistance is growing. The U.S. soldiers and their families want troops to be withdrawn."

"October 25 is an effort to go back into the streets as the movement successfully did during the past year and to again become the most potent political factor in the equation. Only the people's mobilization around the world, but especially inside the United States, can force the end of the U.S. occupation and successfully bring the U.S. troops out of Iraq."

"That is the key to peace," Becker concluded. "And it is the key to the Iraqi people's taking control again of their own country." □

Europe, some people called the GIs "mercenaries" because the U.S. has an all-volunteer military. Your reaction?

Holmes This question needs a serious discussion. We will always argue that class contradictions between the troops and their commanders will come to the surface. But this is a super 21st-century high-tech army, with much of the killing done at a distance. It tests theory again.

We found out pretty quickly that the latest technology not only doesn't guarantee victory, it doesn't change the class structure in the Army.

Will there be significant dissent within the ranks? Or have they become alienated from the mass of the people?

It's best that we let events speak for themselves. Now we have seen enough resistance to dispel any doubt. How much this will challenge the Pentagon is still to be seen, but the opposition is there.

Stapp Time magazine early in July had 12 pages of ads to join the Army. The Army's pitch is that there is no money elsewhere for education, you

don't have jobs. It pitches itself as a jobs program. But you are being sent to the other side of the world to get shot at. The news in Time that week showed how bad the war was going.

Technically, it's true that many of the troops joined the army for money or education and training. But this misses the point of the class nature of the Army. During the Vietnam period I assumed the draftees would be more anti-war than enlistees. After a while I noticed that there was little or no difference, and if there was, the volunteers were slightly more against the war than

the draftees.

Holmes During the early days of the mass movement against the Vietnam war, many considered the GIs to be like mercenaries. Fortunately, by the time that the anti-war movement reached its heights in the late 1960s and early 1970s there was also a significant organized resistance movement among the GIs themselves. The more class-conscious and politically sophisticated elements within the anti-war movement made sure to create a civilian support network for the GIs.

Verdict first, evidence later—if ever

Gen. Wesley Clark, who commanded NATO forces during the Yugoslav war and is now retired from the military, is certainly no man of peace. But he is challenging the Bush administration's conduct of the Iraq war and preparing for a possible bid for the presidency. Here's what he said about the effort to blame 9/11 on Iraq, when questioned by Tim Russert of Meet the Press on June 15:

"Well, it came from the White House, it came from people around the White

House. It came from all over. I got a call on 9/11. I was on CNN, and I got a call at my home saying, 'You got to say this is connected. This is state-sponsored terrorism. This has to be connected to Saddam Hussein.' ... And these were people who had Middle East think tanks and people like this and it was a lot of pressure to connect this and there were a lot of assumptions made. ... I didn't talk to anybody who had evidence." □

WW You've both mentioned the class nature of the armed forces? Could you explain more?

Holmes Class structure in the army is a microcosm of class structure in society. The top management, the CEOs, are like the generals. Management is the officer caste. The non-commissioned officers are like foremen and forewomen. Workers are like the rank-and-file GIs. It may not always seem this way, but the ordinary soldiers' class interests are diametrically opposite and opposed to those of the officers.

Stapp The army as an institution pretty much works for the oil companies and banks. These industries, their owners call the shots. The enlisted forces are predominantly working class white, Black, Latino, Native and Asian people. Higher ranks are mostly staffed with upper-middle-class types. There is an absolute dividing line between officers and enlisted people. Nothing is done together. That is called fraternization and is not allowed.

Very wealthy people are sending

Continued on page 9

Washington discounts role of Iraqi people

Continued from page 1

where they were floundering in Iraq and in denial as they struggled to defend their failed policies and positions.

Abizaid vs. Rumsfeld on guerrilla war

The most dramatic sign came in the first press conference given by the new head of the Central Command, Gen. John Abizaid, when he said that “The Iraqis are conducting what I would describe as a classical guerrilla-type campaign against us. It’s low-intensity conflict in our doctrinal terms, but it’s war however you describe it,” said Abizaid, according to a July 17 dispatch from Reuters.

“The level of resistance ... is getting more organized and it is learning. It is adapting. ... And we’ve got to adapt to their tactics, techniques and procedures,” he continued.

This was a direct refutation not only of L. Paul Bremer III, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, and Abizaid’s predecessor, Gen. Franks, but of Rumsfeld himself, who, at a world televised Pentagon press conference on June 30, had adamantly denied that there was guerrilla warfare. At that time, Jamie McIntyre of CNN sparred with Rumsfeld, pulling out the Pentagon manual describing guerrilla warfare, to which Rumsfeld had no answer.

Prior to Abizaid’s pronouncement, the Pentagon and Bremer had been telling the world that the resistance was a disconnected, uncoordinated conglomeration of “dead enders.” The tenacity with which they held to this position derives from their original premise, concocted in the think-tanks of the neo-conservative groupings, that the Iraqi people would welcome the imperialists with open arms as “liberators.”

