

shades

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of

POWER

PARENTS REJECT REVENGE FOR SON'S DEATH

Greg Rodriguez died in the World Trade Center attack. His parents sent the following letter on Sept. 15, 2001. Here are excerpts:

To the *New York Times*

We sense that our government is heading in the direction of violent revenge, with the prospect of sons, daughters, parents, friends in distant lands dying, suffering, and nursing further grievances against us. It is not the way to go. Not in our son's name. It will not avenge our son's death.

Let us reflect and pray. Let us think about a rational response that brings real peace and justice to our world. But let us not as a nation add to the inhumanity of our times.

- Phyllis and Orlando Rodriguez

NO VIOLENCE IN MY DEAD HUSBAND'S NAME!

Excerpts from Letter to the *Chicago Tribune*

September 25, 2001

My husband Craig Scott Amundson of the U.S. Army lost his life at the Pentagon on Sept. 11.

Losing my 28-year old husband and father of our two young children is a terrible and painful experience. But my anguish is compounded by fear that his death will be used to justify new violence against other innocent victims.

I have heard angry rhetoric by some Americans, including many of our nation's leaders, who advise a heavy dose of revenge and punishment. To those leaders, I would like to make clear that my family and I take no comfort in your words of rage. If you choose to respond to this incomprehensible brutality by perpetuating violence against other innocent beings, you may not do so in the name of justice for my husband. Your words and imminent acts of revenge only amplify our family's suffering.

- Amber Amundson

NOT THE
ENEMY!

SOLIDARITY
IN
TIMES OF
CRISIS

PEOPLES OF COLOR SPEAK OUT FOR JUSTICE NOT WAR

Here are excerpts from statements issued by progressive organizations of color after the terrible attacks of September 11, 2001. All of them began by condemning the attacks and expressing great sorrow for the thousands who died that day, their families and friends. Each statement then went on to offer a perspective that reflects the experience of its particular community as well as universal concerns.

Justicia Sí, Guerra No!

(Excerpts from Sept. 15 Statement by the New Raza Left)



San Francisco Mission District Protest, Oct. 7. Photo by John Pilgrim.

...We also feel certain concerns specific to our communities and to others, particularly those of color. Raza everywhere in this country need to think about these problems and how to resolve them. Above all, we need to be asking questions, and recognizing that warlike times are exactly when questions are not wanted--and most needed.

First, we can begin by thinking about the thousands of dead at the World Trade Center, including 500 Mexican workers for cleaning services, delivery companies, office cafeterias and restaurants. Many Latinos, it is said, were probably undocumented and this has made it difficult for their families to claim their remains without fear of immigration problems. That reminds us, then, of the need to defend immigrant rights.

The undermining of immigrant rights has already begun. The government may rule that legal migrants can be held indefinitely if considered "a threat."

Second, many young Latinos are already volunteering for the armed services. As so often happened in the Vietnam War, they see the military as a career offering employment, training, and other advantages not found in the general society. They may not see that the military will, above all else, order them to kill others and die themselves if neces-

sary. They may not see how they will be used in actions that could ultimately lead to World War III and massive destruction everywhere.

Finally, Latinos have an understandable desire to be accepted as first-class citizens. To do so, we have often felt it necessary to demonstrate an unquestioning patriotism. We can recall how Latinos have 150 years of experience that began with being "strangers in our own land," and continued with immigration policies that carry the threat of deportation while welcoming our low-cost labor. All this, together with the racism we experience like other peoples of color, has often made us seen as "not quite American"

That pressure to be patriotic must not prevent us from asking questions about the society we live in and about Sept. 11. Above all we must ask: why did it happen? Different people have different explanations but, as Raza with thousands of years of history in our bones, we do know that the United States has often played an oppressive role around the world, supporting dictatorships and suppressing popular movements.

Above all, we cannot let our individual desire for acceptability as U.S. residents and citizens allow us to abandon our sensibilities as citizens of the human race. Our Raza cultures have ancient roots and they speak to the indivisibility of life. The one flag that we must always salute is the flag of life: of all creation. That flag does not tell us to kill in its name and never shall. ✊

Don't Forget the UN Conference Against Racism

The Sept. 11 tragedy could make us forget the United Nations world conference against racism that ended just a few days earlier. But in fact the two events have deep connections. The profound racism of the U.S. is all too manifest in its foreign policy. This government's arrogance in not attending the UN conference because it did not like the agenda has been mirrored in countless actions to impose its will on other countries and peoples. Look and learn.

(See article on the UN conference, p. 4)

A Call for the Asian Community to Stand Up

(Excerpts from Sept. 18 Statement by the Asian Left Forum)

...Asians in this country know much about bloodshed, war and violence. In our recent history, many Asian peoples, e.g. in the Philippines, Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, India, Pakistan, China and Japan, have experienced the tragedy of war where, just as in the destruction of the World Trade Center, innocent people suffer the most. Therefore, the Asian Left Forum firmly opposes war and militarization both domestically and internationally.

- The Asian Left Forum condemns the increasing incidents of anti-Arab, anti-South Asian and anti-Muslim violence and scapegoating, as well as the warmongering media that fuel it. This has already caused the death of one member of our community, an Indian Sikh man who was mistaken for a Muslim, and countless attacks...This is the same racist and xenophobic hatred that caused Americans of Japanese ancestry to be herded into concentration camps during WWII; resulted in the lockup of Wen Ho Lee; and questioned the integrity of Chinese Americans after the spy plane incident...

