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As Pentagon attacks Falluja Resistance spreads throughout Iraq

By Fred Goldstein

Nov. 9—The Pentagon has embarked on a campaign of blood and iron to capture the city of Falluja in a vain attempt to put an end to the resistance and to prepare the stage for its phony January elections in Iraq. The Pentagon is dropping tons of explosives and raining down missiles and rockets and a hail of machine gun and howitzer fire upon Falluja and has already begun bombing Ramadi, 30 miles to the west.

But as the 15,000 to 20,000 U.S. troops advance in Falluja, inch by inch, under cover of a murderous air attack, the armed insurgency is opening up a second front throughout the region. Furthermore, the political ground is crumbling under Washington's stabilization plans, which are built upon the January elections.

According to the Nov. 10 New York Times, "The American military reported 130 attacks on Monday, well above an average of 80 a day for most of the summer."

Here are a few of the numerous incidents reported in various media over the last four days that confirm a widening Iraqi offensive against the occupation:

- In Kirkuk, two U.S. soldiers were killed; two police stations and a National Guard base were bombed; an oil pipeline was blown up and the government is said to be losing control.

- In Ramadi, 20 U.S. soldiers were wounded traveling in a convoy. Several hundred resistance fighters were gathered in the center of the city, which is now being attacked by U.S. forces.

- In Baghdad, one U.S. soldier was killed and four wounded by a car bomb; others were wounded on the road to the airport. Fighting against the occupation is occurring throughout the city.

- There have been attacks on police stations in Baquba, Haditha and Haqlaniyah.

- Four British soldiers have been killed and four wounded at Camp Dogwood near Baghdad.

- Most important, and most ominous for the occupation, in Samarra there have been successful large-scale attacks on police stations and an assassination of a government official, as the resistance resurfaces in the city that the U.S. recently captured and "secured" with a massive invasion.

The Pentagon and Bush have stressed over and over again that



WW PHOTO: JOHN CATALINOTTO
Union Square, New York, Nov. 6.

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the end of the occupation depends on the development of the Iraqi army—a puppet force. According to a Knight Ridder release of Nov. 8, "U.S. military officials said that at least 200 Iraqi troops had deserted their posts in the American-led offensive" and another 200 were "on leave." The Iraqis do not do any of the fighting. They have been confined to going into houses and mosques captured by the U.S. forces after the battle ends.

On the political front, the Association of Muslim Scholars, representing 3,000 Sunni mosques, has called for a boycott of the January elections, which will take place "over the bodies of the dead and the blood of the wounded in cities like Falluja," said Harith al Dhari, director of the association. A fatwa, or religious ruling, issued by the association warned against helping the occupation "because the occupier will leave but the people will stay."

In another blow to the U.S., the Iraq Islamic Party has pulled out of the puppet interim government over the invasion of

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Solidarity with hotel workers

By Steven Ceci
Baltimore

Their front line may be 3,000 miles away. But close to 200 people came out in Baltimore Nov. 9 to support and show solidarity with hotel workers in San Francisco. More than 4,000 hotel workers have been locked out of their jobs since Oct. 13 by bosses at 14 San Francisco hotels.

UNITE HERE Local 7 helped organize the support rally. Hotel workers physically demonstrated aspects of their work using two beds as props.

Speakers included Fred Mason, president of the Maryland/Washington, D.C., AFL-CIO, who reiterated that labor is one with the larger community. G.I. Johnson, president of the Baltimore NAACP, pledged his organization's support for the hotel workers.

Representatives from diverse unions took part, including Service Employees, Office and Professional Employees, Food and Commercial Workers, the Newspaper Guild and Fire Fighters. In addition, community and student groups came out to the rally, including members of the All Peoples Congress, NAACP and Coalition Against Global Exploitation (CAGE). Students from



The San Francisco hotel workers.

PHOTO: UNITEHERE.ORG

Johns Hopkins, Towson and Morgan State were present.

Hotel workers from Washington, D.C., whose contract expired Sept. 15, also took part. They are in a labor dispute with 14 hotels in the District of Columbia. The most recent contract proposal by management reduces medical, dental and other benefits.

The highlight of the rally came when at least 14 unionists and community supporters were arrested for blocking traffic to bring attention to the hotel workers. One of those arrested

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SOCIALISM from utopian to scientific

By Gene Clancy

Just off Interstate 64 in southwestern Indiana, near the Wabash River, is a small town of about 1,000 people called New Harmony. It is located in the "heartland" on the northern edge of the "Bible Belt." It has, for a long time, been considered a cultural center in a largely agricultural region.

New Harmony represents a milestone in the evolution of socialist thought. It retains practical political significance, even today. Nearly 175 years ago, when it was still a frontier town, an attempt was made to build a communist society there.

Many similar ventures were made at the time, both in the United States and in other countries. New Harmony is notable because it was organized and inspired by one of the truly great figures of the 19th century: Robert Owen.

Conventional historical writing in the United States is very big on "great men," particularly straight white men. However, you would be hard put to find much mention of Robert Owen in public-school textbooks, except as a footnote. And that footnote would almost certainly try to show how mistaken, wrongheaded and, of course, unsuccessful Owen's experiment at New Harmony was. But let's look at a few facts.

From 1825 to 1827, New Harmony attracted many of the most idealistic and inventive reformers of the day, as well as women and men of the natural sciences. In addition, many jobless people found their way there, inspired by public lectures Owen gave in many Eastern cities.

The principles of the community were as follows: "Within the community all work was to be equal. One was to receive that which was necessary to him or her. The teacher's work was to be on the same footing with the laborer, the farmer the equal of either. All were to perform to the best of their ability and receive the same compensation." (Don Blair, "The New Harmony Story")

In its few short years of existence, the communist society at New Harmony introduced into the United States the first kindergarten, the first infant school, the first trade school, the first free public school system, the first women's club, the first free library and the first civic dramatic club. It was also the seat of the first geological survey.

These are remarkable achievements. They are even more remarkable when viewed against the historical backdrop.

Half of the United States at that time was under slavery: Slavery and racism had been enshrined in the U.S. Constitution. Nowhere did women have the right to vote, or any legal rights at all. The Indian Removal Act was soon

to be passed, breaking solemn treaties and forcing most Native nations west of the Mississippi, where they would again be assaulted. Labor unions were outlawed. Anti-immigrant political parties attacked the mainly Irish and German immigrants who made up the bulk of factory workers in some cities. Social services and even such institutions as municipal fire departments were non-existent.

The progressive achievements of this little utopian colony became the basis for important demands later taken up by the working class movement. What was considered utopian at that time has now become very practical and indeed necessary.

To the extent that such social services are today more generally available to the workers, it is owing to bitter class battles across the country. And many are now under attack again.

What made it utopian

Long after it ceased to be a communist colony, New Harmony was a social and cultural oasis. It was to become a center of both the abolitionist and women's movements.

Why did it disintegrate? The common explanation given by bourgeois critics at the time and ever since is that these early communist experiments failed to reward personal incentive, that equality is fine in theory but unworkable in practice. Of course, "rewarding personal initiative" is just a substitute phrase for profit.

Actually, the most important reason for the failure was that it was in competition with the capitalist mode of production and dependent upon it for the purchase and sale of materials. Owen had based his conception of communism on the view that the success of his colonies would enlist the cooperation of the capitalists, who would join in when they saw how superior those societies were.

He and the other great utopians, like Claude Henri Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, overlooked the characteristic feature of the capitalists: their unlimited greed driven by the profit motive. Not only does that prevent their conversion to the idea of a utopian society, but they cannot be persuaded to grant the workers even the most meager demands without a struggle.

One of Owen's contemporaries described the profit motive this way:

"With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 percent will ensure it employment anywhere; 20 percent certain will produce eagerness; 50 percent, positive audacity; 100 percent will make it ready to trample all human laws; 300 percent, and there is not a crime at which it will

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Fri., Nov. 19
International Action Center
Forum: Anyone Feel A Draft?
No Draft, No Way. Featuring
Dustin Langley, founder of
Support Network for an Armed

Forces Union (SNAFU) and Gulf War Veteran. 7 p.m. At 5274 W. Pico Blvd. #203. For info (323) 936-7266.

Dec 4 - No Draft No Way Conference in NYC
Dec 5 - Solidarity Rally with Haiti in New York City
Jan 20 - Counterinaugural Demo in Washington D.C.

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Vol. 46, No. 46 • Nov. 18, 2004
Closing date: Nov. 10, 2004

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Workers World (ISSN-1070-4205) is published weekly except the first week of January by WW Publishers, 55 W. 17 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011. Phone: (212) 627-2994. Subscriptions: One year: \$25; foreign and institutions: \$35. Letters to the editor may be condensed and edited. Articles can be freely reprinted, with credit to Workers World, 55 W. 17 St., New York, NY 10011. Back issues and individual articles are available on microfilm and/or photocopy from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. A searchable archive is available on the Web at www.workers.org.

A headline digest is available via e-mail subscription. Send an e-mail message to wwnews-subscribe@workersworld.net.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers World, 55 W. 17 St., 5th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.



Students, workers charge:

UMass officials collaborate with racists

By Bryan G. Pfeifer
Amherst, Mass.

At a joint news conference Nov. 4, two leading unions at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst charged the university administration with collaborating with racists in the Student Government Association to undermine the Office of ALANA Affairs (OAA). ALANA advocates for institutional support for African, Latino/a, Asian, Pacific Islander and Native American students.

The Graduate Employee Organization-UAW Local 2322 and Service Employees Local 888 distributed a series of emails they say were sent by Patrick G. Higgins, the former Senate speaker of the SGA, to Michael Gargano Jr., vice chancellor for student affairs and campus life, Charles DiMare, director of the Student Legal Services Office, and others.

GEO represents 2,500 graduate student-workers. Local 888 represents professional staff at UMass Amherst.

Higgins was one of those depicted in recently released photographs of nine students partying and posing with Ku Klux

Klan symbols on March 29 in the Student Center for Educational Research. One photo depicted Higgins dressed as a "grand wizard," with a burning cross in his hand and a word bubble stating, "I love ALANA."

The photos were distributed throughout the campus community the weekend of Sept. 25-26 via email after ALANA students discovered them. The photos had been posted to the personal web page of SCERA's student office coordinator and linked off the organization's website.

None of the nine students was suspended or expelled. In fact, two of them now hold positions in the SGA, and some others in an SGA-funded campus office. The administration emphatically stated that their punishments weren't to be made public.

But a few days after the Klan incident, when students allegedly "rioted" on campus after a Boston Red Sox victory, the administration released press statements listing all the students arrested and their punishments, which included suspensions for allegedly damaging campus property and injuring some police. This

information was published on the front page of the campus newspaper, The Daily Collegian.

During the anti-racist fight back over the Klan photos, which included a demonstration of over 500 on Oct. 6, many charged that the nine students were working side by side with the administration to undermine institutional supports and the autonomy of the ALANA office.

GEO, Local 888, ALANA and their allies say the emails are proof of this.

People of color harassed

GEO announced at the news conference that it received approximately 18 emails that cover a period between May and September 2004, forwarded from an anonymous source. The emails, GEO claims, have a direct bearing on grievances initiated recently by GEO on behalf of Gladys Franco, a graduate student

employee in the OAA, and by Local 888 on behalf of Nelson Acosta, director of OAA.

GEO's grievance charges that the administration harassed and discriminated against Franco when it withheld pay from her for work performed in the OAA. Local 888's grievance charges the administration with blocking Acosta from taking medical leave for cancer treatment and appointing an assistant director for the OAA during his requested leave.

"The emails demonstrate a long-term, coordinated effort to eliminate Franco's position in the OAA and to inhibit the work of the OAA in general. The emails also suggest a strategy to eliminate the ALANA caucus seats in the SGA," GEO said in a Nov. 3 news release.

One email from Higgins to Gargano reads in part: "What is your plan for Gladys Franco being the grad student in

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Jury acquits bus driver who protested racism

By Beverly Hiestand
Buffalo, N.Y.

A Buffalo, N.Y., bus driver who was arrested and suspended from her job for speaking out while police brutalized a teenaged girl has been vindicated.

