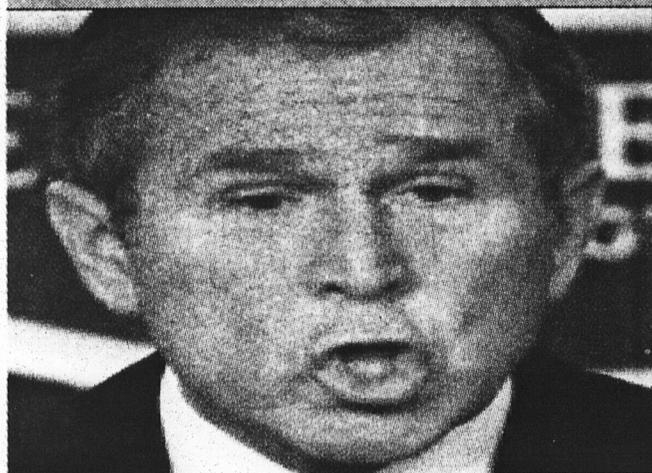


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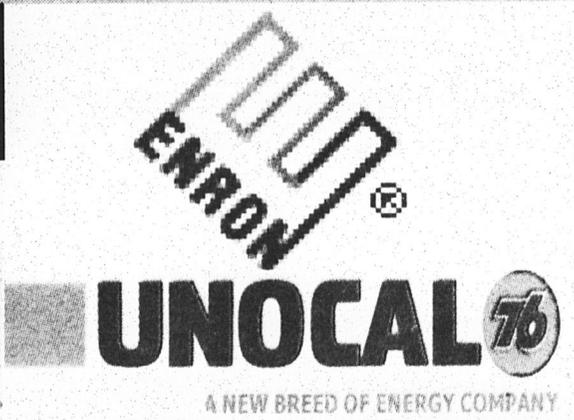
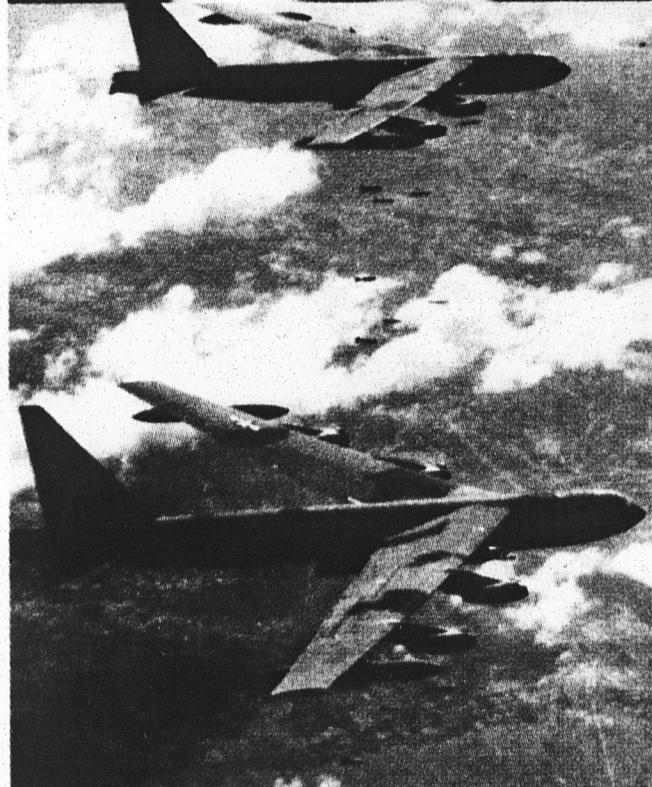
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Volume XIX \* Issue No. 1 \* FEBRUARY 2002

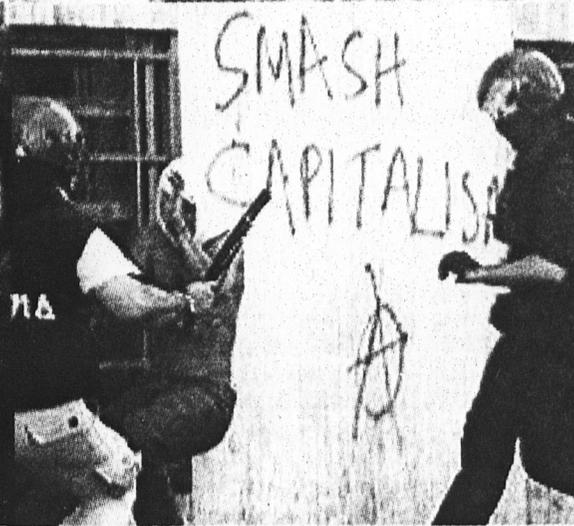
## CHE'NGE OUR WORLD



### UNITY!



### PEACE!



### SOCIALISM!

# Imperialist War...The Continuation of "Globalization" by Other Means

ROY ROLLIN

Since September 11th, the politicians and the press have been working overtime in singing paeans of praise to America's heroes; those workers who risked life and limb to help save anyone still left alive amidst the ruins of the WTC. As AFL-CIO president John Sweeney pointed out, for the past month everybody...has been a worker wannabe. But talk is cheap, especially when it comes from those who lie for a living. This includes Sweeney, who, in his own words, stands fully behind the President and his aggressive, considered action, i.e., war on the people of Afghanistan or anywhere else he thinks he can get away with it. For even before the smoke had cleared from ground zero it had become obvious that zeros for heroes was the order of the day as far as the ruling rich were concerned. Or as Sweeney again put it; the painful irony is that the homage ...paid is just lip service. While we've been singing the praises of workers, Congress is about the business of severing their lifelines. Praise won't pay the rent. Quite true. Only, it is even more ironic (not to mention painful) that someone who is supposed to be representing the interests of working people, like Sweeney, has had little more than fine words to offer them as well. For he, no less than the politicians he was taking to task, has yet to lift a finger in defense of workers interests on count of his staunch support for the war! It would seem that Sweeney is not too familiar with the old IWW adage that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. For just as Sweeney wants to help the companies we work for to succeed, he apparently wants to help the government that works for them succeed in its war against workers and the poor in the USA as well in Afghanistan. For just as a nation's foreign policy is a reflection, and/or extension, of its domestic policies, or the former usually implies support for the latter. And imperialist war is nothing other than the continuation of capitalist globalization, i.e., the increased exploitation and oppression of the working class on a global scale, by other, more forceful, means.

## Rudy: Leave the Dead, Take the Gold

As far as representatives of the ruling rich, i.e., politicians paying lip service, went, no-one better personified the greed and arrogance of America's spoiled master class than NYC's grinch mayor, Sir Rudolf Giuliani. No wonder he was proclaimed America's mayor and person of the year by many a mouthpiece of the rich. Having recovered tons of gold bricks buried in a bank vault under the rubble at Ground Zero, Giuliani rushed to cut down the number of firefighters on the site, most of whom lacked proper safety equipment outside of dust masks to begin with, in order clear the way for Bechtel, a big-time GOP contributor given the billion-dollar contract for the clean-up, to take-over the operation. Only the remains of dead workers, including 250 firemen, still lie buried there; not too valuable a commodity as far as Wall Street goes. With all the

unemployment the bosses were busy creating, there were, no doubt, plenty more where they came from.

And at the same time that thousands were lining up for blocks around Madison Square Garden for job fairs, Giuliani was announcing that there would be no new city hiring (even though more than 100,000 workers have lost their jobs since September 11) and that services for the poor and needy would once again have to be cut back upon. This includes the elimination of around 100 classes at CUNY and 3,600 students in the mostly Black and Latino community colleges. After all, if there were no jobs to be had, why should anyone be trained for them at the state's expense.



Meanwhile, with the city facing a \$4 to 6 billion budget deficit, politicians and other Wall Street insiders were already talking about another 1975 style fiscal crisis. Then the city's budget was balanced on the backs of workers and the poor through massive layoffs, wage freezes and cuts in social services including the ending of open admissions and free tuition at CUNY. Of course, the growing numbers of the hungry and homeless would be hard-pressed to figure out the difference between before and after 1975, or for that matter, before and after September 11th when supposedly everything changed. As one advocate for the homeless put it, all the problems the poor faced on September 10th are still around. But, according to Giuliani, workers and the poor need not worry. More handouts and tax cuts for the rich would soon be on the way and as all exponents of the Republican raw deal know, that's how trickle down economics operate in the land of the free and the home of the brave. The bosses are free to lay off workers whenever they feel like it while the workers are free to brave it on the streets after getting laid off. Thus the incoming mayor, multi-millionaire Mike Bloomberg is already talking about shared sacrifices, doing more with less and telling the workers and the poor that we will not be able to afford all that we want (and) we will not even be able to afford everything we currently have. Yet in a city which boasts of the greatest income inequality and some of the lowest wages in the country, working people, unlike Bloomberg and the rest of the rich, already can't afford most things...in spite of all the alleged economic advance that took place under Giuliani. And if the past is any indicator of what the present, let alone, the future

will be like, you can be sure that the rich will not be sharing any in any of the sacrifices either.

## Tax Cuts for the Bosses . . .

Of course, Giuliani's generosity towards the rich was small change compared to the largess shown by his politician pals in Washington. Having already handed out billions to the bosses with his tax cuts, Bush and the Republican controlled Congress could hardly wait for an excuse to do even more of the same. First there was \$15 billion for the already ailing airline industry, whose owners used the terrorist attacks as an excuse to lay off thousands of their employees. These were followed by massive layoffs in almost every other major industry.

After all, as the by now standard refrain goes, Bin Laden made them do it! Never mind the fact that the economy was officially declared to have been in a recession since March by the National Bureau of Economic Research, a group of

economists that tracks business cycles. A month before September 11, the percentage of industrial capacity in the US had already fallen to its lowest point in 20 years while industrial production itself fell by .06%. This was the 11th consecutive month of economic decline. In other words, the terrorist attack gave America's bosses an excuse to cut their losses by cutting back on their payrolls, while blaming it all, as usual, on someone else from another country. Indeed, it's never their fault, even though they're the ones who call all the shots. The last time there was a recession accompanied by wholesale layoffs, it was all the foreigner's fault too. Only then it was cheap imports from Japan. Meanwhile, nothing was on tap for America's airline workers as far as America's patriotic plutocrats were concerned, outside of maybe a free flag. According to outgoing House GOP leader, Dick Armey, that just wouldn't be commensurate with the American spirit.. As if to show just what they meant by the American spirit, Armey's fellow congressmen came out with a plan to ensure that all the bosses would get a piece of the pie. (For good measure, they gave themselves a \$4,900 pay raise as well!) Thus 90% of the Republican stimulus plan consists of tax cuts, 2/3 of which will go to Fortune 500 companies while almost half of the rest will be going to the top ten percent of income earners. According to the NY Times, of the \$54 billion in accelerated tax cuts, every penny would go to the top 30% of taxpayers. Half would go to the top 5%. 80% of the benefits from the capital gains tax cut would go to the top 2% of households. After all, when it comes to the rich, there's not going to be any discrimination in the land of the free.

Even the Times was forced to admit that the measure is flat-out unfair while Robert Reich, Bill Clinton's Labor Secretary, pointed out that the tax cuts are mostly for the rich...who already spend all the money they want to.

## . . . Workers Take the Losses

Of course, part of the reason the rich have all that money to spend in the first place is that under Clinton and the Democrats, America's economic miracle was based upon falling wages and a degree of economic inequality wider than any time since the Great Depression. Even before Bush took office the richest 0.5% of the population already owned 42% of all financial wealth even though the average American was working 164 hours longer than in 1976. Labor's share of all this prosperity was 2 to 4 percentage points (of 8 trillion dollars) below levels reached in the late 1960s. At the same time, the top managers of the 300 biggest US firms had incomes 93 times greater than that of their employees. American workers are indeed the victims of terrorism, only they are the victims of economic terrorism; what Mumia Abu-Jamal aptly called the silent...hidden terror...of financial failure; the terror of not getting next week's paycheck; the terror of being fired (and) of being unable to pay the rent. This terror is one that affects not thousands, but millions and is one that the state not only refuses to fight, but refuses to acknowledge. And how could it? For the very system that the state is sworn to uphold is in fact the cause of it in the first place!

Thus America's heroes, the workers, have been left high and dry, with little more than words to eat as the state refuses to acknowledge their fate, let alone do anything to fight it. Even though more than 574,000 have been laid off since September 11th, the biggest one month increase in unemployment in 21 years, not one dime has yet to go towards increasing or extending unemployment benefits, creating new jobs, covering medical expenses or to anything else that working people desperately need in the wake of a crisis that they, in no way, shape, or form, bear any responsibility for, but will, of course, be made to pay for. And as if to add insult to injury, anthrax infected post offices, staffed by a largely Black workforce, remained in operation throughout that scare, even though every other government building in Washington quickly shut down to ensure the safety of the politicians. Even federalizing airport workers was turned down by the Republican controlled Congress, for fear that they might then become more easily unionized. This prompted one Democrat to remark that the GOP was more afraid of unions than terrorists. Maybe so, but the Democrats haven't exactly been working overtime to enact any legislation favorable towards working people either, in spite of their control of the Senate. This stands in sharp contrast to their mad rush to come up with any and every cent available for the war and their no less craven capitulation to Bush when it came to tearing up the Bill of Rights to push through police state legislation under the guise of fighting

terrorism. (The racist round-up of anyone even looking like an Arab and the drum-head military tribunals proposed by Bush give a good idea of the kind of freedom and justice the US is fighting for.) The only difference between Republicans and Democrats was who could beat their breasts or rattle their sabers louder in war mongering and in whipping up anti-Arab hysteria. But why should it be otherwise? After all, it was Democrat Clinton who emptied the Bill of Rights while filling up the prisons with Black youth with his own anti-terrorism legislation, effective death penalty act, and war on drugs even without the help of Bin Laden.

#### **Patriotism: Waving the Flag with One Hand, Picking Your Pockets with the Other**

Contrary to a 1960s song by Edwin Starr, war is good for absolutely something when it comes to capitalism. In fact it's good for quite a few things. To start with, the undertaker, or even the flagmaker, is not the only one who war is good for. With Bush proposing a \$343 billion military budget, the military-industrial complex stands to cash in as well. Stocks of the biggest defense contractors have already shot up, so to speak, from 20 to 30% in spite of the recession. Then there is the political life of the un-elected and previously unpopular Bush, which was resuscitated by it. The always pliable press, of course, did their part by making sure to keep secret until November the result of a vote re-count that showed that the leader of the free world wasn't even really elected in the first place so as to stand behind our president. For added effect, they then twisted words around to make it seem as if Bush really won. Both houses of Congress eagerly did their share by agreeing to bury any investigation of the events of September 11th until some time later this year for the same reason. All of them wrapped themselves in the stars and stripes, hoping to pull the flag over the eyes of American workers with their united we stand rhetoric in the midst of an economic downturn. In such a situation, red, white and blue blinders are indeed on the order of the day; for only with their eyes closed can workers really believe that their bosses are feeling the pain the same way they are. While the politicians and the press talk of united we stand, the rich are standing on line at the bank cashing in their tax rebates while the workers are standing on the unemployment line hoping that they can even qualify for benefits since many of them work at part-time McJobs that aren't even covered. (Under existing labor laws, only 39% of the workforce is eligible to begin with.) But with economic issues shoved under the rug, or rather the flag, the patriots can wave the colors with one hand while they pick workers pockets with the other. Who else is going to pay for all the corporate bailouts and taxcuts, let alone a war costing about \$1 billion a month? Thus every cent spent on bombing schools, homes, and hospitals in Afghanistan is one less cent spent on building them in this country, and it's all coming out of the pockets, paychecks (increased payroll taxes) and pensions (Social Security) of America's workers. (Bombs these days go from a mere \$1,000 to \$80,000 a piece.) And all of it is being done so that the same bankers and bosses who rip us off here can do the

same in the rest of the world without anyone getting in their way. For war is the continuation of globalization by more forceful means. When the WTO, the IMF or the World Bank can't do the job peacefully through economic extortion, the B-52s are brought in to use more persuasive measures to force any recalcitrants back into line.

#### **War on Terrorism or War by Terrorists?**

This war is not about terrorism any more than the ones in Bosnia or Kosovo (where America's allies included many of today's terrorists) were about human rights. America's rulers are the biggest terrorists in history; only their terrorism is the terrorism of the rich, bombardment from the air and sea, economic blackmail and using food as a weapon. Thus they continue to starve and bomb the people of Iraq even though that war officially ended over a decade ago and now that the Taliban are all but finished, Bush is talking of extending the war to Iraq or Somalia. (Why give up a good thing when there's much more to be gotten out of it?) Next year (i.e., 2002) will be a war year, boasted Bush, his eyes, no doubt, focused on the upcoming Congressional elections this fall. America's allies in the Middle East are in fact the biggest terrorist states in the region: the Turkish oppressors of the Kurds and the Israeli oppressors of the Palestinians along with military dictatorships and absolute monarchys like Egypt, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. All of them at one time or another supported Islamic fundamentalism as a weapon to use against the left and the labor movement. Indeed, it was the US and its Saudi and Pakistani pals who created the Taliban in the first place, in order to ensure stability in Afghanistan after the previous gangs of medieval-minded mullahs, now known as the Northern Alliance, couldn't get their act together and went at it like cats and dogs for nearly four years. Stability, that is, for Big Oil who offered the Taliban a 15% piece of the action, so a pipeline can go through Pakistan and Afghanistan while avoiding Russia and Iran and ensure continued US economic and political domination of the region. For the only thing America's rulers fight for, or

amongst other things, had had the nerve to suggest that women had some rights other than to be bought and sold as pieces of property. Staunch opponents of womens rights in the US, the Republican right wing from Reagan and Bush to Bush and Cheney have aided their opponents in Afghanistan (and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait) all along as well in spite of Laura Bush's recent protestations about the Taliban's treatment of Afghan women. In the same vein, so to speak, as their war on terrorism, is their sham war on drugs. US jails are filled to the brim with millions of Black youth for the most petty of drug-related crimes, yet the CIA turned a blind eye to the Afghan reactionaries, as well as the Nicaraguan contras, when they flooded America's inner cities with drugs in order to finance their counter-revolutionary wars. And while anyone even resembling an Arab is being rounded up as a potential pal of Al Qaeda, the Bin Laden family's business partners in the Bush family, who made billions working with them, just as US companies made a pretty penny doing business with the Nazis during WWII, were quick to make sure that evidence of those links remain sealed away in the vaults of the FBI and CIA for years to come. They lie, we die, They can squander billions at moment's notice to create a Bin Laden or the Taliban and then spend even more trying to destroy them (including a \$25 million cash reward for anyone who helps turn in their former friend turned bad boy) but they can't come up with a nickel for the felt needs of America's workers, who are, in turn, supposed to sacrifice anything and everything, from their living standards to their lives, when their rulers Frankensteins turn on them. The American government is not only the executive committee of the ruling rich but is a perfect mirror image of America's tightwad, cheapskate bosses, who will try to squeeze workers out of their lost drop of sweat on the job yet won't hear of giving them more money for their troubles. And at the same time they won't think twice about spending a small fortune on keeping unions out so that they can continue to do more of the same!

Fight the Bosses, Not Their Wars



rather, make America's workers, fight for, is protecting their power, privileges and profits...and the ability to make even more of them.

For all their ranting and raving against Afghanistan for harboring terrorists, it was, in fact, the US who supported all of the terrorists in Afghanistan. This included Bin Laden, the Taliban and the so-called Northern Alliance, when they were all the best of buddies fighting against a left-wing revolution from 1978 to 1992, which,

The main reason Bush can wage war on both working people here and overseas is because he not only got a blank check from his alleged opponents in the Democratic party to do so but because that check comes co-signed by those supposedly looking out for the interests of America's workers and minorities, the AFL-CIO trade union bureaucracy and the middle class misleaders of the Black community. All of them are far more loyal to the Democratic party in particular and US

imperialism in general than they are to the interests of their members and supporters. As we have already seen, AFL-CIO chief Sweeney didn't spare a second in offering his support for the war drive even though he is fully aware of the fact that the workers he claims to represent are paying for it while the bosses he doesn't even pretend to oppose are laughing all the way to bank with those payments. Of course, this same Sweeney stood by Bill Clinton and Al Gore for eight years while they pushed through NAFTA, ended welfare as we know it, cut spending on social services and raised the Pentagon budget even higher than the admirals and generals asked for. And now he has the audacity to complain that the bosses are not doing their fair share while workers are making all the sacrifices. But why shouldn't they when they have leaders like Sweeney around who they can count on to keep the workers in line. Thus instead of mobilizing the ranks of the AFL-CIO for militant mass action against the government Sweeney himself accuses of waging corporate warfare against working people, not to mention forming a labor party based upon the unions he leads, Sweeney is getting ready to yet again support pro-labor politicians come election day...even though he himself admits they pay just lip service to the needs of the workers the same goes for those Black politicians, both inside and outside of the Halls of Congress, who, while opposing this or that aspect of the war drive, have given their overall support; urging Black people to once again die overseas for freedoms that they still don't enjoy over here. Then there are those in the anti-globalization and anti-war movements who follow the lead of the Democrats and the their labor lieutenants and who are thus more concerned with opposing America's enemies than they are in opposing the American ruling classes war. Some urge caution and preach responsibility and respectability while the government and the bosses act recklessly and irresponsibly with workers lives and living standards both at home and abroad. Others try to distance the struggle against war from the struggle against globalization, separating politics from economics the same way reformists have always done by claiming that the nation state no longer matters in an age of global capitalism. As if the American ruling class and its armed forces weren't trying to make the world safe for American corporations! In the sixties, they had a saying for people like that: if they're not part of the solution, then they're part of the problem. The problem is capitalism, which places power, privilege and profit for a few over and above anything and everything else. The solution is building a mass movement of working people and their allies, like the thousands of radicalizing youth who have already made the connection between capitalist globalization and imperialist war, that can not only stop the wars waged overseas but put an end to those being waged at home against American working people by putting an end to the system that caused them in the first place. Only to do that workers and their allies need a political party of, by and for themselves so that they can take the power and finally have the peace and prosperity that they so rightly deserve.

# BUSH VOWS ENDLESS WAR

BRIAN BECKER

It's the end of the year and so of course many people want

to make end-of-the-year assessments and predictions about what is to come.

George W. Bush did this before he departed for the big sky territory of Crawford, Texas—the site of his 1,600-acre spread. The media reported that he was in a downright jovial mood. Throw in a little chest thumping and you have the “essential” Bush administration policy: “Next year will be a war year,” Bush confidently predicted.

Usually politicians promise peace and prosperity to their constituents. With unemployment rising so quickly right now, accompanied by hunger and a new surge in homelessness, some would think that the president might use the end-of-the-year to promise some government relief, some emergency measures to help these workers.

In New York, the place that Bush routinely now describes as a city of heroes, more than 100,000 workers have lost their jobs since Sept. 11. Almost 80,000 mainly low-income jobs were lost in New York in October alone. Post-holiday layoffs from the retail sector will add to this number. The food lines were growing before Sept. 11 as the capitalist economy turned from boom to recession. Even more revealing is how many of these people are first-time users of food pantries. Since Sept. 11, more than 60 percent of those receiving food donations are visiting the food lines for the first time. Bush's jocular promise that “next year will be a war year” will not put a single one of these workers back to work.

