

In Washington, D.C.

# Black activists hit racist wars at home, abroad

By Larry Hales  
Washington, D.C.

The Black is Back Coalition for Social Justice, Peace and Reparations, called for by the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement led by Omali Yeshitela and made up of organizations and leaders on the left in the Black community, held its first major mobilization on Nov. 7.

The Black is Back Coalition's demands call for the end of the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan and of U.S. support for the Zionist settler state of Israel and repressive regimes around the world. The coalition also calls for reparations, the release of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Jamil Al-Amin and all political prisoners from incarceration, and an end to police brutality, home foreclosures, gentrification and the prison-industrial complex. In all, there are 10 progressive demands directed at U.S. imperialism and the repressive state apparatus.

More than 300 people gathered at Malcolm X Park, near Howard University, to listen to many speakers from around the country, including New York City Councilperson Charles Barron, Nellie Bailey of Harlem Tenants Council, Glen Ford of Black Agenda Report, Larry Hamm of People's Organization for Progress, a representative of the youth group Fight Imperialism, Stand Together, and many other radicals and revolutionaries from the Black community.

The march was the first national anti-war march to be held in Washington, D.C., since the inauguration of Barack Obama as the first Black president of the U.S. It was also significant in that it was called for and led by Black organizations and individuals from around the country.

More than one speaker mentioned the FBI assassination of Imam Luqman Ameen Abdullah in Dearborn, Mich. Many also spoke sympathetically about the shooting at Fort Hood, the largest military base in the world, by an Army major of Palestinian descent. Highlighting the crimes committed against oppressed people around the world, particularly Palestinians, speakers placed the Fort Hood incident in its proper political context, especially considering the anti-Muslim and anti-Arab sentiment in the U.S. military.

Pam Africa of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal spoke about Abu-Jamal's case and the danger that he now faces. A district attorney, supported by Philadelphia's Fraternal Order of Police, is calling for Abu-Jamal's execution, while an anti-Abu-Jamal film is soon to be released.

Each speaker talked about the constant war being waged against Black and other oppressed people in the U.S. and its relation to imperialist war. Larry Holmes of the Bail Out the People Movement spoke about the March for Jobs held in Pittsburgh before the G-20 conference and about the current economic crisis.

The demonstration was very spirited. It ended with a march from the park to the White House, behind a lead banner displaying the coalition's name. □

**WORKERS WORLD PARTY STATEMENT**

## Fort Hood deaths on Pentagon's hands

The Pentagon brass and corporate media's reports and interpretations of the stunning attack at the massive U.S. Army base at Fort Hood, Texas, have omitted the most telling point. Far from an aberration, these deaths of ordinary soldiers and officers are an integral part of the last eight years of brutal wars of conquest and occupation that the U.S. imperialist war machine has waged against the populations of Iraq, Afghanistan and now Pakistan.

The Nov. 6 NATO air strike that killed seven Afghan troops and police through "friendly fire," the helicopter crashes that killed 10 U.S. troops a week earlier, the U.S. air strike called in by German officers that killed 100 mostly civilian Afghans in early September, bombings in Baghdad neighborhoods and Peshiwar market places—all are part of the daily atrocities U.S. aggression has brought to that region.

The big difference is that this latest shooting brought the war home.

Responsibility for these deaths lies with the U.S. military and civilian leadership who conspired to wage aggression following 9/11 and now continue the carnage. The conclusion is both simple and obvious: Get the U.S. troops out of all three countries as quickly as possible.

First, a caution: When examining such a tumultuous event, progressive forces should maintain their skepticism, seek their own independent sources and be willing to confront head-on any big lies spread by those in power. The Pentagon and the corporate media use

their monopoly to distort and "spin" events to achieve political ends. These can range from scapegoating the Muslim community to mobilizing for an invasion.

Remember, an anti-Muslim campaign followed the 9/11 attack, which the Bush administration also used as a pretext to invade Afghanistan and Iraq.

As of Nov. 8, the official story is that an army psychiatrist, Maj. Nidal Malik Hasan, pulled out hand-held weapons and shot 40 people at Fort Hood's "Soldier Readiness Center," a terminal sending and receiving troops to and from the war zones. Thirteen have died. A dozen others, including Hasan, who was shot by a civilian police officer, are still in intensive care.

According to various background stories, including interviews with Hasan's relatives, the major was distraught because he was recently ordered to deploy to Afghanistan. Born in the U.S. in 1970, Hasan volunteered for the Army out of patriotism and later experienced harassment for being a Muslim, especially after 9/11. Hasan's parents are from the West Bank in Palestine. His relatives have all expressed sympathy with those killed and wounded in the attack.

An article by one excellent independent reporter, Dahr Jamail, who had reported directly from Iraq in the first few years of the occupation and recently wrote a book about dissidence in the U.S. military, expressed no serious contradictions with the official facts. Jamail also reported an almost universal disillusionment with the Afghan war among the GIs at Fort

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## What capitalist 'democracy' looks like

# Billionaire Bloomberg buys New York's City Hall again

By Stephen Millies

"Paris is worth a Mass," declared King Henry IV, after becoming a Catholic so he could ascend the French throne in 1589.

New York City is a lot more expensive. Mayor Michael Bloomberg spent at least \$100 million of his \$16 billion fortune to get re-elected on Nov. 3.

That's capitalist democracy for you. Under the Stars and Stripes, billionaires are guaranteed the same right to become mayors as, supposedly, homeless people.

But Bloomberg actually wants to charge homeless people rent. Vanessa Dacosta, a single mother of a 2-year-old, has been told she has to pay \$336 in rent to sleep in a shelter. This is out of her \$800 monthly wages. (New York Times, May 8)

During three election campaigns Bloomberg spent more than \$250 million of his loot. (NYT, Oct. 23) This obscene expenditure could have provided \$6,410 to each of the 39,000 women, men and children who fill New York City's homeless shelters every night.

Thousands more sleep on the streets while Mayor Moneybags has residences in Bermuda and London, in addition to his Manhattan mansion at 17 East 79th Street.

Estimates of Bloomberg's 2009 campaign expenses run as high as \$140 million. (Reuters, Oct. 24) That's about \$250 for each of his votes. That's like the amount of money a boss spends per employee to defeat a union-organizing drive.

While 72 percent of voters making more than \$200,000 voted for Bloomberg, 54 percent of those earning less than \$50,000 voted for his opponent, William Thompson. (NYT, Nov. 4) Now when Bloomberg tries to impose cutbacks, he might provoke a fightback instead.

Socialist Cuba is infinitely more democratic than capitalist New York City. Under Cuba's system of people's power, elections are held in which candidates are chosen by their neighbors and fellow workers.

Even if wealthy Cubans hadn't fled to Miami, they couldn't buy elections in Cuba like Bloomberg does in New York City.

### Racist Giuliani rescued Bloomberg

Despite Bloomberg's deluge of dead presidents, he beat African-American Democrat Bill Thompson by just 50,000 votes. Only one out of 15 New Yorkers voted to keep the city's richest man as their mayor.

Bloomberg's 557,000 votes were the lowest in decades for a New York City mayor to win re-election. Forty years before, John Lindsay got over a million votes when he ran against both Democratic and Republican challengers.

It was the racist vote that elected Bloomberg. Thompson won Brooklyn and the Bronx, while some white neighborhoods voted 75 percent or more for Bloomberg.

When all his money wasn't assuring Bloomberg's re-election, former Mayor Rudy Giuliani was brought in to mobilize the bigots.

On Oct. 18, 16 days before the election, Giuliani appeared alongside Bloomberg in Borough Park, Brooklyn. Giuliani told the crowd, "The city might be turned back to the way it was ... before 1993. And you know exactly what I'm talking about." (New York Observer, Oct. 19)

Everybody there knew that Giuliani defeated David Dinkins, the only Black mayor in New York City's history, in 1993.

Later the same day Giuliani and Bloomberg marched together in notoriously racist Howard Beach, where a Black man, Michael Griffith, was lynched on Dec. 20, 1986. Griffith was hit by a car after a mob of white youths chased him onto a highway.

Bloomberg wound up the day in Red Hook, Brooklyn, where he said New York City was in danger of becoming like Detroit. (NYT, Oct. 19) Detroit has a majority Black population.

None of these blatantly racist appeals prevented the New York Times—a Democratic Party newspaper—from endorsing Republican Bloomberg.

Even the judiciary aided Bloomberg. Former New York City Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik was allowed to plead guilty to eight felony charges after the election. Winding up the trial earlier might have reminded voters that this sleazy character spent 16 months as Giuliani's last police commissioner. Kerik turned down Bloomberg's offer to continue as top cop.

None of the charges against Kerik mentions how he was able to get \$6.2 million in profits from selling stock options in Taser International without investing a single cent. (NYT, Dec. 10, 2004) The outfit makes electric torture devices that allow cops to zap people with 50,000 volts. Amnesty International estimates that at least 245 people have been killed by Tasers.

Kerik was also a bodyguard for Giuliani during his 1993 campaign. So were police detectives Patrick Brosnan and James Crowe, who killed Anthony Rosario and Hilton Vega on Jan. 12, 1995. The two young Puerto Rican men were shot 22 times, including 11 times in the back. Afterwards Giuliani called the two white cops to congratulate them. □

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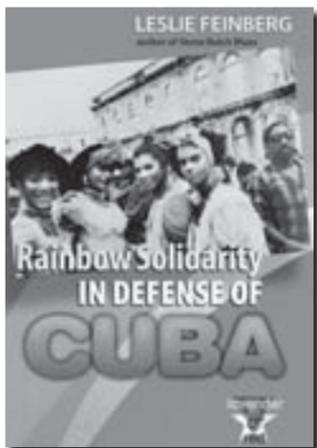
## RAINBOW SOLIDARITY

### In Defense of CUBA

By Leslie Feinberg

This book is a compilation of 25 articles from the Lavender & Red series from Workers World newspaper. Feinberg explains about how the Cuban Revolution has worked to overturn prejudice against same-sex love from the colonial and imperial eras. The never-before-compiled information offers a factual vista on the trajectory of progress of the Cuban Revolution. It's a must-read to understand the revolutionary process required to uproot prejudice.