- We oppose all bombings, retaliatory measures and acts of War initiated by the US government. War is not the solution. The US government and its imperialist policies need to take responsibility for the loss of lives from 9.11's events. For many people throughout the world, including those living in this country, the US does not symbolize freedom or liberty but rather bloodshed and suffering. The US supports terrorism throughout the world. In fact, the person the US is trying to blame for 9.11's attack, Osama bin Laden, was trained and funded by the CIA during the US-Soviet Union conflict over Afghanistan.

- We oppose any COINTELPRO-like repression against political activities by those of us truly fighting for peace, justice and equality. This incident should not be used as a justification for militarizing the borders, increasing surveillance upon us, or denying any of our political rights...

- We call for all communities to organize and take a proactive stance against violence both in and outside of the US. We urge you to join the movement against war and for global peace and justice. We must prevent the escalation of bloodshed. ✊

Voice of the Black Radical Congress

(Excerpts from Sept. 13 Statement by the Black Radical Congress)

...The dangers presented by the September 11th terrorist acts do not restrict themselves to the external threat. We hear calls for changing the laws and regulations in order to make it easier to conduct surveillance and to carry-out covert operations against potential opponents of the US. Rather than accomplishing anything in terms of reducing the threat of terrorism, such steps will eliminate basic civil liberties and strengthen the existing tendency toward a racist and classist police state.

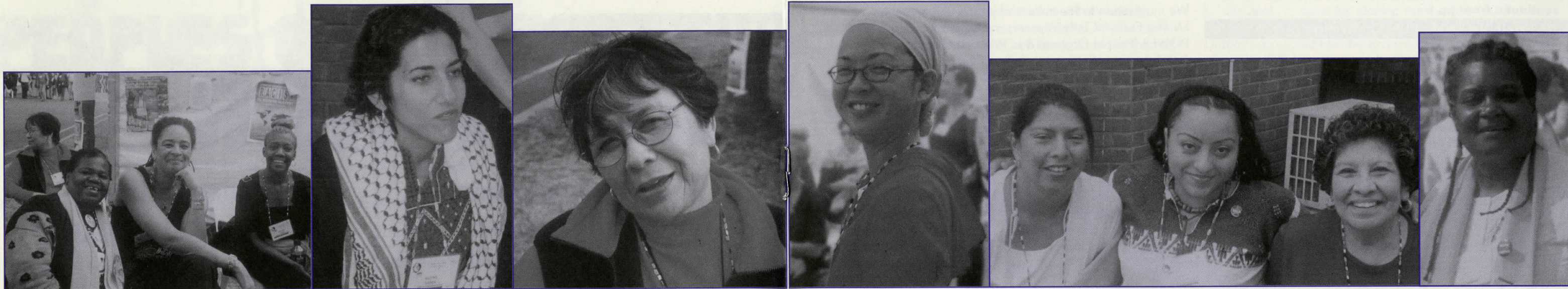
Nor can we allow the Sept. 11 horrific acts to be used as an excuse to further repress Arab-Americans, Muslims, or those perceived to be opponents of capitalist globalization. As a people that has survived over 400 years of genocidal oppression on these shores, we are all too familiar with the human suffering caused by both terrorism and racial hatred. From the amputations, beatings, and rapes of Chattel Slavery, to the New York City Draft Riots of 1863, to the post-Reconstruction terrorism of the Klu Klux Klan, to the Tulsa Race Riots of 1921, to the government sponsored Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of the 1960s, to the contemporary state-sanctioned police murder and brutality we are fighting today, we as Black people have lots of experience with the horrors of terrorism in the US. We must show our full and unqualified support and compassion for all those suffering as a result of this horrible tragedy, as we continue our 400+ year struggle to rid ourselves of this evil, both domestically and around the world. ✊

BARBARA LEE SPEAKS FOR ALL OF US

House Representative Barbara Lee of Oakland was the only member of Congress with the temerity to vote against granting \$40 billion for the President to carry out any military action he deems necessary.

We salute her wisdom and her extraordinary courage.

Institute for MultiRacial Justice



Some of the Women of Color Resource Center delegates at the UN World Conference, left to right: Emma Harris with Derethia DuVal and Martina Gillis; Nadine Naber, Virginia Ortega, Jung Hee Choi; Corrine Sanchez with Jennie Luna and Viola Casares; Joy Moore. Photos by Joy Moore.

WOMEN *in the lead* at UN Conference Against Racism in South Africa

BY ELIZABETH (BETITA) MARTINEZ

"We have come to see the need for women to grow, to take the lead," said the native woman from Chiapas speaking in Spanish at the UN conference against racism in Durban, South Africa last August. "We have to understand how globalization is affecting us and not leave it to the men. This is not the time to stay quiet," she emphasized. "otherwise the big enterprises that are taking over all our resources will win."

In another meeting, an African American woman in the audience said what we were all thinking, "I see the wonderful possibility at this conference of building a web of woman power!" One woman after another affirmed that the women's movement is not just a social movement but a centralizing force for all popular struggles.

For 6 days, delegates from non-governmental organizations (NGO's) all over the world and others came together for the first week of the UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, its official name. Among them were the 23 women, from California to New York, who had been organized by the Women of Color Resource Center based in Berkeley. Our delegation went to Durban for the NGO forum Aug. 27 through Sept. 1. Four of us stayed for the official government conference that followed.

Before the conference started, the only coverage of it by the U.S. media had been about the U.S. government's threat

to boycott if two items were on the agenda. One was reparations for the effects of slavery and the slave trade, an issue which had recently begun to attract serious attention and support. The other was recognizing Zionism as racist.

The U.S. had boycotted the first two UN world conferences against racism, in 1978 (President Carter) and 1983 (Reagan). Now it was taking the same kind of stance. If any topic was to be discussed that the U.S. didn't like, it just wouldn't come. An amazing position for a supposed democracy, where the open exchange of ideas supposedly makes us different from dictatorships. In the end, the U.S. finally sent a low-level delegation—which ended its official participation after a few days. Once again, the arrogance of power called the shots.