## CLASS BASIS OF THE WAR

So why is George W. Bush so cavalier about the prospects for next year? The simple answer is that the president's real constituents are planning to benefit handsomely from next year's promised war.

The idea of war usually fills most working people with fear and dread over the anticipated loss of life and other human miseries associated with military conflict. The husbands, wives, domestic partners, mothers, fathers and children of U.S. GIs are not sitting around at New Year's festivities gleefully rubbing their hands together in joyful anticipation of the next war. They have to be worried.

With Bush and the generals, however—and especially the bankers and military corporation moguls—it's another story. They aren't the ones who actually fight the wars. That's the job assigned to working-class youth. The big capitalists view the war in Afghanistan and the “war next year” as a huge business opportunity.

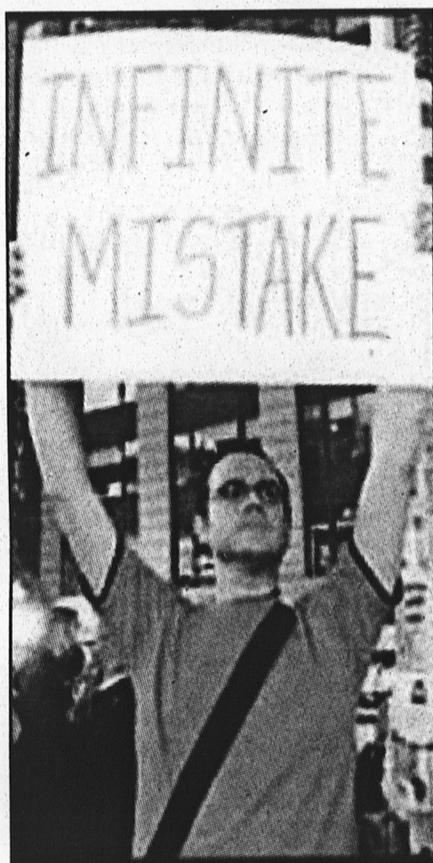
Bush has presented a new military budget request for 2002 of \$343 billion—an increase of \$32 billion over last year. That budget is more than 23 times as large as the combined spending of the eight countries routinely identified as the most likely targets of a new U.S. war: Iraq, Sudan, Syria, Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Libya and Somalia.

Stocks of the biggest military corporations have shot up since Sept. 11.

Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, Northrop Grumman, General Electric and others have had the value of their stock increase from 20 percent to 30 percent in the past three months, in spite of the recession sweeping the rest of the economy.

The military-industrial complex represents the biggest capitalists in the country. Along with the big banks and oil monopolies they use an army of paid lobbyists to look after their interests on Capitol Hill and at the White House.

These lobbyists dole out huge sums of money to elected officials to make sure that they vote the right way when it



comes to budget allocations. In other countries this process is frequently described as runaway bribery and corruption.

All the proclamations from on high of sorrow and patriotism after Sept. 11 are for public consumption and to create a sense of “national unity” while the corporations make a killing. The media hype is creating a dense fog of patriotism so that people will presumably not challenge the president as he redistributes the wealth of the country—away from working class and poor communities and directly into the coffers of his rich friends in the corporate and banking establishment.

“No self-respecting lobbyist” has not “repackaged his position as a patriotic

response to the tragedy,” explained Massachusetts Representative Edward Markey, in a Dec. 3 interview with the New York Times.

James Albertine, president of the American League of Lobbyists, is equally explicit. “What happened was a tragedy, certainly, but there are opportunities. We're in business. This is not a charity.”

The president of lobbyists for Corporate America explained in a post-Sept. 11 interview with The Hill newspaper that now “National Security is top of the list. That includes the military, the intelligence service and the police [and FBI], etc. ... as the economy continues to falter, the Congress and the ‘special interest community’ [the military corporations] have been working [suggesting] ways to enhance economic growth. ...”

## TURNING FAST BUCKS ON ARMAMENTS, TAX DOLLARS

To see how the system is really working it is best to take the example of Lockheed Martin, the world's largest weapons contractor. Frida Berrigan, research associate of the World Policy Institute, has provided an excellent analysis of this process.

Among Lockheed Martin's new lobbyists is Haley Barbour.

Until recently, Haley served as the chair of the Republican National Committee. It is estimated that Lockheed Martin will spend around \$20 million lobbying elected officials in Congress between this year and last. Only General Electric and tobacco giant Philip Morris spent more on lobbying in the year 2000.

Lockheed Martin's weapons have been widely displayed on television during the war against Afghanistan. The corporation's stock has steadily climbed in anticipation of new orders for the “war next year.” Its stock rose approximately 20 percent as the Pentagon showcased an assortment of Lockheed-made weapons systems: the F-16 fighter plane, the “bunker buster” bombs and the C-130 transport plane.

Raytheon, the manufacturer of the Tomahawk Cruise Missile, is another of the happy corporate campers that strongly supports the president as he prepares for next year's war.

One hundred Tomahawk cruise missiles have been fired into Afghanistan since Oct. 7. Each missile goes for a million dollars. Let's see, hmmm ... that's \$100 million worth of missiles that will be replaced at taxpayers' expense. In October, shortly

after the Pentagon lobbed 50 cruise missiles into Afghanistan on the first day of the war, Raytheon doubled its equity sales program with a major offering. The company raised a whopping \$1 billion from the October sale. This money won't go to “job creation.” Company executives announced that the money would be used for general corporate purposes and to educe debt. The “war on terrorism” serves as the perfect pretext to subsidize the capitalist class from the national treasury. Working people are losing their jobs and their bosses are being bailed out.

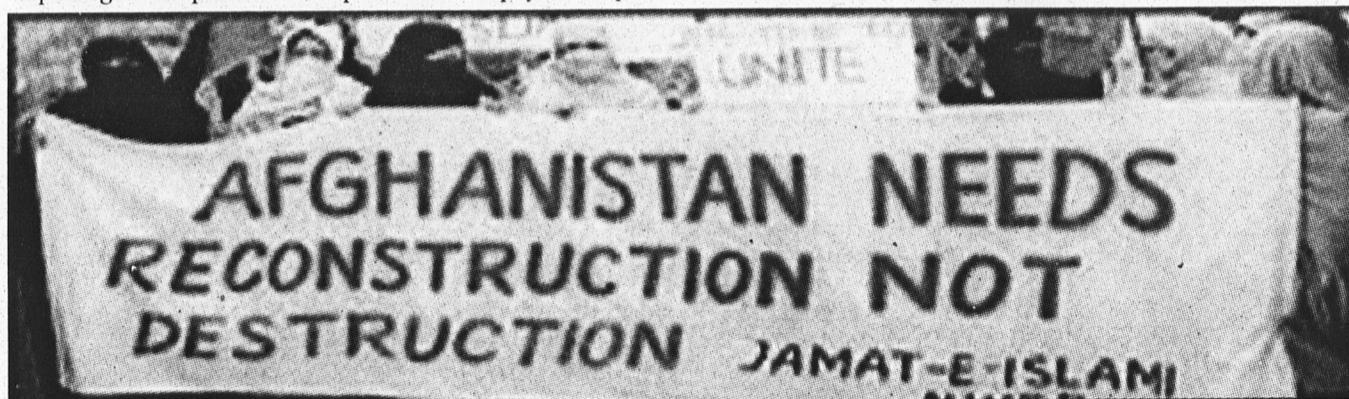
The airline industry bosses were bailed out to the tune of \$800 million while 100,000 airline workers lost their jobs. In Washington, D.C., the hotel and hospitality bosses were amply provided for in a \$100 million assistance program after Sept. 11. Not a penny in that bill went to help the hotel and restaurant workers, thousands of whom lost their jobs.

One of the most extreme examples of how Bush is using the “war on terrorism” as a smokescreen to steal from the poor to give to the rich was the bill that the administration pushed through the House of Representatives to eliminate the Alternative Minimum Tax. Enacted 15 years ago, it was meant to ensure that profitable corporations paid some taxes even if their accountants had found enough loopholes for them to escape all normal tax liability. Bush sought to repeal it this year and give the corporations a retroactive refund for the taxes they had paid over the previous 14 years. You can't get more patriotic than that! The House passed a bill that provided a \$25 billion tax refund, including \$1.4 billion to IBM, \$833 million to General Motors and \$671 million to General Electric—and the list goes on.

## CLASS WAR AT HOME AND ABROAD

While Bush didn't identify which country would be targeted in “next year's war,” it must be obvious to all that the core orientation of the administration is to pursue a wartime strategy all the time.

Bush, and the capitalists who are his true constituency, are waging a war abroad under the rubric of the war on terrorism. At home they are fleecing the workers. Layoffs, unemployment, hunger, foreclosures, evictions and increased homelessness—this is the burden the working class is supposed to endure from an economic crisis created entirely by those who benefit from the profit system.



# U.S. Doesn't Give A Damn About Women...Anywhere

EDITORIAL

There is much talk propagated by the corporate, media and corporate politicians about how terribly women are treated in Afghanistan. (Another reason why it's okay to bomb them). Yes, this much is true. Women are treated horribly in Afghanistan. But the key assumption that we are asked to make is that Afghani women suffer because they live in an Islamic culture. This is the big lie.

Women in Afghanistan at least in Kabul and the major cities were relatively cosmopolitan and free. Women in Afghanistan have never had it so bad as they do today under the Taliban. But the Taliban is a creature of US policy.

In the 1980s the CIA carried out its biggest mission in its history recruiting, training and arming an army of Muslim religious extremists from around the world to wage jihad on the pro-Soviet government of Afghanistan. The result of this multi-billion dollar operation was enormous death and suffering for the Afghani people, particularly its women. Once the US accomplished its mission in driving Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, it allowed these women haters to impose their will on the

Afghani people.

Men had to grow their beards and women had to cover up completely and basically never leave home.

The US government has been the world's most powerful supporter – financially, diplomatically and militarily – of religious extremism in the Islamic countries of the Middle East and Central Asia. US policy nurtured women hating religious fanatics to fight the spread of communism that would mean losing US corporate control over the rich oil resources of the region.

In Afghanistan, the US supplied the guns that cut down teachers who were teaching girls how to read. Not a word was said about the barbaric practices of the Afghani mujahideen because they were "our boys", they were called "freedom fighters" by the US at the time. So American tax payers, unknowingly, paid for the virtual enslavement of women in Afghanistan today.

US hypocrisy about women's oppression doesn't just end with their sudden realization that the Taliban are anti-women, the Northern Alliance which the US is now supporting is even a more vicious gang of women hating drug dealing fanatics. On the one hand the US condemns women's oppression when it suits their foreign policy aims,

on the other it aids its creation. This is unfortunately quite typical of US policy on every question of human rights that would be important for the average

freedom and want it even more than American people do because they have never had a chance to exercise it. "They", the Muslim people love material



**Students at Kabul University in the 1980's, the majority of students were women before the United States supported the overthrow of the progressive government.**

American.

We are told by Bush that "they hate our way of life", "they hate our freedoms", etc, etc. As we already mentioned "they" were created by the US. "They" were imposed upon the Muslim peoples as a way of controlling the resources of their lands. The "they" that Bush refers to is meant to cast a cloud over all Islamic people but the "they" that he refers to in reality were set up by Bush's own daddy.

The now widely accepted theory that women's suffering in Muslim lands is because of the nature of Islamic culture is dead wrong. Islam as a religion is very close to Christianity and is no more oppressive of women than the wonderful Christian idea that women were created from Adam's rib and so on. For lots of great anti women dogma one need go no further than the Bible.

It should not have to be said but, people everywhere in the world want to live in peace and want to prosper regardless of ethnicity, religion, etc. "They" in terms of Muslim people love

comforts even more than Americans do because they have not been able to benefit from their own resources. In fact it is the very opposite of what Bush is saying is true in regard to the Muslim people. If anything, there is great anger amongst the Muslim masses because U.S. policy does not allow them to be free and to share "our" way of life.

It is not in the nature of this or that religion or this or that culture where we will find the cause of women's oppression. It is in observing the society as a whole, in analyzing its mode of production (how a society reproduces itself), where we find the key. All class society, including capitalism, where inequality is a way of life, where inequality is built-in to the system, produces and reproduces women's oppression. Thus we can see women's oppression the world over from Afghanistan to right here in the US. However there is a difference.

In the US a rich white woman married to a Senator will still have to occupy a

*continued on pg 19*



**Afghan women, their gains under attack, volunteered for women's militia organized in 1989 by Soviet-allied Kabul government.**

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The AFL-CIO leadership, which says that it is fighting to defend the interests of workers at home, has decided to support Bush's war abroad. Some who are supposed to be part of the anti-war movement have echoed this theme too.

"Let's fight on bread and butter issues at home and gain the ear of the workers rather than risk appearing unpatriotic regarding the war abroad," goes the reasoning. But this political position is doomed to failure.

Bush's war abroad cannot be artificially separated from the war at home. Bush and the ruling class want to keep the people in a stupefying patriotic cloud at the very moment that they need to defend their own interests by waging a class war at home.

This can only be accomplished by persuasively exposing the fact that the war abroad is designed to sustain the U.S. corporate and banking stranglehold over the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Osama bin Laden is a convenient excuse. But the war will spread to Iraq, Somalia, Cuba, Colombia,

Palestine, North Korea—either by overt or covert means.

Nations that don't submit to the dictates of Wall Street, the IMF or the White House will be targeted for military aggression. That is the not-so-hidden truth about the war on terrorism.

Exposing this class truth is necessary to unleash the struggle at home.

A true "emergency" exists for every laid-off worker, especially for those whose benefits will soon expire. The anti-war movement and the workers' movement must become one.

Instead of war against poor people abroad, the movement must demand an emergency moratorium on layoffs from the largest corporations, a guaranteed living income for all those who are laid off, a doubling of the minimum wage, and a complete moratorium on evictions, foreclosures and utility shutoffs.

## LESSON OF DEBS AND DR. KING

The long-standing dichotomy between the struggle at home and the anti-war

movement must be ended. It is good at the beginning of the New Year to remember the words of two important anti-war leaders whose names were first and foremost associated with the struggle at home. Martin Luther King Jr., rejected the advice of his moderate and liberal advisors by announcing his opposition to the Pentagon war against Vietnam. In a ringing speech in 1967 at Riverside Church in New York City, Dr. King linked the civil rights movement with the global struggle against colonialism and he declared, "Our government is the greatest purveyor of violence on the planet."

Nothing frightened the political establishment more than this dramatic and real connection between the anti-war and civil rights movement. Dr. King's capacity to unify these two struggles for social justice was cut short by his assassination a year later in April 1968 Eugene Debs, who evolved from a railroad worker into a beloved union leader and finally a revolutionary socialist and internationalist, received a 10-year prison sentence for advocating

opposition to U.S. entry into World War I.

Before he was sent to prison Debs wrote a letter to the novelist and social reformer Upton Sinclair. Debs stressed: "I want the workers to prepare to resist and to put an end to ... our own predatory plutocracy right here at home. I do not know of any foreign buccaners that could come nearer skinning the American workers to the bone than is now being done by the Rockefellers and their pirate pals.

"The workers have no country to fight for," he concluded. "It belongs to the capitalists and the plutocrats. Let them worry over its defense, and when they declare wars as they and they alone do, let them also go out and slaughter one another on the battlefields."

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# India and Pakistan Puppets on the Strings of Uncle Sam

## About The People, They Don't Give A Damn

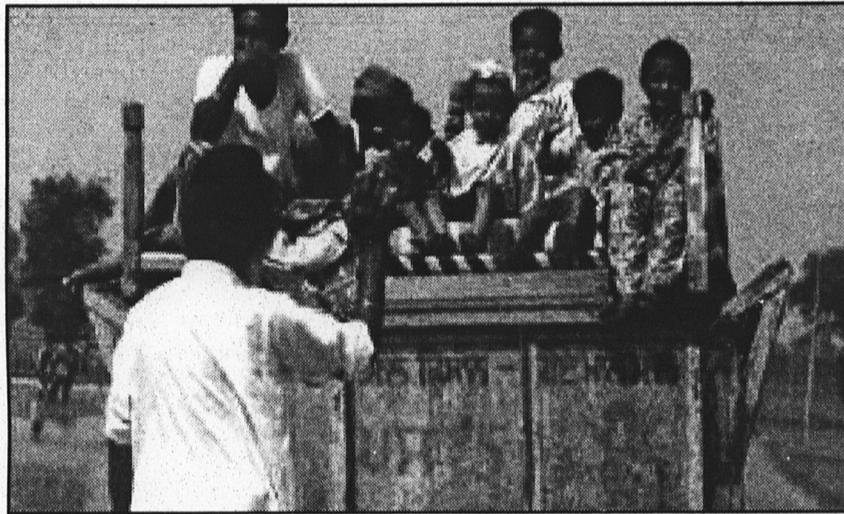
DAMINDA

The Bush Administration's so-called war on terrorism is heightening global instability and raising the prospects of a generalized war – a new World War. One of the tripwires of such a holocaust is to be found in the current confrontation between India and Pakistan. Every regime in the world has taken the Bush Administrations rhetoric and applied it to their own enemies. Anyone who challenges the authority of any official state regime is branded terrorist as a prelude to stripping them of all human rights and exterminating them. Naturally this poses a grave danger for developing peace and democracy in the world. In the case of India and Pakistan, India has branded several organizations fighting for an independent Kashmir as terrorist and is accusing Pakistan of being a terrorist state sponsor i.e. a state providing sanctuary and support for the terrorist organizations. The logic follows Washington's script exactly. X is a terrorist group, Y is the state where they are based, it is therefore legitimate to destroy Y state if they do not act against X group. In defining terrorist very broadly as any militant opposition to official power, Washington has unleashed a dynamic that when applied by state power around the world vastly accelerates conflict and eradicates the ground of legitimate dissent. After all, the American Revolution would be according to the Bush regimes logic a terrorist act against the British Crown. It is with this mindfulness of tyranny that the American Constitution made specific reference to the right of the people to overthrow any unjust power over them. In the present period of US global hegemony, the right to challenge authority means ultimately challenging this very US global hegemony, therefore it along with a host of other democratic freedoms can be tossed aside. Rights are good when you need them for your protection but once you are the global victor, you are Right, you are the Law. Such is the logic of US imperialism. Embodied in the rhetoric of "you are with us or with the terrorists", "Good versus Evil", "God Bless America" is the imperial arrogance of US power that increasingly has less and less need for any Rights that is not a direct extension of US interests. US interest is equated and translated unquestioningly with big capitalist interests. The junior partners of US imperialism, its lackeys in Pakistan, India and other subordinate countries, have had to adjust their policies to reflect the new global status quo declared by Washington. Pakistan, a client state which worked hand in hand with the US in sponsoring paramilitaries in neighboring Afghanistan in the 1980s under the US backed dictatorship of General Zia Ul Haq, has suddenly had to renounce terrorism and is ironically now the key

US ally in waging war against terrorism in Afghanistan. Of course if Pakistan did not do this, the Pakistani state too was not so subtly threatened with destruction. Thanks to the autocratic nature of the Pakistani state, based on the power of the military-landlord-capitalist class, the Pakistani military dictator announced the abrupt shift in policy while its own state security agency the ISI – was still heavily involved in propping up the Taliban infrastructure. The schools which provided the recruits for the Taliban militias were nurtured by the ISI to extend Pakistani influence into Afghanistan and Central Asia. This was a project that the US initially

framework of US power. Selling it to the Pakistani masses on the other hand, particularly those true believers who swallowed the promise of power and glory in a Greater Islamic Pakistan was another story. The Pakistani working class as well as the secular nationalist middle classes never had much sympathy for the reactionary utopias of the military rulers. For the toiling masses and urban middle classes the military agenda was hollow bunk that simply covered up for the IMF orchestrated rape of their resources by US imperialism. However the working class was wedged in by the permanent crisis of Pakistani economy and the

its conflict with the Kuwaiti monarchy. US ambassador to Iraq April Gillespie is quoted as saying upon the eleventh hour of the impending conflict that it was an "internal affair" for the Iraqis and Kuwaitis to solve. The US pounced upon Iraq's invasion of Kuwait to launch a massive air war, leaving Iraq debilitated, split into three zones and economically embargoed. The US used Operation Desert Storm, to vastly extend its power into the heart of the Arab/Islamic world, building permanent military bases in several locations including the Islamic Holy Land of Saudi Arabia itself. This aggressive intrusion into the heart of the Arab world, angered many of the fanatics that the US had been busy arming during the Cold War period. The cold blooded murder of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi's, Muslims, in Operation Desert Storm and through a starvation embargo that is still in place, dramatically increased the following of many of the religious paramilitaries who came to be seen ironically as the most strident opponents of US imperialism. The destruction of Iraqi power was also a blow against the power of secular Arab nationalism. Iraq was the Arab anti-fundamentalist state par excellence. Iraq under Saddam Hussein was a secular, military run state-capitalist society where gender relations were far more progressive and oil revenues were used to develop a modern economic infrastructure with impressive social welfare. In this sense it represented the Nasserite vision of Arab nationalism – secular, "socialist" – state run economy, and independent of imperialism. This model was the one followed by many Arab and Muslim countries. The US after its victory over the Soviet Union would brook no tolerance for even relatively moderate nationalist regimes like Iraq. No independence of any kind would be tolerated in the New World Order. The US allowed the fundamentalist contagion it created in Pakistan to spread all over the Middle East and Central Asia to weaken and destabilize secular nationalist regimes. Once this objective had been achieved, once the Middle East was tottering under the twin crisis of economic crisis and religious fundamentalism, the US declared its latest step in its New World Order – the so-called War Against Terrorism. The events of 9-11 were perfectly timed from the perspective of US imperialist policy to paralyze any opposition to the naked, direct exercise of US power over any country. The formula is a simple one. A list of some 60-plus countries is declared by Washington as state sponsors of terrorism or having terrorist groups within them. The US declares that these terrorist groups are part of a interconnected global network. Thus the US reserves the right to attack any of these countries in the name of "self defense". Immediately in the aftermath of 9-11,



People throughout the region have been displaced due to war

helped to develop as part of its offensive against the spread of communism in the region. US money and weapons and advisors helped the ISI to train reactionary zealots to kill socialists, communist, secular nationalists in the region. Once the Soviet Union went down and the Communist challenge to US imperialist hegemony abated, the US no longer had any use for its proxy armies particularly since the psychological type of the CIA/ISI recruits and their training ensured that they took their fantasies of setting up medieval religious states seriously. These were no ordinary soldiers of fortune they were soldiers of a fanatical creed. For the US the so-called mujahideen or holy warriors were a useful tool to fan the flames of ethnic and religious chauvanism against modernizing forces seeking to unify and gain self determination but now that all such opposition has been vanquished they were simply in the way of important big business. The Pakistani ruling class's dream of a sphere of influence in Central Asia dominated by it, with the help of religious militias like the Taliban under its sponsorship was suddenly quashed by US imperialism. Central Asia with its rich resources of oil and gas would be the US's sphere of influence not the Pakistani's. Naturally the Pakistani rulers had to swallow this medicine however bitter the pill since it being a puppet has no will or direction outside the

US-Pak military sponsored religious fantacism. The first sapped the strength of the working class by impoverishing it, the second clouded its vision by equating resistance with intolerance. The mass base of religious fanaticism were the state sponsored madrassas or religious schools where poor rural youth, orphaned youth and marginalized elements were fed, clothed and brainwashed into following a extreme sectarian strain of Islam. On its southern and eastern border, Pakistan's religious paramilitaries wreaked havoc in Indian controlled Kashmir and other parts of India. During the Cold War the US forged its overlordship over the Pakistani military state as a buffer against the Soviet Union to the north and non-aligned, Soviet friendly India to the south. Despite India's "democratic" credentials, the US turned a blind eye toward Pakistani sponsored attacks on Indian soil in exchange for Pakistan's allegiance with the US against communism. The New World Order declared by Bush Sr. heralded a reworking of these strategic alliances by US imperialism. With the fall of the Soviet Union and the victory of US/Pak sponsored forces in Afghanistan, the US completely neglected the area to focus on the more important threat of a strong independent Iraq challenging the rule of the US backed monarchies in the oil rich Saudi peninsula. Bush Sr. tricked the Iraqis into believing that the US would remain neutral in

# AFGHANISTAN & THE GREAT GAME

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

For millions of Americans, history is a muddling puzzle - and that, American history. When one looks at world history the puzzle only gets larger and even more impenetrable.