Order from [Leftbooks.com](http://Leftbooks.com) or bookstores around the country



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# Protest condemns FBI killing of Muslim leader

A demonstration was held outside the McNamara Federal Building in downtown Detroit on Nov. 5 in response to the recent murder by FBI agents of Imam Luqman Ameen Abdullah. Over 250 people gathered for a rally and speak-out demanding an independent investigation into the Islamic leader's killing, and the release of 11 people being held in connection with the case. Abdullah, 53, was shot 18 times by FBI agents on Oct. 28 after he and several followers were lured to a warehouse in nearby Dearborn.

The demonstration, called by the Michigan Emergency Committee Against War and Injustice, was endorsed by the Detroit Coalition Against Police Brutality, the Green Party of Detroit, the New Marcus Garvey Movement, Workers World Party, FIST, Latinos Unidos de Michigan and Professor Charles Simmons of Eastern Michigan University.

The FBI and the U.S. attorney's office have changed their story about the mur-



Son of slain imam speaks out.

WW PHOTO: CHERYL LABASH

der. Initially the killing of Imam Abdullah and the arrests of 11 members of the Masjid Al-Haqq were characterized as a "counter-terrorism" operation. Later the federal government emphasized that the

attack had nothing to do with terrorism or Islam but resulted from a two-year investigation into alleged criminal activity by members of the mosque.

The African-American community has

largely rejected the government's account of what transpired when Imam Abdullah was killed.

Speakers at the rally included representatives from MECAWI and endorsing organizations as well as representatives from various mosques throughout metro Detroit. Members of the martyred Imam's family attended the rally and several of them spoke. They expressed their grief as well as a commitment to seek justice by having the charges against Imam Abdullah's followers dropped and uncovering the truth about the assassination of the Islamic leader.

There will be a follow-up demonstration on Nov. 19, when U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder is scheduled to speak at a dinner that will be co-chaired by Detroit FBI Special Agent in Charge Andrew Arena. The demonstration will begin at 5 p.m. outside the Renaissance Center's Marriott Hotel on East Jefferson Avenue.

—Abayomi Azikiwe

## 'I know that it is all a lie' Daughter of Ft. Dix 5 defendant speaks out

By Betsey Piette

In April the Fort Dix Five were given sentences of life plus 30 years for allegedly plotting to attack Fort Dix in New Jersey. These Muslim defendants were prosecuted and tried even when there was no crime, a practice known as pre-emptive prosecution. There are over 400 known miscarriages of justice by the FBI using pre-emptive prosecution and agents provocateurs—a practice that destroys innocent individuals. It also destroys their families.

Lejla Duka, the 11-year-old daughter of Fort Dix Five defendant Dritan Duka, has been a courageous spokesperson on her father's and uncles' behalf. Lejla and her grandmother, Zurata Duka, spoke with Workers World about the arrests and what they have meant to their family.

**WW:** Can you talk about your father's and uncles' arrests?

**Lejla Duka:** I was 8 when my father and his brothers were arrested. I'm the oldest with four sisters and brothers at home. I help take care of them.

When my uncle Eljivar Duka was arrested we had just come home from getting ice cream. The FBI pulled him out of the car and said, "Get down, get down." They threw him down with handcuffs on. They had huge dogs sniffing around him and a gun pointed at his head.

They also took my uncle Burim Duka. They just threw him like nothing, like he was paper. That action made me really sad. They had SWAT team cars and everything. This was by my old house. My sisters and brothers were there. They were all very young when this happened, and didn't really understand. Now they are really sad and cry a lot.

**WW:** What is your understanding of the case?

**LD:** I know that it is all a lie. The judge said they were plotting to attack a military base and that they kept saying jihad. He said they were training in the Poconos. They really weren't. They were there doing guy things with their friends. They were just there to have fun.

The judge was Robert Kugler, a Republican and a Bush appointee. All the judge talked about the entire trial was money, and how they spent millions on this case. The jurors were from the army. I read the handbook from the court that said jurors were not allowed to have anything to do with the case, but they were all from Fort Dix.

**Zurata Duka:** The judge was questioning witnesses who were there to support my sons. We had a witness from Iraq to support our sons and tell the truth about what was going on. The judge asked this witness, "How come you came to defend them, when we pay you \$10,000?"

On the tapes, the informant was pushing my sons to say jihad, but my sons never said jihad. They would say, "Allahu Akbar" (God is great). The informer was saying, "Let's go kill some army people" but my sons were saying, "No, we can't do that, they are good people, human beings like us." The judge would not let the jury listen to this. He kept evidence from the jury.

At sentencing, the judge said that even though things weren't said on the tapes, he knew a conspiracy was going on, even if he didn't hear it in the evidence. From the first, the judge had decided for life in jail. It did not matter what the witnesses said. What kind of justice is this, to put innocent people in jail for nothing?

Before the verdict was announced, my aunt and I witnessed the judge tell guards, "Go call the FBI, I have to talk with them." We saw government guys going in without the lawyers.

**WW:** What about the FBI?

**LD:** The FBI set them up and tried to destroy good people and tear apart a family. The FBI would pretend they were fixing the roof in our apartment, but they were really putting cameras and stuff to listen to what we were saying. They did this for over a year.

When I walk to school a black van follows me, with the license plate covered. I used to run quick, but now I go by car. It's really scary, like they are going to kidnap me, or kill me. The FBI is sneaking in our back yard. Last week my



Lejla Duka speaking.

WW PHOTO: JOE PIETTE

brother saw them.

**ZD:** They continue to harass us. They have cars at both ends of our block. They follow my youngest son Burim everywhere he goes. When we go to the park, we have people following us. They've threatened to arrest all the family.

They have talked to everyone from news people to my family, telling them not to help us. My husband had a lot of roofing jobs with the fire department and school. They went to the school and told

them not to give his company a job.

They are still terrorizing us. We are scared to sleep. I'm finding small magnets [bugs] in the house, all over, in the couches, in the refrigerator. I hope there are people who understand ... that I want justice, to stop these criminal things.

**LD:** We got kicked out of our apartment. There were so many complaints that we were terrorists. They gave us three days' notice. We had to move back

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## NEW YORK

# Solidarity with Palestine

By Sara Flounders  
New York

Wesam Ahmad, program officer from Al Haq—an independent legal and human rights organization based in Ramallah—addressed a packed meeting at the Solidarity Center here on Nov. 4. The meeting was co-sponsored by Al-Awda New York, Palestine Right to Return Coalition; International Action Center; Nord Sud XXI; and the U.S. Palestine Community Network, New York Chapter. The meeting was co-chaired by Lamis Deek of Al-Awda and Sara Flounders from the IAC.

Along with the sponsoring organizations, the meeting was attended by representatives of the Arab Muslim American Federation; American Muslims for Palestine; Peoples Organization for Progress;

Neturei Karta; FIST (Fight Imperialism, Stand Together); Workers World Party; International League of People's Struggles; Picture the Homeless; Bail Out the People Movement; Peoples Video Network; along with many Palestine solidarity activists.

Wesam Ahmad was part of a delegation from Al Haq that attended the United Nations General Assembly discussion on the findings of the Goldstone Report. The report details war crimes and crimes against humanity by Israel, the occupying power, and allegedly by Palestine, the occupied nation.

Al Haq came to New York to advocate for the U.N. General Assembly to fully endorse the Goldstone Report. This is a crucial step that may possibly lead to prosecution of Israeli perpetrators before the International Criminal Court. □

## Profits, productivity & the fight for jobs

# Ford workers give thumbs down on concessions

By Martha Grevatt

On Nov. 2 the United Auto Workers announced that its Ford hourly members had rejected contract concessions similar to those obtained by Chrysler and General Motors earlier this year. A “yes” vote would have frozen wages of future employees at \$14 an hour until 2015, consolidated skilled-trades classifications to eliminate jobs, and imposed restrictions on the right to strike for the next six years. The final vote was nearly 3-to-1 against the givebacks; at several plants more than 90 percent voted “no.”

Ford did not have a strong case in the eyes of the workers, who have agreed to givebacks three times since 2005, amounting to \$500 million. This year the company posted profits of \$2.8 billion in the first quarter and \$2.3 billion in the second quarter. Its stock more than tripled in value during the GM and Chrysler bankruptcies as it gained a full percentage point of market share. Ford’s vehicle sales have actually increased compared to sales as of October 2008. Last but not least, tens of millions of dollars in salary and bonuses continue to be lavished on CEO Alan Mulally and other top executives.

On Nov. 1, as the final ballots were being tallied and the outcome was already known, Ford announced its third-quarter

earnings. The same company that was begging for lower wages from workers made a “surprise” profit of nearly \$1 billion in a three-month period! For the first time in 17 quarters, even Ford’s North American operations showed a profit—\$357 million, or roughly \$6,000 per worker.

Had the announcement been made a week sooner, even more union members would have given the concessions a thumbs down. “They tell us they are broke, they tell us we need to make all of these concessions, and then this?” asked Nick Kottalis, president and chairman of the Dearborn Truck unit of UAW Local 600 and a leader against the contract changes. (Detroit Free Press, Nov. 2)

While capitalist industry analysts appear “surprised” by the profit news, workers shouldn’t be. Ford has eliminated 53,000 jobs and closed 15 plants since 2006. The company is producing more vehicles with fewer workers, while at the same time pushing down the cost of labor power through wage and benefit cuts. Aren’t these the same old dirty tricks that capitalists have always used to extract profit from their wage-slaves? When productivity goes up, employment goes down, but eventually companies return to profitability. Isn’t that the essence of a jobless recovery? Where’s the surprise? Using similar anti-worker schemes, but

in their case at taxpayer expense, GM and Chrysler also expect to start turning profits by next year or 2011 at the latest. Tens of thousands of workers have taken buyouts in the past few years and left the rolls without being replaced.

The 23,000 hourly UAW members left at Chrysler are again being enticed to quit or retire. The company’s grandiose five-year plan laid out on Nov. 4 offered workers nothing in the way of job security. On the other hand, GM CEO Fritz Henderson stated that there will be no more buyouts at his company and that once laid-off employees exhaust their Supplemental Unemployment Benefits “they basically leave the company. That’s how it works.” (Detroit Free Press, Nov. 5)

### What can autoworkers do?

How can autoworkers best respond to the unrelenting predatory attacks on their jobs and their standard of living? Waiting for a change at the top, for an orientation away from concessions and conciliation, will only bring more of the same.