At preparatory meetings for the conference, the U.S. and other western nations had thrown up various obstacles. In the Draft Declaration to be discussed, modified and finally approved by the government conference. Even use of the word "colonization" was opposed. Eight sections related to Palestinian rights, linking Zionism with racism, or recognizing anti-Arab discrimination were all opposed.

Indigenous peoples faced an amazing denial of their rights to self-determination in the Draft Declaration. The U.S. and other governments agreed to let them be called "peoples" (which triggers the right of self-determination) instead of just "people," but at the same time they stipulated that "peo-

ples" doesn't imply any rights under international law. So much for that concession.

Stony Silence About Women and Racism

On the subject of women and racism, the Draft Declaration was almost totally silent. Just one proposal said that racism caused the living conditions of women to deteriorate. This little squeak of truth was actually opposed.

Making sure that gender issues were linked with race issues at Durban was a major goal of the Women of Color Resource Center delegation. So often we have seen how race, like class, was left out when women's issues were discussed, and gender, like class, would be neglected when focussing on race. Academics have called the linkage the intersectionality of race and gender discrimination.

In addition to affirming that intersectionality, the goals of our delegation included sharing U.S. issues and strategies with women from other countries and learning from them about how racism is experienced in the era of globalization. Also, the delegation would work to promote unity among women worldwide and bring back lessons from the conference to the U.S. A local goal was to learn about the issues and strategies of South African women's organizations, a mission later fulfilled with special excitement during the week our delegation stayed in Johannesburg after leaving the conference.

As a report to the conference, the Resource Center published a book of essays, *TIME TO RISE*, about a wide range of struggles facing U.S. women of color. Then we presented several panel discussions. In the first, on Aug. 29, sisters from around the world shared base-level organizing strategies for fighting the inter-linked "isms."

Ruth Manorama, from the National Federation of Dalit Women in India, spoke first, and unforgettably. The Dalit, a caste commonly called "the untouchables," brought to the conference their message that "caste-ism is racism, and more because it is 12,000 years old." The special effects on women of this casteism, which exists not only in India but also Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan, were spelled out in dehumanizing detail. Ruth gave one example from daily life: the Dalit cannot take water from the same well as other people so they must walk much farther.

The women together with the men have organized to fight to end their segregation and their rockbottom poverty (the worst in India, with many Dalit women becoming prostitutes). They chose to call themselves "Dalit," a word meaning double-edge sword. "It is like saying 'black is beautiful! We are our own liberation,'" Ruth ended.

Other speakers discussed violence against women and its links to socio-economic evils in South Africa (Lesley Ann Foster); sexism and the need for Latina farmworkers to dis-

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cuss sexuality (Virgina Ortega); the struggles of Philippine women who leave their country to find work—often jobs like hostess in a Japanese bar, called being a “Cultural Ambassador” (Maya-an-Villalba).

A second Resource Center panel began with Nadine Naber, who detailed how Zionism spreads stereotypes of Arab women

(oppressed by Islam and the veil, being glad to see their children die in the struggle, etc.) so “we are always having to explain ourselves.” Also, Zionism defines any critique of Zionism as anti-Semitic, she said, thus creating barriers within progressive U.S. movements. “Don’t talk about Palestine,” one feminist leader had told her, “that’s not about women, that’s politics.”

Ai-jen Poo of the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence depicted the struggle of women workers in “sweatshops,” which she defined to mean not only the garment industry but also restaurant and domestic work. Kathy Sanchez of the Tewa Pueblo in New Mexico spoke passionately of indigenous struggles. “The culture of violence divides us, it is a parasite that feeds on us.

ABOUT THE WOMEN OF COLOR RESOURCE CENTER

The Women of Color Resource Center (WCRC) is an education, community action and resource center to improve the conditions facing women of color. Founded in 1990, the WCRC works to strengthen the efforts of organizers, advocates and scholars by serving as a vehicle for ongoing dialogue and exchange. It creates and distribute resources like *Women’s Education in the Global Economy (WedGE)*, a popular education workbook to learn about the effects of globalization on women worldwide. It collaborates on leadership-development projects and publishes a National Directory of *Women of Color Organizations and Projects*. For more information: www.coloredgirls.org or email: info@coloredgirls.org.

We must return to the culture of peace and reconnect with Mother Earth.” Cindy Wiesner, a Chicana working with POWER (People Organized to Win Employment Rights) in San Francisco, California, spoke of the deadly trilateral alliance—the Religious Right, the Racial Right, and the Neoliberal Right—that we face.

In those workshops and throughout the NGO meeting, the linkage between different aspects of racism in different countries came through with power again and again. If one could name a single message from this gathering, it was of the interconnections that many of us had not seen so clearly before. One all-day gathering confirmed that linkage: the World Court of Women Against Racism. When a group of black Japanese women began a song and the whole audience clapped hands together above their heads, who could not recognize how every nation has its “minorities,” and the need to unite against racism?

To make sure that issues of economic justice were brought into the picture of women’s oppression, the International Coalition for Economic Justice held a very hands-on workshop. Concrete examples written on butcher paper covered the walls of the meeting room: problems facing female farmers, immigrant women workers, sexuality made a commodity, and the unending effects of privatization such as no health care, housing, being forced out of school to work, landlessness, loss of welfare benefits, loss of children based on supposed “unfitness,” gender violence, and more. The women—from Canada to Nigeria, Romania to South Africa—also told stories of struggles for local reforms.