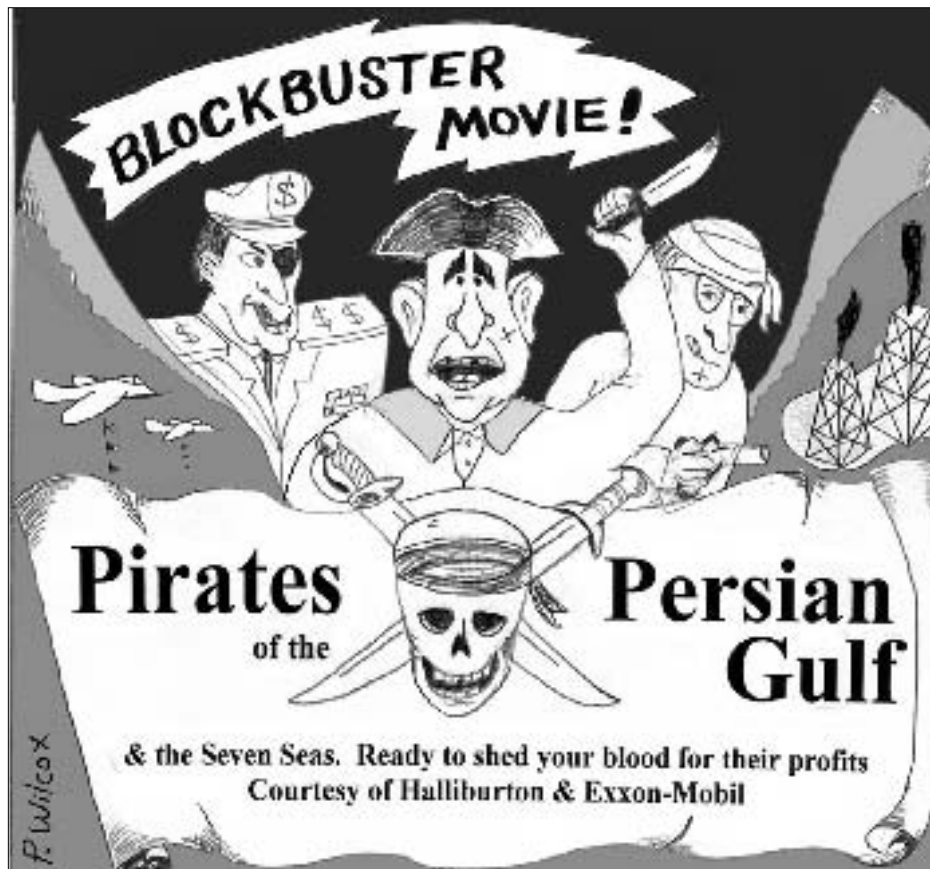
The neo-conservative conception is a broad one that posits an ideological fantasy—the wide acceptance by the oppressed peoples of the Middle East of a U.S.-engineered modernizing, so-called “free-market” capitalism, with the trappings of capitalist democracy thrown in. In other words, empire and colonialism with a democratic façade. Such social formations can only exist in the minds of right-wing ideologists.

The concept of guerrilla warfare carries with it the inescapable implication of widespread hatred of U.S. imperialism and the occupation, leading to a genuinely popular resistance. Such implications are incompatible with the “welcome the liberators” projections of the neo-conservative grouping in the administration headed by Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle. Hence, ideology departed so far from reality that it led to denial, to misinformation and to the inability to adapt to the real situation on the ground.

It is clear that Abizaid’s comments were a clearing of the air—a bow to reality—and were approved and welcomed at the highest levels of the ruling class. These declarations were undoubtedly cleared outside the chain of approval of his boss at the Pentagon. His remarks signified an intention to step up the struggle against the resistance on a more effective basis.

Karl Marx on the capitalist government

Karl Marx declared in the Communist



Manifesto that “the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.” Indeed, the imperialist bourgeoisie is consumed with the process of exploiting and super-exploiting the workers and the peasants of the U.S. and the world. It is preoccupied with conquering markets, making financial killings, mergers and acquisitions, shutting down some facilities while opening others, and all the other pursuits that are directly related to making profits. While it is busy exploiting the world, it expects its government to do everything possible to serve those interests with efficiency and competency, and to report on any vital state of affairs with some degree of credibility.

The Bush administration is the government of the ruling class, but a ruling class that is in the position of having to urgently push its government to change what it considers to be a dangerous course, which is being set primarily by the Pentagon. In this endeavor the media has played an open role. But in the present situation, the media campaign is not enough. It has to be coordinated with a hands-on approach.

To this end a five-person delegation, ostensibly invited by the Pentagon but actually sent to reverse the Pentagon, toured Iraq for 11 days, from June 26 to July 7, to “assess reconstruction efforts.”

The group was headed by John Hamre, president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and a former undersecretary of defense in the Clinton administration. It also included Robert Orr, Washington director of the Council on Foreign Relations, and Dr. Johanna Mendelson-Forman of the United Nations Foundation. The group returned with a report for the Pentagon, which forwarded it to the White House.

Assessing the quagmire

The CSIS and Council on Foreign Relations are two institutions that represent the highest level of consulting and advisory authority in the ruling class. The CSIS chairperson is Sam Nunn, former head of the Senate

Armed Services Committee and historically a Pentagon insider. On its advisory council are Henry Kissinger, a secretary of state and national security adviser in the Nixon administration; Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser in the Carter administration; and Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser in the Bush senior administration, in addition to bosses and bankers. It is an informal nexus for numerous ruling class interests to brainstorm in hundreds of meetings and conferences every year and to generate policy proposals for the capitalist government and the managers of finance, the military, the environment and all other areas of interest to the ruling class.

The group visited 11 major cities and two ports, including nine of Iraq’s 18 provinces. According to delegation head Hamre, the group met with over 250 people, including Iraqis “from all walks of life,” Bremer and occupation officials, military officials, NGO staffers, donor groups and so on, to evaluate the “post-conflict reconstruction process.”

In other words, they went to assess the quagmire.

They reported: “In our travels throughout the country, Iraqis uniformly expressed the view that the window of opportunity for the CPA [Coalition Provisional Authority] to turn things around in Iraq is closing rapidly.” They pointed to the “rising anti-Americanism in parts of the country.” In general, they gave a critical report.