On the other hand, rank-and-file militants could initiate a call for an emergency “special convention,” as allowed in the UAW constitution: “By a referendum vote of the membership initiated upon the written request of at least fifteen (15) Local Unions from five (5) different states or

provinces. ... The Local Unions demanding a Special Convention must state the reason or reasons why such Convention is desired.” Clearly, the reason is that, with the crisis of jobs showing no signs of abating, the future not only of union wages and benefits but of the union itself is in jeopardy.

Serious discussions could take place in the period leading up to the vote. There could be networking and caucusing among the most class-conscious activists on the shop floor, leading up to a new strategy and program that would take the outrage and the “them-versus-us” feeling expressed in the Ford vote to the next level. There needs to be a restructuring of the union from below to counter the capitalist restructuring being dictated to the workers.

With their vote, Ford workers unequivocally asserted their right to engage in class struggle with the bosses. To have real meaning, however, this right must be exercised. A concerted struggle must be waged to reverse the concessions granted under extreme duress, to overturn the divisive two-tier wage structure, and to stop the hemorrhaging of jobs and reopen the closed plants.

*Martha Grevatt has worked 22 years at the Chrysler stamping plant in Twinsburg, Ohio, which is set to be closed next year. E-mail: mgrevatt@workers.org.*

## Increased exploitation as

# Job loss slows, but still no job creation

By G. Dunkel

The unemployment report produced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the start of every month has a political goal: Present the economy in the best possible light. But the needs of the ruling class for accurate data force the BLS to publish more than it would prefer to reveal.

For decades, beginning in 1940, the unemployment rate served to summarize the job market. The rate measures how many people without jobs looked for one in the past four weeks. In October it was 10.2 percent, a sharp jump from 9.8 percent in September. For youth between the ages of 16 and 19, it was 27.6 percent. Black youth in the same age range had a 41.3 percent unemployment rate.

Beginning in 1995, the BLS started to publish the underemployment rate, which measures discouraged workers—those who have given up looking because no jobs are available—as well as workers who want full-time work but can only find part-time employment. This rate takes into account workers forced to take furloughs and those working catch-as-can for temp agencies.

Even taken together, the unemployment and underemployment rates don’t accurately and completely address workers’ relations to today’s job market.

In October, the national underemployment rate was 17.5 percent, while it was 17 percent in September. More than one of every six U.S. workers should have been considered unemployed in October.

From the fourth quarter of 2008 through the third quarter of 2009, California’s unemployment/underemployment was 19.6 percent, while Oregon’s was 20.1 percent and Michigan’s was 20.9 percent. ([www.bls.gov/lau/stalt.htm](http://www.bls.gov/lau/stalt.htm))

The stock market went up based on the BLS report for October, which showed that, with “only” 190,000 jobs lost, job loss is slowing down. In this recession, which officially began in December 2007, 7.3 million jobs have been eliminated. To absorb all the new entrants into the labor force during this time, an additional 2.8 million jobs should have been created but weren’t. A total job deficit of 10.1 million means that even if job losses shrink to zero, unemployment will remain very high.

Jobs are so hard to find that 35.6 per-

cent of the unemployed have been out of work for more than six months, a record in all the years that the BLS has been publishing this statistic.

Given that unemployment is running rampant, how are businesses maintaining production? A Nov. 5 BLS news release answers this question: “Nonfarm business sector labor productivity increased at a 9.5 percent annual rate during the third quarter of 2009. ... This was the largest gain in productivity since the third quarter of 2003.”

In other words, the bourgeoisie maintains production, and their profits, by increasing the exploitation of workers. The news release continued, “Output increased 4.0 percent and hours worked decreased 5.0 percent in the third quarter of 2009.” □

## Karl Marx on the future of the trade unions

# Organizing the unorganized & low-wage workers

*Following is an excerpt from Fred Goldstein’s book “Low-Wage Capitalism,” which analyzes the effects of globalization and the high-tech revolution on the U.S. working class. This excerpt includes part of an historic address by Karl Marx to the First International in 1866.*

In the crisis now unfolding, a revitalized workers’ movement, in order to be effective, will have to draw in all the sectors that have either been left out or marginalized. All workers’ movements and working-class communities must have a place in the struggle that takes into account their particular needs, without being subordinated or subjected to bureaucratic leadership. This includes the fight for jobs, for income, for the right to a

home and food. Occupations, mass demonstrations, strikes, and every form of struggle will be required. This is the road to a renewed workers’ movement encompassing the unions and the far broader sections of the working class whose fighting spirit must be mobilized on the basis of addressing their needs.

### Marx on unions as organizing centers for the whole class

Karl Marx delivered an address to the General Council of the International Workingmen’s Association (the First International) in 1866. Included was a section on “The Future of the Unions.” This passage, along with many others, is as relevant today for the labor movement

as it was back in 1866 when it was first delivered:

“Apart from their original purpose, they [the unions] must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its complete emancipation. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves as acting as the champions of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society men [the unorganized—ed.] into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst paid trades, such as agricultural laborers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being nar-

row and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.”

*Karl Marx from “Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council” delivered at the Geneva Congress of the First International September 1866.*

Marx declared that the future task of the trade unions was to reach out to the poor and the oppressed, the lowest paid, the unorganized, and push forward political and social movements that would aid in the emancipation of the working class as a whole.

*\*Karl Marx, “The First International and After: Political Writings: Volume 3.” Ed. David Fernbach. (London: Penguin Books in association with New Left Review, 1974), p. 92.*

# Striking transit workers tell SEPTA: open up the books!

By **Betsey Piette**  
Philadelphia

**UPDATE**—A settlement was announced early Nov. 8, with buses, trolleys and trains ready for the Monday morning rush hour. The contract offer was expected to be presented to the membership that day and a ratification vote is scheduled in a week and a half, according to Transport Workers Local 234 President Willie Brown. Specific details on the agreement were not announced.

After working for months without a contract, Transport Workers Local 234 hit the bricks at 3 a.m. on Nov. 3 to drive home their demands for decent wages, health care, workplace rights and fully funded pensions.

In late October the 5,100 transit workers took a vote that overwhelmingly authorized a strike, after the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority failed to budge on any union demands, as it has since March. Forcing a jump-start on stalled negotiations, the workers set the strike date for the start of the World Series baseball games scheduled in Philadelphia.

SEPTA management wanted a two-year wage freeze, a 400 percent increase in workers' contributions to health care costs, and an end to various workplace rights. With threat of a strike looming,

TWU Local 234 President Willie Brown speaks at Nov. 4 press conference at the union hall.

SEPTA revised its offer by removing any change in health care contributions and offering an 11 percent increase in wages over five years.

Management still wanted union members to start paying up to 3.5 percent of their income into their pension fund, essentially negating any wage increase. While area politicians, including Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter and Pennsylvania Governor Ed Rendell, praised SEPTA's offer, Local 234 President Willie Brown noted: "If I give you three dollars and I immediately take away two—you're left with one dollar. In the governor's math you would still have three dollars." ([www.twu.org](http://www.twu.org))

Brown criticized SEPTA for 20 years of mismanagement of the union's pension fund. In 2009 SEPTA put in only 53 percent of the workers' contracted pension amount. The fund also took a hit when stock values dropped from \$729 million in June 2008 to \$471 million in March. The fund rebounded to \$640 million at the end of September.

Pensions are deferred wages, set aside now for workers to draw on in later years.



PHOTO: KELLY VALDEZ

Say the company agreed to put \$100 into your fund, but deposited only \$60. Wouldn't you have a right to know what the company did with the other \$40?

While nearly reaching a tentative agreement on day four of the strike, the union is still holding out for a forensic audit of the company's pension fund. Unlike a standard audit, a forensic audit specifically tracks and collects evidence for investigation and prosecution of criminal acts such as embezzlement and fraud.

TWU Local 234 even offered to subject their contract to binding arbitration and return to work, under the condition that SEPTA submit to the forensic audit. Speaking on behalf of management, Governor Rendell firmly rejected the idea of binding arbitration while ignoring the audit request.

Could the pension money have gone to pay off the interest and principal on bonds

that were floated for huge capital construction projects over the last 15 years? Paying off this enormous debt obligation would demand a considerable amount of cash. Opening up the company books to the workers might provide the answer and more. Brown even said, "We are willing to pay for a forensic audit. What are they afraid of?" (Philadelphia Inquirer, Nov. 7)

The union is also rejecting SEPTA's request to revisit health care provisions in the contract if national health care legislation increases the agency's cost.

Philadelphia city workers have also been working without contracts since the end of June, with Mayor Nutter threatening to cut health care and pension benefits. The outcome of the SEPTA strike could impact these negotiations.

Since 1975 this militant TWU local has gone out on strike nine times, demonstrating that they know what it takes to stand up to company pressure. □

## Mich. Moratorium NOW!

# Coalition wins foreclosure victories

By **Kris Hamel**  
Detroit

The Michigan Moratorium NOW! Coalition to Stop Foreclosures, Evictions and Utility Shutoffs has recently scored important victories in the fight against home foreclosures and evictions.

After a one-year battle, the coalition, along with neighborhood activists, stopped the eviction of Belva Davis and forced Ocwen Loan Servicing to modify her mortgage. The effort included rallies at her home; a picket at Wachovia/Wells Fargo, the administrator for the trust fund that owned Davis' mortgage; and a massive telephone and e-mail campaign to Ocwen CEO Ronald Faris.

Attorneys who work with the coalition won a significant court victory on an appeal in a foreclosure eviction case. The Macomb County Circuit Court held that a lender's failure to modify a loan in accordance with the federal Home Affordable Modification Program can be asserted as a defense to void a foreclosure, and that this defense can be raised by homeowners in an eviction proceeding stemming from the foreclosure. This is one of the first cases in the country to affirm this right.

Despite these victories, coalition organizers report that the foreclosure and eviction crisis is intensifying. Jerry Goldberg, a foreclosure attorney and coalition leader, noted how increasingly the government, through Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, is the main culprit in eviction actions stemming from foreclosures.