On Nov. 5, Elizabeth Taylor Oliver, an African American bus driver for the Niagara Frontier Transit Authority, was acquitted of obstructing governmental administration, harassment, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. It took only one hour for a City Court jury to decide the case. The decision was celebrated by many here who had supported her.

Oliver, who has four young children of her own, had been arrested on Oct. 6, 2003, for coming to the aid of a 14-year-old high school student at a city transit station. Court testimony revealed that the student had done nothing more than express her right to sit in the transit station after the police told her to leave. Four officers—three of them men, one of whom weighed over 200 pounds—grabbed her, pinned her to the ground with a knee in her back, and then dragged her by an arm and leg to a police car.

Oliver got off her bus and asked the police why they had to be so brutal to this slight, young female student. The police then attacked Oliver and arrested her. NFTA officials immediately suspended her from her job without pay.

Cases of police brutality are not unusual in Buffalo. Many are reported; more go unreported for fear of retaliation by police. However, what followed this incident made a difference not only for this particular victim but for the whole community.

A feature article about the incident in an African American newspaper, The Challenger, brought the accusations into the light for all to see. Word began to spread. People were horrified at such injustice. Soon after, anti-racist activists came together to form Citizens Against Police Abuse and Racism.

Young and older, Black and white, gay

and straight, representatives from the anti-war movement and other community organizations—all began protesting at the NFTA headquarters. This attracted the attention of the commercial media, bringing awareness of the incident into more and more homes. The numbers attending the protests grew.

On Jan. 17, during the celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, over 100 protesters rallied in 20-degree weather in front of the transit station where the abuse had occurred. They then marched two miles across town to hold a rally defined by a banner reading: "In the spirit of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., stop racism, stop police brutality."

Oliver, acknowledging the strength she gained from the community mobilization, announced that she was refusing a plea bargain that would have left her legally guilty. Instead, she was going to fight the charges.

Her struggle was further aided by supporters who helped her find better legal representation and raised funds—both to pay legal fees and help replace her lost wages, which had been a real hardship for her family.

Oliver's lawyer advised the jury that this was not a case of racism but one of misconduct by the transit police. However, Loretta Renford disagrees. Renford is an African American activist, founding member of Concerned Citizens Against Police Abuse, and a commissioner on the Commission on Citizen Rights and Community Relations. For years she has received, investigated and filed charges of police abuse in Western New York, and organized protests. She told Workers World, "We should never forget that racism and police brutality are heavily connected."

In fact, violent racist acts are happening not only in the war zones of the world but also right here at home. This time people of many ethnic backgrounds came together and stood up. And it made all the difference. □

UMASS AMHERST

Hundreds cheer anti-racist struggle

By Bryan G. Pfeifer

Standing before a crowd of more than 500 in Amherst at the University of Massachusetts Bowker Auditorium Nov. 1, Leslie Feinberg began his talk by dedicating it to the struggle of ALANA students: African American, Latin@, Asian, Pacific Islander and Native American who are under siege by racists on campus. [See related article.]

Feinberg's gesture of solidarity received cheers and thunderous applause from the multi-national, multi-gendered audience.

Feinberg—a Workers World managing editor and author of the books "Stone Butch Blues," "Transgender Warriors" and "Trans Liberation"—was invited to campus by the UMass Stonewall Center and Pride Alliance, a lesbian, gay, bi and trans student organization. The event kicked off November's Transgender Awareness Month.

Other scheduled events include a "Trans Awareness Panel," a "Graves in Remembrance" day when paper tombstones will remember those murdered by bashing, a "Trans Films @ Real Out Film Festival" and a UMass Pride Alliance drag ball.

Proudly wearing a Graduate Employee Organization UAW Local 2322 button, Feinberg, who co-chairs the Queer Caucus of the National Writers Union/UAW, raised GEO's demands. The union is currently in contract negotiations with the university administration. Its demands include support for ALANA and for trans employees.

Feinberg asked, "Are we going to stand up with GEO to win their contract demands?" Once again Feinberg's unity and solidarity was greeted with massive applause and cheers, a common event throughout her talk.

Feinberg presented a historical materialist view of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender oppression—from communal societies to the 1969 Stonewall Rebellion. Ze focused on how historically those battling racism, sexism and imperialist war have found a basis for unity against a common enemy.

"In order to cement unity we have to



WW PHOTO: DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Leslie Feinberg

walk our talk. We have to fight against each other's oppression as though it was our own."

Feinberg concluded with calls to build the anti-capitalist revolutionary current within all mass movements and to repudiate anti-communism and red-baiting.

For over an hour after his talk Feinberg greeted audience members in front of a beautiful four-color Million Worker March banner at a Western Mass. International Action Center table. Those who surrounded the table to talk included members of many of the major LGBT organizations in western Massachusetts: Everywoman's Center, Food for Thought Books collective, GEO, the Office of ALANA Affairs, Pride Alliance, the Stonewall Center, the Student Government Association, the UMass Anti-War coalition. There were also people from various student organizations from the Five College system: Amherst College, Hampshire College, Mt. Holyoke, Smith College and UMass Amherst.

Dozens of pieces of literature—including the call for a week of anti-war actions Dec. 3-10, information about the first national meeting of Fight Imperialism, Stand Together—FIST, LGBT 4 Million Worker March stickers, Workers World Party conference brochures and WW newspapers—flew off the table. More than 20 people opened trial subscriptions to Workers World newspaper. □

Wall Street celebrates Bush win while Debt burden rises & wages shrink

By Milt Neidenberg

It's happy time in Wall Street land—for now.

With George W. Bush re-elected president, the super-rich, already awash in tons of paper wealth, are celebrating anticipated profits from another round of tax relief and many other goodies. Social Security is about to be privatized, creating investment accounts to sucker baby boomers into the capitalist market. The stock markets shot up after the election as wealthy investors enjoyed a week of profit taking. The Dow Jones Industrial Average gained 360.07 points. Keeping pace were Standard & Poor's 500 and NASDAQ.

Oil, hovering around \$50 a barrel, is, along with other commodity markets, a speculator's paradise. The rich are spending hundreds of billions of dollars in unregulated hedge funds. They're betting on anything and everything to make a quick buck.

Bankers and bosses are reveling in a Labor Department report that 337,000 workers have been added to the payrolls, cranking up the joy at the economy kicking into high gear. However, 72,000-plus of these jobs were the direct result of rebuilding after the hurricanes and tornadoes. Nevertheless, a wave of optimism has engulfed the golden set.

A short-lived euphoria?

According to the Congressional Budget Office, Bush began his first term with projections of a \$5.6 trillion budget surplus. He starts his second term facing at least a \$2.3 trillion deficit.

If the Republican-majority Congress passes his tax-cutting plans, borrowing needs will orbit into space and interest rates will soar.

How long can this go on? No one among the Wall Street pundits and bourgeois economists knows.

They do know that, increasingly, the lenders are from Asian central banks, holding huge dollar reserves in U.S. Treasury debt. China and Japan alone hold half of the \$3.7 trillion in U.S. bonds and notes. Any time they decide to pull the plug on this debt, a capitalist crisis of monumental proportions would ensue.

China and Japan have already begun to pull back. The Treasury Department reported that in the month of August, foreign private investors sold \$4.4 billion more in Treasury bonds and notes than they bought.

According to Stephen S. Roach, chief economist at the investment bank of Morgan Stanley, in the Oct. 19 Washington Post: "China and India are no longer committed to open-ended dollar buying,

At the margin this shift is negative for the dollar and for U.S. real interest rates."

These creditors will demand higher interest rates for their risk, and because the cheaper dollar reduces the value of their investments. Wall Street and Corporate America welcome a cheaper dollar, which makes U.S. exports of goods and services more competitive.

According to Wall Street, the Federal Reserve Board is certain to raise its short-term interest rate when it meets Feb. 10. It is expected to rise from 1.75 percent to 2 percent. Federal Reserve Chair Alan Greenspan will try to spin a rationale that the rate hike can fine tune a strong, vibrant economy by stimulating economic activity and keeping inflation low and stable. Not true.

Raising interest rates will make it more costly to borrow, and restrain consumers/workers from spending, causing gluts in the marketplace. Debt is rising and income shrinking while the prices of goods and services burgeon. Consumer spending is critical if the capitalist economy is to grow. It represents two-thirds of the entire Gross Domestic Product—the value of all goods and services.

Other monumental problems continue to plague the economy. The war to colonize Iraq is going badly. There's fear that

oil prices will remain high. The balance of trade is persistently unfavorable. There's the sluggish job market and the cheap dollar. Industrial capacity is still limping along at about 75 percent of capacity while productivity has slowed down. The United States continues to lose ground in the percentage of goods and services exchanged in the global market. China, India and Latin America continue to expand their economies as they find compatible trading partners.

The U.S. budget deficit swelled to a record \$412 billion in the fiscal year ending Sept. 30. Billions of dollars went to the military-industrial complex in a failed attempt to break the heroic resistance of the Iraqi people. More funds are promised as the United States plans to escalate death and destruction in the area around Falluja. The quagmire has deepened.

There is no way out except to withdraw the troops and end the occupation.

War at home continues

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that wages and salaries grew only 2.4 percent over the past year. That's the lowest one-year pace on record—and it lags behind inflation.

Household debt has reached the astronomical figure of \$9.7 trillion—mostly from mortgages, hospital bills, credit cards, auto financing and a host of other liabilities. It's up more than 10 percent over the previous year. More and more workers find it impossible to pay off their huge debts while paying for groceries, clothing, housing and medical needs.

The labor movement is being hit with more layoffs, production speed-ups and health and pension benefits cuts. The unemployment rate stands at 5.5 percent. Over 23 percent of the unemployed have been jobless for almost a year.

Unemployment among African Americans is officially 11 percent. Teenage joblessness rose to 19 percent. The number of temporary workers grew by 48,000, the highest increase since February 2001.

The average work week is only 33.8 hours. That's significantly below the average for the last four years.

Repression breeds resistance. Class-conscious AFL-CIO members, who worked hard to get out the vote for John Kerry, need to take the independent road of resistance and break with the Democratic Party. The 55-plus million votes, concentrated in urban centers and among women and oppressed nationalities, that went to the "anybody but Bush" campaign could represent a potential threat to the more openly right-wing, racist section of the billionaire ruling class. But there is a crisis of leadership. It is critical that activists differentiate themselves from the bankrupt policies of their leaders, who supported Kerry and the Democratic Party with huge sums of money and resources.

The labor movement stands at a critical crossroads. It needs to take a cue from the group of Black union leaders who showed the vision to begin building an independent class-wide movement in the midst of the frenzied Bush-Kerry election campaign. They organized the Oct. 17 Million Worker March in Washington, D.C., raising the issues of the workers and oppressed.

Under the most difficult conditions, they linked those issues with opposition to the Iraq War that is diverting billions of dollars from desperately needed social services. The Million Worker March was the first step toward making the vision of an independent movement of the workers and oppressed a reality. □

As owners slash contracts

Airline workers need strategy of united action

By Milt Neidenberg

How much is too much? The airline owners have crossed that threshold. Led by United Airlines, they are tearing up union contracts.

These legal agreements have protected jobs, health care, pensions and many other union rights and benefits. They have been disappearing at UAL ever since the corporation sought a Chapter 11 bankruptcy in December 2002.

From that day, there has been a conspiracy between UAL Chairperson Glenn F. Tilton and those who have financed the bankrupt corporation for the last two years: Citigroup and J.P. Morgan Chase. The banks want their investments collateralized by arbitrarily inflicting huge cuts on the UAL unions, with the complete cooperation of the bankruptcy court. UAL has demanded that the court terminate four union pension funds amounting to \$8.3 billion, plus permit further labor-cost cuts of \$725 million a year. This is on top of the \$2.5 billion annual givebacks that the UAL unions granted at the time of the December 2002 bankruptcy. The retirees have already given up their health benefits.

Association of Flight Attendants President Greg Davidovich, speaking for the union's executive council, issued a statement after hearing the disastrous demands proposed by Tilton. It said in part: "United Airlines declared war on us in proposed cuts in wages, benefits and work rules. ... [I]f management stands by these stipulations they will destroy United Airlines. We're not going to let this happen."