They wrote that “the war continues but it has entered a new phase of active resistance” and called for more troop deployments on the “street level, especially in Baghdad.” They told Bremer and the high command to hire a private Iraqi force to do guard duty at installations and move the troops out onto patrol.

A statement by Frederick Barton, a member of the delegation from CSIS, must be the opinion of the group concerning the “collapse” of the Iraqi army. “We came to the conclusion while we were there that thousands of [Baathist fighters] just don’t go missing as an accident—that it probably was a coordi-

nated effort.” He continued, “It’s really not hard to travel around the country, and not hard to [communicate by] word of mouth.” (Washington Post, July 17)

Barton articulated what has become more obvious with each passing week—that sections of the Iraqi military converted the retreat from Baghdad into a strategic retreat for the purposes of launching a guerrilla-style resistance.

Holding back the privatizers

Bremer, who disbanded the Iraqi military and fired everyone, has been at war with numerous local militias. He referred to the officers as “self-demobilized.” This is the work of the anti-Baathist fanatical ideologues in the Bush administration. As a pure matter of security, the report recommended strongly that Bremer launch “a major initiative to reintegrate ‘self-demobilized’ Iraqi soldiers and local militias.”

In addition to firing the soldiers, Bremer has disbanded the state industries and ministries, firing tens of thousands of civilians. This is the result of the “privatization” craze of the “free-enterprise” neo-conservatives.

The report said that “short-term public works projects are needed on a large scale.” It told the CPA to “get a large number of the formerly state-owned enterprises up and running. Even if many of them are not competitive and may need to be privatized and downsized eventually, now is the time to get as many people back to work as possible.” It emphasized the young, urban population.

This on-the-spot group warned the U.S. authorities not to abandon the food-for-oil program, which runs out in November and has fed millions of Iraqis for over a decade. Fearing that the ideologues would oppose this as a “handout,” the report warned that “any disruption will cause a national protest.” The report also stressed that they shouldn’t let the Iraqis think the U.S. was there to take their oil!

New coalition of imperialists

The group declared outright that U.S. imperialism could not subdue Iraq by itself. It directly challenged the “unilateralist” empire-building ideology of Bush and the Pentagon. “Relying on the war coalition will not produce sufficient resources or capacity. The scope of the challenges, the financial requirements, and the rising anti-Americanism ... argues for a new coalition that includes countries and organizations beyond the original war-fighting coalition.”

In other words, Washington must swallow its pride, cut the other imperialists in and go to the UN for political support—which Colin Powell is working on right now.

There are numerous recommendations to strengthen the colonial authority by means of improved propaganda, communications and organization, combined with more force and the use of funds. The group pleaded for an attempt to reach the “hearts and minds” of the people before it was too late.

It is hard to say how far the Bush administration can be pushed to revamp its occupation strategy, including its diplomacy and its orientation on the ground in Iraq. But the debates over what to do that may arise as a result of the intervention of the broader ruling

Imperialists gouge poorest of poor

Haiti must pay for loans it never received

By G. Dunkel

Over two years ago, the Haitian parliament agreed to take out four loans from the Inter-American Development Bank for vital projects: health, drinking water, roads and education. Haiti desperately needed this money, totalling about \$146 million.

In what is undoubtedly the cruelest case of chutzpah ever, Haiti still hasn't received a penny because of an embargo by the Bush administration, but the bank

is demanding repayment of the undelivered loans.

Haiti's water system has collapsed. The Center for Ecology and Hydrology in Great Britain ranks it the worst in the world, at the very bottom of the 147 countries it studied. Water-borne diseases, like typhoid, are a major killer. Hospitals and clinics have fallen apart since staff have fled the country and there is no public support. Life expectancy is about 50 years and is falling, especially because diseases

linked to malnutrition have become more and more common.

Even in the capital of Port-au-Prince, roads are terrible. Potholes 4 to 6 feet deep are common, especially where there's no pavement. Education is a shambles; over 50 percent of the people are illiterate.

Haiti's economy shrank by 2 percent in 2001, according to the World Bank, but Haiti still had not gotten a cent of the loans.

In March of 2001, the IADB demanded it fork over \$5 million in back payments. It also wanted a 0.5-percent commission on a loan Haiti still had not received, or \$185,239.75, as well as \$2,231,422 commissions on loans Haiti had received over the past decade.

Barbara Lee, an African American member of Congress from Oakland, Calif., explained on May 23 why Haiti had not gotten the IADB loans as well as major loans from other international financial institutions. The U.S. government disagreed with the results of the 2000 elections in Haiti. "The Bush administration decided to exercise political pressure on a member state by putting an embargo on loans that the bank had a contractual obligation to

deliver," Lee charged.

After Haiti got a little support from the Organization of American States, and seeing no other way to prevent a full-scale economic collapse, Haiti paid \$32 million in arrears to the IADB this July 10, leaving just \$3 million in its reserves. (AP, July 10). No objections about missing arrears were ever raised when Haiti was under the rule of the Duvaliers, a father-and-son combination of kleptocrooks favored by Washington, or the military dictatorships that followed them. Some of the arrears just paid appear to be from those times.

The IADB insisted that this payment was needed to start the complicated process toward disbursing the loans.

Haiti was a rich colony of France until it won its war for independence in 1804. King Charles X of France demanded it pay for diplomatic recognition in 1825. Haiti didn't finish paying off that debt until the mid 1990s. Over the years, it has also paid the IADB far more than it has received.