For them, Afghanistan, an ancient nation the size of Texas in the heart of Asia, only became 'real' in the dusty, fear-drenched aftermath of 11 September 2001. Except for brief references to the decade of war with the former Soviet Union, most have little idea of Afghanistan's long, martial traditions.

This is seen in that nation's role in what is called the Great Game, or imperial conflicts between the British and the Russians dating from the early nineteenth century. At the time, Czarist Russia sought to expand her imperial borders south into what Peter the Great called, "the warm waters of the Indian Ocean."

This area, however, was claimed by the British Raj (or colonial India). In their midst was the kingdom of Afghanistan.

Russia initiated European intervention by pushing the Persian Qajar Shah to attack Herat in Afghanistan's west, seen as "the Gateway to India." The British countermove was to send forces and material to defend the city of Herat. To resist Persian efforts, a fleet of British ships sailed into the Persian Gulf, thus checkmating Russian efforts on the region, around 1837 - '38.

In the next 80 years or so, the Afghans would fight three wars with the British, winning every one. The last Afghan-Anglo war ended in 1919. By this time, the British turned over much of the imperial duties to the Americans, and the Czar gave way to the Soviets. While the

protagonists had changed, the Game remained; albeit one played by the rules of the Cold War.

By the 1980s, the game was again afoot as the U.S. sent in clandestine arms and support to elicit a Soviet military response, and to spring what Carter-era national security adviser Z b i g n i e w Brzezinski would later call, "the Afghan trap." Afghanistan became the Soviets' Vietnam as it lost tens of thousands in the war, and led to the eventual break-up of the USSR.

With the entry of the military of the U.S. into Afghanistan to topple the multinational Taliban government, a new round of the Great Game is now in play.

With a military strategy of relentless air power and heavy

bombings, and ground forces under what is called the Northern Alliance, the Taliban has been overwhelmed in battle. In a matter of weeks they lost virtually every acre of ground.

Yet even this state of affairs is but another stage of the Great Game, with some old players rolling the dice. For the truth is that the Taliban was a client state under Pakistani and Saudi tutelage. With Kabul and many other major cities in Afghanistan under the control of the so-called Northern Alliance, the Saudis and Pakistanis are displaced, and Russia has its hands on the prize that ten years of war could not acquire.

It is not, as Peter the Great once coveted, "the warm waters of the Indian Ocean" that whets Russian appetites, but the black gold, oil, under the Caspian Sea, that will fuel industrial production for the next half-century.

The Great Game plays on, as ever, for wealth and power.

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NATO the US led military alliance enacted Article 5 which declares the right of collective action in defense of a member state. The stage was set for the US to openly declare its ultimatum to the world - "You are with us or against us." The Pakistani rulers nimbly stood on their heads for the US for the small price of ending some sanctions, imposed after Pakistan tested nuclear weapons, some debt forgiveness and some sale of military hardware. Brooklyn Bridge was bought for how much? The Indians who had been warming up to the Americans under the post-Congress leadership of the rightwing Hindu nationalist BJP regime were appalled by the renewed courtship by the US of India's principal competitor Pakistan. The December 12th events in New Delhi, India, where apparently a suicide squad of terrorists shot up the Indian parliament building, was a perfect opportunity from the Indian ruling class's point of view to charge Pakistan with sponsoring terrorism against them and threaten war if Pakistan did not clamp down on anti India groups operating from Pakistani soil. The Pakistani ruling class as well as the US found itself in the position of having to take token steps at least to crack down on these groups. After all, the US and its erstwhile Muslim ally Pakistan cannot be seen as being soft on terrorism when they are engaged in a war against terrorism. After some initial stonewalling, Pakistan responded to the massive Indian military build up on its border and US pressure by arresting several dozen anti India activists and shuttering their headquarters. The Pakistani "president" Musharraf meanwhile has reiterated his condemnation of all terrorism and announced his intention to build a moderate Muslim Pakistan but threw in an 'internationally mediated solution to Kashmir' as the

necessary corollary to stemming the rise of terrorism. The issue of Kashmir is important for Musharraf to shore up his support amongst the moderate Islamic elements who feel predominantly Muslim Kashmir should all be annexed to Pakistan. The call for an international mediation also appeals to the Pakistani's US masters to involve themselves in the heart of the Indian sub-continent. Indian crowing about Pakistani sponsorship of terrorism is naturally self serving and hypocritical in the same vein as the Pakistani's. The Indian state has in the past been a sponsor of LTTE separatist training camps that have

of the rule of the Indian bourgeoisie has been increasingly delicate with US led neo-liberal policies wreaking havoc upon the already stretched class tensions. The neo-liberal fare of selling off of state assets (privatization), cutting government spending on social welfare and the opening up of capital markets to foreign (US) speculators, has had about the same result in India and Pakistan as it has any place else. The rich have gotten richer, the poor have gotten poorer, national sovereignty compromised, environmental destruction accelerated, AIDS and other diseases become epidemic and irrational

900 million Hindus. As we know from racism in the US, it is not based on any biological reality but rather a politico-economic one. The real diversity of the peoples of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal in South Asia is as rich and intoxicating as the hot spice that is found throughout these lands. There are regional, village, clan, caste, class, linguistic, national, state, and a million more signifiers of identity for the people of South Asia as well as for people any place else for that matter. The ruling families, castes and classes of these lands find religion to be sufficiently evocative of passions among the people to divide people along religious lines. Another major Washington decree - the USA Patriot Act - has been emulated in nearly every other state. In India the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance (POTO) is the local variant of the patriot act, the script is all too boringly predictable if it were't so threatening. POTO restricts civil rights, democratic rights, human rights, worker rights, and vastly expands the power of the state to act with impunity. Actions have been taken to legally outlaw an array of organizations from Muslim groups to Maoist groups in India. US imperialism is not too tolerant of undue action on the part of its subordinates even if it is action to mimic the lord to a fault. Washington with Secretary of State Colin Powell handling matters with the colored states (who says the Bush Administration is insensitive to race) is busy acting as the benevolent father patiently but firmly resolving a conflict among his sons. Now, now, Boys, don't go tripping all over yourself trying to be like your Daddy. Don't forget only Big Daddy can be Big Daddy. The matter would certainly merit little interest if these sick bastards all, were not armed to the teeth and capable of genocide.

For the US the so-called mujahideen or holy warriors were a useful tool to fan the flames of ethnic and religious chauvanism against modernizing forces seeking to unify and gain self determination but now that all such opposition has been vanquished they were simply in the way of important big business.

helped to reduce its southern neighbor Sri Lanka to a war ridden economic basket case. The Indian state found it expedient to support the LTTE in the 1980's to win support amongst its own large Tamil population in southern India but abruptly turned on them after signing an accord with Sri Lanka in 1989. The Indian state paid for its betrayal of the vicious Tigers it bred on its soil in losing the last male heir in the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty - Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi - in a LTTE suicide bomber attack. Within India itself, India practices the terrorism that all capitalist states practice against its poor. In the case of India, the poor constitute a population larger than the population of the United States, over 300 million. The stability of Indian capitalism, the maintenance

ideological forces ascendant. War as we have seen all too often lately in the US is a convenient distraction from the hard and painful realities of the thousands of ENRON's stealing billions from people around the world. What is good for the King is good for his vassals as well. The repackaging of Bush in official channels of media, government, church, etc. after 9-11 from an appointed president out of touch with reality to Hero is the same dynamic that is at work in India, Pakistan and all the subordinate states. Prime Minister Vajpayee of India can do what he knows best and that is how to be a bigot and create anti-Muslim feeling and cause friction between the large Muslim minority of 100+ million in India and the even more gigantic

# The Kingdom of Corruption

## The Saudi Connection

TARIQ ALI

The hijackers responsible for the September 11 outrage were not illiterate, bearded fanatics from the mountain-villages of Afghanistan. They were all educated, highly-skilled, middle-class professionals. Thirteen of the nineteen men involved were citizens of Saudi Arabia. Their names are recognisable. The three Alghamdis are clearly from the Hijaz province of the Kingdom, the site of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Mohamed Atta, born in Egypt, travelled on a Saudi passport. Regardless of whether he gave the order or not, what is indisputable is that the bulk of Osama Bin Laden's real cadres (as opposed to footsoldiers) are located in Egypt or Saudi Arabia, the two principal allies of the United States in the region barring Israel. Support for Bin Laden is strong in Saudi Arabia. He was a close friend of the Saudi boss of Intelligence, Prince Turki bin Faisal al Saud, who was dismissed last month after his failure to curb attacks on US personnel in Riyadh. The real reason is probably his refusal to take sides in the fierce faction fight to determine the succession after the death of the paralysed King Fahd. Both sides are aware that too close an alignment with the United States could be explosive. That is why till now the Saudi regime despite its support for the US is not 'allowing its bases to be used'.

In normal times the Saudi Kingdom is barely covered by the Western media. The Ambassadors report to their respective chanceries that all is well and the continuity of the regime is not threatened. It requires the imprisonment of an American or British citizen or for a British nurse to be chucked out of a window for attention to focus on the regime in Riyadh. Even less is known about the state religion, which is not an everyday version of Sunni or Shia Islam, but a peculiarly virulent, ultra-puritanical strain known as Wahhabism. This is the religion of the Saudi royals, the state bureaucracy, the army and airforce and, of course, Ossama Bin Laden, the best-known Saudi citizen in the world, currently resident in Afghanistan.

A moderate equivalent of this in Britain would be if the Church of England was replaced by the United Reformed Church of Dr Ian Paisley, the Royal Family became ardent Paisleyites and the state bureaucracy and armed services were barred to non-Paisleyites.

Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Abdul Wahhab, the inspirer of this sect, was an 18th century peasant who became tired of tending date palms and grazing cattle and began to preach locally, calling for a return to the pure beliefs of the seventh century. He opposed the excessive veneration of the Prophet Mohammed, denounced the worship of holy places and shrines and stressed the 'unity of one God'. On its own this was harmless enough, but it was his social prescriptions that created problems even in the 1740s: he insisted on Islamic punishment beatings and more: adulterers should be stoned to death,

thieves amputated, criminals executed in public. Religious leaders in the region objected when he began to practice what he preached and the local chief in Uyayna asked him to leave. Wahhab fled to Deraiya in 1744 and won over its ruler, Mohammed Ibn Saud, in 1744. Ibn Saud, the founder of the dynasty that rules Saudi Arabia today, utilised Wahhab's revivalist fervour to inculcate a sense of discipline in the tribes before hurling them into battle against the Ottoman Empire. Wahhab regarded the Sultan in Istanbul as a hypocrite who had no right to be the Caliph of Islam and preached the virtues of a permanent jihad (holy war) against Islamic modernisers, hypocrites as well as the infidel. The Ottomans hit back, occupied the Hijaz and took charge of Mecca and Medina, but Wahhabi influence remained and the heroic battles became part of local folk-lore. This proto-nationalism was utilised by Saud's successors to expand their influence throughout the peninsula.

Two centuries later they laid the foundations of what is now Saudi Arabia, but it was the discovery of liquid gold that changed the region forever. Fearful of the competition from Britain, the United States merged Esso, Texaco and Mobil to form the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO). This link established in 1933 was strengthened during the Second World War, when the USAF base in Dhahran was deemed crucial to 'the defense of the United States.' The Saudi monarch was paid millions of dollars to aid development in the Kingdom. The regime was a despotism, but it was seen as an important bulwark against communism and nationalism in the region and, for that reason, the United States chose to ignore what took place within its borders.

The entry of the United States and the creation of the Kingdom has been brilliantly depicted in one of the most remarkable contributions to Arabic fiction: the 'Cities of Salt' pentology by the exiled Saudi novelist, Abdelrahman Munif, whose own birth in 1933 coincided with that of the new state. Munif's multi-layered fiction—savage, surreal and satirical—angered the Royal Family. He was deprived of his nationality and banned from ever returning to the country. His books became delicious contraband circulating everywhere including the royal palaces. When I met him about ten years ago on a rare trip to London he was as lucid as ever: 'The 20th century is almost over, but when the West looks at us all they see is oil and petro-dollars. Saudi Arabia is still without a constitution, the people are deprived of all elementary rights, even the right to support the regime without asking for permission. Women, who own a large share of private wealth in the country are treated like third-class citizens. A woman is not allowed to leave the country without a written permit from a male relative. Such a situation produces a desperate citizenry,

without a sense of dignity or belonging...'

Denied secular openings in a society where the royal family—a clan with multiple factions and micro-factions..... and its tame clerics dominates all aspects of everyday life, there were a number of rebellions in the 60s and 70s. One of Munif's novels, *The Trench*, has a striking finale. Two revolutions are being plotted, one of them by angry young men inspired by modern ideas.



**George Bush Sr. meets with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia**

The other, invisibly, inside the palace. Everything ends in tears with curfews and tanks in the street. The young revolutionaries discover that the wrong revolt has succeeded. The reference was to the assassination of King Feisal in 1975 by his own nephew, Prince Faisal Ibn Musaid. Ten years earlier Ibn Musaid's brother Prince Khalid, a fervent Wahhabite, had demonstrated in public against the entry of television into the kingdom. Saudi police entered his house and shot him dead. To this day Prince Khalid is venerated by hardline believers and years later the Taliban government paid its own tribute by the public burning of audio cassettes and videos and a ban on television.

But Wahhabism remains the state religion of Saudi Arabia, imported with petro-dollars to fund extremism elsewhere in the world. During the war against the Soviet Union, Pakistani military intelligence requested the presence of a Saudi prince to lead the jihad in Afghanistan. No volunteers were forthcoming and the Saudi leaders recommended the scion of a rich family, close to the monarchy. Ossama Bin Laden was despatched to the Pakistan border and arrived in time to hear President Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brezinski, turban on head, shout: "Allah is on your side."

The religious schools in Pakistan where the Taliban were created were funded by the Saudis and Wahhabi influence was very strong. Last year when the Taliban decided to blow up the old Buddhas there were appeals from the ancient seminaries of Qom and al-Azhar to desist on the grounds that Islam was tolerant. A Wahhabi delegation from the Kingdom advised the Taliban to execute the plan. They did. The Wahhabi insistence on a permanent jihad against all enemies, Muslim and

non-Muslim, was to leave a deep mark on the young boys who later took Kabul. The attitude of the United States in those days was sympathetic. A Republican Party packed with Christian cults could hardly offer advice on this matter and both Clinton and Blair were keen on advertising their Christianity.

Just last year, a former liberal State Department expert on Pakistan, Stephen P. Cohen wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* (Asian Edition, 23 October 2000): "some

madrassas, or religious schools are excellent." He admitted that "others are hotbeds for jihadi and radical Islamic movements," but these are only about twelve percent of the total. These, he said, "need to be upgraded to offer their students a modern education." This indulgence is an accurate reflection of the official mood before 11 September.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the internal opposition became totally dominated by religious groups. These core Wahhabis now saw the Kingdom as degenerate because of the American connection. Others were depressed by the failure of Riyadh to defend the Palestinians. The stationing of US soldiers in the country after the Gulf War was a signal for terrorist attacks on soldiers and bases. Those who ordered these were Saudis, but Pakistani and Philipino immigrants were sometimes charged and executed in order to appease the United States.

The expeditionary force being despatched to Pakistan to cut off the tentacles of the Wahhabi octopus may or may not succeed, but its head is safe and sound in Saudi Arabia, guarding the oil-wells and growing new arms and protected by American soldiers and the USAF base in Dhahran. Washington's failure to disengage its vital interests from the fate of the Saudi monarchy could well lead to further blow-back. They should the warning first sounded by the secular 10th century Arab poet, Abul Ala al-Maari, which still seems apposite:

And where the Prince commanded, now the shriek Of wind is flying through the court of state: 'Here', it proclaims, 'there dwelt a potentate Who could not hear the sobbing of the weak.'

# SOCIALISM

## *A Way Forward Out of Crisis and War*

By socialism we do not mean the Stalinist soviet model or the Western European social democratic model. Stalinism bureaucratically deprived the working class of decision making power and social democracy ala Sweden is simply the temporary fix of capitalism with an expanded safety net. That being said our basic argument is that capitalism as a social, political and economic system produces war and crisis as inevitably as day gives way to night. The cycle of day and night is not an adequate metaphor for capitalism, since capitalism does not simply give way to crisis but gives way to potentially greater and greater crisis each time with the passing of each cycle of "boom and bust".

That Capitalism must grow or die is a basic law of the system. The development of capitalism historically has thus meant as Marx correctly predicted the expansion of capitalism over the whole world and the growth, concentration and centralization of capital over a globalized market. Consequently the inevitable cycle of boom and bust now involve a far more integrated global economy. In other words the bust end of the cycle essentially means today that the whole world goes bust. The globally generalized nature of crisis today means a global economic, political and social crisis. War is a lawfully governed product of this capitalist crisis.

Both World War 1 and World War 2 were examples of how these global crises unfolded. World War 2 was the capitalist solution to the Great Depression. The mass unemployment and excess inventory and productive capacity within the US and throughout capitalist Europe and Japan was corrected by reorganizing society's productive basis under the tutelage of a strong state for the destruction of excess capital and labor and the reorganization of markets. Fascism is a possible domestic political response of advanced capitalism to systemic crisis. The U.S. capitalist class was sufficiently strong enough during the depression of the 1930's and the working class sufficiently weak enough where US capitalism was not in immediate danger of collapse but in Germany, Italy and Japan the capitalist ruling classes were so massively discredited that the adoption of a fascist state was accepted by the gentlemen capitalists to uphold private property. War is the inevitable product of capitalist crisis whether it is conducted by a fascist capitalist state or a democratic capitalist state. War is the inevitable solution for capitalist politicians for maintaining the health of the overall capitalist system.

Today's crisis is no different. The system organically produces trigger events that embody and symbolize the moment of transformation to a policy of war by Capital. The onset of war itself is built into the system. World War 1 was triggered by the assassination of Emperor Franz-Joseph, World War 2 the

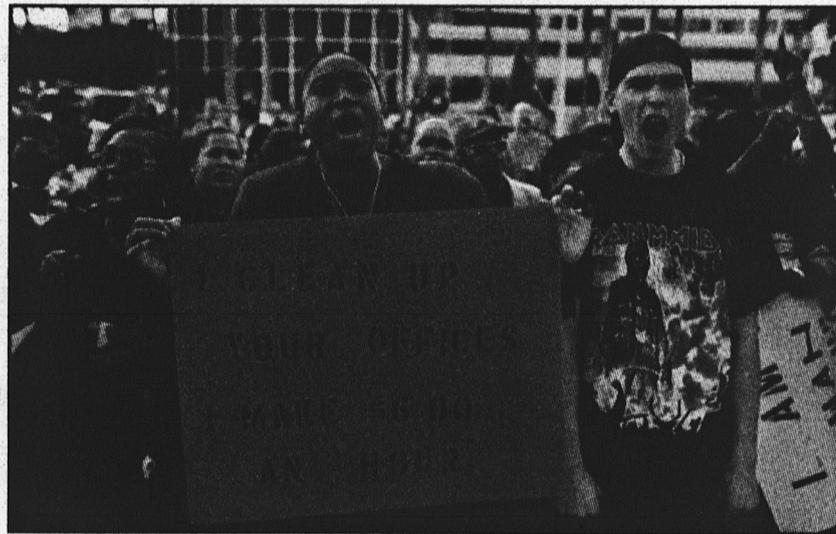
bombing of Pearl

Harbor, etc.

Likewise today's

war was declared with the attack on the WTC and Pentagon buildings. However prior to these trigger events tensions between rival capitalist states had greatly intensified and economies globally had begun shrinking. The trigger event is simply the chosen point at which the capitalist politicians mobilize society for war.

The process referred to, as globalization in recent years is the latest phase in the process of capitalist expansion, which Lenin identified as



**LABOR CREATES, CAPITAL APPROPRIATES**

imperialism - the stage of globalized, regressive, war ridden capitalism. The difference in capitalist crises today from Lenin's time is that capitalism today is even bigger - includes more countries, more industries and more people. Therefore the crisis we are entering today will effect more countries, more industries and more people than ever before. Well before experts have been speaking about recession in the US, other parts of the world, particularly the economies of the poor countries and the newly industrialized ones like South Korea had been mired in deep protracted systemic crisis. South Korean capital accumulated through so much bloodletting of the Korean people to become the 11th largest world economy was suddenly forced to give away their national assets, the accumulated capital, to US corporations in the 97 crisis.

Globalization has been nothing more than a money grab by an emboldened US capitalism after the implosion of bucreatically deformed socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The New World Order declared by Dubya's daddy "41" was upon the grave of the main global competitor to global capitalism - bureaucratic socialism.

The decade of yuppie fantasies come true - the 90s - was fueled by the opening of wide new populations of labor, wide new populations of consumers and wide new populations of credit card holders that became available with the collapse of the Stalinist system. US corporations expanded massively

upon the acquisition of the

financial systems, production systems - in short the assets of the rest of the world - banks, factories, labor, and of course governments. Facing the financial pressure of US Capital and to a lesser extent European Capital, East Asian capitalism, which was nurtured by US policy as a buffer against communism, was bought out for a pittance. Japan's economy has been held in check by the juiced up US imperialism. Japan has been stagnating and contracting for over 10 years now.

The result of the decade of intensified globalization has been to secure the US imperialist states hegemony over the world and to produce a long period of war.

What is capitalist crisis? One incidental aspect of capitalist crisis is in bourgeois economic terms the "bust" period of the business cycle. The symptoms of this crisis include a sharp rise in unemployment, a sharp rise in social misery - poverty, disease, early death, infant mortality, etc and the destruction of "excess" capital.

Secondly, capitalism is a crisis-ridden system that tends towards war because it is a competitive winner takes all system.