Exactly right. But the threat goes beyond the AFA and UAL. Imagine what other airlines have in store for their unionized work forces to enable them to compete with UAL and, most important, with

the non-union regional, low-labor-cost airlines that dot the country.

The crisis in the airline industry has led to intense competition. The critical issue is which will go belly up. Will it be UAL and US Airways, both now in bankruptcy? Delta, which is threatening bankruptcy? American, Continental or Northwest?

All are in competition to force their hundreds of thousands of workers to accept the lowest denominator in labor costs. It's the WalMart strategy applied to the airline unions and their members. But the airline industry is a unionized industry—that's the bright side.

Will the worn-out strategy of divide and conquer work? It will if the airline unions see the struggle as only about the drastic cuts imposed by each particular company. The situation cries out for a strategy of unity and action. It demands the implementation of that historic union call: an injury to one is an injury to all.

It demands that a difficult but necessary task be undertaken, new to the airline unions, which have different con-

tracts and conditions with the various bosses. A call for a summit conference of all the airline unions and their rank-and-file leaders would be a first step. They could announce a council of war to proclaim their common interest: survival.

This would shake up airline management. Although the many airline bosses, and the bankers and investors who sit on their executive boards, are in competition amongst themselves, they all agree that driving down labor costs is the best way to go—and may the most demanding corporation win.

The basis for unity among the various airline unions must be a plan of action to protect jobs, pensions, health benefits and the sanctity of their contracts, won over years of sacrifice and struggle. The airline workers did not create this crisis. They kept the planes flying and the airlines in business. The workers can operate the companies, if even for a short time, to protect their equity and their jobs. The call for workers' control is on the front burner. It will take bold action and a united struggle to win. □

Solidarity for hotel workers

Continued from page 1

was Sharon Black, regional coordinator of the Baltimore/ Washington Million Worker March Committee and organizer with the All Peoples Congress.

Black stated, "I am getting arrested to show that the Million Worker March organizers take solidarity seriously and if getting arrested is what it takes, we will be there."

The very red banner of the UNITE HERE Mid-Atlantic Region contrasted beautifully with the increasing darkness of the evening. The activists arrested began their civil disobedience with the last lines



PHOTO: UNITEHERE.ORG

Picket against San Francisco lockout.

of the chant "Who's got the power? We've got the power. What kind of power? Union power!" □

SAME-SEX MARRIAGE RIGHTS UNDER SIEGE

Mandate is clear:

BEAT BACK BUSH/KERRY ATTACKS

By LeiLani Dowell

If ever there were an example of the capitalist media as an instrument of the state, this year's post-election coverage, with special emphasis on same-sex marriage, speaks volumes. In a clear attempt to demoralize progressives, especially the lesbian, gay, bi and trans movement, the media are accusing this movement of paving the way for George W. Bush's victory in the presidential election.

For example, a Nov. 7 article by the Associated Press, headlined, "Election devastates gay community," tells of Democratic politicians wagging their fingers at the movement for fighting for same-sex marriage "too fast, too soon." The AP goes so far as to suggest that LGBT people across the country are planning some sort of mass exodus from the United States.

Exit polls, the media claim, overwhelmingly show that "moral values" won the vote for Bush, with same-sex marriage as the main issue. On its face this argument makes little sense, considering that John Kerry opposed same-sex marriage too, and never took a stand against discrimination. At first Kerry said that states

Leilani Dowell ran for Congress in San Francisco.

WW PHOTO: LIZA GREEN



should be able to decide the issue for themselves. Then he endorsed an attempted ban on same-sex marriage in his home state of Massachusetts, the one state where same-sex marriage has become a hard-won reality.

But what does it mean that voters in 11 states voted for initiatives against same-sex marriage? When polls suggest that the majority of the people favor equality for LGBT people, what does it mean that laws were passed in some states that even deny civil unions and domestic partnership benefits?

In a time of growing economic hardship and a shrinking social "safety net," when people fear a loss of jobs, lack of health care, and a general lack of control over their lives, the family unit gains in importance as an area of stability. This is true for same-sex couples who want some economic stability, as well.

However, the ruling class tries to stoke up fear of gays and the "dissolution of the

family" as a distraction from its own responsibility for these economic and social problems, just as it does with the "war on terror."

Role of patriarchal family

In "The Roots of Lesbian and Gay Oppression," author Bob McCubbin chronicles the rise of the patriarchal family unit as a result of the accumulation of wealth in society. Unlike the communal, matriarchal societies that had previously existed, McCubbin points out, the patriarchal family and state regulation of sexuality served the interests of the emerging ruling class as society began to be divided into haves and have-nots.

He also discusses the use of anti-gay prejudice in the epoch of imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and national liberation movements, when the billionaire capitalist class uses every means at its disposal to divide the workers by sowing sexual prejudices that breed confusion, frustration and fear.

Despite all the talk of demoralization after the Nov. 2 elections, progressive

forces sprang into action the very next day. Largely successful anti-war and anti-Bush rallies were held across the country on Nov. 3. Activists across the country, including LGBT activists, are organizing a Stop the War Week of actions for Dec. 3-11, and are already preparing for a counter-inauguration on Jan. 20.

In New York, a Town Hall meeting on the elections was held at the LGBT Community Center on Nov. 9. Well over 250 people attended. Rather than depression, the mood in the standing-room-only event was one of anger and resistance.

Significantly, panelists as well as participants stressed the need to make links among all communities—people of color, immigrants, women and more—to resist the repression and discrimination that has been further "legalized" in this election.

Discussing whether laws and elections reflect national realities, Trishala Deb of the Audre Lorde Project and the South Asian Lesbian and Gay Alliance offered the example of the Reconstruction era in the United States. She pointed out that what followed the Reconstruction period was Jim Crow laws, an extreme increase

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BIGOTS, BULLIES & BALLOTS

Electoral malfeasance in Ohio

By Martha Grevatt
Cleveland

On the morning of Nov. 3, with the country's attention riveted on Ohio, the magic number was 155,000. This was how many "provisional ballots" remained to be counted in the presidential election.

A disproportionate number of these ballots came from largely African American urban areas. In addition, an unknown number of absentee ballots were still uncounted. So it was not unreasonable to think that a full and complete count would deliver Ohio, with its 20 decisive electoral votes, to Sen. John Kerry.

Tens of millions of workers, people of color, women, lesbian, gay, bi and trans people, youths and opponents of war were hoping for an end to the Bush reign. Many had prepared themselves to hold their noses and vote for Kerry, who they saw as the "lesser evil" candidate.

Thousands of volunteers came to Ohio from across the country to campaign and monitor the voting process—watchdogs determined that Ohio would not be the Florida of 2004.

Their hopes were, of course, crushed with the news that Kerry had "done the math" and conceded Ohio, and the election, to President George W. Bush.

Initial news reporting presented a study in contrasts, citing comparatively few of the gross violations of voting rights associated with the 2000 Florida election theft. During the following week, however, a picture of widespread disenfranchisement, held in check only by the diligent efforts of volunteer poll watchers, emerged.

Examples included defective ballots, ballots pre-punched for Bush, voting booth malfunctions, and not enough voting booths and staff. Many voters gave up or were turned away after standing in line for up to eight hours in driving rain.

Some who had voted for years or even

decades found their names missing from the rolls. Many of the 1.2 million first-time registered voters were never notified of the location of their polling places.

These problems occurred primarily in African American neighborhoods, and also in college towns. Some 46 percent of Ohio's newly registered voters were under 30.

The Nov. 8 Cleveland Plain Dealer reported: "James Walker, a substitute teacher who had voted at Mt. Haven for 39 years, discovered less than an hour before the polls closed that he was not listed in the precinct registry even though his wife still was. Walker filled out a provisional ballot rather than try to find his new polling site before the polls closed."

Multiply Walker's experience by 155,000. Then add it to the 92,000-plus "spoiled" ballots. Then you can understand why Ohio Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell has been compared to Florida's Katherine Harris.

Blackwell was the driving force behind the use of e-voting machines in some counties, which provide no paper trail. In the Columbus suburb of Gahanna, an e-ballot recorded 3,893 votes for Bush when in fact only 638 votes had been cast. In four counties the e-voting machines, whose results can only be accessed with secret software, were provided by Diebold Inc., based in Canton, Ohio.

On Nov. 9, 2003, the New York Times had reported: "In mid-August, Walden W. O'Dell, the chief executive of Diebold Inc., sat down at his computer to compose a letter inviting 100 wealthy and politically inclined friends to a Republican Party fundraiser, to be held at his home in a suburb of Columbus, Ohio. 'I am committed to helping Ohio deliver its electoral votes to the president next year,' wrote Mr. O'Dell."

The problems didn't begin on Nov. 2. Republican plans to place thousands of their attorneys and other "challengers"—

intimidators—in the polling places were ruled lawful. And other plans proceeded. For example, voters received calls from people impersonating Board of Elections staff, telling them to vote at the wrong location. People charged with felonies were also given false information.

Some absentee ballots mirrored the confusing layout of the infamous Florida "butterfly ballot." Secretary of State Blackwell attempted to disqualify new registrations that were filled out on paper not of the proper weight. And he ruled provisional ballots cast in the wrong precincts invalid.

All of this prompted Ohio State Sen. Teresa Fedor to complain: "There was trouble with our elections in Ohio at every stage. It's been a battle getting people registered to vote, getting to the ballot on voting day and getting that vote to count. There is a pattern of voter suppression; that's why I called for Blackwell's resignation more than a month ago."

"Blackwell, while claiming to run an unbiased elections process, was also the co-chair of the Bush-Cheney campaign in Ohio," Fedor continued. "Additionally, he was the spokesperson for the anti-family [anti-same-sex marriage and domestic partnership] constitutional amendment 'Issue One.' ..."

"Blackwell learned his moves from the Katherine Harris playbook of Florida 2000, and we won't stand for it," she concluded.

Shameless appeal to bias

With exit polls all pointing to a narrow Kerry victory, and with the numerous violations of voters' rights, many are concluding that the Bush victory is illegitimate. Yet Kerry and the Democratic Party leadership haven't shown the slightest interest in challenging the results.

Regardless of how the final ballot count swings, however, it is clear that

Bush could not have even thought of winning Ohio without appealing to the most backward attitudes. His campaign reached out to millions of white rural Ohio voters, whipping them up in an effort based on racism, attacks on lesbian, gay, bi and trans people, women and reproductive rights, often overlapping with religious bigotry and war fever. These were the skewed "moral values" cited by pollsters as the motive behind Bush votes.

The right wing had a whole army of clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, who practically ordered their congregations to vote for Bush.

To capture Ohio, Bush mobilized his forces to foment an atmosphere of fear and hatred toward LGBT people. With all the threats facing the people of this country—war, unemployment, lack of health care, Bush's plan to gut Social Security and so on—the Bush forces waged a canny, despicable campaign to convince people, especially rural voters under the sway of religious reaction, that what they should really worry about is preventing same-sex couples from gaining equal rights.

Whipping up a same-sex marriage panic and thus diverting attention from the real issues, the Bush campaign successfully used State Issue One to bring in votes. The most drastic of all the initiatives against same-sex marriage passed in 11 states on Election Day, Issue One amends Ohio's constitution to also ban domestic partner recognition by cities, counties, school districts and public universities.

On the basis of this shameless appeal to bias and backwardness alone, the Bush presidency should be declared illegitimate. Rather than endure four more years of repression, hatred and war, workers in the "swing" states need to "swing" into action—in the streets. □

Workers World Party election campaign

Candidates spread message of revolutionary hope

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

On Nov. 3, the morning after Election Day, Republican President George W. Bush awoke to victory and Democratic candidate Sen. John Kerry to defeat. But John Parker, Teresa Gutierrez and LeiLani Dowell—the 2004 candidates of Workers World Party—got up to begin another hope-filled and determined day of struggle toward socialism.

Parker and Gutierrez, who ran for president and vice-president, and Dowell, a congressional candidate in California, had crisscrossed the U.S. since they kicked off their national tour in New York City on Sept. 18. By Nov. 1, they had visited 24 cities in 17 states.