The imperialists of any century, of any country, will try to squeeze every drop of profit from even one of the poorest countries in the world. □



L.A. protest of 'Patriot Act'

Hundreds of noisy protesters converged on a busy Hollywood Blvd. intersection in Los Angeles on July 19 to demand the repeal of the Patriot Act and an end to mass detentions and deportations of immigrants. The event was sponsored by South Asian Network, the International ANSWER coalition of Los Angeles and many others.

class into managing the Iraq occupation have to be clearly understood as an effort to save the situation for Wall Street and the Pentagon. They are for mobilizing an international imperialist front against the heroic Iraqi resistance and for using maneuver, bribery and a more judicious application of force.

U.S. imperialism, under the leadership of the Bush administration, has gotten itself into a morass which poses a threat to Washington's world reputation as an unstoppable dominant power. In a reckless pursuit of empire, Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and company have actually endangered the empire.

Iraqis are dying but U.S. soldiers are dying too—and it is becoming clear to many troops on the ground that the vast majority of the Iraqi people are hostile to the occupation, whether they are in the armed struggle or simply disgusted and angry observers of the troops patrolling their neighborhoods, breaking down doors and shooting civilians—accidentally or on purpose.

If this line of development continues, it will lead to increased resistance in Iraq and increased disaffection and disillusionment among U.S. combat troops,

which is already growing. The so-called mainstream ruling class that has ordered the CSIS report is operating under the illusion that, by making adjustments to the brutal colonial takeover of Iraq, they will be able to reduce the Iraqi people to a passive acceptance of the new order.

This is only slightly less delusory than the fantasies of the neo-conservatives. The entire history of the Iraqi people in their struggle against the Turkish and British empires shows that they will resist the new colonialism of U.S. imperialism. If Washington is able to devise some set of tactics to slow down the struggle temporarily, it will only broaden and deepen the struggle later on. Nothing will stop the Iraqi people from resisting colonial domination.

And nothing will stop the working class in this country from rising up against the Pentagon's war drive, as it becomes more and more obvious that the soldiers are just being used as pawns in an unpopular campaign not to "liberate" people, but to oppress them on behalf of the oil companies, multinational corporations, bankers and world-conquering military strategists. □

Prospects for GI resistance in Iraq

Continued from page 7

working-class people to war and the people commanding the troops are from a wealthier class. That causes antagonism, no doubt about it. In Vietnam, most soldiers were against the war, but everyone hated the officers. Many troops sided with me because I fought against the officers.

The spouses and families are also working class. They don't see that they have a big stake in the occupation. It's not like Cheney and Halliburton.

Holmes There's another important point. When you are talking about social struggles that threaten the existence of the capitalist system, the class in power, or even threaten the system's ability to function, the army is and always has been the main institution, the ultimate and most important weapon in defending the system with repression.

As the saying goes, "Mayors, governors, presidents, congresses, forms of government come and go, but the army stays." That's where the real power lies. Understanding who is in the army and what their true interests are is vital to those who are in the movement for progressive or revolutionary social change.

Sooner or later getting this right is crucial to your chances of success. Simply put, you win over the troops to the side of the movement and your chances of winning go up 10,000 percent. But if you are going to win them you have to believe they are winnable.

WW What is the reaction in the African American community, other communities of color, to the continued occupation of Iraq?

Holmes More than any other segment of the population, the African American community did not stay fooled for very long. They see Bush's

war as a war of occupation against brown people, to steal their oil and take over their resources and land.

The contradiction, of course, is that for purely economic reasons, paucity of jobs and lack of a future in civilian life, many young people and more than the proportionate share of African Americans are still drawn to the armed forces. So there is a contradiction between the widespread skepticism over the purpose of the war in the African American community and the rising percentage of African American troops in the army.

But this contradiction is resolved when more and more of the population embraces an anti-war position in the midst of a terrible imperialist war and occupation such as is happening in Iraq. The attitude of African American GIs stationed in Iraq quite quickly becomes an extension of the anti-war sentiment in the overall African American community and not a contradiction. Black soldiers may yet be the main organizers of the resistance.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, the pastor of the House of the Lord Church and a close ally of ANSWER, was struck by the rising anger among Black people who have relatives in the armed services and especially in Iraq. At his urging, ANSWER and Rev. Daughtry are co-sponsoring what will probably be the first major rally to bring the troops home. It will take place in his church in the heart of downtown Brooklyn on Aug. 19. We expect to have at the rally, in addition to community and anti-war leaders, relatives of military personnel in Iraq.

It's our hope that the event will help with our plans to organize a massive national protest against the occupation and to bring the troops home on Oct. 25 in Washington, D.C. □

A momentous day

It was July 26, 1953. The U.S. government and military were preoccupied with signing an armistice in Korea, where fierce resistance by a people's army for three years had finally convinced the U.S. imperialists that they couldn't defeat the government of the socialist north, even after sending 1.3 million troops to the war.

A month earlier, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg had been executed in the United States. The anti-communist frenzy incited by figures like Sen. Joseph McCarthy and supported by the entire capitalist class was at its peak.

Cuba was a playground for rich U.S. tourists and gangsters who ran its hotels and casinos. A year earlier, after having lived in luxury in Florida for some time, Fulgencio Batista had led a second military coup and was ruling Cuba with an iron hand. Among his perks for being a bloody dictator was a 10-percent cut of the profits from the mob's gambling casinos. (See www.historyofcuba.com/history/batista.htm)

U.S. sugar, nickel and citrus companies were making super-profits from the labor of the campesinos and workers. Cuba's banks, telephone and electric systems and large retail stores were all U.S.-owned. Outside the glitzy city of Havana, most of the people were impoverished peasants. They had little education and few could read or write. Children's bellies stuck out from hunger and parasitic infections. The people lived in hunger and fear in thatched-roof shacks with dirt floors, lucky to have one naked light bulb.