That same day, one of the issues discussed came to life vividly on the streets of Durban. A march against privatization took off from City Hall. South Africans don’t just march, they “toi toi” as the saying goes, drumming and chanting and dancing like few protesters in the U.S. The spirit that afternoon confirmed what more than one conference speaker had said: the UN conference was another historic link in the anti-imperialist globalization movement that began showing its strength at the World Trade Organization in November 1999 and continued at Genoa this year. The slogan on one protest sign, “Combat racism, Resist Globalization,” summarized the history being made at Durban.



South Africans march against privatization during UN conference. Photo by Cindy Wiesner.

Our week of visiting organizations in Johannesburg, arranged by former Bay Area activist Myesha Jenkins and South African journalist/activist Gail Reed, added to the feeling of linkage. It included meeting women working with HIV-positive mothers, the Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, and leaders (mostly male) of South Africa’s Communist Party. Activists from the National Landless Committee spelled out the horrendous history of land ownership in this former European colony. Today 11% of South African’s population is white but they own 80% of the land and land reform is moving at a snail’s pace. We visited the historic Soweto township, where the student movement opened the final stage of the anti-apartheid struggle, and the Alexandra township where “Men for Change” described their efforts to stop male violence against women.

The Spirit of South Africa

We were learning every day about the problems that continue in South Africa of poverty, corruption at high levels, and ongoing, deadly white racism. The colonial heritage remains strong. It is probably easier for an outsider to say “nobody can overcome centuries of such racism in 10 years, don’t despair” than it is for people in South Africa to live it. Yet that is still the message that comes across from the energy of the people, their spirit, their culture.

Coming back for a moment to the UN conference, its central goal had been to focus on practical steps to eradicate racism. One such success was won by immigrant rights activists representing 59 groups from several countries in a coalition organized by the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. It managed to have over 40 provisions about migrant rights added to the final government document, which is the foundation for the UN plan of action.

The final document also laid the groundwork for action on reparations. It acknowledged that “slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity...and that Africans and people of African descent, Asians and people of Asian descent and indigenous peoples were victims of these acts and continue to be victims of their consequences...The World Conference, aware of the moral obligation on the part of all concerned states, calls on these states to take appropriate and effective measures to halt and reverse the lasting consequences of these practices.”



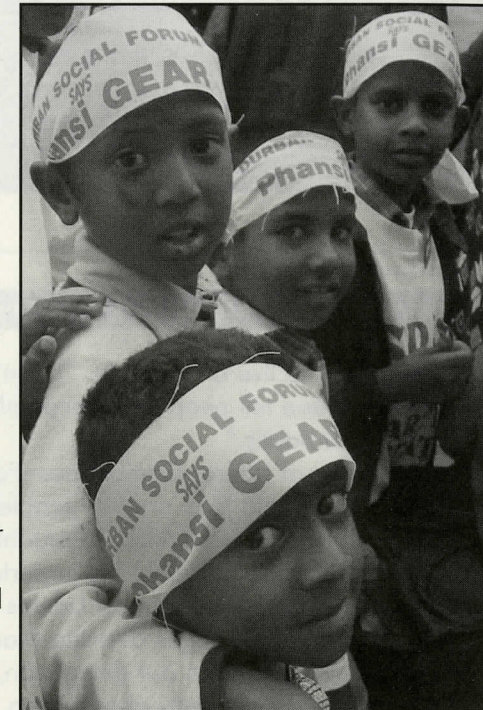
WCRC director Linda Burnham in Durban. Photo by Joy Moore.

On Sept. 1, came the closing event of the NGO conference. As people took their seats in the big cricket stadium at Durban, you could feel the excitement in the air. Fidel Castro was about to speak. Tiny paper Cuban flags somehow sprouted all over the crowd of some 5-8,000. Palestinian flags also stood out. Facing us as we waited for the program to start was the Hilton Hotel tower, that longstanding symbol of global capitalism. And again and again, for ten minutes or more, the crowd waved their little flags chanting “The people united/ Will never be defeated!”

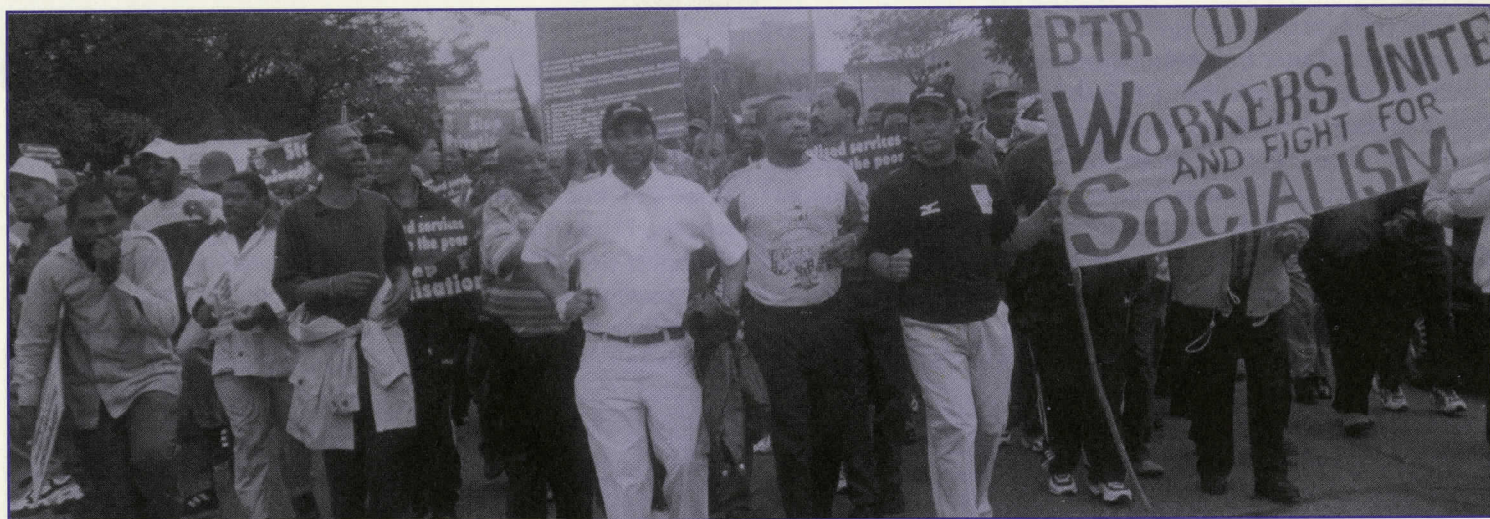
When Fidel Castro finally arrived, that cry became a long, rhythmic roar. There could be no question that oppressed peoples around the world—in their billions—simply love what he symbolizes. The air filled with the ultimate reality of their power, the hope for transformation someday of a world where today one out of every three people is officially poor and the great majority of color. “From Seattle to Genoa,” Fidel Castro began his speech, “those who plunder the world have been shown they have no place to meet. This conference carries a different message.” And so it did, with all its complexity and contradictions. And so it did.