Goldberg told Workers World: "These entities have announced programs to allow renters in foreclosed homes to remain in the homes after foreclosure or receive significant relocation funds. However, in 36th District Court I have seen tenant after tenant being evicted by Fannie Mae illegally, without having been afforded this rental option. I've observed lender after lender

evicting homeowners without affording them their rights to loan modifications pursuant to the new federal program."

In response to this illegal activity, the coalition met with law students from the University of Michigan National Lawyers Guild on Nov. 5. They will be preparing a fact sheet for mass distribution at 36th District Court in Detroit, the busiest eviction and foreclosure court in the country. It will contain information on how to challenge foreclosures and evictions, and detail how to fight utility shutoffs—as winter approaches and thousands are threatened with cut-offs.

According to Goldberg, "The government takeover of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, along with more and more loans being backed up by the Federal Housing Authority, is in reality a newly disguised bailout for the banks and lenders."

Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac own or guarantee slightly more than half of all U.S. mortgages, valued at more than \$5 trillion. Fannie Mae's delinquency rate on single family mortgages jumped to 4.17 percent in July 2009, the highest it has

been in the 11 years for which records are available. A year ago the delinquency rate was 1.45 percent. (Real Estate Economy Watch, Sept. 29)

The percentage of mortgages owned or guaranteed by Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac is growing, with 70 percent of U.S. mortgages made in the first half of 2009 going through Fannie or Freddie. (Associated Press, Sept. 4) In addition, FHA-insured loans are also on the rise. In July 2008, 30 percent of new loan applications had FHA backing, compared to 2 percent in 2006. ([forbes.com](http://forbes.com), Aug. 26, 2008)

Goldberg notes, "When a mortgage loan that is backed up, insured or owned by Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac or the FHA is foreclosed, the government pays off the lender for the value of the loan. As a result, the banks are receiving the full amount on loans they deliberately overvalued. The government then sells off the home at a reduced amount, with the taxpayer picking up the difference."

Fannie Mae had nearly \$171 billion in troubled loans as of June, with only \$55 billion to cover the losses, while Freddie

had nearly \$78 billion in troubled loans with reserves of only \$25 billion. (AP, Sept. 4) That means another \$169 billion of taxpayer money will have to be appropriated to cover the losses.

The federal Home Affordable Modification Program, while offering some relief in the form of reduced payments to borrowers, actually perpetuates this government bailout, as the loans are modified based on the existing principal (with arrearages tacked on to the end of the loans), even though the actual value of the home has drastically declined.

Coalition activists say it's time to bail out the people, not the banks. They demand that home loans be reset to the actual value of the homes, with the banks absorbing the loss in principal that stems from their predatory lending practices. Mortgage payments must be set at a reasonable amount for all homeowners and suspended for the unemployed. Most importantly, there must be an immediate moratorium on all foreclosures and evictions until the mess created by the banks and backed up by the government is undone. □

## Hyatt workers strike for new contract, health care

By **Joan Marquardt**  
San Francisco

A few hundred hotel workers walked off the job Nov. 5 at the Grand Hyatt hotel in San Francisco's Union Square, beginning a three-day strike against Hyatt Hotels Corporation. The strikers are demanding an immediate contract after working without one since August. Coincidentally, the same day the strike started, Hyatt made an initial public stock offering to raise about \$1 billion for its major owners, the Pritzker family.

Said Aurolyn Rush, a telephone operator

for 13 years at this Grand Hyatt, "Hyatt's cashing out almost a billion dollars for its owners, but at the same time they're pushing to make health care unaffordable for me and my family. That is unforgivable, and we're not going to stand for it."

While the high-end hotel industry made record profits of approximately \$110 billion between 2004 and 2008, Hyatt is attempting to keep up its high profit margin during the current worldwide economic crisis at the expense of the workers. Mike Casey, president of the union on strike, UNITE-HERE Local 2, said, "This is a limited strike. It's intended to send a clear



WW PHOTO: JOAN MARQUARDT

signal to this corporation that it cannot use a temporary downturn to permanently drive down workers' living standards."

Continued on page 11

## ON THE OCCASION OF THE 50TH ANNIV

# Aspects of the economic crisis and the Obama administration

The following is excerpted from a document submitted by Workers World Party secretariat member Fred Goldstein in preparation for the Nov. 14-15 WWP national conference in New York City.

As a starting point to approach the present economic crisis, I would like to begin with the theoretical framework of Marxism in order to stimulate discussion of an assessment of the period we are entering. In this regard, it is appropriate to go back to Karl Marx.

In 1857 Karl Marx, in the Preface to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," wrote a short summary of the evolution of his thought and then concluded:

"The general result at which I arrived and which, once won, served as the guiding thread for my studies can be briefly formulated as follows: In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change in the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed."

Marxists have always included the study of this paragraph as part of learning the fundamentals of the Marxist historical outlook on revolution. But it is at rare moments in history that it can be studied, not only as the forward-looking, long-range world view, but as a matter of imminent possibility.

The last time the realization of Marx's prognosis was on the immediate agenda with respect to the U.S. was in the 1930s during the Great Depression.

## Marx's prognosis and the present crisis

After three decades of ruthless restructuring of the global capitalist economy, of using the scientific-technological revolution to intensify exploitation to unheard-of degrees, the economic foundation of capitalism has indeed undergone a transformation. What is new is that this crisis raises the question of whether quantity has been turned into quality.

Has the extraordinary degree of the development of the productivity of labor, the monumental scale of the expulsion of workers from the workplace because of technology, the de-skilling of jobs across



WWP founder Sam Marcy, second from right, in front of the U.N. in 1960.

all types of employment, the creation of the regime of low-wage capitalism—all in order to sweat the last ounce of profit from the hides of the workers—have these developments brought capitalist overproduction to a point where the system can no longer recover from the present downturn?

The tension between socialized production on a world scale and the narrow confines of private property—in which a tiny handful of billionaires dispose of vast industrial, commercial and technological empires according to their profit interests—inevitably leads toward an absolute brake on the development of society, posing a grave danger to the material existence of the proletariat and oppressed people as a whole, and to the very planet itself.

## Ford's profits up, workforce down

To go from the general to the particular, one only has to read the glowing headlines in the bourgeois press about the Ford Motor Company registering a \$997 billion profit in the third quarter of this year.

How did Ford bring itself to this turnaround from billion-dollar losses to a billion-dollar profit? The fact is that Ford's revenue declined compared to a year ago. What made it possible to have declining revenue—declining sales—and increasing profits at the same time?

Ford laid off 53,000 workers and shut down 15 plants since 2006! It also raised prices on its higher-end cars, which were bestsellers during the cash-for-clunkers program. Layoffs and state capitalist intervention made it possible.

It is not only Ford but the entire auto industry that is contracting. And it is not only the U.S. auto industry that has to contract its capacity. In 2008 the world auto industry had a capacity to produce 90 million cars and could only sell 65 million.

What does this mean for the working class and the capitalist system as a whole? It means that capitalism cannot revive itself by normal economic means. But capitalism is also facing a situation in which the artificial ways that it has found to revive itself since World War II—through imperialist war and corporate expansion, military spending, government funding of the banks and corporations, lowering

wages and increasing surplus value—have run out of steam.

The ruling class cannot look forward to any of these methods of plunder to sustain profitability and at the same time keep the system going in an upward, expansionary direction. The two things—profitability, which is the lifeblood of capital, and economic growth, which is the way the proletariat survives under capitalism—are becoming irreconcilably opposed to one another.

## Obama administration and the period

Because of the long delay in the working class and the oppressed entering the arena of struggle, the relationship of class forces is highly favorable to the ruling class.

Because of this, the bourgeoisie takes advantage of every political struggle to gain further advantage over the working class. Every debate that affects the workers is decided for the moment by the unfavorable relationship of class forces.

The top bankers who presided over the economic collapse have used the crisis they profited from to enhance their economic power in the capitalist state and the concentration of ownership.

The health care insurance companies and the pharmaceutical companies have manipulated the struggle for health care reform, which was supposed to aid the working masses and the middle class, to enrich themselves even further and gain millions of forced customers.

The environmental polluters are using the debate over environmental legislation to further undermine any international agreements to limit their profits by imposing carbon-reduction goals.

The military has used its own crisis in Afghanistan to extend its influence and to push toward a greater adventure. The torturers in the Pentagon and the CIA have been protected, and the advocates of arbitrary and indefinite imprisonment have won the day.

Why is this? It is because the working class and the political movement have yet to awaken.

This is the root cause of the course that the Obama administration has pursued of compromising and conciliating with reaction on so many issues.

## The state and the national question

Our party has conducted itself commendably in relation to the Obama presidential run and to his administration. We have used the theory and politics taught us by the founders of the party—we have used their analysis of the state, the national question and parliamentarism.

We have dealt with Obama with extreme sensitivity to the African-American community, on the one hand. But we knew from day one that once he became the head of the capitalist state, he would be surrounded by the Pentagon generals, the CIA cutthroats, the FBI and the entire capitalist state apparatus—the armed bodies that exist for the suppression of the working class and the oppressed.

And we knew that he would be surrounded and engulfed by the bosses and bankers and all their thousands of lobbyists, influence peddlers and organizations. While we knew that the masses would have illusions, we had none.

But we are now living through the period of his presidency. The great contradiction is now playing out. Great expectations were understandably raised by the exhilarating and historically progressive achievement of the election of the first African-American president.

Now there is the beginning of the inevitable disillusionment based upon the equally inevitable failure of the Obama administration to live up to those expectations.

Some will attribute this to Obama's tendency toward centrism and compromise. And there may be much to that. But of far greater weight than his natural political inclinations is the present unfavorable relationship of class forces alluded to above.

To this is added the major factor that he is an African American, with no base whatsoever in the ruling class, and highly vulnerable to racist attack at any given moment, should he choose to step out of line. The case of his mild defense of Harvard Professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. against racial profiling, for which he was soundly castigated by the capitalist media machine, is a case in point. It is ironic that Obama is the chief executive of a racist state and himself subject to racist attack.