In the imperialist phase of capitalism, the United States beat out the powerful European and Asian competition to gain global supremacy. The capital of the world is now effectively regulated by US capital. This massive theft produces massive social conflict, wars, and genocides. The present stage of imperialism ushered in by Reagan and Bush 1, the boldly declared New World Order means a world in which the US imperialist state extends its control over the whole world to police its investments. It is not so much the nation state in general that is vanishing but the nation states of the former colonial countries who are being reabsorbed more directly into serving the direct needs of US capitalism. US capitalism itself is a super-state whose authority it has declared to be superior to the

sovereignty of smaller states

Capitalism is the only system of production and social organization in human history where systemic crisis is brought on by an overproduction of goods. In more concrete terms, its irrationality is even clearer, people will starve because there is too much food. The problem arises as capitalists cannot sell their goods for a profit causing a clog in the flow of inventory, capitalists adjust by firing workers, factories are closed and weaker capitalist firms are swallowed up by stronger ones.

The process of the weak being swallowed up by the strong takes place on a global scale and involves the struggle between competing national capitalisms. In the opening of the present crisis, in East Asia, the bankruptcy of East Asian corporate giants like Daewoo of South Korea allowed for stronger US capital, in this instance, General Motors, to absorb Daewoo for much less than its worth. In the takeover of weaker capital by stronger capital on a mass scale as takes place during a sharp crisis, the national sovereignty of weaker capitalist states is often undermined. In concrete terms the weaker capitalist states face greater unemployment, greater indebtedness and greater political and social unrest as a result of crisis. Clamping down on resistance from the working class takes the form of restricting democracy and opportunist scapegoating of national minorities internally and the gearing up for war externally. In cases of relatively weaker capitalist states like South Korea that has some 40,000 US troops on its soil, waging war on the stronger capitalism - US imperialism - is not a realistic proposition it trains its guns on their Korean brethren in Communist North Korea.

The working classes of the weaker capitalisms are forced through draconian means to endure an intense increase in exploitation and the consequent social suffering. Resistance to mass layoffs by workers is met with troops and riot police. In the case of stronger capitalism, which in this period in capitalist development means absolutely, US capitalism, war, is a typical and inevitable product.

When the profit rates of US capitalist firms sag, war becomes a necessary and appropriate policy for the capitalist class. It can achieve the twin goals of, enforcing labor discipline domestically, through mass firings, lowering of the average wage and authoritarian legal restrictions, and the enforcing of labor discipline around the world, through military and paramilitary action enforcing an even greater rate of exploitation on the worlds poorest.

In this crisis so far the Airline Industry has been handed \$15 billion from the public purse while over 100,000 airline workers were robbed of livelihoods. The massive oil and gas reserves of Central Asia are in US capitalism's grasp after the clearing of

CONTINUED ON PG 21

# Globalization and War: Two Faces of the Same Enemy

ROY ROLLIN

In his inaugural address, NYC's new mayor, multi-millionaire Mike Bloomberg sang an all too familiar song to the city's workers and poor; they would have to do more with less and once again share sacrifices as the city faced yet another fiscal crisis. But when the World Economic Forum (WEF) gets together at the plush Waldorf Astoria Hotel at the end of the month, you can be sure that while these representatives of the rich and their politician pals may share the champagne and caviar they certainly won't be talking about their sacrificing anything, let alone their doing with less, unless it's less taxes on the rich. While Bloomberg and Governor Pataki prepare a menu of austerity and belt-tightening for the poor and needy they are sparing no expense in rolling out the red carpet for this annual gathering of the rich and greedy. Usually held in the Swiss ski resort of Davos, the latter get together behind closed doors, like the heads of the five families in *The Godfather*, to discuss how to divide up the spoils that globalization has brought them. While the WEF say their meeting will focus on finding ways to eradicate poverty (and) promote security they have a proven track record of doing just the opposite; creating poverty and promoting economic insecurity for the vast majority of the planet's inhabitants. In coming to New York, the corporate kingpins think they are doing us a favor; showing support and confidence in the city in the wake of September 11 just as they claim that their mission is to improve the state of the world. Yet as recent events in Argentina have shown, not to mention the scandal surrounding the collapse of Enron, the only ones whose state is being improved by their machinations are themselves. For in both cases those at the bottom of the social ladder; the workers, the poor and even the middle class in Argentina, the employees at Enron, were forced to pay for crises caused, not just by the particular policies pursued by those at the top, but by the continued existence of the capitalist system itself. And while the moguls and tycoons gathering at the Waldorf Astoria may show support and confidence for one another's efforts to increase economic inequality on a global scale, working people and their allies need to get together, as they did in Seattle two years ago when they first confronted the WTO. We need to show support and confidence in our struggle to improve the state of the world by once and for all removing the ruling rich from the pinnacles of political and economic power they are currently ensconced in. For it is from those positions that they make us do all the sacrificing and doing with less, while they do all the sharing of the wealth we create for them, and continue to do more by doing less; work, that is, since it is the workers who continue to do all of it, indeed more of it today than ever before, while getting back less and less in return.

## The Arms of Economic Terrorism

The WEF, like the the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) are the economic arms of imperialism, the institutions which the ruling rich utilize to force governments to institute mass layoffs, to reduce wages, to abolish protective measures, to privatize industries and social services, to reduce levels of health care and education, to gut labor laws and lower standards of environmental protection. When put into practice, they constitute economic terrorism; one-sided class warfare waged by the world's most powerful ruling classes against the world's workers and poor. When the economic arm-twisting fails to do the trick, military muscle gets flexed, i.e., good old-fashioned imperialist war; especially if someone gets out of line and threatens to set a bad example by doing so (Iraq or Yugoslavia) or becomes a nuisance like the Taliban did in Afghanistan. Just as the Mafia offers its victims protection, the IMF and the World Bank claim to offer aid to theirs. Only Structural Adjustment Programs and loans leave their recipients even deeper in debt than when they started. Thus the total external debt of all developing nations in 1998 was \$1.3 trillion more in 1998 than it was ten years earlier. Between 1990 and 1997, these same countries paid \$77 billion more on debt payments than they got in new loans. Indeed, it would now take 48 of the least developed countries in the world combined to produce an income equal to that of the three richest people on the planet. But while globalization has turned out to be a field day for the handful of corporate kingpins raking in all the dough, it has also opened up a

Pandora's box of opposition to it, as a series of massive demonstrations from Seattle to Genoa have shown. And when one takes into account the uprising of the Zapatistas in Mexico, that just happened to coincide with the introduction of NAFTA in 1994, and the mass strikes against austerity and privatization that rocked France at the end of 1995, it becomes clear that all of this opposition is part and parcel of a global movement against international capitalism itself; something that was deemed impossible and unthinkable not too long ago by all the latter's hired hands and heads.

## From the Collapse of Communism to the Rise of Anti-Capitalism

A little less than a decade ago the ruling rich, their academic apologists and their PC-pushing lackeys in the prostitute press were all outdoing each other in singing paeans of praise to the miracles of the market. For the downfall of the Soviet bloc had not only proved once and for all that capitalism was not only the best of all possible worlds, but that history itself had ended. Yet today their celebration seems a bit premature as the mass demonstrations that most recently rocked Genoa only reinforced the fact that their order, as Rosa Luxemburg once described it, is built upon sand. Hardly a meeting of the

cabal of capitalist kingpins who call the shots under the New World Order can occur without tens of thousands of anti-capitalist activists coming out in force to protest, and, in many cases, shutting down the proceedings as well. (Rather than face the music in Barcelona last summer, the bosses were forced to talk turkey with each other over the internet instead.) It seems that the only place where it's safe for them to get together was in the Middle Eastern sheikdom of Qatar, where demonstrations are illegal to begin with, and where they even got the blessing of top terrorist and fellow billionaire, Osama Bin Laden to do their thing. And why not? Their economic terrorism ruins far more lives on a daily basis than Bin Laden could ever hope to do in a lifetime. But the big headline grabbing demonstrations are just the tip of the iceberg. For every big turnout against the WEF, WTO, the IMF, the World Bank, the FTAA or the G-8, there are dozens of strikes and smaller demonstrations around the world against the effects of their policies; the ongoing struggles in Argentina against IMF-imposed austerity being one case-in-point. The same commentators who heralded the collapse of communism when the Berlin Wall came down found themselves forced to reckon with anti-capitalism when the wall put up to keep protesters away from the FTAA came down in Quebec City this past April. And the same capitalist governments who used to chide East Germany for putting up the Berlin Wall in the first place, are now forced to put up walls in their own cities to protect themselves from their own angry subjects every time they get together. For just as smug predictions of endless post-World War II prosperity in the 1950s gave way to the upheavals of the 1960s, a new mass movement has come into existence in opposition to the increase in inequality and exploitation that the unhindered advances of global capitalism, i.e., imperialism, brought with it in the 1990s.

## Globalization with a Human Face or Divide and Rule

Faced with such a phenomenon, the press can no longer shrug it off as they attempted to do after the Battle of Seattle, portraying opponents of globalization as a handful of green-haired youth and eco-freaks allied with protectionist trade union bureaucrats in a backward looking bloc to selfishly stop progress. From Seattle to Washington to Prague to Nice to Melbourne to Buenos Aires to Quebec City to Gothenburg to Genoa, there have been just too many massive outpourings of outrage explicitly aimed at capitalism to push under the rug or out of the papers. Even the right-wing president of France had to remind his fellow heads of state that a hundred thousand people don't just take to the streets for nothing. (Of course he was singing a different tune back in 1995!) Besides the demonstrations have been accompanied by so many strikes (and even a few near revolts) across the

globe that have little to do with Black Bloc anarchists breaking Starbucks windows...unless the pundits of the press really believe that Indians in Ecuador sit glued to the internet all day the same way they do. So now the ruling rich have had to shift gear and change their tactics in dealing with the rising tide of revolt. Already the head honchos of the IMF and the World Bank are talking about globalization with a human face; rechristening their infamous structural adjustment programs as poverty reduction strategy papers. Yet, calling IMF and World Bank policies by different names will fool as few as Tony Soprano does when he claims to be in waste management rather than the Mafia. Afterall, extortion is still extortion no matter what it's called. Only this has far more to do with dividing the anti-capitalist movement than it does with what the NY Times calls an emerging new consensus about helping the poor. Divide and rule, always a popular ploy amongst those at the top, is a far more effective way of separating the moderates, the leaders of the NGOs and the trade union bureaucrats, from the radical youth and the more militant rank-and-file workers. Whereas the latter aspire to nix it, insofar as the WTO, the World Bank, the IMF and the FTAA are concerned, the former are quite content to try to fix it, still hoping for a capitalism with a human face, in which they can get their piece of the pie, or at least few more crumbs from it. And when it comes to war, that is the continuation of globalization by other, more forceful, means, a few words about human rights or terrorism usually does the trick of getting many, if not most, of the moderates in line and even on board the bandwagon. This goes hand in hand with the press and the politicians double standards surrounding violence. As if a handful of broken store windows compare with the millions of broken lives that capitalism is responsible for throughout the world anymore than the terrorism of small armed bands compares to that dished out by the armed forces of the major imperialist powers. (The 50% of the world's population that lives on \$2.00 a day couldn't even afford to buy cup of coffee at Starbucks.) What the media chooses to ignore is that at every demonstration it has been the police who have unleashed the violence to begin with. The last we heard, no-one had been killed by any anti-capitalist violence. Nor were any of the representatives of the ruling rich dragged out of their beds in the middle of the night, beaten up and thrown into torture chambers and dungeons by the demonstrators. It was the cops who killed Carlo Giuliani and who fired live ammo into the crowd in Gothenburg. Do those whose policies promote starvation and disease on a global scale have clean hands? Or those who bombed and/or blockaded the people of Yugoslavia and continue to do so to the people of Afghanistan, Iraq and Cuba? To ask these questions is to answer them.

Finally, the politicians, press and professors are working overtime to prove that globalization is actually good for the Third World. Apparently, the unhindered expansion of international capitalism will help drag the underdeveloped world out of the dark ages just as shock therapy was supposed to cure the alleged ills of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe. Hence they portray the World Bank and the IMF as misunderstood friends of the poor trying to do the right thing. Opponents of globalization, on the other hand, are depicted as little more than white elitists, trying to take the food, genetically engineered, that is, out of the mouths of babies in Africa and Asia. Or at least George Bush and Tony Blair seem to think so. Yet such stunts will fool few in the Third World, whose economies have long been on the receiving end of imperialist exploitation. Those living in poverty, be it in South Korea or South America, know that it is US and European and Japanese multinationals, backed up by the military might of those same states, and in cahoots with their own ruling classes, that have kept their countries mired in misery and not the opponents of those same companies and governments. Brazil, after all, isn't paying 75.6% of its governmental revenue to the anti-capitalist movement for debt interest. And the ratio of income of the top 20% to that of the poorest 20% of the world's population increased from 30 to 1 in 1960 to 78 to 1 in 1994, long before any of the anti-capitalist demonstrators took to the streets in large enough numbers to capture the media's attention.

#### Globalization: the Empire's Not So New Clothes

What's commonly referred to as globalization today is the ruling rich's latest attempt to impose its will on every inch of the earth; something that has been going on at least since the end of the 19th century and which the leading anti-capitalists of the time (like Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, amongst others) commonly referred to as imperialism. What's different today is that the Soviet bloc is finally out of the way as an obstacle to that expansion and Third World national liberation struggles are thus up the creek without a paddle (or at least without AK-47s), lacking the sometimes support they used to get from the Kremlin. Bodies like the WTO were created by the monopolies (today referred to as multi-national or trans-national corporations) to regulate the division of the spoils, while the IMF and the World Bank economically enforce it. Together they constitute a capitalist international; a general staff of world reaction that plans strategy for the exploiters. Capitalist governments work hand-in-glove with them, supplying the military muscle that backs up their blackmail and extortion threats. International organizations like the UN provide a humanitarian fig leaf to cover up the endless acts of aggression carried out by the same imperialist powers who created it and continue to control it.

With greed is good as their battlecry, the bankers and bosses perspective is everywhere one and the same: private profit before public need, untold riches for the few and endless misery for the many without even a pretense of trying to smooth over the differences anymore. For unlike the post World War II boom of

the 1950's and 1960's, today's economic expansion has brought no qualitative improvements in working peoples lives. Indeed, just the opposite is true. Never before has there been such economic inequality as exists today. The richest 350 people today possess wealth far in excess of the income of the poorest third of the world's population. Three of those 350 have as much wealth as the poorest nations in the Third World, whose combined population totals some 600 million. The wealth of just one of those three, Bill Gates, could guarantee every child in Africa and Asia a primary education for ten years! Meanwhile four billion of the other six billion people on the planet live on less than \$5.00 a day while the number of people living on less than \$1.00 a day has grown by 20% to 1.2 billion over the last five years. Africa's gross domestic product is now lower than at the turn of the previous century while South America's has fallen below where it was in the 1950s. However the effects of globalization have not been limited to Third World countries or Eastern Europe and Russia, where the economies of most of the former workers states are now half the size they were ten years ago and death rates are up by as much as 32% (in Russia) with diseases like tuberculosis, considered conquered long ago, running rampant. America's economic miracle has been based upon a quarter century

of falling wages and a degree of economic inequality wider than any time since the Great Depression.

#### Direct Action: by the Few or by the Many?

While the mainstream media has been forced to acknowledge anti-capitalism as the central theme of the movement against globalization, anti-capitalism, in and of itself does not constitute pro-socialism. Indeed, the collapse of what passed for really existing socialism (i.e., Stalinism) in the former Soviet bloc has disoriented and demoralized the bulk of the mainstream left and labor movement and even much of the former far left as well. There is no alternative (to capitalism) became their standard refrain. This reinforced the damage done already by the endless economic attacks on workers wages and living standards that started in middle and late 1970s. Yet socialist internationalism remains the only viable alternative to the globalization of international capitalism. Only the world working class has the social weight and interest to act in an effective and unified fashion against the bosses. Workers still produce the wealth that makes bosses rich and by withholding their labor power by striking they can stop the production of that wealth as well. And only by workers and their allies democratically deciding, i.e., planning, what to

produce, where to produce it and how to produce it, on a global scale, can the poverty and underdevelopment that international capitalism perpetuates, even begin to be overcome. To do that, however, workers need to have the reigns of political and economic power in their hands, which means taking them out of the hands of the exploiters through what is commonly called a socialist revolution. And to do that workers need a political party on an international scale that can do battle with the bosses' parties of plunder like the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank. But by rejecting the need for a revolutionary party on the one hand and militant mass action on the other, as both the reformists and the anarchists do, movement activists are headed in the same dead-end direction as their New Left predecessors of the 1960s did. As much they tried to ignore theory and history, the young radicals of the sixties couldn't avoid them. They started out by rejecting the basic tenets of Marxism (the leading role of the working class) and Leninism (the need for a revolutionary party) only to end up embracing their bastardized Stalinist offspring, via Maoism, which eventually put most of them back in the Democratic party with the same liberal-leftists (the Stalinist Communist Party) they had written off to begin with. While today's anarchists, like yesterday's Maoists rightly reject the reformism and pacifism the mainstream anti-capitalist outfits offer, their counterposition of their own direct action to militant mass action by the working class is cut from the same cloth as that of the out-and-out reformists, mainly middle-class moralism that substitutes the actions of the individual for those of the collective and tries to pressure the ruling class instead of aspiring to overthrow it. Direct action, when it's confined to a handful of dedicated activists may force the bosses and the bankers to call off a meeting or two but they won't stop the system from running for one day. While it may be possible to catch a few cops off guard, the ruling class as a whole is not about to make the same mistake when it comes to protecting their power and privileges. Such actions are no substitute for the kind of militant mass action, mass direct action, if you want to call it that, like strikes, which not only stop the system from functioning by hitting the bosses where they live, but just as importantly give working people a sense of the collective power they possess as a class when they are consciously organized as such. Indeed, they end up having exactly the opposite result. Why should workers bother taking on the bosses if someone else will do it for them? And to think that the most powerful corporations and the states that stand behind them will be taken down simply by mass demonstrations and street protests lacking a clear class content and without a party and a program that expresses them and actively organizes around them is pure utopianism. Only by building a worldwide political party of the most advanced workers and their allies based on a program and perspective of uncompromising class struggle can the struggle against global capitalism become concentrated and centralized into a struggle for socialism, as the only international alternative to global capitalism. Otherwise it will dissipate

### Top 15 U.S. Defense Contractors For the Year 1999

#### Company

#### Contract Value for 1999

#### Major Weapons

1. **Lockheed Martin Corp)** \$12,7 Billion

F-16, AH-64 Apache, Trident and Hellfire missiles

2. **Boeing Company, Inc.)**

\$11,6 Billion

F/A-18, F-15, V-22 Osprey, RAH-66 Comanche, C-17

3. **Raytheon Company, Inc**

\$6,4 Billion

Patriot, AMRAAM, Hawk Missiles

4. **General Dynamics)**

\$4,5 Billion

Nuclear Submarines, DDG-51 Destroyer

5. **Northrop Grumman**

\$3,2 Billion

B-2 Bomber, F-15, F/A-18

6. **United Technologies**

\$2,4 Billion

aircraft and helicopter engines, UH-60, C-17

7. **Litton Industries, Inc.**

\$2,1 Billion

DDG-51 destroyers, LHD amphibious assault ship

8. **General Electric)**

\$1,7 Billion

aircraft and helicopter engines

9. **TRW Inc**

\$1,4 Billion

Electronic systems and support

10. **Textron, Inc.**

\$1,4 Billion

V-22 Osprey, tank engines, helicopters

11. **Science Applications Int'l**

\$1,4 Billion

Programmic, logistical and technical support

12. **The Carlyle Group**

\$1,3 Billion

Bradley Fighting Vehicle, Crusader Artillery system

13. **Alliedsignal, Inc**

\$746 Million

Data transfer systems, engineering services

14. **Computer Sciences Corp.**

\$744 Million

15. **The General Electric Co.,**

\$729 Million

**Total for the Top 15: \$52.3 billion**

# CHE GUEVARA SPEAKS

## MESSAGE TO THE TRICONTINENTAL

In the interval between his disappearance from Cuba in the spring of 1965 and his death in Bolivia in the fall of 1967, Guevara made one public statement. It was his message "from somewhere in the world" to the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It was made public in Havana by the news service Prensa Latina on April 16, 1967. It is presented here in full.

Now is the time of the furnaces, and only light should be seen. - José Martí

Twenty-one years have already elapsed since the end of the last world conflagration; numerous publications, in every possible language, celebrate this event, symbolized by the defeat of Japan. There is a climate of apparent optimism in many areas of the different camps into which the world is divided.

Twenty-one years without a world war, in these times of maximum confrontations, of violent clashes and sudden changes, appears to be a very high figure. However, without analyzing the practical results of this peace (poverty, degradation, increasingly larger exploitation of enormous sectors of humanity) for which all of us have stated that we are willing to fight, we would do well to inquire if this peace is real.

It is not the purpose of these notes to detail the different conflicts of a local character that have been occurring since the surrender of Japan, neither do we intend to recount the numerous and increasing instances of civilian strife which have taken place during these years of apparent peace. It will be enough just to name, as an example against undue optimism, the wars of Korea and Vietnam.

In the first one, after years of savage warfare, the Northern part of the country was submerged in the most terrible devastation known in the annals of modern warfare: riddled with bombs; without factories, schools, or hospitals; with absolutely no shelter for housing ten million inhabitants.

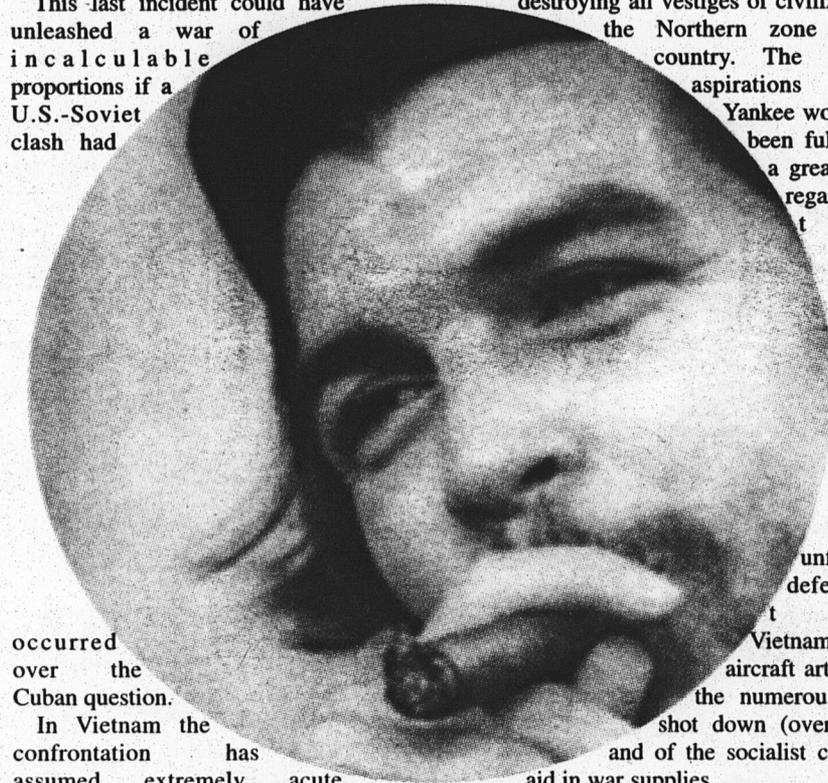
Under the discredited flag of the United Nations, dozens of countries under the military leadership of the United States participated in this war with the massive intervention of U.S. soldiers and the use, as cannon fodder, of the South Korean population that was enrolled. On the other side, the army and the people of Korea and the volunteers from the People's Republic of China were furnished with supplies and advice by the Soviet military apparatus. The U.S. tested all sorts of weapons of destruction, excluding the thermonuclear type, but including, on a limited scale, bacteriological and chemical warfare.