From Despair to Triumph

Women must have the last word here, of course, and so it must be said that the conference’s message was most strongly set forth by women. In the panel on “The Mexican/Chicano Experience of U.S. racism” (the only one on that topic), half a dozen South African women attended in a group. They listened to speakers Luz Alvarez Martinez, director of the National Latina Health Organization based in Oakland, activist/ teacher Jennie Luna and myself. In the discussion period, one of them described in a sad voice how she and two or three hundred others had come by train from their village in hopes of informing the world about their terrible living conditions. Many were HIV-positive. For lack of credentials, they had been barred from the conference and there-



South African youth protest the neo-liberal Growth Employment And Redistribution (GEAR) program during UN conference. Photo by Cindy Wiesner.



Massive march by South African workers during UN conference. Photo by Cindy Wiesner.

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Women in the Lead at UN Conference

fore compelled to live on the train. "I don't know how we can go home and tell people we accomplished nothing here. They had such hopes."

Mily Treviño of Líderes Campesinas (Farmworker Women Leaders) in California took on their problem energetically. She spoke at length about different organizing tactics her group had found useful, about the importance of having self-confidence as women, about how Lideres had been able to win some important changes over the years. Then a young Tewa Pueblo woman from our delegation, Corinne Sanchez, spoke quietly and eloquently about being strengthened by love of one's own culture, its spirituality.

The "train women," as I came to call them, listened to each speaker. You could see their faces taking in every word, and brightening. The atmosphere in the room changed dramatically as all the women shared their experiences.

The next day, an even larger group of the "train women" came to a Resource Center workshop. Again there was inter-

action with participants, some rhythm of mutual inspiration was beginning. A day later 200 "train women" marched into a large gathering in the plenary meeting tent. They asked to speak, to tell of their problems, and were told that one woman should come to the microphone.

This was not the same group that had despaired two days before. Rejecting the idea of a single chosen representative, refusing to be pacified, they all marched up to speak and simply took over the whole meeting.

And so the power of women of color, did begin to weave a new web in Durban, South Africa 2001. 

SECRETS OF SEPT. 11?

Check out Ron Wilkins' article "Exposing Government Complicity, Deception and the Growing Police State in the Wake of the World Trade Center & Pentagon Attacks" on the Black World Today at www.TBWT.com. Scary stuff!

shades of power

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Preguntas y Respuestas

Sobre la "Guerra Contra El Terrorismo"

El pasado siete de octubre el gobierno de los Estados Unidos (EE.UU.) comenzó a bombardear Afganistán en represalia por los ataques brutales al Centro Mundial del Comercio, el Pentágono y en Pensilvania. Mucha gente está confundida, preocupada, y/o horrorizada. El primer día de los bombardeos 10,000 salieron a manifestar en Nueva York contra la guerra y el 11 de octubre, ocho ganadores del Premio Nobel de la Paz marcharon hacia la Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU) también en protesta. En muchos lugares gente se plantea serias preguntas acerca de esta guerra. Aquí ofrecemos algunas respuestas.

¿Por qué estamos en Guerra?

Los ataques fueron criminales y los asesinos deben ser castigados con toda la fuerza de la ley. Pero para llevarlos a la justicia, primero necesitamos identificar quiénes son los culpables y hasta la fecha no se han hecho públicas suficientes evidencias contra los supuestos culpables.

Aunque prueben culpable a Osama Bin Laden de ser el autor de los ataques, hacerle guerra a todo un país por los delitos de algunos individuos es una indiferencia total hacia la vida humana. Matar miles de afganos, quienes no controlan su propio gobierno Talibán ni a Bin Laden, no hará regresar las víctimas del 11 de septiembre.

Varias familias de las víctimas como la de Phyllis y Orlando Rodriguez, cuyo hijo Greg murió en una de las torres, expresaron de inmediato que no quieren que muera más gente inocente en represalia por la muerte de su hijo. Tal acción no los haría sentir mejor, más bien mancharía la memoria de las víctimas. Amber Amundson, cuyo esposo murió en el Pentágono, les suplicó a los líderes estadounidenses, "Si deciden responder a esta brutalidad incomprensible perpetuando la violencia contra otros seres humanos inocentes, no lo hagan en el nombre de justicia para mi esposo. Sus palabras y actos inminentes de venganza sólo amplifican el sufrimiento de nuestra familia."

Pero teníamos que hacer algo. Si no la guerra, ¿qué debió haber hecho el gobierno?