Reached at his home in Los Angeles, where he had just returned on a red-eye flight after his last appearance, Parker said the impact of the WWP campaign was hope: "Everywhere we met people who were so beat up by capitalism that they knew it was wrong. We were able to tell them that there is an alternative, there really is a way out—through socialism."

For the struggle, not votes

Parker stressed the campaign had been about building a movement. The message throughout was: "Real social change happens through class struggle, not elections."

WWP ran a slate of fighters against imperialism and racism. Parker, Gutierrez and Dowell also carry in their lives, and in their political philosophy, a full knowledge of the interconnection of special oppressions and class struggle.

Parker, who is African American, put together his first union drive at 18, at a small steel plant in New Jersey. He is a co-director of the International Action Center in Los Angeles and a leader in the antiwar

movement and union struggles there. On Nov. 7, he addressed an IAC rally in Los Angeles that brought out 10,000 people against the U.S. war on Iraq.

Gutierrez, an out and proud lesbian, became politically active in the Chican@ movement in Texas. A major organizer of the movement in solidarity with revolutionary Cuba, she has also traveled widely to meet with progressive forces in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. She is a national co-director of the IAC.

In stark contrast to the anti-gay stands of both Bush and Kerry, the Workers World ticket also boasted candidate LeiLani Dowell, who ran for Congress in San Francisco. Dowell, a 26-year-old lesbian of African American and Hawaiian descent, said: "We are waging a campaign against the bankruptcy of the capitalist system."

In a Democrat-dominated district, Dowell garnered one-third the number of votes drawn by her Republican opponent, despite his spending 50 times more.

Coast to coast for socialism

For two months Parker, Gutierrez and Dowell traveled nonstop—from Vermont in the Northeast to New Mexico in the Southwest. They visited San Diego, Atlanta and the Piedmont of South and North Carolina. They held meetings in the "swing state" of Michigan, and in the District of Columbia that is still fighting to become a state in the teeth of racist opposition.

They marched for immigrant rights in Los Angeles on Oct. 16—and then flew cross-country all night to participate in the Million Worker March in Washington, D.C., the next day. From house meetings to homeless shelters, from centers for the disabled to high schools and colleges, from coffee houses to peace centers, they

Teresa Gutierrez was WWP's candidate for Vice President and John Parker for President.

WW PHOTO: JULIA LA RIVA



brought their socialist message to thousands of people.

Gutierrez recalled how many people had told them about the brutal impact of capitalism on their lives—of having to hold two or three jobs to simply exist, or being laid off, or being pushed into homelessness. They met families without health care, sin-

gle mothers without child care, students crushed under debt trying to get education, immigrants hounded by racist bigots and targeted by the U.S. government.

The U.S. war on Iraq, the possibility of a draft that might take them or their children, and the lack of living-wage jobs were

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Clenched FIST

First meeting of nat'l youth group

By Julie Fry

On Nov. 13, the youth organization Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (FIST), will hold its first National Youth Organizing Meeting during the National Fightback Conference sponsored by Workers World Party in New York City.

The meeting will give FIST activists and other progressive youths from across the country the chance to discuss the group's accomplishments in recent months and to strategize about upcoming campaigns.

FIST is a new organization, formed in August. FIST's founders describe it as an organization for revolutionary youths interested in building a movement for socialism as the answer to the war, racism, sexism and oppression of lesbian/gay/bi/trans people that daily threaten youths throughout the world.

The group first made its presence known at the week of protests in New York City against the Republican National Convention. FIST members and supporters carried banners and signs in solidarity with the youths of Iraq who are taking part in a heroic struggle against the U.S. military, and with young people in the U.S. who are constantly fighting police repression.

FIST took part in many demonstrations, including direct actions, where hundreds of youths, including FIST members, were arrested in a brutal police attack on free expression.

N.C. State to UMass-Amherst

Since the RNC, FIST members have joined in youth struggles all over the U.S.

The chapter in Raleigh, N.C., has called several creative actions against the war and military recruiting. It has waged a successful struggle to keep the ROTC from marching on the North Carolina State campus.

FIST members confronted Sen. John Edwards, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, for supporting the war in Iraq when he voted in North Carolina. The Raleigh chapter led a multinational contingent of youths in the local Lesbian, Gay, Bi and Trans Pride parade, carrying a banner that read, "Money for AIDS and jobs, not war."

Raleigh FIST also stood in solidarity with students of color from N.C. State in their successful fight to stop a funding cut for their student organizations.

FIST member LeiLani Dowell recently concluded her campaign for Congress in San Francisco on the Peace & Freedom Party ticket. During her campaign, she traveled the country, speaking to youths about the importance of stopping the war and fighting racism and LGBT oppression.

Dowell talked about the importance of building a movement in the U.S. to fight for all people's needs, instead of relying on the Democrats or the Republicans to deliver them.

In New England, FIST members have been organizing against the war and have given their support to students of color at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst who are under attack from racists in the administration and student government.

These struggles and more are reported regularly in Workers World newspaper by FIST activists. They write about the struggles facing youths throughout the country and the organizing that is being done.

Next steps

The National Youth Organizing Meeting is described by FIST as an opportunity for a "serious discussion on strategies" for the youth movement. A top priority will be how youths can mobilize to elevate the struggle to stop the war in Iraq, fight military recruiters and oppose a new draft.

Dec. 3-11 has been designated a national "Stop the War Week" by several anti-war and progressive organizations. FIST has endorsed the week and called for students and youth across the country to take part in actions on Friday, Dec. 3. These actions might include student walk-outs, teach-ins, demonstrations and other activities against the war.

On Dec. 4, FIST will co-sponsor an emergency anti-war conference with the Support Network for an Armed Forces Union (SNAFU). The conference will include several workshops and panel discussions on how youths can resist the draft and military recruiters, as well as how to push the larger anti-war movement forward. Other possible actions for the week will be discussed.

Youths from New York to California have already made plans to attend the National Youth Organizing Meeting, which will take place at 6:30 p.m. on Saturday, Nov. 13. For more information on FIST meeting, email FIST@workers.org.

Fry is a founding member of FIST.

SNAFU is helping GIs resist

By Dustin Langley

As the brutal military occupation of Iraq continues and U.S. casualties have passed 1,100, more members of the armed forces are looking for ways out.

Every day GIs contact the Support Network for an Armed Forces Union—SNAFU—an organization formed to support resisters in the military and to help members inside the Armed Forces get out. (www.join-snafu.org)

One soldier recently wrote to SNAFU: "I am a soldier serving in Iraq. I have been here for eight months now and this war sickens me. My question is, can you still get out of the military as a CO [Conscientious Objector] if you have already been to war? After this experience it has left me wondering what am I doing here. I do not and cannot fight for a war I don't believe in and harm people that have done no wrong in my mind. My concern is I don't do this again ever. It is so wrong on so many levels with me."

Another GI wrote: "I am seeking a discharge. I can't take it anymore and I need to know a way I can get out without having to go the bad route and get in trouble over and over again. I am at my last rope with this and I am really needing help and no one around here seems to want to help me that's why I am writing to you. I really need

some help before something bad happens."

SNAFU counselors are helping both these soldiers apply for Conscientious Objector discharges.

Other young people facing deployment are inquiring about their options. One member of the National Guard recently wrote: "I am being deployed very soon to Iraq. I am adamant about not going because of the obvious reasons that you probably understand more than I. What choices do I have concerning deployment? There are others in my situation as well who feel the same way."

In addition to many requests for discharge information, young people who have signed up for the military but have not yet reported to boot camp are changing their minds in greater numbers. On Nov. 3, the day after the election, SNAFU received a flood of calls and emails from young people who had changed their minds about going.

Fortunately, getting out of the military at that point is a simple process. SNAFU has already helped dozens of young people do so.

SNAFU organizers will take part in the Nov. 13-14 Fightback Conference in New York to report on resistance in the military, the campaign to stop the draft and strategies to fight the "poverty draft."

Langley is a GI counselor with SNAFU

The election and misplaced hopes

Bush's win need not set back the movement

By Fred Goldstein

The victory of George W. Bush and the Republicans in the elections is a victory for political reaction. But that does not mean that the defeat of John Kerry should be mourned as some great loss for the workers and the oppressed. Nor does it mean that all is lost and the movement should reconcile itself to four more years of reaction or gear up for renewed efforts to get the Democratic Party back in the saddle.

Right now the world is watching a bloody, one-sided criminal offensive by the Pentagon against the city of Falluja, an offensive prepared by weeks of bombing and artillery barrages. The U.S. is trying to drown the resistance in blood—killing as many civilians as necessary to take the city.

Bush is doing precisely what John Kerry repeatedly said should be done—“stay the course” because “we must win in Iraq.”

In the recent election, 11 states passed vicious, right-wing initiatives against same-sex marriage. Some even included restrictions on civil unions and domestic partnerships. For four years, Karl Rove and the masterminds of the Bush campaign dredged up all the reactionary anti-gay forces they could locate to put these referenda on the ballot and get out the vote for Bush.

The pro-Bush forces were doing exactly what John Kerry, who said he opposes same-sex marriage, repeatedly said should be done on the question: “Let the states decide.”

With a witch hunt against Arab, Muslim and South Asian people raging in the country under cover of “homeland security” and the Patriot Act, Kerry pandered to the right wing and stoked the flames of reaction with blood-thirsty diatribes about “tracking down and killing the terrorists, wherever they are.”

More than 45 million people—and millions more undocumented immigrants—lack any healthcare. Millions more have inadequate healthcare. Meanwhile, the government is giving away \$400 billion a year to the military-industrial complex and the Pentagon. Kerry declared his determination to improve the military while declaring that his healthcare plan “is not a giveaway.” Everyone will have the “opportunity” to purchase quality healthcare. Where they will get the money, Kerry did not bother to say, beyond referring to some paltry tax credit.

Healthcare is a right. It should be universal, free and of high quality. But under Kerry, just as under Bush, the working class and even large sections of the middle class would be denied government-guaranteed healthcare and other services on the grounds of avoiding any “giveaway.” Yet the Pentagon, Lockheed, Boeing, Raytheon, General Electric and all the other merchants of death would have the absolute right to government contracts, and profits, to produce horrendous weapons of terror and destruction. They would get government money, not merely some vague “opportunity,” that comes right out of the workers’ pockets.

Some Monday morning critics condemn Kerry and his advisers for running a botched campaign. But the political sins of Kerry have nothing to do with bad campaign tactics. They reflect the reactionary character of the campaign, the candidate, the Democratic Party and the imperialist ruling class it represents.

Kerry's top advisers and fund raisers

were from the ruling class. His national security adviser, Rand Beers, came over from Bush's National Security Council. Kerry's braintrust included former Clinton Treasury secretary Robert Rubin, who came from Goldman Sachs to Washington and then left to become the head of Citigroup. Kerry was also advised and funded by billionaires George Soros and Warren Buffet. Buffet is the second-richest man in the world with a fortune of \$40 billion. His holding company, Berkshire Hathaway, controls or has major holdings in a vast corporate empire, including Coca-Cola, Gillette and American Express.

As of last September, Kerry's top corporate donors, who also gave to Bush, included Citigroup—\$170,000 to Kerry, \$246,000 to Bush; USB AG financial services—\$139,000 to Kerry, \$369,000 to Bush; Goldman Sachs—\$128,000 to Kerry, \$296,000 to Bush; and Morgan Stanley—\$100,000 to Kerry, \$486,000 to Bush. (Center for Public Integrity)

The Bush administration is a reactionary, militarist grouping that wants to make war on the people at home, on countries abroad and on the environment of the planet, all in the interests of the transnational corporations, banks and brokerage houses that make up the behind-the-scenes ruling class.

But nobody should regard Kerry as a savior of the masses. His camp of millionaires and billionaires is afraid that Bush is ruining U.S. imperialism around the world, undermining the financial strength of Wall Street with his tax policies and budget deficits, and accelerating the prospect of social, class conflict in the U.S.

Kerry was their candidate because he fit their description of a more cautious and diplomatic imperialist politician who would rebuild relations with other imperialist powers and slow down the drift toward provoking a struggle at home.