In Vietnam, the patriotic forces of that country have carried on an almost uninterrupted war against three imperialist powers: Japan, whose might suffered an almost vertical collapse after the bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; France, who recovered from that defeated country its Indo-China colonies and ignored the promises it had made in harder times; and the United States, in this last phase of the struggle.

There were limited confrontations in every continent, although in Our America, for a long time, there were only incipient

liberation struggles and military coups d'état until the Cuban Revolution resounded the alert, signaling the importance of this region. This action attracted the wrath of the imperialists, and Cuba was finally obliged to defend its coasts, first in Playa Girón, and again during the Missile Crisis.

This last incident could have unleashed a war of incalculable proportions if a U.S.-Soviet clash had



occurred over the Cuban question.

In Vietnam the confrontation has assumed extremely acute characteristics. It is not our intention, either, to chronicle this war. We shall simply remember and point out some milestones.

In 1954, after the annihilating defeat of Dien Bien Phu, an agreement was signed at Geneva dividing the country into two separate zones; elections were to be held within a term of 18 months to determine who should govern Vietnam and how the country should be reunified. The U.S. did not sign this document and started maneuvering to substitute the emperor, Bao Dai, who was a French puppet, for a man more amenable to its purposes. This happened to be Ngo Dinh Diem, whose tragic end-that of an orange squeezed dry by imperialism-is well known by all.

During the months following the agreement, optimism reigned supreme in the camp of the popular forces. The last pockets of the anti-French resistance were dismantled in the South of the country-and they awaited the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements. But the patriots soon realized there would be no elections-unless the United States felt itself capable of imposing its will in the polls, which was practically impossible, even resorting to all its fraudulent methods. Once again the fighting broke out in the South and gradually acquired full intensity. At present the U.S. army has increased to over half a million invaders while the puppet forces decrease in number and, above all, have totally lost their combativeness.

Almost two years ago the United States started bombing systematically the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in yet another attempt to overcome the belligerence of the South and impose, from a position of strength, a meeting at the conference table. At first, the bombardments

were more or less isolated occurrences and were adorned with the mask of reprisals for alleged provocations from the North. Later on, as they increased in intensity and regularity, they became one gigantic attack carried out by the air force of the United States, day after day, for the purpose of destroying all vestiges of civilization in the Northern zone of the country. The material aspirations of the Yankee world have been fulfilled to a great extent, regardless of the

unflinching defense of the Vietnamese anti-aircraft artillery, of the numerous planes shot down (over 1,700), and of the socialist countries' aid in war supplies.

There is a sad reality: Vietnam-a nation representing the aspirations, the hopes of a whole world of forgotten peoples-is tragically alone. This nation must endure the furious attacks of U.S. technology, with practically no possibility of reprisals in the South and only some of defense in the North-but always alone.

The solidarity of all progressive forces of the world towards the people of Vietnam today is similar to the bitter irony of the plebeians coaxing on the gladiators in the Roman arena. It is not a matter of wishing success to the victim of aggression, but of sharing his fate; one must accompany him to his death or to victory.

When we analyze the lonely situation of the Vietnamese people, we are overcome by anguish at this illogical moment of humanity.

U.S. imperialism is guilty of aggression-its crimes are enormous and cover the whole world. We already know all that. But this guilt also applies to those who, when the time came for a definition, hesitated to make Vietnam an inviolable part of the socialist world, running, of course, the risks of a war on a global scale-but also forcing a decision upon imperialism. And the guilt also applies to those who maintain a war of abuse and snares-started quite some time ago by the representatives of the two greatest powers of the socialist camp.

And what great people these are! What stoicism and courage! And what a lesson for the world is contained in this struggle! Not for a long time shall we be able to know if President Johnson ever seriously thought of bringing about some of the reforms needed by his people-to iron out the barbed class contradictions that grow each day with explosive power. The truth is that the

improvements announced under the pompous title of the "Great Society" have dropped into the cesspool of Vietnam.

The largest of all imperialist powers feels in its own guts the bleeding inflicted by a poor and underdeveloped country; its fabulous economy feels the strain of the war effort. Murder is ceasing to be the most convenient business for its monopolies. Defensive weapons, and never in adequate number, are all these extraordinary soldiers have-besides love for their homeland, their society, and unsurpassed courage. But imperialism is bogging down in Vietnam, is unable to find a way out, and desperately seeks one that will overcome with dignity this dangerous situation in which it now finds itself. Furthermore, the Four Points put forward by the North and the Five Points of the South now corner imperialism, making the confrontation even more decisive.

Everything indicates that peace, this unstable peace which bears that name for the sole reason that no worldwide conflagration has taken place, is again in danger of being destroyed by some irrevocable and unacceptable step taken by the United States.

What role shall we, the exploited people of the world, play? The peoples of the three continents focus their attention on Vietnam and learn their lesson. Since imperialists blackmail humanity by threatening it with war, the wise reaction is not to fear war. The general tactics of the people should be to launch a constant and a firm attack in all fronts where the confrontation is taking place.

In those places where this meager peace we have, has been violated, which is our duty? To liberate ourselves at any price.

The world panorama is of great complexity. The struggle for liberation has not yet been undertaken by some countries of ancient Europe, sufficiently developed to realize the contradictions of capitalism, but weak to such a degree that they are unable either to follow imperialism or even to start on its own road. Their contradictions will reach an explosive stage during the forthcoming years-but their problems and, consequently, their own solutions are different from those of our dependent and economically underdeveloped countries.

The fundamental field of imperialist exploitation comprises the three underdeveloped continents: America, Asia, and Africa. Every country has also its own characteristics, but each continent, as a whole, also presents a certain unity.

Our America is integrated by a group of more or less homogeneous countries, and in most parts of its territory U.S. monopolist capitals maintain an absolute supremacy. Puppet governments or, in the best of cases, weak and fearful local rulers are incapable of contradicting orders from their Yankee master. The United States has nearly reached the climax of its political and economic domination; it could hardly advance much more; any change in the situation could bring about a setback. Their policy is to maintain that which has already been conquered. The line of action, at the present time, is limited to the brutal use of force with the purpose of thwarting the liberation movements, no matter of what type they might happen to be.

The slogan "We will not allow another Cuba" hides the possibility of perpetrating aggressions without fear of reprisal, such as the one carried out against the Dominican Republic or before that the massacre in Panama-and the clear warning stating that Yankee troops are ready to intervene anywhere in America where the ruling regime may be altered, thus endangering their interests. This policy enjoys an almost absolute impunity: the OAS is a suitable mask, in spite of its unpopularity; the inefficiency of the UN is ridiculous as well as tragic; the armies of all American countries are ready to intervene in order to smash their peoples. The International of Crime and Treason has in fact been organized. On the other hand, the autochthonous bourgeoisies have lost all their capacity to oppose imperialism-if they ever had it-and they have become the last card in the pack. There are no other alternatives: either a socialist revolution or a make-believe revolution.

Asia is a continent with many different characteristics. The struggle for liberation waged against a series of European colonial powers resulted in the establishment of more or less progressive governments, whose ulterior evolution has brought about, in some cases, the deepening of the primary objectives of national liberation and in others, a setback towards the adoption of pro-imperialist positions.

From the economic point of view, the United States had very little to lose and much to gain from Asia. These changes benefited its interests; the struggle for the overthrow of other neocolonial powers and the penetration of new spheres of action in the economic field is carried out sometimes directly, occasionally through Japan.

But there are special political conditions, particularly in Indo-China, which create in Asia certain characteristics of capital importance and play a decisive role in the entire U.S. military strategy.

The imperialists encircle China through South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, South Vietnam, and Thailand, at least.

This dual situation, a strategic interest as important as the military encirclement of the People's Republic of China and the penetration of these great markets-which they do not dominate yet-turns Asia into one of the most explosive points of the world today, in spite of its apparent stability outside of the Vietnamese war zone.

The Middle East, though it geographically belongs to this continent, has its own contradictions and is actively in ferment; it is impossible to foretell how far this cold war between Israel, backed by the imperialists, and the progressive countries of that zone will go. This is just another one of the volcanoes threatening eruption in the world today.

Africa offers an almost virgin territory to the neocolonial invasion. There have been changes which, to some extent, forced neocolonial powers to give up their former absolute prerogatives. But when these changes are carried out uninterruptedly, colonialism continues in the form of neocolonialism with similar effects as far as the economic situation is concerned.

The United States had no colonies in this region but is now struggling to penetrate its partners' fiefs. It can be said that following the strategic plans of U.S. imperialism, Africa constitutes its long-range reservoir; its present investments, though, are only important in the Union of South Africa, and its penetration is beginning to be felt in the Congo, Nigeria, and other countries where a violent rivalry with other imperialist powers is beginning to take place (in a pacific manner up to the present time).

All this past history justifies our concern regarding the possibilities of liberating the peoples within a long or a short period of time.

If we stop to analyze Africa, we shall observe that in the Portuguese colonies of Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola the struggle is waged with relative intensity, with a concrete success in the first one and with variable success in the other two. We still witness in the Congo the dispute between Lumumba's successors and the old accomplices of Tshombe, a dispute which at the present time seems to favor the latter: those who have "pacified" a large area of the country for their own benefit-though the war is still latent.

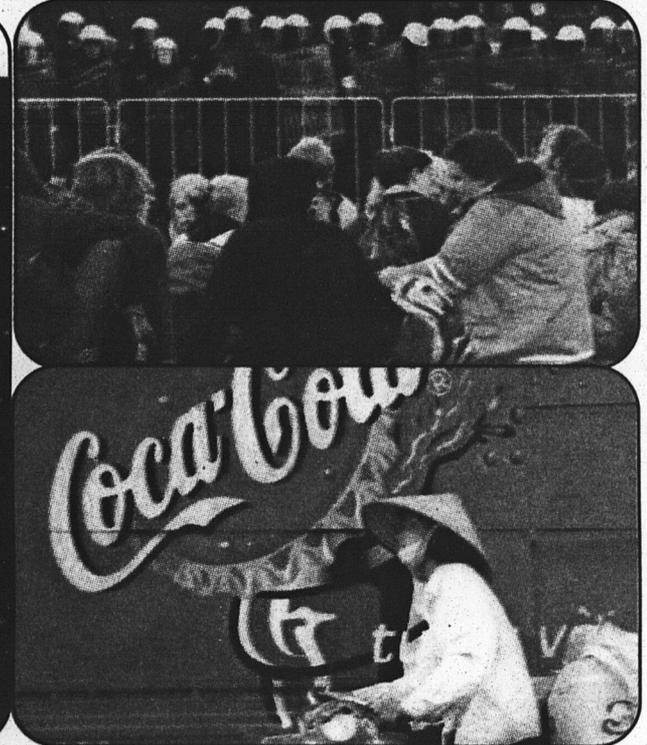
In Rhodesia we have a different problem: British imperialism used every means within its reach to place power in the hands of the

Up to now, army putsches follow one another; a group of officers succeeds another or substitutes a ruler who no longer serves their caste interests or those of the powers who covertly manage him-but there are no great popular upheavals. In the Congo these characteristics appeared briefly, generated by the memory of Lumumba, but they have been losing strength in the last few months.

In Asia, as we have seen, the situation is explosive. The points of friction are not only Vietnam and Laos, where there is fighting; such a point is also Cambodia, where at any time a direct U.S. aggression may start, [as well as] Thailand, Malaya, and, of course, Indonesia, where we cannot assume that the last word has been said, regardless of the annihilation of the Communist Party in that country when the reactionaries took over.

continental scale, the battles which are now taking place are only episodes-but they have already furnished their martyrs, who will figure in the history of Our America as having given their necessary quota of blood in this last stage of the fight for the total freedom of man.

New uprisings shall take place in Our America, as it has already happened in Bolivia, and they shall continue to grow in the midst of all the hardships inherent to this dangerous profession of being modern revolutionaries. Many shall perish, victims of their errors; others shall fall in the tough battle that approaches; new fighters and new leaders shall appear in the warmth of the revolutionary struggle. The people shall create their warriors and leaders in the selective framework of the war itself-and Yankee agents of repression shall increase.



white minority, who, at the present time, unlawfully holds it. The conflict, from the British point of view, is absolutely unofficial; this Western power, with its habitual diplomatic cleverness-also called hypocrisy in the strict sense of the word-presents a facade of displeasure before the measures adopted by the government of Ian Smith. Its crafty attitude is supported by some Commonwealth countries that follow it, but is attacked by a large group of countries belonging to Black Africa, whether they are or not servile economic lackeys of British imperialism.

Should the rebellious efforts of these patriots succeed and this movement receive the effective support of neighboring African nations, the situation in Rhodesia may become extremely explosive. But for the moment all these problems are being discussed in harmless organizations such as the UN, the Commonwealth, and the OAU.

The social and political evolution of Africa does not lead us to expect a continental revolution. The liberation struggle against the Portuguese should end victoriously, but Portugal does not mean anything in the imperialist field. The confrontations of revolutionary importance are those which place at bay all the imperialist apparatus; this does not mean, however, that we should stop fighting for the liberation of the three Portuguese colonies and for the deepening of their revolutions.

When the black masses of South Africa or Rhodesia start their authentic revolutionary struggle, a new era will dawn in Africa. Or when the impoverished masses of a nation rise up to rescue their right to a decent life from the hands of the ruling oligarchies.

And also, naturally, the Middle East.

In Latin America the armed struggle is going on in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, and Bolivia; the first uprisings are cropping up in Brazil. There are also some resistance focuses which appear and then are extinguished. But almost all the countries of this continent are ripe for a type of struggle that, in order to achieve victory, cannot be content with anything less than establishing a government of socialist tendencies.

In this continent practically only one tongue is spoken (with the exception of Brazil, with whose people, those who speak Spanish can easily make themselves understood, owing to the great similarity of both languages). There is also such a great similarity between the classes in these countries, that they have attained identification among themselves of an international americano type, much more complete than in the other continents. Language, habits, religion, a common foreign master, unite them. The degree and the form of exploitation are similar for both the exploiters and the men they exploit in the majority of the countries of Our America. And rebellion is ripening swiftly in it.

We may ask ourselves: How shall this rebellion flourish? What type will it be? We have maintained for quite some time now that, owing to the similarity of their characteristics, the struggle in Our America will achieve, in due course, continental proportions. It shall be the scene of many great battles fought for the liberation of humanity.

Within the frame of this struggle on a

Today there are military aides in all the countries where armed struggle is growing; the Peruvian army apparently carried out a successful action against the revolutionaries in that country, an army also trained and advised by the Yankees. But if the focuses of war grow with sufficient political and military insight, they shall become practically invincible and shall force the Yankees to send reinforcements. In Peru itself many new figures, practically unknown, are now reorganizing the guerrillas. Little by little, the obsolete weapons, which are sufficient for the repression of small armed bands, will be exchanged for modern armaments, and the U.S. military aides will be substituted by actual fighters until, at a given moment, they are forced to send increasingly greater numbers of regular troops to ensure the relative stability of a government whose national puppet army is disintegrating before the impetuous attacks of the guerrillas. It is the road of Vietnam; it is the road that should be followed by the people; it is the road that will be followed in Our America, with the advantage that the armed groups could create Coordinating Councils to embarrass the repressive forces of Yankee imperialism and accelerate the revolutionary triumph.

America, a forgotten continent in the last liberation struggles, which is now beginning to make itself heard through the Tricontinental in the voice of the vanguard of its peoples, the Cuban Revolution, has before it a task of much greater relevance: to create a second or a third Vietnam, or the second and third Vietnam of the world.

CONTINUED ON PG 18

# Emerging Alternatives in Palestine



EDWARD SAID

Since it began 15 months ago the Palestinian Intifada has had little to show for itself politically, despite the remarkable fortitude of a militarily occupied, unarmed, poorly led, and still dispossessed people that has defied the pitiless ravages of Israel's war machine. In the United States, the government and, with a handful of exceptions, the "independent" media have echoed each other in harping on Palestinian violence and terror, with no attention at all paid to the 35-year Israeli military occupation, the longest in modern history: as a result, American official condemnations of Yasser Arafat's Authority after 11 September as harbouring and even sponsoring terrorism have coldly reinforced the Sharon government's preposterous claim that Israel is the victim, the Palestinians the aggressors in the four-decade war that the Israeli army has waged against civilians, property and institutions without mercy or discrimination. The result today is that the Palestinians are locked up in 220 ghettos controlled by the army; American-supplied Apache helicopters, Merkava tanks, and F-16s mow down people, houses, olive groves and fields on a daily basis; schools and universities as well as businesses and civil institutions are totally disrupted; hundreds of innocent civilians have been killed and tens of thousands injured; Israel's assassinations of Palestinian leaders continue; unemployment and poverty stand at about 50 per cent — and all this while General Anthony Zinni drones on about Palestinian "violence" to the wretched Arafat, who can't even leave his office in Ramallah because he is imprisoned there by Israeli tanks, while his several tattered security forces scamper about trying to survive the destruction of their offices and barracks.

To make matters worse, the Palestinian Islamists have played into Israel's relentless propaganda mills and its ever-ready military by occasional bursts of wantonly barbaric suicide bombings that finally forced Arafat in mid-December to turn his crippled security forces against Hamas and Islamic Jihad, arresting militants, closing offices, occasionally firing at and killing demonstrators. Every demand that Sharon makes, Arafat hastens to fulfil, even as Sharon makes still another one, provokes an incident, or simply says — with US backing — that he is unsatisfied, and that Arafat remains an "irrelevant" terrorist (whom he sadistically

forbade from attending Christmas services in Bethlehem) whose main purpose in life is to kill Jews. To this logic-defying congeries of brutal assaults on the Palestinians, on the man who for better or worse is their leader, and on their already humiliated national existence, Arafat's baffling response has been to keep asking for a return to negotiations, as if Sharon's transparent campaign against even the possibility of negotiations wasn't actually happening, and as if the whole idea of the Oslo peace process hadn't already evaporated. What surprises me is that, except for a small number of Israelis (most recently David Grossman), no one comes out and says openly that Palestinians are being persecuted by Israel as its natives.

A closer look at the Palestinian reality tells a somewhat more encouraging story. Recent polls have shown that between them, Arafat and his Islamist opponents (who refer to themselves unjustly as "the resistance") get somewhere between 40 and 45 per cent popular approval. This means that a silent majority of Palestinians is neither for the Authority's misplaced trust in Oslo (or for its lawless regime of corruption and repression) nor

writers Hassan Khadr and Mahmoud Darwish, Raja Shehadeh, Rima Tarazi, Ghassan Al-Khatib, Nassir Aruri, Eliya Zureik and myself. In mid-December, a collective statement was issued that was well-covered in the Arab and European media (it went unmentioned in the US) calling for Palestinian unity and resistance and the unconditional end of Israeli military occupation, while keeping deliberately silent about returning to Oslo. We believe that negotiating an improvement in the occupation is tantamount to prolonging it. Peace can only come after the occupation ends. The declaration's boldest sections focus on the need to improve the internal Palestinian situation, above all to strengthen democracy; "rectify" the decision-making process (which is totally controlled by Arafat and his men); assert the need to restore the law's sovereignty and an independent judiciary; prevent the further misuse of public funds; and consolidate the functions of public institutions so as to give every citizen confidence in those that are expressly designed for public service. The final and most decisive demand calls for new parliamentary elections.

Several hundred Israeli reservists have refused military duty in the occupied territories, and a whole spectrum of journalists, activists, academics and writers (including Amira Hass, Gideon Levy, David Grossman, Ilan Pappé, Dani Rabinowitz, and Uri Avnery) have kept up a steady attack on the criminal futility of Sharon's campaign against the Palestinian people.

for Hamas's violence. Ever the resourceful tactician, Arafat has countered by delegating Dr Sari Nusseibeh, a Jerusalem notable, president of Al-Quds University, and Fatah stalwart, to make trial balloon speeches suggesting that if Israel were to be just a little nicer, the Palestinians might give up their right of return. In addition, a slew of Palestinian personalities close to the Authority (or, more accurately, whose activities have never been independent of the Authority) have signed statements and gone on tour with Israeli peace activists who are either out of power or otherwise seem ineffective as well as discredited. These dispiriting exercises are supposed to show the world that Palestinians are willing to make peace at any price, even to accommodate the military occupation. Arafat is still undefeated so far as his relentless eagerness to stay in power is concerned.

Yet at some distance from all this, a new secular nationalist current is slowly emerging. It's too soon to call this a party or a bloc, but it is now a visible group with true independence and popular status. It counts Dr Haidar Abdel-Shafi and Dr Mustafa Barghouthi (not to be confused with his distant relative, Tanzim activist Marwan Barghouthi) among its ranks, along with Ibrahim Dakkak, Ziad Abu Amr, Ahmad Harb, Ali Jarbawi, Fouad Moghrabi, Legislative Council members Rawiya Al-Shawa and Kamal Shirafi,

However else this declaration may have been read, the fact that so many prominent independents with, for the most part, functioning health, educational, professional and labour organisations as their base have said these things was lost neither on other Palestinians (who saw it as the most trenchant critique yet of the Arafat regime) nor on the Israeli military. In addition, just as the Authority jumped to obey Sharon and Bush by rounding up the usual Islamist suspects, a non-violent International Solidarity Movement was launched by Dr Barghouthi that comprised about 550 European observers (several of them European parliament members) who flew in at their own expense. With them was a well-disciplined band of young Palestinians who, while disrupting Israeli troop and settler movement along with the Europeans, prevented rock-throwing or firing from the Palestinian side. This effectively froze out the Authority and the Islamists, and set the agenda for making Israel's occupation itself the focus of attention. All this occurred while the US was vetoing a Security Council resolution mandating an international group of unarmed observers to interpose themselves between the Israeli army and defenceless Palestinian civilians.

The first result of this was that on 3 January, after Barghouthi held a press conference with about 20 Europeans in East Jerusalem, the Israelis arrested,

detained and interrogated him twice, breaking his knee with rifle butts and injuring his head, on the pretext that he was disturbing the peace and had illegally entered Jerusalem (even though he was born in it and has a medical permit to enter it). None of this of course has deterred him or his supporters from continuing the non-violent struggle, which, I think, is certain to take control of the already too militarised Intifada, centre it nationally on ending occupation and settlements, and steer Palestinians toward statehood and peace. Israel has more to fear from someone like Barghouthi, who is a self-possessed, rational and respected Palestinian, than from the bearded Islamic radicals that Sharon loves to misrepresent as Israel's quintessential terrorist threat. All they do is to arrest him, which is typical of Sharon's bankrupt policy.