In this climate of world reaction and repression at home, a small band of idealistic young men and women took on the Batista dictatorship and its U.S.-supplied military. On July 26, they launched an attack on the Moncada Barracks in the eastern part of the country.

It was a desperate act. All were either captured or killed. Batista sent Gen. Martin Tamayo, the military commander of the district, a note ordering him to "kill 10 rebels for every soldier killed" in the attack. This presidential order was quickly dubbed the "10-for-one" law. Tamayo carried out his order, murdering 59 rebels in addition to those killed in the battle.

The leader of the group, Fidel Castro, was among those who survived. He was later put on trial, and delivered his famous "History Will Absolve Me" speech in court—a sweeping and detailed indictment of conditions in Cuba, given without a script or even notes.

Batista was so confident of his power, backed by the U.S., that he released Fidel Castro from jail after two years. That speech would go on to become the manifesto of the Cuban Revolution and the July 26th Movement, which started a guerrilla war in 1956. But no one knew that in 1953. It seemed that the rebellion had been crushed. Its leaders were either dead or in jail. Batista was being quietly congratulated by his capitalist U.S. sponsors, who wanted stability so that the process of making money could go on as usual.

One of the first acts of the revolution, which triumphed on Jan. 1, 1959, was to set up brigades of young students who volunteered to go to the country and teach the peasants to read and write. Another was to put Batista's torturers and killers on trial in mass stadiums, where the families of their thousands of victims could confront them. Batista himself had fled the country with his ill-gotten gains. Finally, in the spring of 1961, the revolutionary government began to nationalize the property of U.S. corporations.

As early as March 10, 1959, however, "the National Security Council in Eisenhower's administration had already reviewed modalities for bringing 'another government to power in Cuba,'" according to author Tad Szulc, a Washington insider. ("Fidel, a Critical Portrait," William Morrow and Co., 1986)

For 44 years, U.S. imperialism has done everything it could to turn back this popular socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. It has invaded and blockaded Cuba. It has tried to assassinate its leaders. It has covertly supported sabotage, bombings and hijackings. It has tried to isolate Cuba diplomatically and continues to occupy Cuban territory at Guantanamo Bay, where the Pentagon illegally detains captives from Afghanistan and other Middle Eastern countries.

Yet the Cuban Revolution endures. Its friends and admirers around the world are legion. Its achievements in health and education are spectacular. And it continues to help other countries in the Third World that are struggling to develop social programs for their people even as the exploiting imperialist banks and corporations suck out their resources and products.

It all started 50 years ago, when a small group of heroes put their lives on the line in Oriente Province. □

Compay Segundo

Legendary Cuban musician dies at 95



Compay Segundo in Havana.

WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

By Bill Hackwell

Compay Segundo, one of the best-known singers/songwriters of traditional Cuban music died recently in Havana after performing for over 80 years.

It was only after he turned 90 that Compay received international recognition for his authentic interpretation of Son, the music of his native Eastern Cuba that combines harder African rhythms with Spanish lyricism. The emergence of this music from Santiago de Cuba was instrumental in breaking down discrimination against Black music in Cuba and laid the groundwork for modern Cuban salsa.

To better play Son, Compay developed a unique 7-string guitar that added richer harmonies and blended with his signature baritone voice. The composer of hundreds of songs, Compay Segundo is linked to the important early Trova group, El Conjunto Matamoros, and the great Benny More. He got his stage name when he was around 40, performing as the second voice in his group Los Compadres—a word Cubans shorten to compay.

Born Maximo Francisco Repilado Munoz in 1907, Compay Segundo emerged in recent years as a cultural ambassador for Cuba, packing concert halls in Europe and around the world. The musical legacy of Compay can be heard on every

street corner, school and community center in Cuba.

Despite having to suffer over 40 years of being blockaded by the U.S., Cuba continues to promote and excel in music and performing arts on all levels of education and life. The popularity of this music around the world was realized in 1997 with the film "The Buena Vista Social Club," a project of U.S. guitarist and producer Ry Cooder and Cuban Juan de Marco Gonzalez.

"The Buena Vista Social Club" featured Compay and fellow veteran Cuban musicians Ibrahim Ferrer, Eliades Ochoa and Ruben Gonzalez. The album sold over a million copies in the U.S. alone and won a Grammy Award in 1998 for best tropical Latin album. Despite the obvious popularity of Cuban music in the U.S., the State Department continues to routinely deny visas to musical and cultural performers from Cuba.

Speaking on his longevity recently, Compay had joked that he wanted to live as long as his grandmother—a freed slave who lived to 115. At his funeral in Santiago de Cuba, thousands came out to pay tribute to this talented and dignified man. Cuban Minister of Culture Abel Prieto commented that Compay always maintained his traditional roots: "His death is a great loss because everything that Compay represented is the most authentic part of Cuban popular and musical culture." □

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Jose Maria Sison on

U.S. role in the Philippines

The following is excerpted from the keynote speech by Prof. Jose Maria Sison, chief political consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, to an on-air Forum on U.S. Intervention in the Philippines and Korea broadcast by WBAI/Pacifica on July 16. Sison lives in The Netherlands as a political refugee.

The U.S. is using its so-called war on terrorism in order to bring in military advisers, trainers and combat troops in violation of the 1987 constitution of the Manila government, to develop interoperability with the Filipino mercenary puppet troops, to elaborate on U.S. military access rights through a logistical support agreement, to expand the facilities for the U.S. air and naval forces and to prepare the ground for the return of U.S. military basing rights.