Kerry's defeat does not signify a turn to the right in this country. In fact, it was impossible to measure the relative strength of the progressive forces that could be mobilized against right-wing and conservative forces because of the way both sides ran their campaign. Bush ran a right-wing campaign calculated to mobilize his base. But Kerry ran a campaign that was in most respects an attempt to mimic the Bush campaign while nibbling around the edges with a vague, anemic and non-credible economic program, consisting mainly of various tax breaks for the bosses.

It is a testament to the energy of all the activists who worked to register people and get them to the polls that Kerry got 55.9 million votes. Despite his lackluster, uninspiring and conservative campaign, they voted out of fear and hatred for Bush. It shows the latent possibilities for fighting against reaction.

But those latent possibilities can only be measured outside the framework of electoral politics. Those whose disappointment over Kerry's loss is leading them to try to find a way to fix the Democratic Party or embark on some new electoral road should think again, and make their analysis from a working-class point of view.

The real strength of the 55.9 million who voted for Kerry, to the extent that they want to fight Bush, does not lie in the electoral arena. Directing political strategic thought along those lines would completely undermine the movement's potential—as revealed by the turnout at the polls—for a high degree of organization, commitment,

energy and fund raising. However, to keep the movement confined within this narrow and illusory framework would be self-defeating.

Ruling class only lukewarm for Kerry

There are many who feel that the vote was stolen by the Bush forces, particularly in the states of Florida and Ohio. More and more evidence is coming out about the wholesale fixing of the vote—missing ballots, absentee ballots not received, provisional ballots not counted, racist intimidation, threats of arrest at the polls of those with traffic and other minor violations, people being sent to the wrong polls, insufficient numbers of voting machines resulting in lines up to nine hours long, and so on.

The discrepancy between the exit polls, which had Kerry winning, and Bush's official victory raises enormous questions about the legitimacy of the vote. The simple question, “Who did you vote for?,” when asked enough times to enough people, gives a fairly accurate representation of what happened. The use of electronic voting was an invitation to steal votes. The fact that African Americans were many times more likely to be the victims of voter suppression than whites smacks of a rerun of the racist 2000 campaign in Florida.

But the Kerry forces never raised the issue early on and the capitalist media regarded the most outrageous offenses prior to election day as minor items. The exclusion of 10,000 voters in Florida because they did not check off a box about being citizens, even though on the same form they signed an affidavit to that effect, was minor. The failure of 58,000 absentee ballots to reach their destination after having been mailed was regarded as a small matter. When the attorney general of Ohio rejected ballots because they were on the wrong thickness paper—he was later overruled—it was just another news item. To say nothing of the armies of “challengers” assembled by the Republicans to intimidate and harass mostly Black and Latin@ voters.

In other words, the bourgeoisie knew well in advance that the Bush forces were planning to take the election, one way or another, and basically folded their hands, letting Jeb Bush and the rest of the Bush machine get away with murder.

This signified that the ruling class was only lukewarm about Kerry in the first place and would not go to the wall for him. Kerry got the message and played it cool so as not to raise a scandal and rock the boat.

The ruling class knew that Kerry could not solve their problems in Iraq. They wanted to give Bush and the Pentagon a chance to solve it by a great blood-letting in Falluja. In any case, for all Bush's reactionary measures, the big capitalists were by and large doing fine. The stock market was looking forward with glee to Bush's program to turn part of the multi-trillion-dollar Social Security fund over to the speculators. It is no accident that the Dow Jones went up 177 points, the largest one-day gain in over a year, after Bush announced his intention to privatize Social Security in a post-victory press conference.

The Bush administration is already preparing to open up an attack on Social Security and the progressive income tax. He is deepening his attacks on lesbian, gay, bi and trans people under the guise of promoting a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage. He will

Kerry's defeat does not signify a turn to the right in this country. It was impossible to measure the relative strength of the progressive forces because of the way both sides ran their campaign

undoubtedly try to further undermine, if not overturn, *Roe v. Wade*. He also intends to deepen his attack on the environment and further cut social services to pay for his tax cuts for the rich.

Bush has not elaborated on his foreign policy, but the brutal attempt to overcome the resistance and enforce the occupation of Iraq is bound to continue, as well as stepped up U.S. pressure against Iran.

But the Kerry campaign should serve as a reminder to the movement that it was not just Kerry, his “stiff” personality, his alleged bad advice, or any other superficial defects that resulted in his defeat or his failure to contest the Bush methods and the election results.

Once the post-Vietnam War era ended, the ruling class began a determined and relentless shift to the right. Not one single Democratic candidate or campaign has attempted to buck that right-wing tide. They have all tried to ride it.

Jimmy Carter came into office as the “anti-establishment” candidate in 1976. By the end of his presidency he had declared “Life is unfair” and opened up an attack on welfare. He started a major military build-up, which Reagan later extended. Carter tried to defend the Shah of Iran against the revolutionary people and sent a mission to try to overthrow the newly independent Iranian government. He started the anti-labor offensive with plans to break the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). Reagan carried it out. He tried to save his presidency by moving to the right, but the ruling class wanted a more complete sweep.

When Michael Dukakis ran against George Bush senior, he tried to overcome his reputation of being a liberal by having himself photographed in a tank, signifying he was going to take care of the military.

When Bill Clinton finally got into office, he did so by vowing to “end welfare as we know it,” while promising a jobs program, healthcare for all, and some lesbian and gay rights.

As soon as he got in, the ruling class told him to drop the jobs program and become a deficit hawk, which he promptly did. He teamed up with Newt Gingrich to overturn welfare—a product of the New Deal and the most important program for assisting poor people and single mothers, many of them African American women and their children. Clinton made war on Yugoslavia—a totally unprovoked war, a la Bush—and actually gave the military more money than it asked for.

When Gore was cheated out of the election in 2000 by scandalously racist methods and a fascist raid on the Miami/Dade County election board—which aborted a recount of the vote—Gore “played by the rules” and refused to rock the boat, even though it cost him an election he had won by popular vote.

The Democratic Party leadership is loyal first of all to the ruling class, to capitalist stability, and to improving the system. In this context, Kerry's campaign and his failure to challenge Republican vote-rigging early on seems quite in character. It flows from the class orientation of doing the bidding of the financiers and industrialists first.

Kerry never appealed to the millions of

Continued on page 10

Bush election, Falluja attack prompt coast-to-coast protests

By John Catalinotto

Political activists in the United States greeted President George W. Bush's return to the White House more with anger and action than with sorrow. No sooner had John Kerry conceded on Nov. 3 than people were hitting the streets in protest. Their message: "no mandate" for war, racism, lesbian/gay/bi/trans oppression or attacks on abortion rights.

Between Nov. 3 and Nov. 7 hundreds of large and small protests were held. Thousands came out in Los Angeles and San Francisco, 30 in Providence, R.I.

Then the organizing stepped up again on Nov. 8 as U.S. Marines assaulted the heroic Iraqi city of Falluja. All over the world and inside the United States, the anti-war movement reacted to this new war crime by calling more street demonstrations.

10,000 in Los Angeles

The biggest protest was in Los Angeles. There, some 10,000 people took to the streets on Nov. 6 to denounce U.S. imperialist aggression against Iraq, Haiti, Palestine and everywhere.

They marched along world-famous Hollywood Boulevard to a military recruiting station at the corner of Sunset and La Brea. There they chanted, "U.S. out of the Middle East," and "Money for jobs, not war."

In an act of defiance, some demonstrators confronted police who had cordoned off the entrance to the recruiting station.

"George Bush says he obtained a mandate from the people," commented John Parker of the International Action Center, "but the sheer size of this crowd proves he has no mandate!" The IAC had called the march.

Ruth Vela, a Workers World Party activist from San Diego, gave a rousing talk promoting a socialist agenda.

At the WWP outreach table, organizers reported something that showed that a new generation is beginning its search for Marxist answers to the critical problems it's facing. Not only did many people pick up a Workers World newspaper, but especially striking and exciting was how quickly young people scooped up all the available copies of "The Communist Manifesto."

East to West on Nov. 3

At 4 p.m. on Nov. 3, the Providence demonstrators gathered on the steps of the downtown Federal Building. Providence ANSWER had set the protest "no matter who is declared president" to demand, "Bring all the troops home now!" and "End the occupation." They also called for "U.S. hands off the world, ending disenfranchisement of felons and full citizenship rights for immigrants."

Another three demonstrations took place that same day in western Massach-

setts. One was in the heart of Springfield's oppressed community, where members of Arise for Social Justice and the Western Mass IAC joined community members. Their message was that they will be continuing the anti-war, anti-racist struggle.

In Northampton there was an anti-Bush, pro-Kerry demonstration with an anti-war character. In Amherst on the Town Common, people carried a similar message.

Some 500 people joined the IAC, Not In Our Name and other groups in New York's Union Square that evening for an anti-war protest. The War Resisters League took its protest to Wall Street. The IAC held another Union Square protest on Nov. 6. It became a four-hour-long street meeting involving thousands of passersby.

The biggest immediate reactions also came on the West Coast. In San Francisco on Nov. 3, some 2,000 people joined a NION march. They marched through the streets to demand an end to the war and occupation and elimination of the repressive Patriot Act and attacks on the immigrant community.

The Loco Bloco Drum & Dance Ensemble led the march from the center of the city to the Mission District, the heart of the Latino community. As protesters shouted, "Rise up, get down, there's an anti-war movement in this town" and other chants, people driving by honked in support.

The San Francisco Workers World Party branch carried a banner reading: "No to Big Oil and the Pentagon. Hands off Iraq, hands off the world."

Chicago: 'No war! No fear!'

In Chicago on Nov. 3, some 1,000 marchers denied that Bush had their mandate for continued war. Peace Pledge Chicago had originally called a candlelight vigil "no matter who wins," and the event was built by the Chicago Coalition against War and Racism, NION and others.

After a brief rally, the crowd poured into the street and marched for an hour through downtown Chicago, chanting, "No war! No fear! Bush, you have no mandate here," and other slogans. Motorists honked in support and office workers waved and cheered from windows as the marchers passed.

Demonstrators paused to attend a rally in support of striking teachers at the City Colleges of Chicago. They only dispersed when a line of 24 police cars with wailing sirens confronted them.

Later in the week smaller numbers of demonstrators disrupted a conference of the International Bankers Association for Finance and Trade at the Intercontinental Hotel in Chicago.

In Portland, Ore., police used pepper spray to attack hundreds of protesters who were shouting, "Not our president, not our war." One placard read: "Let's do

San Francisco.

WW PHOTO: BRENDA SANDBURG



what Kerry didn't. Revolt." Police pepper-sprayed a 19-year-old Black man who was simply passing by the protest, setting off an asthma attack.

It wasn't only in the "blue" states. In Denver, 150 young people not only took to the streets but also burned a flag. In Boulder, Colo., high-school students demanded a meeting with Democratic and Republican party officials to discuss "our future." Senior Cameron Ely-Murdock told the Associated Press, "We're worried that in four years we're going to be at war with five countries and we're going to have no trees."

Students also hit the streets, some calling Bush's win illegitimate. Twelve Bard College students were arrested Nov. 3 when 250 blocked an intersection in Red Hook, N.Y. Three thousand miles away some 300 students at Western Washington University blocked traffic in Bellingham, Wash.

Other protests took place at the University of Vermont in Burlington, Harvard University, the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque and Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York.

There were also demonstrations Nov. 3 in Tucson, Ariz., Ithaca, N.Y., Austin, Texas, and Pittsburgh. Code Pink held an action in Missoula, Mt.

On Nov. 6 some 500 people marched in Seattle. And for a second time in Portland, Ore., hundreds of protesters clashed with police.

"No draft! No way!" chanted protesters who lined both sides of the street in front of the Federal Building in downtown Buffalo, N.Y., on Nov. 3. They demanded "End the war and bring the troops home now!" The demonstration, initiated by a call from the Buffalo branch of the International Action Center, included a strong youth contingent.

In San Diego on Nov. 3 the Organic Collective called out 150 people to rally at the hideous USS Midway "Museum" on the waterfront and then march downtown to the plaza in front of the NBC building. Two IAC banners reading, "George Bush is a war criminal" and "U.S. out of the Middle East" were prominently displayed throughout the rally and march.

Hands off Falluja

All the protests mixed a general anti-Bush attitude with a strong anti-war message. By Nov. 8, the main issue became the murderous U.S. assault on Falluja, and the protests became international in scope.