Obama was chosen as a candidate during the period of capitalist boom. The expectations of reform were based on expanding profits and revenues. By the time he took office, the financial system had collapsed on a global scale. All his calculations, and the calculations of his bourgeois backers, about reform had to be readjusted based on the crisis. The money for the down payment meant for health care reform went to bail out the banks.

From the point of view purely of the rhythm of economics and politics, Obama's position is highly unfavorable—and this is a situation that the party has to continue to navigate with care, while commencing the struggle. □

"With the capitalist system demonstrably unfit, it is useful, indeed refreshing, to see a Marxist analysis of globalization and its effects on working people. Fred Goldstein does exactly that."  
Howard Zinn, author of  
A People's History of the United States

## Low-Wage Capitalism

Fred Goldstein

Colossus with feet of clay:  
What the new globalized high-tech imperialism  
means for the class struggle in the U.S.

# ANNIVERSARY OF WORKERS WORLD PARTY

## The growing political crisis & role of the working class

Following are excerpts from a document written by Workers World Party secretariat member Larry Holmes in preparation for the Nov. 14-15 WWP national conference in New York City.

Our founders formed Workers World Party in 1959 in order to embrace and defend all the parts of what they called “the global class camp of the working class,” including the socialist camp and the national liberation movements, and to advance the position that the U.S. working class and its advanced organizations could not have a revolutionary policy and program at home or abroad if they cut themselves off from world struggle in order to make life a little easier. The party’s founders decided to name their new party “Workers World Party” as a way of driving home this fundamental principle.

The understanding of what would be required of a revolutionary party in the U.S. can be seen in how Workers World Party neither negated nor feared the national question but, to the contrary, upheld it in theory and practice. It can be further seen in the party’s embrace of the women’s liberation struggle and the liberation struggles of lesbian, gay, bi and trans people. It can be seen in WWP’s unflinching defense of all who are under attack by imperialism. The party’s positions are not merely based on gaining some temporary advantage or being caught up in a passing fad. The party’s positions can be traced back to the understanding of a handful of comrades, most of whom started Workers World Party. They saw all the issues and movements that we have supported, not as chaotic fragments without any relationship to each other, but as the moving parts inside of a larger process—that process being the global class struggle.

Workers World Party was born out of the necessity to fight opportunism in the U.S. working-class movement. Opportunism is when a policy or position is taken that subordinates the broader interests of the world working class for the purposes of achieving something that only benefits a narrow section of our class, most often a relatively privileged section.

One of the most damaging recent examples of opportunism is the failure on the part of the trade union movement’s leadership to fully defend and mobilize workers in support of undocumented workers. Had the working-class movement fully embraced the great revolt of immigrant workers in 2006, the entire working class would have taken a leap forward of light years in its development as an independent class, conscious of its class interests from Mexico to Senegal, from the Philippines to Pakistan, to Puerto Rico and on every continent.

With a few exceptions, the trade union movement saw Hurricane Katrina and its

aftermath primarily as a natural disaster instead of as a profound manifestation of racism and national oppression perpetrated by the government upon mainly the African-American population. Consequently, the response of labor was limited to material aid. It would have been an enormous political step forward if the trade union movement had fully committed itself to exposing the role of the government and backing the demands for justice—especially of the right to return—in response to Hurricane Katrina genocide and displacement in New Orleans and other parts of the Gulf Coast.

Opportunism is the enemy of class solidarity, of the struggle against imperialism.

### Two interlinked processes driving the political crisis

Historically, the enormous concentration of wealth based on global exploitation and imperialist plunder has enabled U.S. imperialism to purchase political stability by arresting the political development of the U.S. working class.

This dynamic has been by far the biggest obstacle to the radicalization of the U.S. working class. Generally, it is the reason why the political movement—be it the anti-war movement or the struggle of oppressed peoples against racism and national oppression—has not been consistently or strongly oriented toward the class struggle.

More than at any time since U.S. imperialism achieved global domination, two interlinked processes have reached a turning point. One of those processes is the domination of U.S. imperialism. This process has turned a corner and is on the way down.

U.S. imperialism will continue for quite some time to be dominant in the imperialist pecking order. However, its historic decline is beyond dispute.

U.S. imperialism’s difficulty in holding its dominion over Latin America, where anti-imperialism is still on the ascendency, or Asia, even after almost a decade of war, is a symptom of its decline.

The other interrelated process that is equally beyond dispute is the pauperization of larger sections of the working class. Today, even with the highest level of unemployment, home foreclosures, etc., since the capitalist Depression of the 1930s, there is a sense of calm. It’s the proverbial calm before the storm.

The banks, the lifeblood of capitalism, have not resumed their normal rate of lending, nor has production returned to what was considered pre-crisis norms. The whole system of finance capitalism remains on a life support system provided by the government.

For well over a year, the capitalist government and establishment have seen its primary responsibility as preventing the

collapse of its financial system.

On top of the beating that workers have already taken, more plant closings, more layoffs, more wage slashing and more union busting are coming. Another wave of merciless budget cutting is also coming.

The volcanic force of these processes stands to crack and break the pillars of U.S. imperialism’s domestic political stability. Somewhere in these processes, the loyalty to imperialism of a section of the working class that the U.S. imperialist ruling class has depended on for so long will be shattered.

Ultimately, either the working class will respond to the political crisis by rising up in self-defense against the capitalist crisis, or some camp within the ruling class will find other ways of either diffusing or diverting the political crisis.

The weaknesses of the working-class movement and its organizations tend to make a reactionary development more of a concern.

An African-American president also provides, for those in the ruling class who would play with fire, a scapegoat over which to generate a racist backlash.

It would be foolhardy on our part to belittle the dangers for the working class inherent in the growing political crisis.

However, the diversion of the economic and political crisis into a reactionary mass movement is not inevitable.

### Tasks of the working class

The election of the first African-American president is a historic gain but also a potential problem to the degree that Obama, because of his popularity in the working class and with the assistance of the labor leaders allied with him, is able to hold back the class struggle.

The racism and reaction will only be met with more impassioned calls to rally closer to the Democratic Party as the only “realistic” alternative to the reaction. If this scenario plays out, the working class will not only lose out in the struggle against the capitalist crisis and forego an opportunity to organize, mobilize, fight back and develop as a fighting force—more and more independent of the mechanisms of ruling-class restraint—but its inability to enter the struggle in its own interests will only embolden reaction.

However, there is no basis for presuming that the working class will not be able to break free of the restraints.

Our role in establishing the need for the working class to fight back must no longer be reduced to waiting for a spontaneous rebellion that we can support. We should be ready to turn a rebellion—wherever it is, no matter how small the plant—into a national struggle for classwide solidarity.

But the magnitude of the coming political crisis demands more. It demands that we first make the need for the workers and unemployed to rise up a political struggle inside the working-class movement.

The relative passivity of the working class and the conservatism of the trade union leadership for some time have all but extinguished enthusiasm or interest for several generations of political activists and militants in the working class. It’s true that this is finally beginning to change, but that change is but one step on a long journey that must be taken.

### Opening up the political struggle

No task in this discussion is more important than reviving a revolutionary Marxist view of trade unions. We understand that trade unions came into being to mitigate the exploitation of workers and to negotiate a legal arrangement with capitalist bosses that leaves unionized workers with a little more of the surplus value that their labor has created. However, from a revolutionary perspective, this necessary but narrow objective on the part of trade unions is only a beginning.

As the class struggle intensifies and the needs of the class struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression become greater, transcending geographical boundaries as well as the conditions that distinguish the many layers of the global working class, the trade unions, in order to be viable or even to survive, must also evolve.

Trade unions must be compelled by both material conditions and pressure from the working class, both unionized and non-unionized, employed and unemployed, to become revolutionary organizing centers for the entire working class, especially the most oppressed.

The trade union movement must break with its reliance on the Democratic Party and a relationship with a president or legislators as the main way to defend the interests of the working class. No strike should be seen as the concern of one union alone but a battle of the entire working class.

The central government, including the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Bank, and its political window dressing, the U.S. Congress, has unlimited power. In this global crisis, more often than not, the central government must be the target of the workers.

Opening a political struggle inside the working-class movement must not be born out of a sense of panic or desperation. Nor must it be based on hopeful scenarios that are either premature or in which there is not enough evidence to make an educated estimate of its chances for success. To the contrary, the political struggle is viable because its central prerequisite is that it is an essential part of preparation for our class to do what is necessary to defend itself against the onslaught that is coming.

**There is an even more critical imperative for opening the political struggle in the working-class movement, regardless of the outcome over a short and uncertain span of time. More than anything else, the political struggle we are considering is a struggle to hold our class together against all the pressures and forces unleashed in a storm that would fracture it.**

The political struggle inside the working-class movement is integral to the next step in the struggle for jobs. Moreover, it is in the struggle for the right to a job that the potential for a qualitative and essential leap in the consciousness of workers presents itself. The understanding that one’s existence is threatened by a system, when viscerally and simultaneously shared by millions and millions of workers, is the kind of thing that brings the socialist revolution on to the horizon. □

## Low-Wage Capitalism

describes in sweeping detail the drastic effect on the working class in the United States of new technology and the restructuring of global capitalism in the post-Soviet era. It uses Karl Marx’s law of wages and other findings to show that these developments are not only continuing to drive down wages but are creating the material basis for future social upheaval.

Available online at [Leftbooks.com](http://Leftbooks.com) and in bookstores around the country

## Privatizing war

# Why U.S. occupation cannot transform Afghanistan or Iraq

By Sara Flounders

Just how powerful is the U.S. military today?

Why is the largest military machine on the planet unable to defeat the resistance in Afghanistan, in a war that has lasted longer than World War II or Vietnam?

Afghanistan ranks among the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the world today. It has one of the shortest life expectancy rates, highest infant mortality rates and lowest rates of literacy.

The total U.S. military budget has more than doubled from the beginning of this war in 2001 to the \$680 billion budget signed by President Barack Obama Oct. 28. The U.S. military budget today is larger than the military budgets of the rest of the world combined. The U.S. arsenal has the most advanced high-tech weapons.

The funds and troop commitment to Afghanistan have grown with every year of occupation. Last January another 20,000 troops were sent; now there is intense pressure on President Obama to add an additional 40,000 troops. But that is only the tip of the iceberg. More than three times as many forces are currently in Afghanistan when NATO forces and military contractors are counted.