U.S. strategists see the Philippines as the center of an arc, with one wing consisting of more developed countries in Northeast Asia—Japan, South Korea, North Korea and China—and another wing consisting of the underdeveloped but natural resource-rich countries in Southeast Asia. The U.S. is giving high priority to preparations for establishment of U.S. air and naval bases in Central and Far South Mindanao to acquire a control point over the oil-producing and predominantly Muslim countries of Southeast Asia.

The U.S. considers the Philippines as its most reliable vantage point because this is the country in Asia that it dominates the most—economically, politically and culturally. It is also the best-located vantage point for the whole of East Asia. U.S. mil-

itary bases can oversee from here the movement of more than half of the global trade through the South China Sea.

The new shift in U.S. military strategic thinking affects the Philippines and the rest of East Asia. The U.S. is eager to establish small U.S. military bases and outposts wherever possible, under the concept of forward deployment, which veers away from the previous concept of rapid deployment. The advance deployment of U.S. forces on the ground is seen as effective facilitation of any subsequent deployment of large U.S. military forces from their secure U.S. bases at any time.

U.S. military access and basing rights in the Philippines are considered of crucial importance. Through these the U.S. can pose a serious military threat to China and the DPRK. A U.S. military position of strength in the Philippines gains even more importance as the U.S. moves towards the reduction of U.S. military forces in Japan due to the rising clamor of the Japanese people for the dismantling of U.S. military bases and as it is also trying to redress the vulnerability of U.S. military bases around Seoul and near the 38th parallel in Korea.

In keeping with its doctrine of preemptive strike (based either on accurate or Bush-style falsified intelligence) and with its cowardly style of raining missiles and bombs upon people and buildings from a great distance, the U.S. has already announced plans of reshaping its military force deployment in East Asia in such a manner as to make the Philippines the main frontline against China and the DPRK, and Australia the main rear for U.S. military forces.

It must be observed that the U.S. is trying to persuade the DPRK to come to terms with U.S. policy by using diplomacy with the participation of China. It is highly probable that the U.S. is now using the subtle language of diplomacy to boast of having tightened its control over oil. The U.S. is already heard loudly boasting that it can move back its troops from the range of any DPRK military action and attack the DPRK from a distance with cruise missiles with nuclear warheads.

In the imperialist mode of thinking, especially that of Bush and his retinue of neoconservatives, high-tech weaponry can ultimately solve any problem that economic, financial and diplomatic manipulation cannot solve. But has high-tech weaponry solved the problem for the U.S. in Afghanistan and Iraq? It was effective only for destroying fixed structures and pushing aside the incumbent government. The Taliban and Al Qaeda are back in control of more than 40 percent of Afghanistan by waging guerrilla warfare.

And in Iraq the anti-imperialist forces are also waging guerrilla warfare and are inflicting more and more casualties on the U.S. occupation forces. The U.S. will not bring home all the U.S. troops for a long while because it cannot leave behind the oil fields and oil reserves and all the business projects of the U.S. monopoly firms. The venality of the Bush regime and the greed of the U.S. monopoly firms are placing the U.S. in a quagmire reminiscent of Vietnam.

Are there ways for the Korean and Filipino peoples to frustrate U.S. military intervention and related evil actions? Yes, of course.

The entire Korean people of both north and south can unite against U.S. imperialism, against U.S. military bases and U.S. nuclear weapons in the south and against the economic embargo and military threats of the U.S. against the DPRK. It is fine that the DPRK is standing firmly for national independence, peace and reunification and socialist aspirations and is ready to fight courageously with some powerful weapon. Thus, the U.S. cannot attack the DPRK like it has attacked Afghanistan and Iraq.

The Filipino people can unite and raise the level of their revolutionary consciousness and fighting capabilities. In the face of the U.S. and the Manila puppet government, the people are fortunate to have the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the organs of democratic power and the mass organizations as the solid forces in the struggle for national liberation and democracy. The current form of people's war in the Philippines is extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever-widening and deepening mass message. The high-tech weaponry of the U.S. is impotent against such popular resistance.

The Korean and Filipino peoples enjoy abundant support from all anti-imperialist and democratic forces and people of the world. The broad anti-imperialist solidarity that is developing vigorously is inspiring the people of the world to intensify their resistance against imperialism and all reaction and for national and social liberation. □

WWP solidarity message

'Bush misjudged the Korean people'

Workers World Party sent the following message to Kim Jong Il, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea, in solidarity with the Korean people on the 50th anniversary of the signing of an armistice between the U.S. and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on July 27, 1953.

Dear Comrade Kim Jong Il:

On behalf of the Secretariat of the National Committee of Workers World Party, we salute the heroic and steadfast people of Korea, who will be marking the 50th anniversary of that momentous day in 1953 when the representatives of U.S. imperialism had to sit down at a table with the representatives of the socialist DPRK and sign an armistice agreement.

The world power that had defeated imperial Japan thought it would be easy to conquer a country that had been Japan's colony for 35 years. The U.S. had already occupied the southern portion of the Korean peninsula and had established a brutal puppet regime there. It was impatient to show the world that it could crush any efforts by the laboring masses to free themselves from capitalist rule. And so, beginning in June 1950, it threw millions of troops, equipped with the most advanced weaponry, into a horrendous war that it fully expected to win.

But three years later, Washington had to abandon its ambition to conquer the north. It was truly a tremendous victory for the Korean people and for the

Workers Party of Korea, led by the great Kim Il Sung, which had organized a people's war against the imperialist invaders.