On Nov. 8, nearly 100 students and

activists gathered in Boulder, Colo., and marched back and forth across the street. They crossed at the lights with banners and signs, calling attention to the invasion of Falluja. Some signs had names of U.S. soldiers killed in the war; others had pictures of killed Iraqis from the current war, the war in 1991 and the brutal sanctions that followed that first Gulf War. Cheers and honks outnumbered the jeers protesters heard from the passing cars.

In the United States, the IAC called an action for Nov. 9 in New York's Union Square; NION called a student walkout the same day. The Action Center for Justice called a protest at the Shell station at East and South Boulevards in Charlotte, N.C. And other actions were in the works across the country.

More than 100 students and allies marched from UMass Amherst through downtown Amherst on Nov. 9 against the war and racism and demanded the U.S. massacre in Falluja and occupation of Iraq end immediately. Protesters chanted "Money for Jobs and not for war," and "Occupation is a crime: From Iraq to Palestine." After a speakout, which included a call to support the Jan. 20 counterinaugural in Washington D.C., protesters took over the main town intersection for over half an hour hoisting banners and placards and chanting loudly. Many passersby supported the anti-war message, beeping horns and shouting words of encouragement.

The protest was sponsored by Hampshire College's Student Action and included members of Food Not Bombs, the International Socialist Organization-UMass Amherst, Graduate Employee Organization/UAW Local 2322, the Socialist Party, Take Back UMass, the UMass Anti-War Coalition, Western Mass International Action Center, Workers World Party and various anarchist organizations.

In Britain, the Stop the War Coalition held local demonstrations in at least 20 cities as an emergency response to the assault, with a national action scheduled for Nov. 10 in Parliament Square.

Another protest took place Nov. 8 at the U.S. Embassy in Helsinki, Finland. Protests were also set for the days following the invasion in Denmark, Turkey, Greece and Italy.

Elena Everette, Adrian Garcia, Alex Gould, Larry Hales, Bob McCubbin, Lou Paulson, Bryan G. Pfeifer, Brenda Sandburg, and Matthew L. Schwartz contributed to this article.



Los Angeles and Buffalo.

WW PHOTO: JULIA LA RIVA AND BEV HIESTAND

Terror by U.S.-backed regime, UN forces

Bloody repression fails to crush Haitian resistance

By Pat Chin

Resistance in Haiti to the White House-installed regime of Prime Minister Gerard Latortue continues as the police, aided by heavily armed paramilitary gangs and backed by a United Nations occupation force, try in vain to crush the popular movement.

Protesters have been calling for an end to the foreign occupation—and for the return of popularly elected Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide who was kidnapped Feb. 29 by U.S. Marines and flown from the country.

On Nov. 5, police arrested three members of the popular roots band RAM, without a warrant or explanation, as they were performing a song called "Justice" at the Oloffson Hotel. All three are from a traditionally strong pro-Aristide neighborhood.

Young people aren't the only targets of the occupation regime, which has unleashed a bloody war of terror against pro-Aristide supporters and others. Since Oct. 24, for example, police have been trying to arrest the confederation of Haitian Workers' general coordinator, Paul Loulou Chery. They've threatened to kill him if he doesn't turn himself in.

On Oct. 26, Jacques Belzin, the confederation's executive secretary, denounced the police intimidation that has forced Chery and other union officials into hiding. According to an Oct. 26 Haitian Press Agency dispatch, "several members of the

labor confederation were arrested on Sept. 16 and are still in prison."

The steep surge in UN-reinforced state repression—including arrests, executions, rapes and torture—took place after police killed two protesters Sept. 29 at a huge pro-Aristide march. Demonstrators had taken to the streets of Port-au-Prince despite intense intimidation and threats. When police later tried to invade a poor neighborhood where support for Aristide is strong, they were driven back by heavy gunfire.

Clashes with the police have increased since then, leaving scores dead.

Pierre Labossiere of the Haiti Action Committee condemned the U.S. role in Haiti at an Oct. 28 march and rally in San Francisco. Protesters later joined picketers at three hotels where the bosses have locked out the workers during contract negotiations.

Charlie Hinton of the HAC told the crowd that it's important to link the struggle in Haiti to the fight for workers' rights. "It's about class issues," he explained. "Aristide represents the poor and working people." (San Francisco Bayview, Nov. 4)

On Oct. 27, Rep. Maxine Waters and 30 other members of Congress sent a letter to Secretary of State Colin Powell calling for the release of all political prisoners in Haiti. They include the Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, who was arrested at his church Oct. 13 without a warrant while feeding poor children, three of whom were reportedly shot; popular Haitian singer and community activist Anne August (So Anne); for-

mer officials of the Aristide administration, including Prime Minister Yvon Neptune; and thousands more.

"What is clear," reported the Nov. 7 Toronto Star, "is that the government has gone on the offensive against members of Aristide's Lavalas party in recent weeks, raiding poor neighborhoods, searching homes and arresting people without warrants. Jails are holding many prisoners who have never been charged with a crime.

"Meanwhile, heavily armed former members of Haiti's now-defunct military, a notoriously corrupt and abusive force that was disbanded by Aristide in 1995, swagger through the capital and control large swaths of territory in the countryside with tacit UN and government approval."

After a recent two-day summit, Latin American leaders of the 19-nation Rio Group announced a plan they think will help stop civil unrest in Haiti. It includes sending a high-level Brazilian diplomat to Haiti to shape a "rescue" plan. Another top Brazilian official will fly to South Africa—not to consult with President Aristide but to inform him of the group's decisions to "help restore order and democracy in Haiti." The scheme includes increasing the number of occupation troops and rebuilding the country's economy and infrastructure. (Associated Press, Nov. 7)

According to a Rio Group official, "Aristide will not be invited by the Brazilian diplomat to participate in the process from abroad."

But Venezuela President Hugo Chavez told university students after the meeting that Aristide must be included.

Brazilian Gen. Juan Gabriel Valdes heads the UN occupation force in Haiti. Like the U.S.-installed Latortue, Valdes has blamed all the violence in Haiti on Aristide and his supporters. Meanwhile, the corporate media worldwide continue to replicate a grossly distorted view of Haitian reality that demonizes Aristide's supporters as "terrorists" and "bandits" when they defend themselves.

On Nov. 4, two days after the U.S. elections, the Department of Homeland Security recommended to the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services that they deny temporary protected status to Haitian immigrants—even after the devastation of Tropical Storm Jeanne. An 18-month extension was granted, however, to all Hondurans and Nicaraguans who arrived here after Hurricane Mitch slammed Central America in 1998. Immigration officials claim that, for the Haitians, decisions will be made on a case-by-case basis.

The New York-based Haiti Support Network, in conjunction with Fanmi Lavalas, the International Action Center and the ANSWER Coalition, is organizing a major meeting in Brooklyn for Dec. 5 at New York City College of Technology to explain the current unrest in Haiti and build support for the popular resistance. For further information, log on to www.iacenter.org, or call the IAC at (212) 633-6646. □

Same-sex marriage

Continued from page 5

in lynching, segregation—and then the civil rights movement. She pointed out that every progressive change brought about in the United States has come from a grassroots movement, and not from voting booths.

The elections, contrary to what the corporate media would have people believe, were not a mandate against same-sex marriage and for war. If anything, the elections proved conclusively that, in the

words of Frederick Douglass, "Power concedes nothing without a demand."

If anything, they were a mandate to the people of the United States to keep up the struggle in the streets against oppression, bigotry, racism, sexism and war. It is a mandate that the movement is already responding to. □

Korean, Japanese and U.S. workers march in solidarity

TOKYO



PHOTO: AJAC-JAPAN

Some 3,600 workers gathered in Tokyo Nov. 7 for a National Workers' Rally, reports the Anti-war Joint Action Committee from Japan. In addition to Japanese workers, participants included representatives of International Longshore & Warehouse Union Local 10 from the West Coast of the United States, and the Korean Conference of Trade Unions.

Together they declared: "Let's change the world through the solidarity of workers in Japan, Korea and the U.S.! Stop war and unemployment! Down with Bush and Koizumi!"

Demonstrators also pledged to rid Japan of all Pentagon bases and to end Japanese-U.S. military cooperation.

When they marched on the Ginza, an expensive shopping area, passersby joined their ranks.

—J.C.

A Teach-in on the case of



The Cuban Five

Gerardo Hernández Nordelo ♦ Antonio Guerrero Rodríguez
Ramón Labañino Salazar ♦ Fernando González Llort ♦ René González Sehwerert

Political Prisoners held unjustly in the U.S.

Imprisoned for trying to stop ultra-right groups in Florida from carrying out terrorist actions against the Cuban people.

Saturday, Nov. 20

10 am - 4 pm

John Jay College

445 W. 59th St. • Lecture Hall 1311-N • New York City
Subways: A/B/C/D to 59th/Columbus Circle; 1/9 to 59th or 66th

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Leonard Weinglass (Antonio Guerrero's attorney)

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- The legal battle to overturn the sentences
- Visa and visitation rights campaign for the families
- Media and public relations
- Student and community outreach

Speakers:

- Linda Baackel (human rights and criminal defense lawyer)
- Rev. Luis Barrios (Associate Professor and Anglican priest)
- Ramsey Clark (former Attorney General)
- Rev. Lucius Walker (IFCO/Pastor for Peace)



"We have been apart six years, denied the right to have a family, and to share our private thoughts with a visit. The most important thing for us is family."
— Adriana Pérez, denied a visa five times to visit her husband, Gerardo

Sponsors:

NY Committee to Free the Five (212.633.6646 x26; freefive@action-mail.org)
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Save the Earth from capitalism

Nothing illustrates the totally archaic, short-sighted and venal character of capitalism more than the phenomenon of global warming and the capitalist governments' paralysis over doing anything about it.

A new study produced by scientists of eight Northern countries, including the United States, has confirmed that the polar ice caps are melting at an alarming rate. They will continue to do so for the rest of this century. There will be far-reaching consequences for the entire globe. The burning of fossil fuels is the cause.

Having begun, this process is likely to accelerate as bigger areas of open ocean near the poles absorb more sunlight. Temperatures over water are expected to increase by an average of up to 13 degrees. Even an increase of one to two degrees has already produced drastic changes.

Extreme climate change disrupts the patterns of life for animals, plants and people all over the globe. Moreover, scientists predict the melting ice will raise sea levels by as much as three feet. This could wipe out many low-lying islands and densely populated areas like the Bangladesh delta.

And what is the energy industry's only reaction so far? It has hailed the part of the report that says that, as the ice melts, more areas of the Arctic will be opened up for oil and gas drilling!

Over thousands of years, people in all parts of the world learned to provide for themselves in ways that were in harmony with nature. They found out that one crop would deplete the land while crop rotation enriched it. They moved

their animals from place to place to keep from overgrazing the land. Societies that failed to find sustainable ways to produce food imploded.

Capitalism brought enormous scientific and technological development—but all driven by the profit motive. It has integrated human economic activity all over the globe and vastly raised productivity through an international division of labor—but increasingly at the expense of the vast majority. A small class of billionaires not only controls production but also the political structures that decide on war, peace and how to spend the public treasury.

The Kyoto Protocols of 1997 were a modest international effort to restrain the emission of greenhouse gases. The United States, which spews out 25 percent of the world's total, never signed the accords or even formally considered them in Congress. The Republicans openly attack them. And, in the recent election campaign, the Democratic platform made no mention of them. Kyoto has been viciously attacked by such industry mouthpieces as The Energy Advocate, which has denied global warming.

What the world needs is economic planning, so adequate resources can be concentrated on developing alternate energy sources and eliminating the wasteful burning of fossil fuels by improving mass transit, housing and city design. It will never happen under capitalism. And time is growing short. The very future of this planet calls out for the multinational working class to take power, expropriate the capitalists and build a planned socialist society. □

UMass officials collaborate

Continued from page 3

OAA? My understanding was you intended to pull funding and I am curious as to when you plan on doing that ... I want a new OAA, the current system and philosophies simply don't cut it."

Another email says: "This summer you announced to me that it was your intention to remove funding to the graduate assistant you pay for in OAA. I am curious when you are going to pull the trigger on this move?"