So where is the Israeli and American left that is quick to condemn "violence" while saying not a word about the disgraceful and criminal occupation itself? I would seriously suggest that they should join brave activists like Jeff Halper and Louisa Morgantini at the barricades (literal and figurative), stand side by side with this major new secular Palestinian initiative, and start protesting the Israeli military methods that are directly subsidised by tax-payers and their dearly bought silence. Having for a year wrung their collective hands and complained about the absence of a Palestinian peace movement (since when does a militarily occupied people have responsibility for a peace movement?), the alleged peaceniks who can actually influence Israel's military have a clear political duty to organise against the occupation right now, unconditionally and without unseemly demands on the already laden Palestinians.

Some of them have. Several hundred Israeli reservists have refused military duty in the occupied territories, and a whole spectrum of journalists, activists, academics and writers (including Amira Hass, Gideon Levy, David Grossman, Ilan Pappé, Dani Rabinowitz, and Uri Avnery) have kept up a steady attack on the criminal futility of Sharon's campaign against the Palestinian people. Ideally, there should be a similar chorus in the United States where, except for a tiny number of Jewish voices making public their outrage at Israel's military occupation, there is far too much complicity and drum-beating. The Israeli lobby has been temporarily successful in identifying the war against Bin Laden with Sharon's single-minded, collective assault on Arafat and his people. Unfortunately, the Arab American community is both too small and beleaguered as it tries to fend off the ever-expanding Ashcroft dragnet, racial profiling and curtailment of civil liberties here.

Most urgently needed, therefore, is coordination between the various secular groups who support Palestinians, a people against whose mere presence, geographical dispersion (even more than Israeli depredations) is the major obstacle. To end the occupation and all that has gone with it is a clear enough imperative. Now let us do it. And Arab intellectuals needn't feel shy about actually joining in.

# Jews Against the Occupation

## OUR MISSION

Jews Against the Occupation is an organization of progressive, secular and religious Jews of all ages throughout the New York City area advocating peace and justice for Palestine and Israel. Our four tenets are based on UN resolutions:

## NO OCCUPATION IN OUR NAME

We as American Jews reject the Israeli government assertion that it is "necessary" to subjugate Palestinians for the sake of keeping Jews safe. We assert that security can only come from mutual respect, and that the occupation of Palestine is only worsening the position of Jews in the Middle East and around the world.

## RESTORE HUMAN & CIVIL RIGHTS

The Israeli military fires bone-crushing rubber bullets and live ammunition at unarmed Palestinian civilians engaged in peaceful protest, failing to distinguish between peaceful

and violent resistance. The Israeli government has been demolishing Palestinian houses and crops in the Occupied Territories, while allowing Jewish settlers — many of them American — to illegally occupy the same land.

## STOP ECONOMIC ATTACKS ON PALESTINE

The Israeli government has attacked the Palestinian economy by: closing Palestinian banks; imposing extreme taxes on business; withdrawing operating licenses; destroying industrial equipment; bulldozing farmland and banning fishing; restricting workers' movement; controlling the export of Palestinian goods; closing the borders of the Occupied Territories; and refusing to fund infrastructure like water and electricity — even in Arab villages within Israel.

## LET PALESTINIANS RETURN HOME

Thousands of Palestinians were

driven out of their houses and off of their farms during and after the creation of Israel. They must be allowed to return to their homeland.

**NO COLONIZATION OF PALESTINE  
SAY YES TO THE RIGHT OF RETURN**



**DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION WAS HELD DURING THE CONFERENCE ON RACISM, HELD IN DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA**

## List of Israeli Youth – Imprisoned Objectors in 2001

Name	A. K. [f]	Conscript	28 days in prison (5-30 Nov. 01)
Military status	Conscript	Political and moral grounds	In reserves
Grounds for objection	OT objector	28 days in prison (3-28 Sep.) + a	N. L.
Sentences and prison terms[a]	10 days in prison in June	suspended sentence of 28 more days	Reservist
Current status	Continues military service inside	Might be imprisoned again in the future	OT objector
	Israel's recognized borders		Imprisoned for 7 days in early
			November 01
			In reserves
Noam Livneh Reserve officer (lieutenant)	Ishai Rosen-Zvi Reservist	Avia Atai Conscript	D. R. Reservist
OT objector[b]	Reservist	OT objector (woman)	OT objector
21 days of imprisonment in Jan. 01	OT objector	28 days in prison (3-25 Sep.)	7 Days in prison (28 Nov. – 4 Dec.)
In reserves[c]	13 days in prison starting 13 Jun.	Exempted	In reserves
	In reserves		
Amit Bar-Tzedek Reservist	Idan Landau Reserve officer (captain)	A. M. Reservist	Omer Herrera Draft resister
OT objector	IDF objector	Political objector	Objects to military service
28 days in prison from late Feb. to mid Mar.	14 days in prison (9-21 July)	28 days in prison in Sep.	14 Days in prison (2-14 Dec.)
In reserves	In reserves	In reserves	Exempted
Omri Kleinberger Reservist	David Chacham-Herson Conscript	Eyal Rosin Reserve officer (captain)	P. L. Reservist
OT objector	OT objector	IDF objector	IDF objector
28 days in prison in Feb. – Mar	28 days in prison (16 Jul. – 10 Aug.)	11 days of confinement to base (19-25 Sep.)	28 days in prison starting 19 or 20 Dec.
In reserves	Exempted	In reserves	Imprisoned
Gabriel Wolff Draft resister	Alex Lyakas Reservist	Ariel Shatil Reservist	Yair Khilou Draft resister
IDF objector[d]	IDF objector	OT objector	Political objector
Three sentences of 14 (1-13 Apr.), 28 (15 Apr. – 10 May) and 28 (21 May – 15 June) days in prison	14 days in prison (25 Jul. – 6 Aug.) + an earlier suspended sentence of 10 days given on 11 Apr. and not activated	19 days of confinement to base (30 Sep. – 18 Oct.)	Sentenced to 28 days in prison on 23 Dec. Due out on 17 Jan. 2002.
Exempted	In reserves	In reserves	Imprisoned; likely to be imprisoned again in the future
Hedai Levi Reservist	Ishai Sagi Reserve officer (captain)	Leonid Krassner Conscript	Here are prison addresses of objectors currently held in military prison:
OT objector	OT objector	Pacifist	
14 days in prison (1-13 May)	26 days in prison beginning 29 Jul.	Spent 7 days in detention and 28 days in prison in April and May. Arrested again on 15 Oct. On 28 Nov. was sentenced to 4 month in prison + a 14 day suspended sentence against him was activated	Yair Khilou Mil. ID 7274070
In reserves	In reserves	Imprisoned	Mil. Prison No. 4,
			Mil. post num. 02507,
Ido Harari Reservist	Jonathan Moss Reservist	Yair Halper Draft resister	IDF
IDF objector	Pacifist	Pacifist	Israel.
14 days in prison (2-14 May)	30 days in prison (9 Aug. – 4 Sep.)	Served 2 terms of 28 days of imprisonment each (17 Oct. – 11 Nov; 11 Nov. – 6 Dec.) and is now serving a third consecutive 28-day sentence (beginning with 9 Dec.) He is due out on 3 Jan. 2002	Yair Halper Mil. ID 7237405
In reserves	In reserves	Imprisoned; might be imprisoned again in the future	Mil. Prison No. 6,
			Mil. post num. 03734,
Luai Nafaa Draft resister	Ariel Levin Draft resister	Eran Razgour Draft resister	IDF
Druse objector[e]	Pacifist	Political and moral grounds	Israel.
Three consecutive terms of 28, 35 and 14 days in prison, the latest in 10-22 July	Two 28-day sentences (12 Aug. – 6 Sep. and 6-25 Sep.)	A suspended sentence of 28 days in prison given on 25 Oct. and activated on 28 Oct. 01 and an active sentence of 14 days in prison given on 28 Oct. 01 (both for refusal to be inducted) – all in all 42 days in prison (28 Oct. – 4 Dec.)	Leonid Krassner Mil. ID 7156547
Exempted	Exempted	Might be imprisoned again in the future	Mil. Prison No. 6,
			Mil. post num. 03734,
Hilmi Nafaa Draft resister	Dan Tamir Reserve officer (captain)	Yosef (Sefi) Sendik Reserve officer (captain)	IDF
Druse objector	OT objector	IDF objector	Israel.
Four consecutive terms of 28, 35, 21 (10-27 Jul.) and 14 (29 Jul. – 10 Aug.) days in prison.	28 days in prison (19 Aug. – 14 Sep.)	14 days in prison (29 Aug. – 10 Sep.) + 14 days of suspended sentence	
Exempted	In reserves	In reserves	
Name unknown –	Rotem Dan Mor	Roi Wolman Reserve officer (lieutenant)	
Draft resister		OT objector	
Druse objector			
At least two months in prison altogether in summer 01			
Exempted			

# FROM WOUNDED KNEE TO AFGHANISTAN A CENTURY OF US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

Compiled by Zoltan Grossman (revised October 8, 2001) U.S. military spending (\$343 billion in the year 2000) is 69 percent greater than that of the next five highest nations combined. Russia, which has the second largest military budget, spends less than one-sixth what the United States does. Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Cuba, Sudan, Iran, and Syria spend \$14.4 billion combined; Iran accounts for 52 percent of this total.

**SOUTH DAKOTA 1890**  
300 Lakota Indians massacred at Wounded Knee.

**ARGENTINA 1890**  
Buenos Aires interests protected.

**CHILE 1891**  
Marines clash with nationalist rebels.

**HAITI 1891**  
Black workers revolt on U.S.-claimed Navassa Island defeated.

**IDAHO 1892**  
Army suppresses silver miners' strike.

**HAWAII 1893**  
Independent kingdom overthrown, annexed.

**CHICAGO 1894**  
Breaking of rail strike, 34 killed

**NICARAGUA 1894**  
Month-long occupation of Bluefields.

**CHINA 1894-95**  
Marines land in Sino-Jap War.

**KOREA 1894-96**  
Marines kept in Seoul during war.

**PANAMA 1895 1**  
Marines land in Colombian province.

**NICARAGUA 1896**  
Marines land in port of Corinto.

**CHINA 1898-1900**  
Boxer Rebellion fought by foreign armies.

**PHILIPPINES 1898-1910**  
Seized from Spain, killed 600,000 Filipinos.

**CUBA 1898-1902**  
Seized from Spain, still hold Navy base.

**PUERTO RICO 1898**  
Seized from Spain, occupation continues.

**GUAM 1898**  
Seized from Spain, still used as base.

**MINNESOTA 1898**  
Army battles Chippewa at Leech Lake.

**NICARAGUA 1898**  
Marines land at port of San Juan del Sur.

**SAMOA 1899**  
Battle over succession to throne.

**NICARAGUA 1899**  
Marines land at port of Bluefields.

**IDAHO 1899-1901**  
Army occupies Coeur d'Alene mining region.

**OKLAHOMA 1901**  
Army battles Creek Indian revolt.

**PANAMA 1901-14**  
Broke off from Colombia 1903,annexed

Canal Zone 1914-99.

**HONDURAS 1903**  
Marines intervene in revolution.

**DOMINICAN REP. 1903-04**  
U.S. interests protected in Revolution.

**KOREA 1904-05**  
Marines land in Russo-Japanese War.

**CUBA 1906-09**  
Marines land in democratic election.

**NICARAGUA 1907**  
"Dollar Diplomacy" protectorate set up.

**HONDURAS 1907**  
Marines land during war with Nicaragua.

**PANAMA 1908**  
Marines intervene in election contest.

**NICARAGUA 1910**  
Marines land in Bluefields and Corinto.

**HONDURAS 1911**  
U.S. interests protected in civil war.

**CHINA 1911-41**  
Continuous occupation with flare-ups.

**CUBA 1912**  
U.S. interests protected in Havana.

**PANAMA 1912**  
Marines land during heated election.

**HONDURAS 1912**  
Marines protect U.S. economic interests.

**NICARAGUA 1912-33**  
20-year occupation, fought guerrillas.

**MEXICO 1913**  
Americans evacuated during revolution.

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC 1914**  
Fight with rebels over Santo Domingo.

**COLORADO 1914**  
Breaking of miners' strike by Army.

**MEXICO 1914-18**  
Series of interventions against nationalists.

**HAITI 1914-34**  
19-year occupation after revolts.

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC 1916-24**  
8-year Marine occupation.

**CUBA 1917-33**  
Military occupation, economic protectorate.

**WORLD WAR I 1917-18**  
Ships sunk, fought Germany

**RUSSIA 1918-22**  
Five landings to fight Bolsheviks.

**PANAMA 1918-20**  
"Police duty" during unrest after elections.

**YUGOSLAVIA 1919**  
Marines intervene for Italy against Serbs in Dalmatia.

**HONDURAS 1919**  
Marines land during election campaign.

**GUATEMALA 1920**  
2-week intervention against unionists.

**WEST VIRGINIA 1920-21**  
Army intervenes against mineworkers.

**TURKEY 1922**  
Fought nationalists in Smyrna (Izmir).

**CHINA 1922-27**  
Deployment during nationalist revolt.

**HONDURAS 1924-25**  
Landed twice during election strife.

**PANAMA 1925**  
Marines suppress general strike.

**CHINA 1927-34**  
Marines stationed throughout the country.

**EL SALVADOR 1932**  
Warships sent during Farabundo Marti revolt.

**WASHINGTON DC 1932**  
Army stops WWI vet bonus protest.

**WORLD WAR II 1941-45**  
Fought Axis for 3 years; 1st nuclear war.

**DETROIT 1943**  
Army puts down Black rebellion.

**IRAN 1946**  
Soviet troops told to leave north (Iranian Azerbaijan).

**YUGOSLAVIA 1946**  
Response to shooting-down of U.S. plane.

**URUGUAY 1947**  
Bombers deployed as show of strength.

**GREECE 1947-49**  
U.S. directs extreme-right in civil war.

**CHINA 1948-49**  
Marines evacuate Americans before Communist victory.

**GERMANY 1948**  
Atomic-capable bombers guard Berlin Airlift.

**PHILIPPINES 1948-54**  
CIA directs war against Huk Rebellion.

**PUERTO RICO 1950**  
Independence rebellion crushed in Ponce.

**KOREA 1950-53**  
U.S. & South Korea fight China & North Korea to stalemate;

**IRAN 1953**  
CIA overthrows democracy, installs Shah.

**VIETNAM 1954**  
Bombs offered to French to use against siege.

**GUATEMALA 1954**  
CIA directs exile invasion after new govt nationalizes U.S. company lands; bombers based in Nicaragua.

**EGYPT 1956**  
Soviets told to keep out of Suez crisis; Marines evacuate foreigners

**LEBANON 1958**  
Marine occupation against rebels.

**IRAQ 1958**  
Iraq warned against invading Kuwait.

**CHINA 1958**  
China told not to move on Taiwan isles.

**PANAMA 1958**  
Flag protests erupt into confrontation.

**VIETNAM 1960-75**  
Fought South Vietnam revolt & North Vietnam; 1-2 million killed in longest U.S. war; atomic bomb threats in 1968 and 1969.

**CUBA 1961**  
Command operation CIA-directed exile invasion fails.

**GERMANY 1961**  
Nuclear threat Alert during Berlin Wall crisis.

**CUBA 1962**  
Blockade during missile crisis; near-war with USSR.

**LAOS 1962**  
Military buildup during guerrilla war.

**PANAMA 1964**  
Panamanians shot for urging canal's return.

**INDONESIA 1965**  
Million killed in CIA-assisted army coup.

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC 1965-66**  
Marines land during election campaign.

**GUATEMALA 1966-67**  
Command operation Green Berets intervene against rebels.

**DETROIT 1967**  
Army battles Blacks, 43 killed.

**UNITED STATES 1968**  
After King is shot; over 21,000 soldiers in cities.

**CAMBODIA 1969-75**  
Up to 2 million killed in decade of bombing, starvation, and political chaos.

**OMAN 1970**  
Command operation U.S. directs Iranian marine invasion.

**LAOS 1971-73**  
U.S. directs South Vietnamese invasion; "carpet-bombs" countryside.

**SOUTH DAKOTA 1973**  
Army directs Wounded Knee siege of Lakotas.

**MIDEAST 1973**  
Nuclear threat World-wide alert during Mideast War.

**CHILE 1973**  
CIA-backed coup ousts elected marxist president.

**CAMBODIA 1975**  
captured ship, 28 die in copter crash.

**ANGOLA 1976-92**  
CIA assists South African-backed rebels.

**IRAN 1980**  
Embassy hostages; 8 troops die in copter-plane crash. Soviets warned not to get involved in revolution.

**LIBYA 1981**  
Two Libyan jets shot down in maneuvers.

CONTINUED ON PG 21

# MILITARY COURTS AND CONGRESS

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

In the aftermath of 9/11/01, the Bush Administration has announced plans to form, staff and adjudicate military tribunals to try anyone the U.S. deems a "terrorist." These courts will be presided over by military officers, as will any appeals process, with the final arbiter, either the defense secretary or the president, ending the case.

No civil judge, of any division or rank of the federal judiciary, will ever hear any syllable of appeal from anyone tried before such a tribunal.

So frenzied is the American mood, so supine the liberal elite, and so prostrate the nation's legal community to power, that barely a murmur is heard in protest to this gross, naked power grab by the Administration.

It is not enough that the institution of such courts are the very antithesis to the grand American claim to "due process." Nor is it sufficient to argue that such war measures are inappropriate in the absence of a formal, congressional declaration of war (this Congress would have no real trouble doing so). This Congress, already jittery in light of reports of anthrax contamination of some offices, rushed through in record speed (with little debate, no public hearing, and neither a committee report nor a conference) the unprecedented, complex, and

radically repressive USA Patriot Act.

The presidential decree ordering military tribunals is, on its face, unconstitutional. Indeed, the very provision which grants the president Commander In Chief powers, also limits his powers over judicial matters. Here's what it says:

[Art. II: Sect. 2, Constitution of the U.S.]

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, ... He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate ...; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint ... Judges of the Supreme Court ...

And from Article III; Section 1 of the Constitution:

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

There it is. The president, acting in concert with the Senate, nominates and appoints Supreme Court judges, and Congress ordains and establishes new courts.

Congress can't abdicate this duty to the executive.

The president's order establishes a court, one which has all of its officers under his direct control and command. This is a classic kangaroo court, of the very kind that Americans condemned when

the Fujimori regime established them in Peru (interestingly, to fight 'terrorism').

Nor is this meant to heap false praise on U.S. civil courts, which are fundamentally political institutions. Have we all forgotten the trial of Tim McVeigh, the domestic terrorist, where it was later learned that the FBI withheld thousands of pages of documents, until days before his execution? Civil courts merely winked at this violation, as a minor irritation.

And while the government had its way (by executing McVeigh) it was embarrassed by reports of their handling of the case. That won't happen now, will it?

Under the Bush Administration, military tribunals serve as an instrument of administrative whim. Under the command structure of the military, each judge, each jury, each prosecutor, and each court officer is a sworn officer of the military, in the sworn service of the Commander in Chief. If they want to further their career in the armed services, even if they ever wanted promotion, they follow their administrative cues. What do you think they would do to a foreign national, who is already tagged as "the enemy"?

With either Bush, the Secretary of Defense, or even another military panel serving as a Supreme Court of Appeals, what would be the result?

But, after all, the accused are (to use the term of popular appeal)

'sand niggers' (the Brits would call them 'wogs'), Arabs, Pakistanis, a few Afghans - so, why care?

The same was said in the '20s when Russian Jews were exiled from the U.S. after the Palmer Raids, or in the '40s when Japanese were thrown into concentration camps; they're just 'commie Jews', or 'slants' - right?

Such events were said to be separate, involving 'others', yet they tainted the judicial process and U.S. claims of fair play, up to the present generation. Let us fight this madness, or it will return to haunt us all.



# THE BUSINESS SIDE OF WAR

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Long-time readers of this writer will recall the claim that all wars have an economic interest, and are fought for economic reasons or resources.

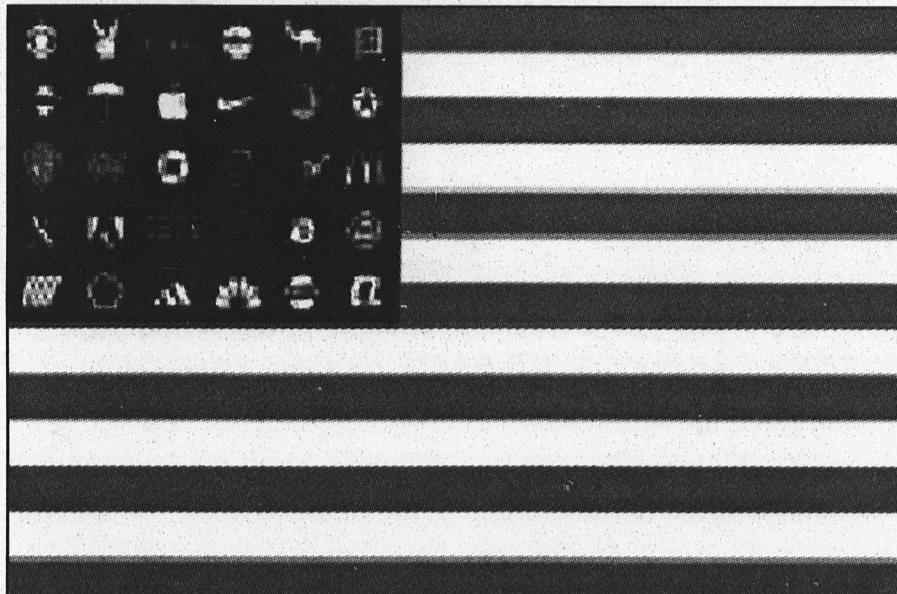
Is this so with Afghanistan? On its face, most would not agree.

But, check this out.

Would you believe that important business interests began discussing the removal of the Taliban, years ago? Or that wealthy oil interests have been plotting on ways to re-organize the Central Asian region, in order to exploit the abundant supplies of oil that are in the Caspian Sea area? Or that the area is also abundant in natural gas reserves?

In early 1998, a major oil executive for the Unocal Corporation, a Mr. John J. Maresca, Vice-President of the company, gave a briefing to a House subcommittee on International Relations. In his remarks, we see the reasons for U.S. industrial interest in the area — a pipeline:

One obvious potential route south would be across Iran. However, this option is foreclosed for American companies because of U.S. sanctions legislation. The



only other possible route option is across Afghanistan, which has its own unique challenges. The country has been involved in bitter warfare for almost two decades. The territory across which the pipeline would extend is controlled by most other nations. From the outset, we have made it clear that construction of our proposed pipeline cannot begin until a recognized government is in place that has the confidence of

governments, lenders, and our company. ["A New Silk Road: Proposed Petroleum Pipeline in Afghanistan", Monthly Review, Dec. 2001, pp. 32-3]

Unocal noted that other industrial powers are interested in the proposed oil pipeline, including Japan. Their interests are their own — their national, and international economies.

Did Unocal negotiate with the now-accursed Taliban?

Well, they say they haven't, but they also say that they have.

Again, the words of Vice-President Maresca are important indications of how Unocal did its business:

Although Unocal has not negotiated with any one group, and does not favor any group, we have had contacts with and briefings for all of them. We know that the different factions in Afghanistan understand the importance of the pipeline project for their country, and have expressed their support of it. [p. 33]

In the halls of government, and in the meeting places of big business, powerful people carve up the world according to their own interests.