Primero, continuar las investigaciones para encontrar a los culpables.

Segundo, llevar evidencia a una corte internacional. La ONU puede establecer un tribunal para procesar a los acusados del terrorismo internacional. También, la Carta de la ONU, firmado por los EE.UU., permite que el Consejo de Seguridad autorize acción militar en defensa colectiva. La palabra clave es "colectiva": la lucha contra el terrorismo afecta a todo el mundo y cualquier acción en contra debe ser apoyada por toda la comunidad inter-

nacional—no solo por los EE.UU. y algunos de sus aliados. Hay que recordar que el 11 de septiembre, más de 80 naciones perdieron cuando menos uno de sus ciudadanos.

¿No es que la ley internacional reconoce el "derecho inherente a la defensa propia" que permitiría a los EE.UU. a empezar la guerra en sus propios términos?

Esta es una opinión distorsionada de ésta ley. La Carta de la ONU permite, por ejemplo, que los EE.UU. puedan derribar un avión terrorista pero no que, en represalia empiecen una cam-



Rini Templeton

pañía militar de bombardeos masivos u otras acciones militares unilateralmente.

¿Impediría la guerra contra Afganistán más actos de terrorismo en el futuro?

No. La guerra sólo ha pavimentado el camino para que muchos países, incluyendo aliados de los EE.UU., encuentren como comprensibles nuevos actos terroristas contra los EE.UU. Además, digan lo que digan los oficiales estadounidenses, el pueblo Musulmán interpreta ésta guerra como un ataque a Islam. Nos encontramos muy cerca de un ciclo interminable de muerte y destrucción.

¿Qué no Paquistán es un fuerte aliado de la guerra de los EE.UU. contra el Talibán?

El gobierno Paquistán ha apoyado la guerra. Pero su pueblo constantemente y masivamente ha manifestado contra el gobierno, el cual ya era impopular por apoyar a los EE.UU. Muchos paquistanos parecen haber tomado el lado del Talibán y Bin Laden. Si las fuerzas de oposición llegarán a derrocar al gobierno de Paquistán, la situación se haría muy peligrosa. Debemos recordar que: reportes indican que Paquistán tiene 13 bombas nucleares.

¿Debe EE.UU. apoyar la Alianza Norteña en Afganistán para derrocar a el Talibán?

Esta es una estrategia peligrosa que fácilmente podría ser contraproducente. La Alianza Norteña tiene un récord de respeto a los derechos humanos nada mejor que el del Talibán. Este incluye tortura, violación sexual, el uso de mujeres como esclavas sexuales y el asesinato de sus familias. ¿Cómo es posible que alguien quiera ayudar a estos criminales tomar el poder de un país tan desestabilizado y destrozado? Afganistán ha sufrido más de un siglo de invasiones y guerra civil y es uno de los países más pobres con un ingreso per cápita de \$200 dólares al año. La guerra de los EE.UU. está destruyendo pueblitos y llevándoles a una miseria más profunda. Por lo menos 3 millones de afganos han huído de su país.

¿Qué tal el resto de la coalición Árabe que formó los EE.UU.?

Los bombardeos han causado una ola de furia en los países árabes y otros país del área. La oposición popular a la guerra estadounidense ha debilitado la coalición. La gente se aglomera en las calles uniéndose al llamado de Bin Laden contra de los EE.UU.

Con o sin la coalición árabe y la Alianza Norteña, ¿no podrían las tropas estadounidenses derrotar a el Talibán?

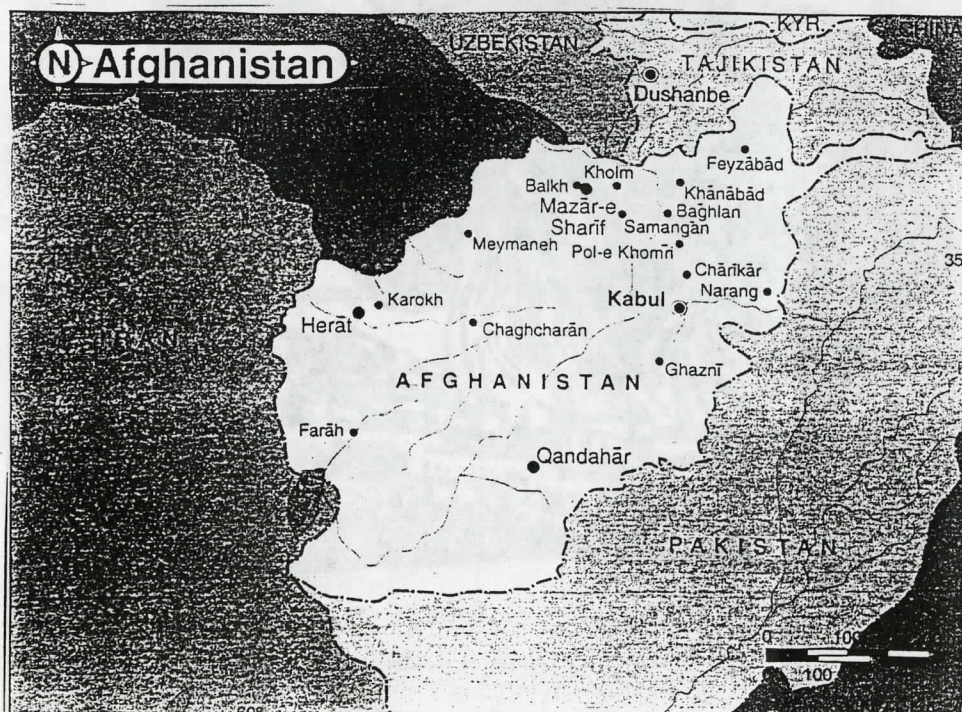
Inevitablemente la guerra causará una gran pérdida de vidas, incluyendo la de civiles —quienes siempre mueren más que los militares— especialmente mujeres. Es difícil hablar de "victoria" cuando se tiene que pagar este precio. Además muchos analistas indican que una guerra terrestre en Afganistán sería muy difícil de ganar dadas las condiciones del terreno—que incluye miles de cuevas no visibles desde el aire. Esta promete ser una guerra en la cual morirán muchas tropas.