Eight years ago, after an initial massive air bombardment and a quick, brutal invasion, every voice in the media was effusive with assurances that Afghanistan would be quickly transformed and modernized, and the women of Afghanistan liberated. There were assurances of schools, roads, potable water, health care, thriving industry and Western-style “democracy.” A new Marshall Plan was in store.

Was it only due to racist and callous disregard that none of this happened?

In Iraq, how could conditions be worse than during the 13 years of starvation sanctions the U.S. imposed after the 1991 war? Today more than a third of the population has died, is disabled, internally displaced and/or refugees. Fear, violence against women and sectarian divisions have shredded the fabric of society.

Previously a broad current in Pakistan looked to the West for development funds and modernization. Now they are embittered and outraged at U.S. arrogance after whole provinces were forcibly evacuated and bombarded in the hunt for Al Qaeda.

U.S. occupation forces are actually incapable of carrying out a modernization program. They are capable only of massive destruction, daily insults and atrocities. That is why the U.S. is unable to win “hearts and minds” in Afghanistan or Iraq. That is what fuels the resistance.

Today every effort meant to demonstrate the power and strength of U.S. imperialism instead confirms its growing weakness and its systemic inability to be a force for human progress on any level.

### Collaborators and warlords

Part of U.S. imperialism’s problem is that its occupation forces are required to rely on the most corrupt, venal and discredited warlords. The only interest these competing military thugs have is in pocketing funds for reconstruction and development. Entire government ministries, their payrolls and their projects have been found to be total fiction. Billions allocated for schools, water and road construction have gone directly into the warlords’ pockets. Hundreds of news articles, congressional inquiries and U.N. reports

have exposed just how all-pervasive corruption is.

In Iraq the U.S. occupation depends on the same type of corrupt collaborators. For example, a BBC investigation reported that \$23 billion had been lost, stolen or “not properly accounted for” in Iraq. A U.S. gag order prevented discussion of the allegations. (June 10, 2008)

Part of the BBC search for the missing billions focused on Hazem Shalaan, who lived in London until he was appointed minister of defense in 2004. He and his associates siphoned an estimated \$1.2 billion out of the Iraqi defense ministry.

But the deeper and more intractable problem is not the local corrupt collaborators. It is the very structure of the Pentagon and the U.S. government. It is a problem that Stanley McChrystal, the commanding general in Afghanistan, or President Obama cannot change or solve.

It is the problem of an imperialist military built solely to serve the profit system.

### Contractor industrial complex

All U.S. aid, both military and what is labeled “civilian,” is funneled through thousands and thousands of contractors, subcontractors and sub-subcontractors. None of these U.S. corporate middlemen are even slightly interested in the development of Afghanistan or Iraq. Their only immediate aim is to turn a hefty superprofit as quickly as possible, with as much skim and double billing as possible. For a fee they will provide everything from hired guns, such as Blackwater mercenaries, to food service workers, mechanics, maintenance workers and long-distance truck drivers.

These hired hands also do jobs not connected to servicing the occupation. All reconstruction and infrastructure projects of water purification, sewage treatment, electrical generation, health clinics and road clearance are parceled out piecemeal. Whether these projects ever open or function properly is of little interest or concern. Billing is all that counts.

In past wars, most of these jobs were carried out by the U.S. military. The ratio of contractors to active-duty troops is now more than 1-to-1 in both Iraq and Afghanistan. During the Vietnam War it was 1-to-6.

In 2007 the Associated Press put the number in Iraq alone at 180,000: “The United States has assembled an imposing industrial army in Iraq that’s larger than its uniformed fighting force and is responsible for such a broad swath of responsibilities that the military might not be able to operate without its private-sector partners.” (Sept. 20, 2007)

The total was 190,000 by August 2008. (Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 18, 2008)

Some corporations have become synonymous with war profiteering, such as Halliburton, Bechtel and Blackwater in Iraq, and Louis Berger Group, BearingPoint and DynCorp International in Afghanistan.

Every part of the U.S. occupation has been contracted out at the highest rate of profit, with no coordination, no oversight, almost no public bids. Few of the desperately needed supplies reach the dislocated population traumatized by the occupation.

There are now so many pigs at the trough that U.S. forces are no longer able to carry out the broader policy objectives of the U.S. ruling class. The U.S. military has even lost count, by tens of thousands, of the numbers of contractors, where they are or what they are doing—except being paid.

### Losing count of the mercenaries

The danger of an empire becoming dependent on mercenary forces to fight unpopular wars has been understood since the days of the Roman Empire 2,000 years ago.

A bipartisan Congressional Commission on Wartime Contracting was created last year to examine government contracting for reconstruction, logistics and security operations and to recommend reforms. However, Michael Thibault, co-chair of the commission, explained at a Nov. 2 hearing that “there is no single source for a clear, complete and accurate picture of contractor numbers, locations, contracts and cost.” (AFP, Nov. 2)

“[Thibault said] the Pentagon in April counted about 160,000 contractors mainly in Iraq, Afghanistan and Kuwait, but Central Command recorded more than 242,000 contractors a month earlier.” The stunning difference of 82,000 contractors was based on very different counts in Afghanistan. The difference alone is far greater than the 60,000 U.S. troops in Afghanistan.

Thibault continued: “How can contractors be properly managed if we aren’t sure how many there are, where they are and what are they doing?” The lack of an accurate count “invites waste, fraud and abuse of taxpayer money and undermines the achievement of U.S. mission objectives.” The Nov. 2 Federal Times reported that Thibault also asked: “How can we assure taxpayers that they aren’t paying for ‘ghost’ employees?”

This has become an unsolvable contradiction in imperialist wars for profit, markets and imperialist domination. Bourgeois academics, think tanks and policy analysts are becoming increasingly concerned.

Thomas Friedman, syndicated columnist and multimillionaire who is deeply committed to the long-term interests of U.S. imperialism, describes the dangers of a “contractor-industrial-complex in Washington that has an economic interest in foreign expeditions.” (New York Times, Nov. 3)

### Outsourcing war

Friedman hastens to explain that he is not against outsourcing. His concern is the pattern of outsourcing key tasks, with money and instructions changing hands multiple times in a foreign country. That only invites abuse and corruption. Friedman quoted Allison Stanger, author of “One Nation Under Contract: The Outsourcing of American Power and the Future of Foreign Policy,” who told him: “Contractors provide security for key personnel and sites, including our embassies; feed, clothe and house our troops; train army and police units; and even oversee other contractors. Without a multinational contractor force to fill the gap, we would need a draft to execute these twin interventions.”

That is the real reason for the contracted military forces. The Pentagon does not have enough soldiers, and they don’t have enough collaborators or “allies” to fight their wars.

According to the Congressional Research Service, contractors in 2009 account for 48 percent of the Department of Defense workforce in Iraq and 57 percent in Afghanistan. Thousands of other contractors work for corporate-funded “charities” and numerous government agencies. The U.S. State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development

make even more extensive use of them; 80 percent of the State Department budget is for contractors and grants.

Contractors are supposedly not combat troops, although almost 1,800 U.S. contractors have been killed since 9/11. (U.S. News & World Report, Oct. 30) Of course there are no records on the thousands of Afghans and Iraqis killed working for U.S. corporate contractors, or the many thousands of peoples from other oppressed nations who are shipped in to handle the most dangerous jobs.

Contracting is a way of hiding not only the casualties, but also the actual size of the U.S. occupation force. Fearful of domestic opposition, the government intentionally lists the figures for the total number of forces in Afghanistan and Iraq as far less than the real numbers.

### A system run on cost overruns

Cost overruns and war profiteering are hardly limited to Iraq, Afghanistan or active theaters of war. They are the very fabric of the U.S. war machine and the underpinning of the U.S. economy.

When President Obama signed the largest military budget in history Oct. 28 he stated: “The Government Accountability Office, the GAO, has looked into 96 major defense projects from the last year, and found cost overruns that totaled \$296 billion.” This was on a total 2009 military budget of \$651 billion. So almost half of the billions of dollars handed over to military corporations are cost overruns!

This is at a time when millions of workers face long-term systemic unemployment and massive foreclosures.

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have now cost more than \$1 trillion. The feeble health care reform bill that squeaked through the House, and might not survive Senate revisions next year, is scheduled to cost \$1.1 trillion over a 10-year period.

The bloated, increasingly dysfunctional, for-profit U.S. military machine is unable to solve the problems or rebuild the infrastructure in Afghanistan or Iraq, and it is unable to rebuild the crumbling infrastructure in the U.S. It is unable to meet the needs of people anywhere.

It is absorbing the greatest share of the planet’s resources and a majority of the U.S. national budget. This unsustainable combination will sooner or later give rise to new resistance here and around the world. □

## Daughter of Ft. Dix 5

*Continued from page 3*

in with my grandparents.

**WW:** Has this changed your relationships with friends?

**LD:** No. My friends are still on my side. So are my teachers. My friends really like my father.

**WW:** You’ve spoken at meetings and rallies. What’s that been like?

**LD:** I’m actually feeling proud. I’m trying to get the word out, and I know that people are listening, and they really want to help. I write my own talks. It makes me feel like I’m being helpful.

I want people to know the truth. I know my father and uncles are really good people. I really miss them. I’m still going to try fighting for what I believe in and try to set them free so they can come home. □

# Honduran accord fails as Right-wing maneuvers to prevent Zelaya's restoration

By Berta Joubert-Ceci

Nov. 9—"With or without Mel [Zelaya] there are no elections and who goes forward is the Resistance. Let's go into the neighborhoods. ... Our only way out is the Resistance because together, we will never be defeated. My struggle began in 1954 and now we can talk and say that we are revolutionaries. ... We can now send to hell this Constitution that does not serve us. Until victory comrades, do not dismay, let us go forward now or never! Until the final victory!"

Dionisia Sanchez, the Grandmother of the Resistance and example of Honduran people's fierce will to struggle, said these words on Nov. 9, after the Resistance met and decided not to participate in the general elections of Nov. 29, even if President Manuel Zelaya was reinstated to office.