Wars are declared, and thousands are slain, for the enrichment and the well-being of the few.

War is more than the instrument of big business; it is big business.

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# Globalization and War

CONTINUED FROM PG 13

down a dozen different paths, in the US almost all of them leading back to making peace with the status quo via the Democratic party.

## Think Globally, Fight Locally: Same Struggle, Same Fight

By openly identifying capitalism as the enemy, today's movement is already ahead of its early sixties counterparts, not to mention the mood of despair that has gripped the left for well over a decade. Another world is possible is light years beyond there is no alternative. It is also way ahead of the single-issuism and identity politics that dominated the left for years. At the same time it has become fashionable these days to claim that as capital now knows no boundaries it now has no national loyalties and that avoiding the whole question of state power is better than thinking about seizing it. Yet those who claim to ignore or avoid state power in fact capitulate to it as their equivocation, if not outright support to Bush's war on Afghanistan shows. For its part, the

ruling class knows far better than they do when it comes to state power and its ties to national economies. As a New York Times reporter bluntly stated, for globalization to work. America can't be afraid to act like the almighty superpower that it is. The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist...and the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technology is called the US Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps....McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas. This is the key question that anti-capitalists now have to face as Bush and Blair bare the hidden fist for all to see. Trendy leftist academics and even some activists may pretend not to but the Big Mac attacks on Cuba, Iraq, Yugoslavia, and now Afghanistan won't go away by acting as if they don't have anything to do with globalization. Indeed, as Bush has made clear, more are on the way; it's just a question of who, where and when the next victim will be. Separating politics from economics (and confining politics to elections) has long been standard practice amongst reformists, who at

bottom support maintenance of the status quo. Trying to keep the movement against war apart from the movement against globalization is just another variant of it. But while the two struggles need to become one, since both are confronting different faces of the same enemy, it's not enough just to be against something. A successful movement needs a concrete alternative to what it's opposing if it wants to win the masses of working people over to it. Demonstrations that just lead to more demonstrations will not topple capitalism. Demonstrations that lead to the building of a revolutionary alternative that can unite all the struggles of the exploited and oppressed into a common struggle and organization will lead to the possibility of truly transforming society not just in the interests of the exploited and the oppressed but through their own self-activity as well. That means connecting the international struggle against globalization to the local struggles of workers for more jobs with higher wages and for better education, housing and health-care, to the struggles of the Black

and Latino communities against racism, police brutality and the death penalty and to the struggles of women for reproductive rights. In short, pointing out that the same ruling class that exploits workers in the Third World does the same thing here and that they are two sides of the same coin of capitalist exploitation and oppression. To beat the bosses, especially in the US, the energy, inventiveness and defiance that today's young rebels have shown is not enough. They need Marxist theory, a working class orientation and the recognition of the necessity for a centralized, disciplined yet democratic revolutionary party so that the struggle isn't sidetracked down the deadend of Democratic party politics and lesser evil liberalism to Bush. For the hunger, homelessness, disease and destitution that the rule of the rich perpetuates will only be banished when working people take and make the power to create a society that meets the needs of the many and not the greed of a few. The bosses have mismanaged the world long enough. It's high time to take it from them.

# CHE GUEVARA SPEAKS

CONTINUED FROM PG 11

We must bear in mind that imperialism is a world system, the last stage of capitalism-and it must be defeated in a world confrontation. The strategic end of this struggle should be the destruction of imperialism. Our share, the responsibility of the exploited and underdeveloped of the world, is to eliminate the foundations of imperialism: our oppressed nations, from where they extract capital, raw materials, technicians, and cheap labor, and to which they export new capital-instruments of domination-arms and all kinds of articles, thus submerging us in an absolute dependence.

The fundamental element of this strategic end shall be the real liberation of all people, a liberation that will be brought about through armed struggle in most cases and which shall be, in Our America, almost inflexibly, a Socialist Revolution.

While envisaging the destruction of imperialism, it is necessary to identify its head, which is no other than the United States of America.

We must carry out a general task with the tactical purpose of getting the enemy out of its natural environment, forcing him to fight in regions where his own life and habits will clash with the existing reality. We must not underrate our adversary; the U.S. soldier has technical capacity and is backed by weapons and resources of such magnitude that render him frightful. He lacks the essential ideologic motivation which his bitterest enemies of today-the Vietnamese soldiers-have in the highest degree. We will only be able to overcome that army by undermining their morale-and this is accomplished by defeating it and causing it repeated sufferings.

And let us develop a true proletarian internationalism; with international proletarian armies, the flag under which we fight would be the sacred cause of redeeming humanity. To die under the flag of Vietnam, of Venezuela, of Guatemala, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of Bolivia, of Brazil-to name only a few scenes of today's armed struggle-would be equally glorious

and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, even a European.

Each spilt drop of blood, in any country under whose flag one has not been born, is an experience passed on to those who survive, to be added later to the liberation struggle of his own country. And each nation liberated is a phase won in the battle for the liberation of one's own country.

We all know great controversies rend the world now fighting for freedom; no one can

be uncompromising.

Let us sum up our hopes for victory: total destruction of imperialism by eliminating its firmest bulwark, the oppression exercised by the United States of America. To carry out, as a tactical method, the people's gradual liberation, one by one or in groups: driving the enemy into a difficult fight away from its own territory, dismantling all its sustenance bases, that is, its dependent territories.



**KOREAN WORKERS STRIKE AGAINST GENERAL MOTORS TAKEOVER OF DAEWOO CAR FACTORY**

hide it. We also know that they have reached such intensity and such bitterness that the possibility of dialogue and reconciliation seems extremely difficult, if not impossible. It is a useless task to search for ways and means to propitiate a dialogue which the hostile parties avoid. However, the enemy is there; it strikes every day and threatens us with new blows, and these blows will unite us, today, tomorrow, or the day after. Whoever understands this first, and prepares for this necessary union, shall have the people's gratitude.

In our struggling world every discrepancy regarding tactics, the methods of action for the attainment of limited objectives, should be analyzed with due respect to another man's opinions. Regarding our great strategic objective, the total destruction of imperialism by armed struggle, we should

This means a long war. And, once more, we repeat it, a cruel war. Let no one fool himself at the outset and let no one hesitate to start out for fear of the consequences it may bring to his people. It is almost our sole hope for victory. We cannot elude the call of this hour. Vietnam is pointing it out with its endless lesson of heroism, its tragic and everyday lesson of struggle and death for the attainment of final victory.

There, the imperialist soldiers endure the discomforts of those who, used to enjoying the U.S. standard of living, have to live in a hostile land with the insecurity of being unable to move without being aware of walking on enemy territory-death to those who dare take a step out of their fortified encampment, the permanent hostility of the entire population. All this has internal repercussions in the United States [and]

propitiates the resurgence of an element which is being minimized in spite of its vigor by all imperialist forces: class struggle even within its own territory.

How close we could look into a bright future should two, three, or many Vietnams flourish throughout the world with their share of deaths and their immense tragedies, their everyday heroism and their repeated blows against imperialism, impelled to disperse its forces under the sudden attack and the increasing hatred of all peoples of the world!

And if we were all capable of uniting to make our blows stronger and infallible and so increase the effectiveness of all kinds of support given to the struggling people-how great and close would that future be!

If we, in a small point of the world map, are able to fulfill our duty and place at the disposal of this struggle whatever little of ourselves we are permitted to give: our lives, our sacrifice; and if some day we have to breathe our last breath on any land, already ours, sprinkled with our blood, let it be known that we have measured the scope of our actions and that we only consider ourselves elements in the great army of the proletariat but that we are proud of having learned from the Cuban Revolution, and from its maximum leader, the great lesson emanating from his attitude in this part of the world: "What do the dangers or the sacrifices of a man or of a nation matter, when the destiny of humanity is at stake?"

Our every action is a battle cry against imperialism, and a battle hymn for the people's unity against the great enemy of mankind: the United States of America. Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, may have reached some receptive ear, that another hand may be extended to wield our weapons, and that other men be ready to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato singing of the machine guns and new battle cries of war and victory.

# COLLEGE VOICE WHO WE ARE

The College Voice (CV) is a publication committed to the interests of working people. The working class is composed of all those people who own nothing but their ability to perform manual or mental labor and are forced to sell it for a wage. As students at CUNY, we recognize that we are a part of the multi-racial, multi-national working class of New York City. The severe attacks that CUNY has undergone are mirrored by the endless assaults on the jobs, wages and living standards of working people, as well as by the attacks on trade union, democratic and civil rights.

We oppose the poisonous divisions fostered on the basis of race by the bosses, who make black and white workers fight each other for the crumbs off their table...even though it is the workers who produce all the wealth.

We oppose the systematic attempts to reduce women to a defined "feminine" status, that serves to legitimize the special oppression they face as women and the additional exploitation they undergo as workers.

We oppose the vicious attacks on immigrant workers, who are the most vulnerable victims of the bosses job market, and who are thus used to drive all workers wages down.

We oppose every form of bigotry, on principle, as unbecoming our species and recognize that the fight for human liberation will be achieved only in the course of combating these divisions.

We oppose the use of the environment as a source of short-term profit and plunder by the ruling rich regardless of the consequences for the majority of the world's population.

The CV recognizes that it is the capitalist system, based upon the private ownership of the means of producing the wealth, that is fundamentally responsible for the fantastic hardship and misery that the vast majority of our species undergoes across the globe...in the midst of plenty.

The CV recognizes that this contradiction, far from being some "natural" condition, is one maintained by the armed power of the capitalist state (army, cops and courts) and ideological apparatus (media, church and schools) of the capitalist class that insures the domination of the few over the many; of the bosses, who produce nothing and appropriate everything over the workers, who produce everything but appropriate nothing.

The CV recognizes the possibility and the burning necessity for creating a society in which the productive forces are democratically organized through the cooperative association of workers and production is based on human needs instead of private profits in harmony with the environment.

The CV recognizes the necessity for creating a revolutionary party of working class, based upon a program of militant mass action and class struggle politics, that will organize internationally against world capitalism and its multi- and transitional corporations and fight for a socialist revolution against them.

The CV seeks to engage all those who are committed to fighting exploitation and oppression in common action against the common enemy...capitalism.

## U.S. Doesn't Give A Damn About Women...Anywhere

*continued from pg 5*

specified woman's role, yet her position is vastly better than a poor black mother struggling to raise her kids on minimum wage in an urban ghetto. The poor woman suffers as a woman but also as a working class person. Similarly an Afghani woman suffers considerably more than any American woman because she is a woman and very importantly, she is Afghani i.e. she comes from a country that is not free and rich like the U.S. Indeed her country has been kept poor and unfree precisely by the U.S.

You may have heard of the saying that "no one is free till all are free". This is a instructive way of understanding the relationship between women in America and women in Afghanistan. The efforts by the US corporate ruling class to grab the resources of other countries and impose their political will on other countries - including the creation of Islamic extremism - has a very real impact on women in the US.

Just as a practical matter, women as mothers do not want to see their children of whatever age blown to bits in terror attacks. They do not want to have to worry about their children's safety. This is enough reason for the US government to stop supporting terrorist groups, and stop bombing people. But on an even deeper level, the enslavement of women anywhere causes the weakening of women's rights everywhere.

In the US today we have a president that is a right wing yahoo who takes his cue on matters of women and family from the likes of religious extremists, albeit of the Christian variety, like Pat Robertson. Women's hard won gains from the Civil Rights struggles are in critical danger but women's organizations are by and large not standing up. Why? Well, there seems to be this carefully engineered corporate consensus that says, "we as a country are so civilized and tolerant towards

women compared to those awful people in the Middle East, so maybe we should just shut up and smile a lot".

All of a sudden the America of Bush is the best the world has to offer women. Women in the U.S. are being effectively silenced by Christian bigots - a fascist of fighting Islamic bigots in the Middle East.

Now we must return to the question of this so-called Islamic bigotry. In the US today we have people like Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell and countless others that would love to turn this country into a theocracy - a fascist religious state where abortion is banned and women's activity is confined to domestic duties. However the vast majority of American people - men and women, Christian and non-Christian, do not take these cranks seriously and will never accept living under them.

Lets say hypothetically that a section of Americas super rich thought that these cranks may be good for the country - a good way of disciplining the labor force - and started to funnel billions of dollars into supporting their bid for power would'nt that change the equation dramatically. What the US did in the poor countries of the Middle East and Central Asia was to take fringe elements and give them the means to become mass forces. Not only did the U.S. give money but also tons of guns, more powerful guns than any of their competitors had.

Islamic people want Islamic fundamentalism as much as American Christians want Christian fundamentalism. That is - they don't. The difference in the poor countries is that there is massive suffering and deprivation that is rooted directly in US policy in their countries. This gives the Islamic fundamentalists rhetoric of a return to a mythical golden age of Islam, free of poverty and free of national oppression, greater heed amongst the masses.

Even with the US backing them, most

of these outfits including the Afghani mujahideen are unable to ever really gain the backing of the majority of the ordinary people. U.S. support of such groups have only ensured that the populations of the countries they occupy are kept in a perpetual cycle of civil war.

This type of logic of demonization is very familiar to the US elites. It is the same racist logic that cast black peoples as lazy or worse and so on. Muslim and non Muslim peoples of Asia and Africa have not been able to control their own destinies since the dawn of European colonialism. Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Germany and Italy were the original state sponsors of terrorism. In their quest for the wealth of Asia and Africa they killed millions, enslaved millions, waged bio-terrorism (against North American Indians) and played divide and conquer. None of these actions by the supposedly morally superior western civilization were helpful to women. Colonization and then neo-colonial dependency has only pushed Middle Eastern and other regions into a deep rut. Despite all the sufferings the women of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the men have struggled to free themselves from this colonialist rut. We the people of America must not fall for the orientalist lies of the capitalist ruling class, whose accusations of Islamic this and Islamic that are little more than self serving depraved projections, designed to fool us into supporting their wars of conquest.

If you think women are "sluts", it will show in your actions and words. If you think Muslims hate women this too will show in your words and actions. It is time we realized that we are one human race. Our differences are circumstantial our unity is fundamental. We must follow the wisdom of old to usher in a new era of peace. Let us create a society where we - do unto others as we would have them do unto us.

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**Know us:** The College Voice is a monthly journal published by the students of the College of Staten Island.

**Visit us:** Our office is located at 2800 Victory Boulevard, Room 1C-230, Staten Island, NY 10314

**Sue us:** Opinions expressed are those of the writers and not necessarily shared by anyone else.

The College Voice is a member of the Columbia Scholastic Press Association, The Associated Collegiate Press and the College Media Advisor

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## ENRON WORKERS LOSE JOBS AS EXECUTIVES REAP HUGE PROFITS

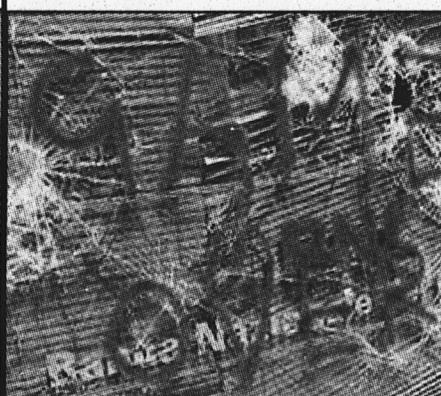
Enron is an energy trading company that deals with a myriad of energy and related financial services. Recently, the company filed for a full blown corporate bankruptcy which is one of the largest Corporate tragedies in history. Enron's bankruptcy precipitated an immediate massive 5,000 worker layoff and the company plans to terminate another 21,000 jobs within the following weeks. The sudden layoffs left many without health, medical and compensatory pay benefits which federal law requires companies to pay. Top Executives at Enron on the other hand liquidated huge private stock shares at premium market valuations because of their intimate knowledge of the true financial status of the company. Also because of the deregulation of the securities industries many individual workers and retirees were prevented from selling the shares that reside in their 401k accounts. Enron has always encouraged its workers to place their life savings in the form of company stock options, many of the Retirement "Nest Eggs" are totally wiped out.

According to statistics compiled from the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and the World Socialist Website, higher level executives concealed the true financial status of Enron by using shady accounting methods to overstate the companies earnings reports. For example, three major top level executives sold 2,989,178 shares of Enron stock for a total of \$116,977,511. Lou L. Pai, CEO of Enron, who made \$33,629,380. Next in the line of thieves came Ken Lay, chairman, who hoarded \$16,103,181. Jeffrey K. Skilling the recently resigned director managed to funnel \$15,554,700 in stock valuations into his pocket. Workers on the other hand were "locked out" of the cascade of selling because of earlier deregulation in the securities industry which penalizes premature sale of shares by stringent profit taking taxation. Also the issue on health care, medical insurance and severance pay has not even been addressed yet by Enron's management.

Many states where Enron was based had huge private and state owned Retirement account holdings of stock in their retirees accounts. It is estimated that \$306 million dollars was lost. Another blatant demonstration of the

parasitic character of modern day capitalism on the American workers is Enron's intimate ties to the current Bush administration.

Many of Enron's former directors now hold important positions in the Bush administration. They represent their own financial and political interests by passing laws that place extraordinary



**From Houston to Buenos Aires, Capitalist Crises Deepens**

wealth into the pockets of the American ruling elite at the expense of the wider layers of the American working class. The collapse of Enron and the fact that many workers lost their jobs, benefits and health care and life savings while senior level executives who hold important government positions took part in huge profit taking schemes further demonstrates the ravenous character of modern day capitalism

The Havana Cigar

## A R G E N T I N A The Proven Failure of Globalization

AYMAN EL-SAYED

The IMF & World Bank have been stacking up debts for some of the poorest countries. Argentina is one of these countries with a debt up to \$155 Billion dollars. Who is expected to pay this huge amount? The poor and the working people of Argentina are expected to pay this gigantic amount.

the norm in Argentina. The former president Fernando de la Rúa experienced 8 general strikes in the past two years. This time the people will not accept his promises and lies, they wanted and got his resignation.

The free market has shown to be not so free but very expensive. In some areas of Argentina unemployment is almost 60%. Many are factory workers who have been laid off and also many young people have joined the demonstrations seeing their futures and opportunities shut like a factory door.

The Bankers have been able to take their money out. By using the purchase of Argentinean Stocks on Wall Street they are able to get their money out the country. The Argentinean working class like the American working class has been dumped by the ruling rich and the government. The Bankers like American companies have been bailed out while workers have lost their jobs by the tens of thousands.

At the same time the Argentinean working class has a long history in trade union activities. This country has the biggest concentration of unemployed industrial workers in the world today. The majority of industrial workers are unemployed. One they constituted 40% of the labor force. Today because of the IMF and World Bank they are under 20%.

The people of this country are beginning to face hunger from long unemployment. Argentina is one of the leading meat and grain producers in the world, but the people are hungry. They are not hungry because their land is not fertile and rich but because it is shipped out by the tens of thousands of tons to be shipped to Europe and make a profit from it.

The movement has grown but a strong political leadership is still slowly surfacing. The more the Argentinean poor and working class realize the bankruptcy of capitalism and globalization, the necessity for a working class solution will arise. No party that calls for a capitalist solution will succeed in winning the masses. The party that calls for the nationalization of industry and the socialization of the means of production will be successful.

Socialism always seems to be the true solution to the misery and poverty of the world. The plan of the big powers and business to legally colonize Asia, Africa and Latin America has proven failure. There is no other way for the people of Latin America but a socialist block. Most of the countries and economies of Latin America are unstable. Cuba, along with Venezuela, the struggle in Colombia, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico can pave a new future of equality. If a socialist solution is applied to Argentina the Argentinean State backed by America and the IMF will try to bury the movements that try to bury the debt like was done during the dictatorship of 1976. 30,000 people died and disappeared during the rise of that mass movement. Argentina will not be alone in the struggle against globalization and neo-colonialism; the workers of the world have joined this struggle. Capitalism has reached its dead-end and is willing to sacrifice the whole world to maintain its domination.

The IMF & World Bank claim that they are supposed to help countries build their economy and country up. Argentina is one of many countries and examples of the false claims made by the IMF and the ruling class that takes out loans.

The IMF and World Bank have only contributed in increasing poverty, unemployment, cutbacks, and downsizing. The poor, working class and even the middle class in Argentina are not happy with the status of their country. Many people all over the world figured they'll test out the IMF and many also have been fooled and forced to go along with it. Many thought maybe it'll really help their countries but after a few years and the national debt rising to the hundred billion they began to realize that it is not made to help their countries but in fact exploit it.

The Argentinean people have begun to express how they feel towards their government's policies by ousting 5 presidents, all in a few weeks. Mass demonstrations have been organized in Argentina. The demonstrations have turned into street battles with the police who blindly protect the interest of the ruling rich and the government. It is the people who are the victims here not the rich.

Demonstrations and strikes are nothing new in Argentina as well as all of Latin America. General strikes have become

- 1) 514 BILLIONAIRES OWN 50% OF THE WORLD'S WEALTH
- 2) U.S. EXECUTIVES GET PAID 475 TIMES AS MUCH AS U.S. WORKERS
- 3) BILL GATES HAS GREATER WEALTH THAN MANY POOR COUNTRIES
- 4) 46,000 CHILDREN DIE EVERYDAY OF STARVATION AND BASIC DISEASE
- 5) A 4% TAX ON THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD'S BILLIONAIRES CAN FEED, HOUSE, AND CLOTHE EVERYONE

# SOCIALISM

CONTINUED FROM PG 9

the way for a pipeline through Afghanistan by US bombs. With a puppet government installed in Kabul the US oil giant UNOCAL led pipeline through Afghanistan and a many other lucrative enterprises await.

War and the corporate media orchestrated patriotic fervor surrounding it serves as the social glue that helps to bind the loyalty of the worker to the US capitalist system when this system is making the lives of many millions of working class families utterly miserable. In Germany, the ruling capitalist class targeted communists and Jews as the reason why German imperial might was waning and allowed the ascension to power of the virulently anti-communist, racist Hitlerites. Meanwhile German capitalism was failing as a product of the policies of the "Aryan", German capitalists themselves. Jews were purely a scapegoat and communists offered a political alternative that had to be neutralized.

In America today, Arabs and Muslims are scapegoated to shift the public focus from the capitalist crisis. Internationally, the poorest neo-colonial states are targeted for destruction to use up accumulated military hardware and at the same time conquer new markets and sources of cheap labor.

The present US administration is an open alliance of the energy, military and related sectors of big capital. Appealing to racism, Christian fundamentalism, creates its mass base and tax cuts. Their strategy of overcoming the global slump that capitalism is entering is through a tremendous infusion of cash and cash opportunities to themselves, publicly funded bail outs, cuts in capital taxes, achieving a higher rate of inventory movement, i.e. more planes, ships, land vehicles, energy, etc., and the consolidation of US capitals strength on the world market.

The mass theft by ENRON executives

like CEO Kenneth Lay of workers jobs, pensions, savings and the filing of chapter 11 bankruptcy to protect against creditors - in this case the unpaid workers, exemplify the smug brazenness with which the super-rich are stealing peoples money. They don't even bother to cover it up anymore. Enron's chief, "Kenny Boy" to Dubya, was connected to the Bush's by blood and oil. Billions had already been passed between the Bush and Lay families.