Yet another suggests a "strategy" between the two individuals to remove Franco from her position.

Other emails refer to the removal of the ALANA caucus seats by outgoing SGA leaders and suggest that the university's general counsel told administrators and DiMare, SGA's legal counsel, the seats were legal. "This information appears to have been concealed from student leaders who were trying to preserve the seats," says GEO.

GEO, Local 888 and ALANA are engaging in various tactics to fight back against the administration's institutional racism and concerted activity to undermine independent student autonomy and power on campus.

For years the administration has dismantled affirmative action and ESL programs, removed advising programs for students of color, and underfunded sup-

port services for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender students and women, among other attacks.

The administration's response to this most recent exposure of its institutional racism has been a massive public-relations campaign touting its "diverse" programs on campus. It plans to implement a 22-member "Diversity Commission," ostensibly to investigate the administration's actions and its commitment to "building a racially and ethnically diverse campus community," according to the commission's website (www.umass.edu/campusdiversity).

This commission, albeit with some progressive members, was appointed by Chancellor John Lombardi with no representation for ALANA, Stonewall Center, Everywoman's Center or the unions.

The students' response has been an independent mobilization, with various tactics and strategies including educational, legal and agitational actions. Student-led organizations like ALANA and coalitions such as Take Back UMass are moving the struggle forward with these objectives.

See www.geouaw.org and www.seiu888.org for more information on the fight-back initiatives. Contact Chancellor John Lombardi at (413) 545-2211 or lombardi@umass.edu and demand the racist attacks stop now. □

Imperialism behind crisis in Ivory Coast

By Monica Moorehead

As of Nov. 9, French troops are reported to have killed at least 50 people and wounded 700 more in the African country of Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast). Many of the deaths came when they fired into a crowd of thousands of Ivoirians who were protecting the home of President Laurent Gbagbo. Understandably, the Ivoirian people fear a French-instigated coup against Gbagbo. "Ivory Coast is a sovereign state," declared signs carried by the people.

The international capitalist media has been focusing on the deaths of nine French "peacekeeping" troops at a French-occupied base in an air raid by the Ivoirian air force on Nov. 6. The Ivoirian government stated that the killings were accidental.

Responding like an armed bully, the French military destroyed two Ivoirian war planes and three helicopters, devastating the very small Ivoirian air force. French troops have been sent to the capital city, Abidjan, to quell mass protests by Ivoirians on the outskirts of the French army base there.

The Bush administration immediately supported its fellow imperialists. "We think that the response by the French was an action that was necessary to protect their people from further attack and violence," said Richard Boucher of the State Department.

"France has decided to humiliate us, to scorn our independence and to drag our dignity and sovereignty through the mud," Pascal Affi N'Guessan, a former Ivoirian prime minister, stated. (Reuters, Nov. 7)

The French government is planning to introduce a resolution in the United Nations Security Council calling for an arms embargo and other sanctions against Côte d'Ivoire.

The New York Times said on Nov. 7 that "machete-wielding pro-government supporters" were threatening the safety of the estimated 15,000 French citizens who reside in Côte d'Ivoire. This all-too-familiar racist propaganda is meant to instill sympathy for the French citizens by portraying the Ivoirian people as "anti-white."

This prejudicial characterization of African peoples is also a dangerous, insidious weapon that has been used for decades to justify military intervention on the part of the rich capitalist countries against their former colonies.

The truth is that the Ivoirian people view these French citizens, who are members of the petty bourgeoisie, as grim

reminders of racist colonialism.

The current crisis began in September 2002, after a failed coup attempt against President Gbagbo led to fighting between government troops and rebel movements. A cease fire between the two sides was signed in 2003.

The cease fire was abandoned on Nov. 4 of this year when Ivoirian government forces reportedly launched attacks on the rebel forces in the northern part of the country, where they are strongest.

At one time, the French government had backed the present government while the rebels were reputed to promote sentiments against French imperialism. The French attacks on the Ivoirian air force could very well signal that this former colonial power is now seeking to replace Gbagbo with a puppet regime more to their liking.

There is an historical basis for the instability that is going on in Côte d'Ivoire and the rest of Africa. It is rooted in centuries-old plunder and super-exploitation of the African continent by mainly European imperialism since the days of the slave trade over 400 years ago.

At one time, France was the largest colonizer of Africa. Côte d'Ivoire gained its formal independence from France in the early 1960s due to heroic anti-colonial national liberation struggles that spread throughout the African continent.

Colonialism gave way to neocolonialism or imperialism. This has resulted in mineral-rich African countries drowning in spiraling poverty and indebtedness to the IMF and World Bank, which determine how their economies should be run.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist camp in 1991, the U.S. has attempted to usurp the once-dominant role of its European counterparts in Africa. U.S. imperialism is interested in gaining the upper hand in controlling untapped oil reserves in Africa, including Sudan and much of West Africa. This is an important reason why the U.S. military is more strategically placed in areas where this oil is located.

Côte d'Ivoire, with an abundance of cocoa and diamonds, has one of the poorest populations in the world. The economy, which is still really controlled by French imperialism, is based on exporting the wealth at the dictates of the capitalist market and not on using the resources to build up the infrastructure to meet the needs of the people. □

The election and misplaced hopes

Continued from page 7

workers and oppressed when their votes were stolen, asking them if he should keep up the fight. Instead, he asked his millionaire ruling-class advisers.

The misplacement of faith and resources by the official labor movement and by millions of progressives who really want to fight reaction should be abandoned in favor of independent class struggle and mass mobilization. Indeed, if the hundreds of millions of dollars and enormous energy had been spent on mobilizing for struggle, then the capitalist government would have been on the defensive and the outcome of the elections would not have been such a serious matter.

In fact, it is ironic that the only real

chance Kerry had to get elected was if the workers and the oppressed, the LGBT communities, women, immigrants and all those who suffer oppression and exploitation had been in motion. Then, and only then, would the ruling class have felt the necessity to put in Kerry so he could try to put out the fire.

Only the struggle has ever made any official in the capitalist government lift a finger on behalf of concessions to the masses. As Clarence Thomas of the Million Worker March noted on Oct. 17 in Washington, D.C., "We did not get the vote by voting. We got it in the streets."

This same unassailable argument holds for every other concession that has ever been won. And this is the only road to combating the Bush reaction. □

WWP election campaign

Continued from page 6

on everyone's minds.

Parker, who once taught in the public schools of Newark, N.J., remembered a teacher in Charlotte, N.C., who told of the decline of his school, once one of the best, under budget cuts. The teacher emphasized that Bush's No Child Left Behind Act was making matters worse, with "failing" schools being punished, and funds going to schools in wealthy districts with the resources to succeed.

In North Carolina, a "right to work" state, a young woman told Parker how she was fired from her job simply for using her computer to pay a utility bill online during her lunch hour.

But always uplifting in these meetings, each candidate stressed, was the dedication to struggle—from the young African American women who organized a demonstration for political prisoner and former Black Panther Kamau Sadiki, to the homeless men who run their own shelter in Atlanta, helping each other out.

Dowell told how young high school students in San Francisco, supposedly "troubled," were so politically ardent that she put aside her prepared speech to answer their rapid-fire questions. One young woman, very angry and clear, said, "This government has nothing for me. What can we do?"

Revolutionary hope

The inspiration in these meetings, according to Gutierrez, was that all who came were "searching for class truth." She said, "Though many were new to the politics of class struggle, they knew that neither Bush nor Kerry were the answer. Because of their hard lives and hard conditions, they were serious about finding a way to change things.

"In addition, there were people at the meetings who were already political, who agreed with our politics, but who also needed our revolutionary hope."

Gutierrez continued: "Many came because they doubted a vote for Kerry would stop Bush, and they wanted to know what would make a difference. We were able to bring Workers World Party's program to them, to strengthen their understanding of class struggle, and to say that the election on Nov. 2 is not the deciding factor, but rather what happens the rest of the time, as we build an independent people's movement."

For Dowell, the meetings were filled with "revolutionary optimism." She believes that the working-class people who attended, who are living under the big guns of capitalism, received a message about socialism that will "really stick."

Parker agreed, saying, "People are so beaten down. They need inspiration, and also the hope that comes from seeing others out in the streets protesting."

Campaign lessons

All three candidates agreed that it was crucial to take socialist ideas into all regions of the U.S. Gutierrez stressed: "We must be bold. We are not leaving any worker to the ruling class. We want to get out and win every single one!"

She spoke of how important it is to talk about socialism in a direct way, and relate it to the conditions people are living in right now. This approach not only made socialism attractive to their audiences, but it also helped show how socialism is actually possible, how it can happen in the U.S.

A highlight of the trip for Gutierrez was a young African American man from Baltimore, who asked the candidates a challenging question: What had made them political activists, and what kept them going year after year in the struggle?

Both Parker and Gutierrez said that

reading the "Communist Manifesto" had put their individual experiences in perspective. They explained how the long view of Marxism gave them hope.

The feedback they got from people across the country showed that capitalism can't meet the needs of workers and oppressed peoples, Dowell commented. This is what will drive them to rise up, boot out the bosses and plan production to meet the needs of all.

After all the Cold War propaganda, concluded Parker: "Almost no one said anything negative about communism or any socialist country. They understood quickly what we were saying about socialism. When we pointed out the profit motive—the reason for the U.S. going to war, the reason their jobs are being lost—they recognized the need for socialism.

"We ended the campaign seeing that the suffering is so great, if the right conditions happen, it won't be long before folks start revolting against this system." □

Socialism: from utopian to scientific

Continued from page 2

scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both. Smuggling and the slave trade have amply proved all that is here stated." (T.J. Dunning, as quoted by Karl Marx in "Capital")

In his book "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," Frederick Engels, the co-worker of Karl Marx, described the personal price which Robert Owen paid for his utopian ideals.

"His advance in the direction of Communism was the turning point in Owen's life. As long as he was simply a philanthropist, he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honor and glory. He was the most popular man in Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and princes listened to him approvingly. But when he came out with his Communist theories, that was quite another thing ...

"Banished from official society, with a conspiracy of silence against him in the press, ruined by his unsuccessful Communist experiments in America, in which he sacrificed all his fortune, he turned directly to the working class and continued working in their midst for 30 years."

Appealing to the inherent goodness of the capitalists is an exercise in futility. But the utopian socialists cannot really be blamed. At the time that they began to develop their ideas, said Engels, "the capitalist mode of production, and with it the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, was still very incompletely developed."

To the utopians, communism was a logical outgrowth of the defining event of the 18th century: the French Revolution, the most thoroughgoing social upheaval that had ever been seen. Through this revolution capitalism had gained the upper hand over feudalism in Europe. At the time that Owen, Saint-Simon and Fourier began to write and organize—about 1800—the bourgeoisie was still locked in a relentless battle against the old feudal ruling classes.

In this battle, the new capitalist class claimed to be struggling for the emancipation of all oppressed classes, so as to enlist them as allies. The ideological basis for the French Revolution was what is sometimes called the Age of Reason, the Enlightenment. The philosophers and writers of the 18th century believed that all human problems could be solved by reason. They thought that a rational government, a rational society could and should be founded as though from a blueprint; every-

Resistance spreads across Iraq

Continued from page 1

Falluja. This moderate party was in the U.S.-chosen Governing Council and has collaborated with the occupiers until now.

In Karbala, in the south, seven aides to a cleric close to Moktada al-Sadr were arrested for producing an edict calling for a boycott of the elections.

Siege of Falluja: terror tactic

Falluja is a key city, among the 22 cities and towns that the occupation forces acknowledge they do not control. The attack on Falluja is meant as a terror tactic to intimidate the smaller cities. This is the driving force behind the U.S. offensive.

George W. Bush is politically desperate to hold elections in Iraq, but the primary reason for the attack on Falluja has to do with the U.S. military wanting to crush the resistance by force.

You do not destroy a city, drive its population out, alienate its entire citizenry and expect them to participate in your

phony elections. This is the contradiction that Washington cannot solve.

For weeks U.S. military forces have been pounding the city of Falluja with artillery, rockets and bombs, killing and wounding untold numbers of civilians, destroying hundreds of houses and buildings and creating more than 100,000 refugees—all to prepare the ground for the offensive to capture the city, planned for after the U.S. elections.