Sam Marcy and his collaborators, who in 1959 would establish the Workers World Party in the United States, recognized at the time the historic significance of the Korean people's victory, and hailed it as a great gain for the working class and oppressed peoples of the world.

Today, as U.S. imperialist forces are becoming bogged down in yet another war—this time in the Middle East—there is a rising anti-war movement on a world scale. Among its primary tasks must be to demand an end to Washington's aggressive moves toward the DPRK, the signing of a peace treaty to replace the armistice agreement, and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea.

This is what the people of Korea—north and south—want. This is what the people of the world need to end the state of crisis and danger of another war on the Korean peninsula.

As a workers' party in the United States, we see how imperialist expansion and aggression brings fabulous wealth to the ruling class but growing misery for the workers, especially the nationally oppressed peoples of color within our borders. Working class youth who have no prospects of a decent job or education are seduced into joining the military, where they are trained to be killers and to have no human feeling for people in the rest of the world.

Millions of people in the United States



The United States government was forced to sign an armistice with the DPRK in 1953 after three years of ferocious war.

reject this, and have demonstrated their opposition to war and aggression. The colonial-style occupation of Iraq is now generating a movement among the U.S. troops to be sent home. As members of the working class, they are coming to realize that they have no interest in being imperial occupiers for the predatory oil companies and corporations that are looting Iraq's resources.

The Bush administration is now politically on the defensive as its plans for an easy conquest are being shredded by the Iraqi people's resistance to occupation.

When Bush so glibly added the DPRK to his list of targets with his infamous "Axis of Evil" speech, he thought the threat of U.S. military force would bring

capitulation. He misjudged the determination of the Korean people and their leaders, who have also stiffened their resistance and their capacity for self-defense.

Resistance to imperialism is growing around the world. The great sacrifices made by the Korean people half a century ago to defend their sovereignty and their right to build socialism continue to inspire this epic struggle.

For the National Committee of WWP, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and communist solidarity,

Deirdre Griswold
and Monica Moorehead
Members of the Secretariat

Este sentimiento se multiplica en todo el continente

'¡África no está a la venta!'

Por Monica Moorehead

El siguiente artículo está basado en un discurso pronunciado durante una reunión del partido Workers World/Mundo Obrero el 11 de julio en Nueva York.

El Presidente George W. Bush acaba de regresar de una visita en África. Los analistas burgueses se están preguntando: ¿Fue el viaje un "éxito" o un "fallo"?

Algunos editoriales han dicho que acercándose las elecciones presidenciales del 2004, Bush estaba especialmente tratando de ganar puntos con la comunidad Áfrico-Americana mostrando su "preocupación" por África, como la visita a la "Casa de los Esclavos" en Isla Gorée en Senegal. Bush está definitivamente tratando de conseguir el voto de la raza Negra. Y es sin duda que está preocupado por la insatisfacción de las tropas que han sido puestos en una posición de ser ocupadores colonialistas en Irak.

Pero el viaje de Bush a África va más allá de las oportunidades publicitarias, como ofrecerle su mano a los niños africanos que viven con el SIDA o son afectados por el virus del VIH.

En sus escritos, El Capitalismo la Última Fase del Imperialismo, V.I. Lenin examinó las varias fases de evolución del capitalismo hasta llegar al imperialismo en forma de un sistema económico mundial que es gobernado por la expansión de los mercados de lucros. Lenin explicó que "El imperialismo es el capitalismo en un estado de desarrollo durante la cual la dominación de los monopolios y el capital financiero se establecen; en el cual la exportación del capital ha adquirido una importancia pronunciada; en la cual la división del mundo entre las empresas internacionales ha comenzado, en la cual la división de todos los territorios del globo entre las potencias capitalistas más grandes ha sido completada."

¿Qué tiene que ver este panfleto escrito en 1916 durante la Primera Guerra Mundial con África? Bueno, todo. En especial el último punto, el cual refleja la actual realidad del mundo de la campaña de los Estados Unidos de re colonizar el mundo, incluyendo a África.

Hasta el comienzo de la década de los noventa, cuando el colapso de la Unión Soviética y el campo socialista estaba en movimiento, el interés de los gobernantes de los Estados Unidos sobre África era principalmente desde una perspectiva geopolítica. La CIA ayudó a derrocar y asesinar a los líderes pro independencia, como Patrice Lumumba en el Congo en 1961, para contra atacar el papel progresista que estaba jugando la Unión Soviética en las décadas de los cincuenta y sesenta, cuando esta proveía ayuda material a los movimientos de liberación, especialmente al sur de África y las ex



Johannesburg.

colonias portuguesas.

Pero todo esto cambió una vez que el capital financiero de los Estados Unidos lograra su hegemonía sobre las ex potencias coloniales europeas en África. Esta nueva relación neocolonial echó raíz en la década de los años ochenta y se ha profundizado desde entonces. La clase gobernante de los Estados Unidos, vía organizaciones como el Fondo Monetario Internacional, le ha estado diciendo a los líderes africanos que si tienen esperanzas de recibir ayuda y préstamos, primero tienen que estabilizar a África—una reseña para dejar que los productos estadounidenses baratos subsidiados por el gobierno, especialmente los productos de la agricultura, rebasen los mercados africanos, a la vez que destruyen las economías locales durante el proceso.