The US threatened and pressured markets open all around the world. Once opened they stole billions and they got out leaving shipwrecked economies dead in the water around the world. The collapse of the Argentinean economy is significant not just for its sheer size and geo-political influence but in that it served as a model of US policy. As with ENRON, the attitude of the Bush oil gang has been - Ha! Fooled Ya!

The US capitalist class through its unparalleled wealth and power are able to coerce all capitalism - European, Japanese, Neo-colonial - into following their war policy. "Either you are with us or against us", "no neutrality", etc. have underscored the US administrations determination to implement its war policy worldwide. A huge stock of world capital will then be used up, valorized, through war economics. All capitalists worldwide have to contribute according to acceptable standards.

This phase of US global hegemony over world economy and politics poses objectively an international solution. There is no national road out of crisis. The deep dependency that the US has created in economies around the world, by reconfiguring national economies into a global market to serve US capital, has posed in an objective sense the question of the administration of economy and society on a global scale. Marx's description of capitals global expansion and consolidation has never been more true than today. The anti-

globalization movement that has risen around the world drawing together labor activists and social movements is a response to the dire impact of US led capitalist globalization. The movement however brings together a wide spectrum that includes nationalists and isolationists of various stripes. This is to be expected in the first stage of a global awakening to the need to resist. However the answers cannot be sought in the past but only on the basis of historical conditions as they present themselves in the now.

The anti-globalization movement has put forward the slogan, "Our world is not for sale!", which is an excellent expression of the resistance to and rejection of the commodification of increasingly everything under the sun, including air, water and people themselves. However the Bush gangs global terror war has paralyzed sections of the movement, particularly labor bureaucrats in the imperialist countries who can't break with their capitalist masters when it comes to killing workers of another country. Despite this weakness the working class across the world is in a more combative mood than it has been for decades. Where the misleadership of bourgeois agents in the working class is inadequate to quell the masses and/or where the social crisis is too deep, spontaneous mass movements, organized by many smaller unofficial organizations have broken through the surface of the imposed silence. The recent uprising in Argentina is a powerful example of this.

The vast inequality that has accelerated in the present phase, where some 50% of the worlds capital is controlled by some 500 billionaires and 46,000 children die every day for lack of proper care, can only be rectified on a global scale. The nature of the disease determines the nature of the cure. The networks of capital accumulation that has led to the concentration of capital in

a few global centers must be dismantled and in their place networks of labor must reorganize the flow of value towards eradicating poverty, AIDS, illiteracy, and establish a global harmony. Naturally these networks of labor, of the have-nots, will need to involve hundreds of millions of human beings in the rewiring of the global economy.

We know the US super state will attempt to thwart and destroy the efforts of the masses to bring stability and security to the world. They will use their violence and sew divisions, pitting Muslim against Christian, black against white, male against female, family against family but we will prevail if we simply observe a strict code of solidarity, a loving kindness towards people, animals and the planet itself. It is this higher state of humanity that is beckoning us, not for abstract moral reasons but for the survival of each and all.

The unity of laboring humanity is more complete in the objective sense than ever before. We are more involved in each others well being through a million different strands rooted in the integration of economy and state. Our food, our clothes, our language, our music, our very humanness is collectively elaborated. Socialism poses the path of peace and demilitarization, the scrapping of the war machines and jail cells and building a beautiful park, for instance. Socialism is the path of unity, of all humanity, in its scientific materialist understanding of the human condition. Let the people be free and be assured basic rights of life and the pursuit of happiness like the right to food, shelter, medicine, education and so on. The pursuit of happiness means nothing without the basic means of survival. Socialism poses the path of progress, towards a ecological technology, to understand not destroy nature.

## FROM WOUNDED KNEE TO AFGHANISTAN

CONTINUED FROM PG 16

EL SALVADOR 1981-92

Advisors aid anti-rebel war, soldiers briefly involved in hostage clash.

NICARAGUA 1981-90

CIA directs exile (Contra) invasions, plants harbor mines against revolution.

LEBANON 1982-84

Marines expel PLO and back Phalangists, Navy bombs and shells Muslim and Syrian positions.

HONDURAS 1983-89

Maneuvers help build bases near borders.

GRENADA 1983-84

Invasion four years after revolution.

IRAN 1984

Two Iranian jets shot down over Persian Gulf.

LIBYA 1986

Air strikes to topple nationalist gov't.

BOLIVIA 1986

Army assists raids on cocaine region.

IRAN 1987-88

US intervenes on side of Iraq in war.

LIBYA 1989

Two Libyan jets shot down.

VIRGIN ISLANDS 1989

St. Croix Black unrest after storm.

PHILIPPINES 1989

Air cover provided for government against coup.

PANAMA 1989-90

Nationalist government ousted by 27,000 soldiers, leaders arrested, 2000+ killed.

LIBERIA 1990

Foreigners evacuated during civil war.

SAUDI ARABIA 1990-91

Iraq countered after invading Kuwait; 540,000 troops also stationed in Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, UAE, Israel.

IRAQ 1990

Blockade of Iraqi and Jordanian ports, air strikes; 200,000+ killed in invasion of Iraq and Kuwait; no-fly zone over Kurdish north, Shiite south, large-scale destruction of Iraqi military.

KUWAIT 1991

Kuwait royal family returned to throne.

LOS ANGELES 1992

Marines deployed against anti-police uprising.

SOMALIA 1992-94

U.S.-led United Nations occupation during civil war; raids against one Mogadishu faction.

YUGOSLAVIA 1992-94

Nato blockade of Serbia and Montenegro.

BOSNIA 1993-95

Downed jets, bombed Serbs.

HAITI 1994-96

Blockade against military government; troops restore President Aristide to office three years after coup.

CROATIA 1995

Krajina Serb airfields attacked before Croatian offensive.

ZAIRE (CONGO) 1996-97

Marines at Rwandan Hutu refugee camps, in area where Congo revolution begins.

LIBERIA 1997

Soldiers under fire during evacuation of foreigners.

ALBANIA 1997

Soldiers under fire during evacuation of foreigners.

SUDAN 1998

Attack on pharmaceutical plant alleged to be "terrorist" nerve gas plant.

AFGHANISTAN 1998

Attack on former CIA training camps used by Islamic fundamentalist groups alleged to have attacked embassies.

IRAQ 1998

Four days of intensive air strikes after weapons inspectors allege Iraqi obstructions.

YUGOSLAVIA 1999

Heavy NATO air strikes after Serbia declines to withdraw from Kosovo.

YEMEN 2000

Suicide bomb attack on USS Cole.

MACEDONIA 2001

NATO troops shift and partially disarm Albanian rebels.

UNITED STATES 2001

Response to hijacking attacks.

AFGHANISTAN 2001

Massive U.S. mobilization to attack Taliban, Bin Laden. War could expand to Iraq, Sudan, and beyond. (The first bombing began on October 7, 2001. Several Afghan cities come under aerial attack. The story continues).

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# BEYOND VIETNAM

## SPEECH BY MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

April 4, 1967. New York, N.Y.

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path. At the heart of their concerns, this query has often loomed large and loud: "Why are you speaking about the war, Dr. King?" "Why are you joining the voices of dissent?" "Peace and civil rights don't mix," they say. "Aren't you hurting the cause of your people?" they ask. And when I hear them, though I often understand the source of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment, or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live. In the light of such tragic misunderstanding, I deem it of signal importance to try to state clearly, and I trust concisely, why I believe that the path from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church—the church in Montgomery, Alabama, where I began my pastorate—leads clearly to this sanctuary tonight.

Since I am a preacher by calling, I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I and others have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor, both black and white, through the poverty program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings. Then came the buildup in Vietnam, and I watched this program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war. And I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic, destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a

nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would hardly live on the same block in Chicago. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

My third reason moves to an even deeper level of awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the North over the last three years, especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men, I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action. But they asked, and rightly so, "What about Vietnam?" They asked if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today: my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read "Vietnam." It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that "America will be" are led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the ideologies of the Liberation Front, not of the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution there until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

They must see Americans as strange liberators. The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1954, in 1945 rather, after a combined French and Japanese occupation and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony. Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not

ready for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination and a government that had been established not by China—for whom the Vietnamese have no great love—but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to recolonize Vietnam. Before the end of the war we were meeting eighty percent of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at recolonization.

After the French were defeated, it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva Agreement. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators, our chosen man, Premier Diem. The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly rooted out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords, and refused even to discuss reunification with the North. The peasants watched as all of this was presided over by United States influence and then by increasing numbers of United States troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused. When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change, especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received the regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs.

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at

least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform? What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe? Where are the roots of the independent Vietnam we claim to be building? Is it among these voiceless ones?

Perhaps a more difficult but no less necessary task is to speak for those who have been designated as our enemies. What of the National Liberation Front, that strangely anonymous group we call "VC" or "communists"? What must they think of the United States of America when they realize that we permitted the repression and cruelty of Diem, which helped to bring them into being as a resistance group in the South? What do they think of our condoning the violence which led to their own taking up of arms? How can they believe in our integrity when now we speak of "aggression from the North" as if there were nothing more essential to the war? How can they trust us when now we charge them with violence after the murderous reign of Diem and charge them with violence while we pour every new weapon of death into their land? Surely we must understand their feelings, even if we do not condone their actions. Surely we must see that the men we supported pressed them to their violence. Surely we must see that our own computerized plans of destruction simply dwarf their greatest acts.

How do they judge us when our officials know that their membership is less than twenty-five percent communist, and yet insist on giving them the blanket name? What must they be thinking when they know that we are aware of their control of major sections of Vietnam, and yet we appear ready to allow national elections in which this highly organized political parallel government will not have a part? They ask how we can speak of free elections when the Saigon press is censored and controlled by the military junta. And they are surely right to wonder what kind of new government we plan to help form without them, the only party in real touch with the peasants. They question our political goals and they deny the reality of a peace settlement from which they will be excluded. Their questions are frighteningly relevant. Is our nation planning to build on political myth again, and then shore it up upon the power of a new violence?

So, too, with Hanoi. In the North, where our bombs now pummel the land, and our mines endanger the waterways, we are met by a deep but understandable mistrust. To speak for them is to explain this lack of confidence in Western words, and especially their distrust of American intentions now. In Hanoi are the men who led the nation to independence against the Japanese and the French, the men who sought membership in the French Commonwealth and were betrayed by the weakness of Paris and the willfulness of the colonial armies. It was they who led a second struggle against French domination at tremendous costs, and then were persuaded to give up the land they controlled between the thirteenth and seventeenth parallel as a temporary measure at Geneva. After 1954, they watched us conspire with Diem to prevent elections which could have surely brought Ho Chi Minh to power over a united Vietnam, and they realized they had been betrayed again. When we ask why they do not leap to negotiate, these things must be remembered.

Also it must be clear that the leaders of Hanoi considered the presence of American troops in support of the Diem regime to have been the initial military breach of the Geneva Agreement concerning foreign troops, and they remind us that they did not begin to send troops in large numbers and even supplies into the South until American forces had moved into the tens of thousands.

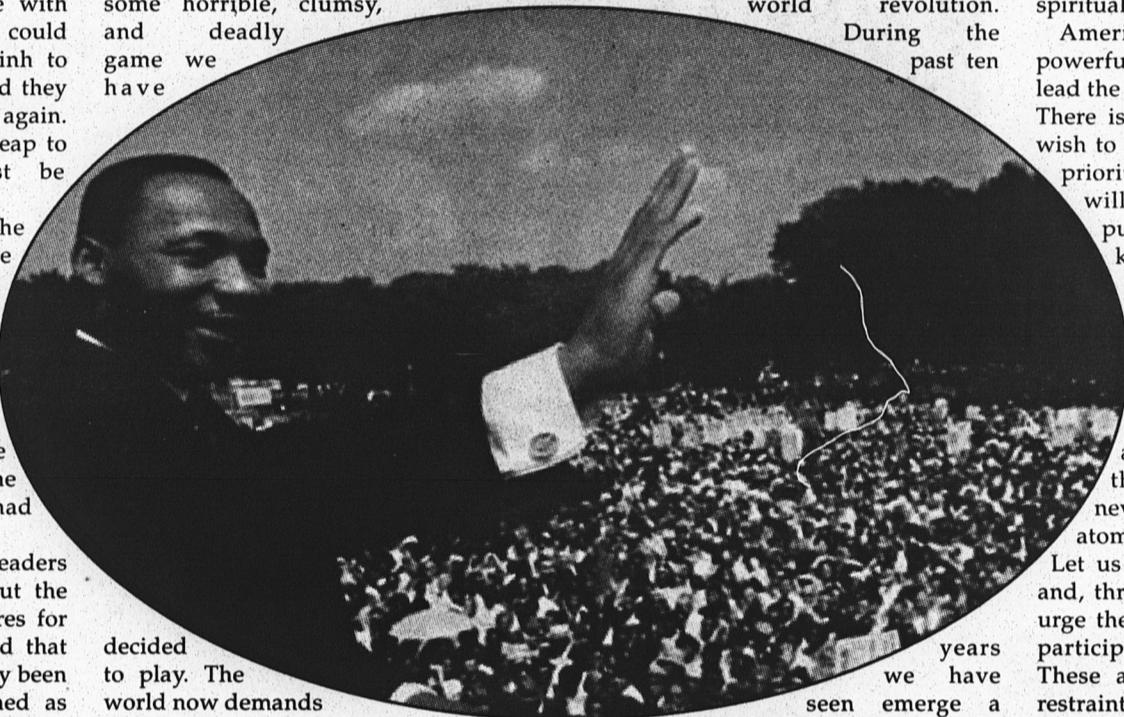
Hanoi remembers how our leaders refused to tell us the truth about the earlier North Vietnamese overtures for peace, how the president claimed that none existed when they had clearly been made. Ho Chi Minh has watched as America has spoken of peace and built up its forces, and now he has surely heard the increasing international rumors of American plans for an invasion of the North. He knows the bombing and shelling and mining we are doing are part of traditional pre-invasion strategy. Perhaps only his sense of humor and of irony can save him when he hears the most powerful nation of the world speaking of aggression as it drops thousands of bombs on a poor, weak nation more than eight hundred, or rather, eight thousand miles away from its shores.

At this point I should make it clear that while I have tried in these last few minutes to give a voice to the voiceless in Vietnam and to understand the arguments of those who are called "enemy," I am as deeply concerned about our own troops there as anything else. For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. We are adding cynicism to the process of death, for they must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy, and the secure, while we create a hell for the poor.

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of

Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own nation: The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours.

If we continue, there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam. If we do not stop our war against the people of Vietnam immediately, the world will be left with no other alternative than to see this as some horrible, clumsy, and deadly game we have



decided to play. The world now demands a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve. It demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam, that we have been detrimental to the life of the Vietnamese people. The situation is one in which we must be ready to turn sharply from our present ways. In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war.

Then we must make what reparations we can for the damage we have done. We must provide the medical aid that is badly needed, making it available in this country if necessary.

As we counsel young men concerning military service we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. I am pleased to say that this is a path now chosen by more than seventy students at my own alma mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one. [Applause] Moreover, I would encourage all ministers of draft age to give up their ministerial exemptions and seek status as conscientious objectors. [Sustained applause] These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom

of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality, [Applause] and if we ignore this sobering reality, we will find ourselves organizing "clergy and laymen concerned" committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. So such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as sons of the living God.

In 1957, a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past ten

years we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which has now justified the presence of U.S. military advisors in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investment accounts for the counter-revolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Cambodia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken: the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: "This is not just." It will look at our

alliance with the landed gentry of South America and say: "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just.

A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say of war: "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death. [Sustained applause]

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing except a tragic death wish to prevent us from reordering our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from molding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons.

Let us not join those who shout war and, through their misguided passions, urge the United States to relinquish its participation in the United Nations. These are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not engage in a negative anti-communism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with positive action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity, and injustice which are the fertile soil in which the seed of communism grows and develops.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wounds of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light. We in the West must support these revolutions.

This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all mankind. Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality.

And if we will only make the right choice, we will be able to transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of peace. If we will make the right choice, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our world into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. If we will but make the right choice, we will be able to speed up the day, all over America and all over the world, when justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

# New Evidence Proves Mumia's Innocence

## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

RENEE MARHONG

Mumia Abu-Jamal has been on death row for twenty years. A worldwide movement from Germany to San Francisco has struggled for his freedom and continues to struggle. In December of 2001, Judge Yohn ruled that Mumia's death sentence be overturned.

Mumia is a journalist, an activist, and a freedom fighter. Mumia has been trapped by a system, a state, that is desperately trying to silence him since he was a teenager. At the age of fifteen the FBI began a file on young Mumia, a file that grew to over 800 pages. Why? Mumia, like many dissidents and activists become a threat to the elitist echelon when they begin to speak, raise consciousness in people, stir up wishes for freedom in poor communities, expose government corruption, write about police brutality and acknowledge that capitalism is a rapist, a murderer and a thief.

In October 1999 Judge Yohn was placed in charge of deciding whether or not Mumia should be granted an evidentiary hearing. An evidentiary hearing would mean that suppressed evidence would be allowed to be heard and be put on the record. This evidence includes a confession by Arnold Beverly, which states that he shot

Yohn's at best represents a minuscule crack in the mile high frame up of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and at worst it represents an attempt to close Mumia's case for once and for all. The resentencing can only be an attempt to finalize the case of Mumia and to push activists to forget about "Freeing



Mumia". Mumia's case is a definitive example of the insidious racism and classism that is rampant in the criminal justice system. An overturned death sentence is worthless, a new trial is

-Daniel Faulkner was shot with a 44 caliber gun, Mumia was carrying a 38 caliber licensed gun (used for protection while driving a cab, a notably dangerous job)

-The Philadelphia police failed to carry out necessary ballistics test such as testing to see if Mumia's hand fired the gun and if the gun itself was fired.

-Not one police officer claimed hearing Mumia's "confession" until two months later, when Mumia filed police brutality charges against the police

-Mumia's doctor who treated him after he was shot reported that Mumia

said nothing while he was in the hospital (the police had reported that Mumia admitted to shooting Daniel Faulkner in the hospital)

-William Singletary, who witnessed the incident publicly stated that Mumia was not the shooter that night and that the police forced him to change his story by intimidating him

-Veronica Jones, another of the prosecutions witnesses admits to being harassed into giving a false testimony

-Two prosecution witnesses were give special favors, such as exemption from criminal prosecution in exchange for testifying against Mumia in the 1982 trial

**Facts Everyone Should Know About the Death Penalty:**

-3, 269 people were placed on death row for killing a white person since 1977. Only six of these people were placed on death row because of killing black person. (Amnesty International) Racial bias is obvious and an undeniable fact in the whole criminal justice system. Stanford Law Review found that if a defendant was black in a capital punishment case he/she was between 3 to 9 times more likely to receive a death sentence.

-Poverty: 100% of people placed on death row were poor at the time of their crime and for the majority if not all of their lives. Poverty leads to inadequate public defenders who

notoriously sleep through trials, lack of money for expert witnesses, and an overall negligence in the handling of each and every case. Poverty also causes even greater long term social problems which produce no opportunities for people, drug ridden neighborhoods, terrible education and healthcare and an overall negative and sad environment for any human being.

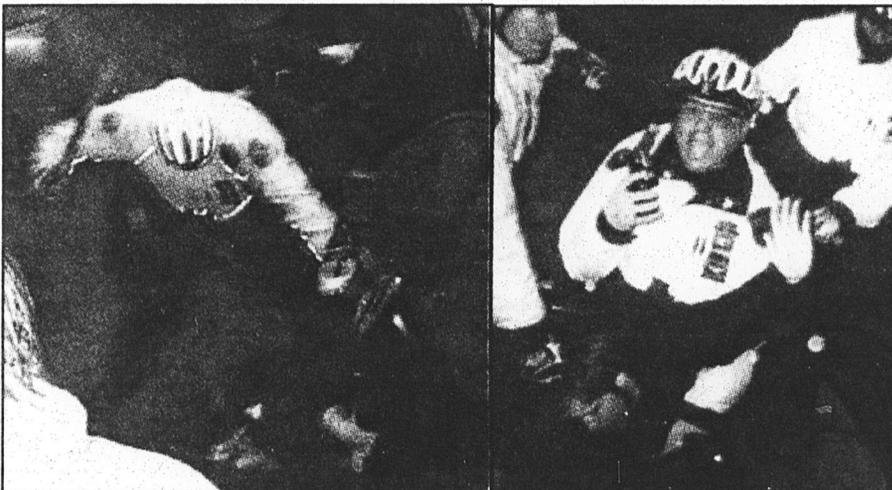
-The death penalty does not cost tax payers less: California spends an extra \$90 million per year on capital punishment. In Florida, it cost the state \$3.2 million per execution, which is six times more than incarcerating a prisoner for life. Overall, prisons cost workers like you and me a lot of money and do not reduce crime. Opportunity and equality reduce crime, not lock downs and barbaric policing tactics.

-The death penalty is not a deterrence: Research by the British Royal Commission on Capital Punishment and the Thorsten Sellin Studies have found that not only does the death penalty fail to reduce murder rates, but it also increases the number of homicides. Basically, the death penalty glorifies death as a means of resolution, justice and retribution.

-Innocent people have been executed in the United States and will continue to be executed as long as the death penalty is still in place. Moreover, the death penalty is used and will continue to be used as the final silencing of dissidents. There has been 400 known cases of wrongful conviction in capital punishment cases from 1900-1991, there are many that remain unknown.

-24 US states permit the execution of people who committed their crimes as juveniles. Since 1990, juvenile offenders are known to be executed in Iran, Pakistan, Yemen, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and the United States.

-Since 1983 over 60 people diagnosed as mentally ill, or mentally retarded have been executed in the United States. Christopher Burger was executed in 1993, at the age of 33. Christopher had the mental capacity of a twelve year old.



Philly cops attacked the march for Mumia on Dec. 8 2001

William Faulkner (the cop Mumia is convicted of shooting).

Judge Yohn's ruling denied Mumia an evidentiary hearing. This in turn ignores the prosecutorial and police misconduct of the trial in 1982. Furthermore, Yohn's ruling did not overturn the first degree murder conviction, of which there is substantial evidence that Mumia was not the murderer of Daniel Faulkner. Yohn states in his 200 page document on the trial that he overturned the death sentence because the instructions to the jury were flawed in the 1982 case, and that information previously withheld from the jury would have led to a different sentence. Adding to the futility of Judge Yohn's ruling is that a resentencing must take place within 180 days, and even with a new sentencing the only possible results are a life sentence or the death penalty again. In reality a hollow ruling such as

inevitably worthless as well, freedom is the only thing that is worth fighting for. Activists all over the globe focus on Mumia because he is the epitome of a world gone wrong. A world where profit is valued over human beings and institutional racism and classism are at play daily. Mumia represents the disgusting Prison Industrial Complex and all of its monstrous arms, such as the Rockefeller Drug Laws, the Death Penalty and Slave Labor. If an innocent man can have a blatantly unjust trial, be incarcerated and be on death row...then I can be that man, and so can you. Anyone one of us can be Mumia, especially if you have a voice of your own, this is why it is so important to fight for Mumia's freedom.

If You Don't Know...Educate Yourself!!!

**Facts Everyone Should Know About Mumia's 1982 Trial:**