At the time this article is being written, no resolution to the dangerous crisis in Honduras has been attained. The illegal usurper government of Roberto Micheletti continues holding on to power at all costs—in spite of having signed, on Oct. 30, the Tegucigalpa-San Jose Accord, which would have restored the legitimate president, Zelaya, to office before the elections.

Micheletti unilaterally announced on Nov. 5 the formation of a "Government of Reconciliation" presided over by Micheletti, and without Zelaya. This government body was proposed by the accord as a unitary government that would have included representatives from both Zelaya and the golpistas (coup plotters). After this action, President Zelaya publicly announced the termination of the accord and the end of any possibility of dialogue with the de facto government.

Micheletti made his announcement even before the National Congress decided on the reinstatement of Zelaya. Loyal to the golpistas, the congress had delayed the voting, with many excuses, in an obvious maneuver to stall the return of Zelaya to power. These underhanded actions were even witnessed by the "Verification Commission" present in Tegucigalpa, a formation mandated by the accord that would have had the duty of ensuring that the accord was carried out.

U.S. Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis was part of that commission.

## Reaction of the Resistance

The Resistance, which for the last few days has been demonstrating daily in front of the National Congress, met to decide its position on the elections. They issued a communiqué on Nov. 9 stating that they reject the electoral process and that "participation in it would give legitimacy to the golpista regime or its successor who would fraudulently take office on Jan. 27, 2010."

They refuse to participate even if President Zelaya is reinstated to office because "20 days or less give little time to dislodge the electoral fraud that was concocted to assure that a representative of the golpista oligarchy is installed to continue their antidemocratic and repressive project."

They also charge the United States with complicity with the golpistas. At the same time, the Resistance reaffirmed their continued struggle to reinstate Zelaya and for a new constitution.

The independent candidate for presi-

dent on behalf of the Resistance, Carlos H. Reyes, withdrew from the race for the same reasons.

## What is behind the elections?

It is telling that immediately after the signing of the accord and before any substantial progress, both U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and her envoy, Thomas Shannon, hailed the treaty as a done deal. Hugo Llorens, U.S. ambassador in Tegucigalpa, also immediately called for the international recognition of the Nov. 29 elections. To this date, the U.S. is almost completely isolated on this position.

Why such a rush? What is Washington's interest?

There are several U.S. lobby firms that work on behalf of the Micheletti government, the Honduran Association of Maquiladores and the Latin American Business Council, Honduras Chapter—representing, in the end, the financial and geopolitical interests of the United States. Among these firms are Chlopak, Leonard, Schechter & Associates; The Corman Group; Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe LLP; and Visión Américas. Lanny Davis, former legal advisor to Bill Clinton, and Roger Noriega, former U.S. assistant secretary of state for western hemispheric affairs, work in some of these firms.

Besides these firms, there is a very powerful "non-governmental" agency, the Millennium Challenge Corporation. Its website describes it as "an innovative and independent U.S. foreign aid agency that is helping lead the fight against global poverty. Created by the U.S. Congress in January 2004 with strong bipartisan support, MCC is changing the conversation on how best to deliver smart U.S. foreign assistance by focusing on good policies, country ownership, and results."

It is said in many circles in Honduras that the U.S. has a preferred candidate, Elvin Santos. Santos was Liberal Party vice-president under Zelaya but resigned last December in order to run for the presidency. He opposed Zelaya's call for a Constitutional Assembly.

Santos is also from the oligarchy, a construction engineer whose family owns one of the largest construction companies in the country, Santos y Compañía. This company signed a \$7.5 million contract with MCC (part of a \$215-million MCC contract with Honduras) to improve transportation. Specifically, the contract was for the construction of Highway CA-5 that links Tegucigalpa with San Pedro Sula, the country's main industrial area, and with Puerto Cortes on the northern Caribbean coast, the largest and only deepwater port in Central America. Highway CA-5 also connects in the south with the Port of Cutuco, on El Salvador's Pacific coast.

This highway is part of the Atlantic Corridor of the International Network of Mesoamerican Highways, which is the transportation aspect of the Plan Puebla Panama. The plan is yet another attempt by the U.S. to steal the resources of the people in Central America, as well as Mexico and Colombia. It is presented as an integration project, but the purpose is to facilitate transportation through the area, from Mexico to Colombia, of U.S. products and merchandise assembled or made in the area, particularly in the infa-



PHOTO: DANILO LACHAPEL

Carlos H. Reyes meets with the U.S. Delegation of Labor, Community and Clergy in Solidarity with the Honduran Resistance in October.

mous maquiladoras.

It's a funnel to extract the wealth from Latin America toward the U.S.

Who is the chair of the MCC? None other than Hillary Clinton. Also on the MCC board are Timothy F. Geithner, U.S. secretary of the treasury and vice-chair of the MCC board, and Alonzo L. Fulgham, acting U.S. Agency for International Development administrator.

It is clear that the United States, by accepting the results of the elections beforehand, wants to guarantee the presence in the Honduras government of a representative of the pro-U.S. oligarchy that is invested in the capitalist exploitation of the masses. Even if Santos does not win, the other golpista candidates are loyal to the same oligarchy.

## Carlos H. Reyes explains need for a new constitution

The tremendous power of the entrepreneurial sector in Honduras was explained by Carlos H. Reyes during a long and enlightening conversation while this writer was in Honduras in October with the U.S. Delegation of Labor, Community and Clergy in Solidarity with the Honduran Resistance. Reyes is the president of the STIBYS union of beverage industry and other workers. He was home recovering from an assault by the police during one of the Resistance demonstrations, in which his right wrist was severely fractured.

He explained the urgent need for a new constitution, and the passion with which the Resistance demands a Constitutional Assembly became very clear.

He explained that the current constitution was drafted during the 1980s, when the U.S. waged war against Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua under the criminal and vicious leadership of John Negroponte. Its purpose was to "sell the country" (privatize), reduce the state and put the military instead of the people in charge of upholding the constitution. In sum, it was a constitution to benefit the corporations and their stockholders.

Reyes exposed how power and wealth were transferred during these years. In 1981, the transnational corporations and landowners had 40 percent of the power, the state 40 percent and the people 20 percent. Now, 28 years later, the transnationals hold 75 percent, the state 20 percent and the people 5 percent. Because of the reduction of income, the state cannot afford services to the masses.

Reyes explained that Honduras is "a fiscal and labor paradise" because of low wages, the increase of temporary and sub-contracted labor with absolutely no benefits or job security, and the enormous

concessions to the corporations, which really control the government and run the country on their own behalf. This has resulted in the pauperization of the masses, but has been an enormously profitable experience for U.S. companies.

That is why President Zelaya's plans to change the constitution and raise the minimum wage were so vehemently opposed by the Honduran oligarchy and the U.S.

## U.S. plans more of the same in Latin America

The recent struggle in Honduras has been an attempt by the United States to put a hold on the progressive popular advances in Latin America, and particularly against the participating countries of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA). That is the view of most Latin American presidents who have opposed the Honduras military coup from day one and who hold the U.S. responsible for not ending the coup. The U.S. is Honduras' largest trading and military partner.

This coup has reinvigorated the right-wing oligarchies around the region that are associated with the U.S.

On Oct. 30, a military treaty was signed between Colombia and the U.S. giving the U.S. complete access to that country, including seven bases, among them the enormous Palanquero base close to the capital. It was not until Nov. 2, after the agreement was signed, that it was publicly released, even though Latin American countries had requested it. In Panama, there are talks for opening four air and navy bases to which the U.S. will have access.

Many consider the bases a threat to peace in the region, and a very dangerous precedent that announces the intent of the United States to wage war against the countries that are "anti-U.S.," as exposed in an official document of the Air Force Department regarding the Palanquero Air Base. In it, the document cites the "constant threat ... of the anti-U.S. governments." ([www.centrodealerta.org](http://www.centrodealerta.org))

In Paraguay, President Fernando Lugo had to substitute the heads of the Army, Navy and Air Force with personnel in whom he was confident after rumors of a coup attempt by the right wing, which opposes Lugo's progressive reforms.

But the United States does not realize that, as Ecuadoran President Rafael Correa said, this is not a time of changes, but a change of times—referring to the tremendous uprising of the masses defending their sovereignty and opposing U.S. imperialism.

Next: More on Colombia, Panama and Venezuela.

**WORKERS WORLD**  
*editorial*

# An infected Band-aid

Those who a year ago pinned their hopes on putting the Democratic Party back in charge of the White House and the Congress showed their disappointment in the recent election—mostly by not voting.

There are many reasons for this. The administration's continuation of the war in Afghanistan and spreading it to Pakistan is one very big reason, but the health care bill that just passed in the House will only add to the disillusionment.

So many compromises were made to get right-wing Democrats on board that what was touted as a huge victory for reform has many elements that are actually a step backward for the working class and especially for women.

Republicans, of course, didn't vote for the bill, even with all the compromises. They are playing the role of the opposition and seeking to win over those dissatisfied with the present state of the economy. Although they are the quintessential party of Wall Street, they are capitalizing on the unpopularity of the government's handouts to the big banks and trying to convince the public that the Obama administration is secretly "socialist." This and their red-baiting of the health care bill are ludicrous. The bill may help some people presently denied health insurance, but in general it is another big handout to the corporations.

The bill is 1,900 pages long. We have not read it. But we have seen the criticisms by progressive Democrats who see it as a betrayal of their efforts to bring about real reform of health care. For that to happen, the bill would have to challenge the huge profits that make this the most costly health care system in the world.

Many of those who campaigned strongly for health reform are slamming this bill. Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio) says the bill "would put the government in the role of accelerating the privatization of health care" and that it would force 21 million people in this country to "buy private health insurance from the very industry that causes costs to be so high, which will result in at least \$70 billion in new annual revenue" for the private insurers. Kucinich was one of two progressive Democrats who voted against it.

The National Organization for Women is furious at the House for passing "the worst blow to women's fundamental right to self-determination in order to buy a few votes for reform of the profit-driven health insurance industry." This refers to the last-minute deal in which any funding for abortion was dropped from the bill, thereby making it even more difficult for young and poor women, especially, to end an unwanted pregnancy.