Ellos además tienen que adoptar la "democracia"—o sea, elecciones al estilo estadounidense, en el cual los candidatos que tienen más dinero que les apoye son los que ganan. Los Estados Unidos tratan de influenciar las elecciones con promesas de ayuda si la oposición a los que apoyan ganan. El Acta de Recuperación Económica y Democracia de Zimbabwe, revisada por el Congreso de los Estados Unidos antes de las últimas elecciones de ese país, prometió \$25 millones de dólares en ayuda si el presidente de los Estados Unidos certificaba que Zimbabwe estaba "progresando" hacia la democracia, al igual que una "promesa de parte de los Estados Unidos de refinanciar o eliminar la deuda de un billón de dólares de Zimbabwe al Banco Mundial y otras agencia internacionales de préstamos.

Muchos líderes africanos no están buscando ayuda de los Estados Unidos. Ellos

quieren productos para poder competir en el mercado capitalista mundial, especialmente en el área de la agricultura, la columna vertebral de muchas economías africanas. Un artículo de opinión titulado "Tus Subsidios Agrícolas Nos Están Estrangulando" y firmado por Amadou Tolumani Touré y Blaise Compaoré, los presidentes de Mali y Burkina Faso, respectivamente, apareció en las páginas de opinión del diario The New York Times el 11 de julio.

El artículo es una apelación a la reducción de los billones de dólares en subsidios que el gobierno de los Estados Unidos paga a los negocios de la agricultura todos los años, especialmente en el área de la producción de algodón. En la producción del año 2001 al 2002 este pagó \$3 mil millones de dólares en subsidios a 25.000 cultivadores de algodón estadounidense—el equivalente de la total producción económica de Burkina Faso. Como resultado, el algodón africano no puede competir en el mercado mundial con el algodón de menor precio exportado de los Estados Unidos y lo otros países capitalistas ricos.

Este es solo un ejemplo de cómo la destrucción de las economías locales en los países de menor desarrollo por los países altamente industrializados los llevan a una ruptura en su desarrollo económico y que da como resultado el severo desempleo, la pobreza y las guerras civiles.

El descubrimiento de petróleo en el Golfo de Guinea lejos de Nigeria y cerca de Liberia fue la principal motivación del viaje de Bush. Por esto Bush está pensando enviar tropas a Liberia y África Occidental. No tiene nada que ver con razones humanitarias pero si tiene que ver con el deseo de dominación por los Estados Unidos al mercado petrolero e incrementar sus importaciones de África en por lo menos un 25%.

Ideas ante imperialistas se esparcen

Protestas contra la guerra ocurrieron en toda Sur África antes y durante la visita de Bush. El diario Indymedia reportó una manifestación de 10.000 participantes en Pretoria el 9 de julio. Estas movilizaciones parecen escapárseles a la prensa capitalista. Las demandas fueron altamente políticas y militantes. Por ejemplo, uno de los lemas pedía el arresto de Bush ante un tribunal internacional por crímenes de guerra contra el pueblo iraquí.

Hubo pancartas que decían "África no se vende," especialmente por petróleo.

Las principales protestas fueron organizadas por la Coalición Sur Africana ante-Guerra, un frente unido de cientos de grupos que se unieron el año pasado en oposición a la guerra contra Irak. El lla-

mado de protestas contra Bush por la Coalición recibió el apoyo de la Alianza Tripartita de Sur África—el Congreso Nacional Africano, el Congreso de Sindicatos Sur Africanos y el Partido Comunista Sur Africano.

Estas tres organizaciones, junto con Amigos de Cuba, sostuvieron una protesta frente a la Embajada de los Estados Unidos en Pretoria el 9 de julio. Una cita de su declaración oficial: "El gobierno de los Estados Unidos continúa mostrando su irrespeto por el derecho de todas las naciones a la autodeterminación, el derecho a determinar sus propias políticas en interés a sus propios pueblos. Esto es evidente, entre otras formas, en la política de los Estados Unidos hacia Cuba, Irak, Afganistán y otros países con los que no está de acuerdo. Este sigue siendo la traba crítica en la lucha por la autodeterminación del pueblo de Palestina. ...Nosotros exigimos a los Estados Unidos a que respete el derecho de todas las naciones a determinar sus propios futuros libre de cualquier presión militar, económica u otra."

Mandela arremete contra Bush y Blair

El 10 de julio, el ex presidente Sur Africano, Nelson Mandela dio un discurso en Westminster, Inglaterra, donde él arremetió contra Bush y el Primer Ministro Tony Blair por llevar a cabo la guerra contra Irak. Mandela acusó a Bush de solo importarle el petróleo iraquí y acusó a Blair de ser el "ministro del extranjero de los Estados Unidos". Las crítica de Mandela hacia Bush y Blair son un golpe moral contra el imperialismo y un empuje al movimiento ante guerra mundial.

Durante una huelga de una semana en Nigeria en contra del incremento en los precios, la juventud llevaba carteles que exigían el fin a la agenda imperialista ante pobre y pro rico. Una nueva generación de líderes revolucionarios Africanos parece están en el horizonte, quienes buscarán la solidaridad política de los movimientos en los países imperialistas, especialmente en los Estados Unidos.

Varios pensadores Africanos han dicho que la única manera que África puede encontrar la salida de su subdesarrollo, pobreza, guerras civiles, enfermedades y muchas cosas más es por medio de su independencia genuina del legado colonialista y de la esclavitud por el neo liberalismo de hoy, especialmente de los bancos. Esto va en contra de toda la razón del imperialismo—la cual es la de robar todos los recursos de todos los otros países para poder enriquecer los cofres de las clases gobernante imperialistas.

Los pueblo africanos fueron esclavizados en los Estados Unidos y en todo el hemisferio occidental hace varios siglos y todavía están siendo esclavizados por la codicia y el robo capitalista. Los imperialistas deben ser forzados a pagar reparaciones a África incluyendo facilitar los avances tecnológicos más modernos, sin ningún lazo político ni económico. □