Washington has been unable to intimidate the people of Falluja into ceding their local sovereignty and their anti-occupation stronghold, even with air raids and threats of mass destruction.

Intimidation and terror have failed to break the will, not only of Falluja, but of the Iraqi people as a whole.

The antiwar movement in the United States must rise to the occasion and broaden and escalate its own struggle in solidarity with the Iraqi people. □

thing that ran counter to eternal reason was to be remorselessly done away with.

However, even by the early 1800s, it was obvious to the utopian reformers that the new society was far from rational. Engels wrote:

"The development of industry upon a capitalistic basis made poverty and misery of the working masses conditions of existence of society. Cash payment became more and more ... the sole nexus between man and man. The number of crimes increased from year to year.

"Formerly, the feudal vices had openly stalked about in broad daylight; though not eradicated, they were now at any rate thrust into the background. In their stead, the bourgeois vices, hitherto practiced in secret, began to blossom all the more luxuriantly.

"Trade became to a greater and greater extent cheating. The 'fraternity' of the revolutionary motto was realized in the chicanery and rivalries of the battle of competition. Oppression by force was replaced by corruption. ... Prostitution increased to an extent never heard of. Marriage itself remained, as before, the legally recognized form, the official cloak of prostitution, and, moreover, was supplemented by rich crops of adultery."

The utopian socialists recognized that the new bourgeois world was irrational and unjust, but they did not recognize fully that this was the outgrowth of historical and economic forces. They believed, said Engels: "If pure reason and justice have not hitherto ruled the world this has been the case only because men have not rightly understood them. What was wanted was the individual man of genius, who has now arisen and who understands the truth."

Ruined by capitalist world market

Sam Marcy, writing on "Soviet Socialism: Utopian or Scientific?" (Workers World, Jan. 30, 1992), noted: "Above all, Owen and the other utopian socialists could not foresee the emerging anarchy of capitalist production. ... Owen started his first cooperative venture in 1800 at New Lanarck [in Scotland]. By 1825, when he tried to develop New Harmony as an island of cooperation in a world torn asunder by class antagonisms, the first worldwide capitalist crisis was under way."

Although short-lived, it was universal in character. It vitally affected New Harmony, because no community can stand alone in the face of such great devastation.

"The destructive force unleashed by the periodic paroxysms of capitalist crisis

would not allow even a tiny oasis to carry out the systematic planning needed to build his egalitarian society," wrote Marcy. "Indeed, these cooperative ventures with their more limited resources are among the first to be swept away, as later history was to show. Many of the cooperative enterprises, built up by years of hard work and self-sacrifice, fell victim to the crises the capitalist mode of production inevitably brings. These crises eventually can sweep away even the largest of corporations and banks."

By the time Marx and Engels wrote "The Communist Manifesto" in 1848, the bourgeoisie had revealed all its basic social and political tendencies. Using the philosophy of Hegel and the scientific method of analysis, they determined that socialism was not the expression of some absolute truth, which had only to be discovered in order to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. It was not independent of time, space and of the historical development of humanity.

Marx and Engels, and their successors, were able to see what was not clear to the utopians: that people "make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past." (Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte")

One of the most important discoveries of Marx and Engels was that the main-spring of history is the class struggle. Moreover, they identified the new industrial proletariat, which was just then coming into being, as the class that is at the same time indispensable and yet most antagonistic to the capitalist class. Many progressive reformers, including the utopian socialists, had empathized with the working class and sincerely wanted to change the terrible conditions it was forced to endure. However, their attitude was generally paternalistic.

To Marx and Engels the working class was not merely an object of pity but was the revolutionary agent that, in its struggle to emancipate itself, would free all of humanity from class oppression.

But first the working class has to free itself.

Once they had identified the workers as the revolutionary class, Marx and Engels put themselves at the service of that class and its emancipation. In so doing they provided us with one of our most important weapons: a revolutionary theory and

Las masas enfrentan más guerra, pobreza y racismo

Victoria de Bush prepara terreno para una amplia resistencia

Por Fred Goldstein

La victoria electoral de George W. Bush, el Partido Republicano, y las fuerzas conservadoras y derechistas que alimentaban su campaña electoral deben ser un llamado para despertar al pueblo trabajador, oprimido, y a todas las fuerzas progresistas y revolucionarias a que se movilicen prontamente.

Decenas de miles de activistas se movilizaron para derrotar a Bush en las urnas, no necesariamente porque les gustara el Senador John Kerry, sino porque querían poner un alto a la reacción encabezada por Bush. Al final, sus esfuerzos no fueron lo suficiente para superar la vasta campaña de políticas reaccionarias y la ideología promulgada, no sólo por la campaña electoral de Bush, sino por la que los medios de comunicación capitalistas lanzaron por varios meses.

Los medios de comunicación ayudaron a la campaña de Bush en su esfuerzo de movilizar a la derecha fundamentalista al dedicar mucha atención a la oposición del matrimonio entre homosexuales y dando tiempo igual a los partidarios del llamado “derecho a la vida” —aquel@s que se oponen a los derechos reproductivos de la mujer. De este modo Bush fue socorrido en su intento de confundir y dividir a sectores de la población con su argumento contra los derechos de l@s homosexuales y de las mujeres. Las redes televisivas y los medios de comunicación escritos convenientemente legitimaron y sanearon esta postura presentándola como si fuera un debate sobre “cuestiones sociales”, en vez de reconocerla como lo que era, fanatismo y sexismo.

El voto demostró el poder de una administración reaccionaria con amplios recursos financieros para organizar ejércitos de votantes partidarios, y movilizar todas las fuerzas reaccionarias para que se presentaran el día de las elecciones. Hubo un récord de votantes en esta elección; algunos estiman que va a alcanzar la cifra de 120 millones, no sólo de la campaña de Kerry sino también de la de Bush.

Kerry hizo muy poco para inspirar a las masas. El no ofreció casi nada. Su fuerza electoral, como afirman todas las encuestas, fue el temor y el odio a Bush. En pocas palabras, su programa no tenía mucha sustancia. Sus dos puntos más fuertes eran la defensa de los derechos reproductivos de la mujer y el permiso de comprar medicinas más baratas en Canadá. El resto de su programa era indefinido. Parecía una lista de concesiones de impuestos a los patronos para quizás crear algunos empleos en los Estados Unidos y lograr cuidado de salud universal dando un crédito a la gente en sus impuestos. No parecía algo que pudiera funcionar.

Aparte de eso, él intentó sobrepasar a Bush en la fraudulenta “guerra contra el terrorismo”. Al enfocarse excesivamente en esto, en vez de desenmascararlo como un pretexto para la agresión en Irak y Afganistán, él ayudó a Bush. Al prometer que iba a “ganar la guerra en Irak” y que iba a “mantener la situación allí” después

de haber dicho que era una guerra equivocada, Kerry no sólo confundió a las masas y desmoralizó a las fuerzas antiguerra, sino que también reforzó el ánimo militarista promovido y explotado por Bush.

Bush ganó las elecciones al triunfar en áreas del sur del país donde el racismo, la reacción política y el legado de la esclavitud son más fuertes y los sindicatos y la clase trabajadora son más débiles y están más pobremente representados. Él ganó en los estados del suroeste y en la parte de los Grandes Llanos, áreas dominadas por dueños de minas, terratenientes millonarios, monopolios agropecuarios, y grandes empresarios ganaderos y petroleros.

Pero en las ciudades grandes y medianas, en las áreas urbanas donde decenas de millones de trabajador@s y gente oprimida se concentran —en el noreste, en el medio oeste y en la costa oeste, la agenda reaccionaria de Bush fue generalmente rechazada y por amplio margen.

Los analistas burgueses están hablando mucho de que Bush ganó el voto popular con 59 millones de votos a diferencia de 55,4 millones por Kerry (hasta el 3 de noviembre). Esto es definitivamente un hecho políticamente perjudicial que le presta a las fuerzas de Bush una posición de fuerza con la cual pueden avanzar su programa de guerra y reacción doméstica. Pero tanto Bush como los medios de

comunicación capitalistas están exagerando la importancia de esto.

Se dice que ahora Bush tiene un “mandato”. Pero esta elección muestra claramente que él no tiene ningún mandato de l@s trabajador@s, de l@s sindicalistas, ni de l@s afro-american@s que votaron nueve a uno contra Bush. Él no tiene ningún mandato de l@s latin@s, 60 por ciento de l@s cuales votaron contra él. De hecho, él no tiene ningún mandato de parte de 54 millones de personas, más los millones de trabajador@s inmigrantes que ni siquiera pueden votar.

Si se quita el número de 54 millones del proceso electoral y se piensa en ese número en el contexto de la resistencia organizada y la lucha contra el programa de Bush, entonces la perspectiva de derrotar a Bush se puede ver de una manera completamente diferente.

Las fuerzas que resistieron a Bush electoralmente tienen su mayor fuerza entre l@s trabajador@s organizad@s en los centros urbanos de Baltimore a Nueva York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Filadelfia y en otras ciudades.

Si una décima parte de la gente que votó por Kerry se movilizara en la lucha y si una centésima parte del casi billón de dólares gastados para financiar la campaña de Kerry fuera usada ahora para iniciar una campaña contra la guerra en Irak y el

ataque contra el sindicalismo, toda la política de este país se podría cambiar, a pesar de la victoria electoral de Bush.

El triunfo electoral de Bush no tiene comparación con el triunfo electoral de Reagan en 1980. En aquella época, Reagan le ganó a los Demócratas en los estados industriales y movió a la clase trabajadora hacia la derecha. Ganó en Michigan, Wisconsin, California, Illinois, y Pennsylvania, estados tradicionalmente demócratas. Surgió de aquella elección la frase “demócratas de Reagan” refiriéndose a l@s trabajador@s que fueron atraid@s por el programa de Reagan. Es de ahí de donde procedió la fuerza de Reagan.

En estas elecciones Bush no pudo convencer a l@s trabajador@s, aunque algunos sectores aquí y allá de la clase trabajadora quizá hayan puesto atención a las llamadas “cuestiones sociales”. Estas elecciones tienen algo en común con el triunfo de Nixon en 1968 porque, después que ganó, Nixon tuvo que seguir con la guerra en Vietnam. Después de declarar que iba a traer “la paz con honor”, bombardeó las ciudades de Vietnam de Norte. Lo que siguió fue un tremendo crecimiento del movimiento contra la guerra que eventualmente dio camino al fin del reclutamiento obligatorio y a la llamada “vietnamización” de la guerra, el comienzo de la retirada de los Estados Unidos.

Bush ha ganado las elecciones pero ahora se está embarcando en un curso sangriento para sojuzgar la resistencia en Irak. Pero a diferencia de la época de Nixon — cuando el movimiento sindicalista y la clase trabajadora estaban mayormente apáticos y distanciados de la lucha contra la guerra — Bush se está moviendo hacia una intensificación de la guerra en una época cuando los sueldos están disminuyendo, hay una pérdida de fuentes de trabajo, se están recortando los presupuestos y los servicios sociales en todos los estados porque los cortes en los impuestos de los ricos no han dejado dinero para ninguna forma de ayuda a los pobres, y l@s trabajador@s muestran sentimientos reavivados contra de la guerra.

La verdad es que Kerry hubiera tenido que enfrentarse a la misma crisis en Irak y exigir las mismas penurias a l@s trabajador@s que Bush tratará de hacer. Es el imperialismo capitalista y las grandes corporaciones quienes deciden el camino a seguir tanto en la paz como en la guerra, y son quienes imponen la explotación y el saqueo.

Ahora que ya pasaron las elecciones, es hora de prestar atención para impulsar la movilización y la lucha. Es el tiempo para expandir el concepto de la Marcha del Millón Trabajador@s, de trabajador@s que están en marcha y que hablan por sí mism@s, como lo hizo tan gloriosamente la Marcha del Millón Trabajador@s aún antes de las elecciones.

Esta es la manera de quitarle a Bush y a su administración reaccionaria su triunfo político. Ellos han ganado la elección pero están lejos de ganar las luchas que seguramente continuarán. □