¿Ganaría el pueblo estadounidense, dado que la gente está unida apoyando a su presidente?

¿Qué tipo de unidad tenemos realmente? Millones tienen dudas pero no se les ha ofrecido alternativas a la guerra. No debemos tampoco ignorar el aumento en este país de crímenes basados en odio racial dirigidos a gentes de color (inmigrantes y gente no blanca)—especialmente aquellas percibidas como árabes o musulmanes.

Se avecinan serios ataques a los derechos constitucionales del pueblo estadounidense. **El Congreso ha aprobado una ley que ampliaría la autoridad de agencias gubernamentales para intervenir líneas telefónicas y comunicaciones en la red, expandiendo la habilidad del gobierno de conducir cateos secretos y extraer récords personales sin tener evidencia de complicidad alguna con el terrorismo, y le daría poder al Ministro de Justicia de identificar grupos locales como terroristas —lo que significa que miembros de esos grupos sin ciudadanía podrían ser detenidos y deportados. También inmigrantes legales podrían ser detenidos basándose en su asociación política y/o sólo en "sospechas".**

Jóvenes en familias obreras, especialmente jóvenes de color, serán los primeros en ser reclutados en el ejército y los primeros en morir. Como la historia ya ha mostrado, posiblemente habrá recortes de servicios públicos de educación y salud para financiar la



guerra. Cuando se vayan esos servicios, también se irán trabajos sindicales establecidos. Ya hemos visto como en Minesota, la Guardia Nacional dispersó una huelga de trabajadores públicos, poniendo en evidencia como la guerra le quita el derecho al pueblo de luchar por mejores condiciones de trabajo.

¿Se beneficiaría alguien de la guerra?

Además de los contratistas militares, varias corporaciones se beneficiarían enormemente al reemplazar el Talibán con un gobierno amistoso a los EE.UU. La región cuenta con grandes reservas de petróleo y gas natural y las corporaciones estadounidenses como Unocal han identificado Afganistán como lugar ideal para un oleoducto—que le daría ganancias masivas a Unocal. Dick Cheney, el vice-presidente estadounidense, fue presidente de Halliburton —el contratista petrolero y militar más grande del mundo— y aún tiene todavía intereses en esa área.

Pero el petróleo no es el único beneficio posible. Con la caída de la Unión Soviética, EE.UU. quedó como la única superpotencia mundial. Este pudiera imponer dominio total sobre rivales económicos y todos los recursos naturales claves. Derrotando las fuerzas del mundo árabe intensificaría el dominio estadounidense permitiéndole justificar la expansión imperialista.

Si la guerra no es la solución, ¿cómo impedir más terrorismo?

Dado que no sabemos exactamente quienes llevaron acabo los ataques del 11 de septiembre, no sabemos porque lo hicieron. Pero si sabemos que hay muchas razones por las cuales mucha gente en este mundo estaría enojada lo suficiente con el gobierno de EE.UU para llevar acabo estos actos. Si queremos prevenir más terrorismo, necesitamos llegar a las raíces de sus causas.

Por ejemplo, en el Medio Oriente, donde EE.UU. respaldó el derroque del gobierno Iranes, Mossadegh, elec-

to democráticamente en 1953, e instalaron la dictadura de 25 años del Shah— costándole la vida a 70.000 personas. Hace diez años los EE.UU. empezó la Guerra del Golfo contra Iraq y fue seguida por sanciones económicas que todavía existen, costándole la vida apróximadamente a 5,000 niños mensuales, por desnutrición y falta de asistencia sanitaria.

Para muchos en el Medio Oriente, quizás la mayor causa de la simpatía por gente como Bin Laden es el apoyo que EE.UU. le ha proporcionado por años a Israel, el cual incluye miles de millones de dólares anuales en asistencia militar y económica para sostener la ocupación de Palestina. Israel fue creado por las Naciones Unidas en 1948, concediéndole 55% de tierra palestina. Sin embargo demoliendo casas palestinas, arrasando pueblos completos, masacrando a civiles palestinos y promoviendo puestos israelitas, Israel se ha extendido más allá de las fronteras que originalmente le fueron concedidas. De 10 a 12 mil palestinos han sido asesinados y la ONU calcula que 3.6 millones han sido desplazados.

En este hemisferio un golpe de estado, apoyado por los EE.UU., derrocó al gobierno democrático de Salvador Allende en Chile en 1973—también el 11 de septiembre—resultando en 30,000 muertos. En 1965 los EE.UU. patrocinaron un golpe de estado en Indonesia que resultó en el asesinato de 500,000 supuestos "comunistas." Por años, en las Filipinas EE. UU. respaldó la dictadura de Ferdinand Marcos, quien torturó, encarceló y asesinó cientos de miles de filipinos.

Con historias como éstas, es fácil explicar como puede la gente llegar a odiar a los EE.UU. y tomar acción desesperadas. Ayudan a explicar porque tanta gente cree que los muertos del 11 de septiembre fueron no sólo víctimas trágicas de terroristas sino de la política exterior de los Estados Unidos.

¿Una nueva política exterior sería suficiente para garantizarnos nuestra seguridad?

Además de acciones secretas o mil-

Víctimas de las Acciones Militares de EEUU. desde 1945 (Lista Parcial)

200,000 de la guerra y sanciones contra Iraq, desde 1991 hasta la fecha

10,000 – 12,000 del apoyo militar a Israel contra Palestina, desde 1948 hasta la fecha. La ONU también ha reportado 3.6 millones familias desplazadas

3,000,000 de las acciones encubiertas en Korea, empezando en 1945 y la guerra durante 1950-54 hasta la fecha

120,000 del golpe de estado al gobierno democrático de Guatemala, 1954 – 1990

250,000 del apoyo a la masacre en Timor Este, Indonesia 1975-1999

75,000 (civiles solamente) contra la insurrección en El Salvador, 1980-1990s

1,000,000 del apoyo al apartheid en Sud Africa, 1960- 1980s

30,000 del apoyo a la Guerra de los Contra en Nicaragua, 1982-1990

8,000 de la invasión a Panama, 1989

70,000 del apoyo al golpe de Estado en Iran y continuo apoyo a la represión, 1954-1975

4,000,000 de la Guerra de Vietnam, Cambodia y Laos, 1954-1975

30,000 del golpe de Estado en Chile, 1973

1,000,000 de la ayuda al golpe de Estado en Indonesia, 1965

3,000 de la ayuda para derrotar la revuelta en la República Dominicana, 1963-65

210,000 de la Bomba Atómica en Hiroshima y Nagasaki, Japón, Agosto 6 y 9, 1945

Otras Acciones encubiertas:

Afganistán: 1979-92

Bolivia: 1964-75

Brasil: 1961-64

Colombia: 1990s- presente

Congo: 1960-65, 1977-78

Cuba: 1950-presente

Grecia: 1947-49, 1967-74

Haití: 1959, 1987-94

Filipina: 1960-presente

Somalia: 1993

Puerto Rico (Vieques) 1940-presente

Fuente datos disponible.

itares, la política exterior ha mantenido a la mayoría del tercer mundo en pobreza. Sólo el 5% de la población controla el 90% de la riqueza y recursos mundiales—siendo la mayoría de éstos estadounidenses. Para mantener esta enorme desigualdad, gobiernos reprimen a sus propios ciudadanos a través de legislaciones, agencias secretas, y sistemas penitenciarios—los cuales también pudiesen ser considerados formas de represión terrorista.

En un esfuerzo colectivo, necesitamos unirnos para crear un mundo sin pobreza, racismo y sin todas esas formas de injusticia social que usualmente explican—pero no justifican—actos terroristas. A largo plazo, la única forma de seguridad confiable para los EE.UU. o cualquier otro país es lo que se llama "seguridad humana": un mundo con justicia y paz.

¿No es Osama Bin Laden el culpable principal?

El pueblo estadounidense no ha sido totalmente informado acerca de éste. Osama Bin Laden fue miembro del Mujahideen, un grupo que peleó contra la Unión Soviética entre 1979 y 1989 para derrocar al gobierno afgano. El Mujahideen fue financiado por Arabia

Saudita y los EE.UU., y entrenado por la CIA. Por el interés de derrotar la Unión Soviética, los EE.UU. le dió armas, entrenamiento y dinero a estos rebeldes que incluían Bin Laden. El gobierno estadounidense creó un Frankenstein que ha regresado a atormentarnos.

La presidencia de Bush nos ha asegurado que la "guerra contra el terrorismo" no terminará con la captura o muerte de Bin Laden y la derrota de el Talibán. Muchos individuos y organizaciones, que mucha gente considera están luchando por justicia social y autodeterminación, han sido categorizados como "terroristas" por el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (State Department). Esta guerra puede extenderse hasta suprimir movimientos de liberación aquí y en el resto del mundo. Funcionarios estadounidenses ya han mencionado que las operaciones pueden extenderse a Las Filipinas, Malasia, e Indonesia.

¿Hará bien oponerse a la guerra?

Sí. La oposición a la guerra en Vietnam fue una de las mayores razones por lo que la guerra terminó y podemos hacerlo de nuevo. Tomar

represalias por lo ocurrido el 11 de septiembre es algo muy emocional, así que tenemos que hacer más esfuerzo para educar a nuestras comunidades sobre el Medio Oriente, la política exterior estadounidense y los costos políticos, económicos y humanos de la guerra. Más que nada, debemos hacer muchas preguntas y buscar respuestas honestas de cada fuente posible.

Tenemos una nueva oportunidad. De muchas maneras el 11 de septiembre es un despertar para el pueblo estadounidense para rechazar la mentalidad dominadora y aislacionista que prevalece en EE.UU. debido a que éste es la única superpotencia. Ese día nos debe recordar que somos un mundo entero, una raza humana inseparable en una lucha por la justicia global.

Así que para oponerse a esta guerra debemos usar todas los recursos democráticos disponibles. Por ejemplo se puede manifestar, escribir cartas a la prensa y al gobierno y educar a los jóvenes acerca de sus opciones al ser llamados al servicio militar. También hay que organizarnos para construir un movimiento de gran alcance por la justicia social. Esto es la solución al 11 de septiembre. Claro, difícil, ¿pero qué otra cosa más importante podríamos hacer? ¿Tenemos realmente otra alternativa?

Por favor reproduzca y use esta información de cualquier manera que lo desee. Déselo a sus amigos, compañeros de trabajo, estudiantes o uselo para redactar cartas editoriales. Este es un proyecto en conjunto del **Centro por educación política (Center for Political Education)** y el **Institute por Justicia MultiRacial (Institute for MultiRacial Justice)**, en San Francisco, preparado en octubre, 2001.

Este panfleto se puede conseguir en el internet:

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