Furthermore, today some 43 million women in the U.S. rely on contraception to avoid an unintended pregnancy. The House bill does not include among its list of required services any contraceptive services or testing for sexually transmitted diseases or even pelvic exams, even though these are basic, preventive measures that tens of millions of women need. If women cannot afford these services, there will be more unwanted pregnancies, abortions and health problems.

One of the most eloquent attacks on the bill came from Donna Smith of the film "Sicko" and the group Healthcare Not Warfare. She told Congress: "Stripping away all reference to a progressively financed, single standard of high-quality

healthcare for all—also known as single-payer—is done only to more deeply ensconce the deep-pocketed interests in healthcare: the private, for-profit insurance giants, the big pharmaceuticals, the medical equipment companies, the hospital corporations and all the others making huge profits as thousands die needless deaths. Healthcare is a basic human right."

Amid all the Republican demagoguery that this is a "socialist" health plan, it is important to look again at a health system that truly is socialist and has done wonders to improve the health of millions of people.

Cuba, with just a tiny fraction of the money spent on health care in this country, has built up a system to keep people healthy that has not only raised its own health statistics to among the best in the Western Hemisphere but has sent medical personnel all over the underdeveloped world to provide free care to those who need it most.

Here are the undisputed figures on the two health indices that most clearly show social progress: Infant mortality in Cuba has sunk to 6 deaths per 1,000 live births, compared to 7.2 deaths in the U.S. Life expectancy in Cuba has now reached 77.5 years, compared to 78.1 in the U.S.

At the time of the Cuban Revolution, diseases of poverty and poor sanitation were rife. In the countryside, children's bellies were swollen from intestinal parasites. Polio took a big toll in the 1950s. Cane cutters and other agricultural workers seldom got adequate treatment for injuries.

Today the Cuban health system—free and universal—provides everyone with regular checkups, inoculations and treatment. You can choose your neighborhood doctor, who will follow up on your health from the cradle to the grave. There is no private insurance industry skimming off profits, no private pharmaceutical industry skimming off profits, no private hospitals skimming off profits. That's how a poor country, whose economy has been straitjacketed by the U.S. blockade, is nevertheless able to provide free care for everyone.

This was made possible by the 1959 revolution, which rid Cuba of the capitalist bosses and land owners controlled by Wall Street. It is socialist health care—the real thing. □

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Workers World Party Statement

# Fort Hood deaths on Pentagon's hands

Continued from page 1

Hood, even those who had supported the U.S. war in general. ([commondreams.org](http://commondreams.org), Nov. 5)

As of Nov. 8, the Pentagon is still calling the slaughter the act of an individual and probably due to a "mental breakdown." Without speculating on the alleged shooter's motives, it is clear that the shooting took place within a political context. It occurred at a nerve center of a bloody and increasingly unpopular war. It occurred as Palestinian desires for their own nation have again been crushed. It occurred within a week of the FBI's unwarranted execution of a Muslim religious leader in Michigan.

What impact the shooting will have on the war and the planned escalation in Afghanistan is hard to predict, but it continues to be a lead story and the focus of discussion.

U.S. soldiers, most of whom joined up because there were no reasonable civilian jobs available—these days there are no jobs available at all—are themselves looking for a way out of the war even as they are

ordered back two, three and more times into ugly combat. The progressive movement should find a way to unite the fight for jobs at decent pay with the struggle against these wars of aggression, so that U.S. youth have a greater chance to avoid being a tool of world-wide oppression.

Even more urgent at this time is to resist in every way any attempt to scapegoat the Muslim community in the U.S. This community needs every sign of solidarity in its defense.

It should also be apparent to everyone that if a U.S. army officer, born in this country, can become so alienated from these wars of aggression that he strikes out against a cross-section of his fellow soldiers and officers, then it would be foolish to expect Afghans or Pakistanis or Iraqis to welcome Washington's occupation. They will resist until the U.S. is driven out.

And within the U.S. military, what manifests now as a "mental breakdown" has the potential of turning into a generalized resistance.

End the wars now! Get U.S. troops out of the Middle East and Central Asia! □

## MUNDO OBRERO

# El presupuesto del Pentágono: el mayor, y sigue en crecimiento

Continua de página 12

los Estados Unidos, más de 7,3 millones de adultos estaban en libertad condicional o en prisión en el 2007. Más del 70 por ciento de los/as encarcelados/as eran negros/as, latinos/as, indígenas u otras personas de color. Los adultos negros tienen cuatro veces más probabilidad que los blancos de estar encarcelados.

Igual que en el sector el militar, con sus cientos de miles de contratistas y mercenarios, el impulso por aumentar las ganancias ha resultado en la creciente privatización del sistema de prisiones.

La cantidad de prisioneros ha crecido implacablemente. Hay 2,5 veces más gente en el sistema de prisiones actualmente que hace 25 años. Mientras el capitalismo estadounidense es menos y menos capaz de proveer empleos, entrenamiento para trabajos o educación, las únicas soluciones que pueden ofrecer son la prisión o el ejército, devastando a individuos, familias y sus comunidades.

El peso militar empuja el aparato represivo estatal a cada sector de la socie-

dad. Hay un crecimiento enorme de todo tipo de policías e innumerables agencias de policía y vigilancia.

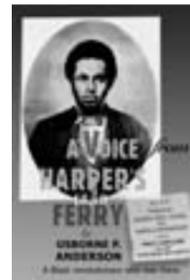
El presupuesto de 16 agencias de espías estadounidenses llegó a \$49,8 mil millones en el año fiscal 2009; 80 por ciento de estas agencias secretas son parte del Pentágono. (Prensa Asociada, 30 de octubre) En 1998 este gasto era de \$26,7 mil millones. Pero estas agencias secretas no están incluidas en el presupuesto militar. Tampoco están incluidas las agencias represivas de inmigración y control de las fronteras.

Las fuerzas armadas estadounidenses están estacionadas en más de 820 instalaciones militares alrededor del mundo. Esta cifra no toma en cuenta cientos de bases alquiladas e instalaciones secretas de vigilancia y cientos de barcos y submarinos.

Pero por más que crezca el aparato militar, menos puede controlar su imperio mundial porque no ofrece soluciones ni mejoramiento de los niveles de vida. Las armas de alta tecnología del Pentágono pueden leer la matrícula de un auto desde un satélite de vigilancia; sus gafas de visión nocturna pueden penetrar la oscuridad; y sus aviones bombardeos pueden quemar un pueblo aislado. Pero no pueden proveer agua potable, escuelas o estabilidad a las naciones atacadas.

A pesar de todas las sofisticadas armas de alta tecnología, la posición geopolítica de EEUU está declinando año tras año. A pesar de su gran potencia de fuego y de sus armas tecnológicas de punto, el imperialismo estadounidense no ha podido reconquistar los mercados mundiales y su posición en el capital financiero mundial. Su economía y sus industrias han sido derrumbadas por el mero peso de mantener su aparato militar. Y como ha mostrado la resistencia en Irak y Afganistán, el aparato militar no puede igualar la determinación de los pueblos a controlar su propio futuro.

Mientras la gran economía capitalista estadounidense ofrece menos y menos al pueblo trabajador aquí en los Estados Unidos, ese nivel de resistencia determinada seguramente va a fomentarse aquí también. □



150 years ago—

## A VOICE FROM HARPER'S FERRY

by Osborne P. Anderson,  
a Black revolutionary who was there

Few history books give Anderson the recognition he deserves; he was the only African-American combatant to survive the raid on Harper's Ferry on Oct. 16, 1859 and to write about it. His account of this turning point in the struggle against slavery—an armed attack by African-American and white volunteers on a citadel of the South—refutes those who try to minimize the role of African-American people in fighting for their freedom.

With essays by Monica Moorehead,  
Mumia Abu-Jamal & Vince Copeland.

# The global economic crisis and imperialist quest for Africa's resources

By **Abayomi Azikiwe**  
Editor, Pan-African News Wire

The economic crisis, which originated in the United States and other western imperialist states, has had a tremendous impact on the oppressed nations that are former colonies and semi-colonies of Europe and the United States. In Africa tens of millions of people have been thrust into unemployment and poverty over the last two years.

At a recent meeting in Ethiopia of the Economic Commission for Africa, a United-Nations-sponsored research organization, U.N. Deputy Secretary-General Asha-Rose Migiro outlined the impact of the world financial crisis on the African continent. Migiro related the current situation to the Millennium Development Goals for 2015, which stated that poverty in Africa would be reduced by 50 percent.

The deputy secretary-general pointed out that "despite some notable achievements, progress is off track across the continent." (ECA, Nov. 9) Even though there was limited growth in Africa between 2000 and 2008, the recessions in the western countries have plunged the continent into a new round of economic decline, resulting in social distress that has bred internal instability.

Migiro says that the growth rates during the earlier part of the decade were commendable, "but that good news is in peril. The economic crisis, for which Africa bears no responsibility, has drastically reversed recent trends."

The growth rate for Africa in 2009 is projected to reach a paltry 1.7 percent. "Progress towards the Millennium Development Goals is likely to be adversely affected. The food and energy crises, as well as climate change, will also complicate our work."

A task force of the MDG known as the Africa Steering Group, which was formed in July, is scheduled to meet in New York on Nov. 23. The group, chaired by U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, is calling for initiatives in the areas of education, health, agriculture and infrastructure designed to speed up progress toward the alleviation of poverty.

In regard to agricultural development, the Africa Steering Group has called for the international community to supply \$750 million to assist in the short-term objectives resulting from the rapidly rising costs of food. The group also urged African states to work with other regions to launch a so-

called "Green Revolution" in agriculture.

According to Migiro: "The economic crisis makes the need for action even more urgent. The crisis has pushed about 100 million people back into extreme poverty across the world. It has cost more than 50 million jobs this year alone."

The U.N. official continued by saying: "Although some markets are bouncing back, the early signs of recovery have not produced many new jobs. For the crisis to be over, those who want to work should be able to find stable and productive jobs."

## The global crisis and the drive for Africa's resources

In the Horn of Africa nation of Somalia, millions of people have been displaced both internally and outside the country since the U.S.-backed Ethiopian invasion in December 2006. Flotillas of warships from the imperialist nations and other states are currently patrolling the Gulf of Aden in a purported anti-piracy campaign, while people inside the region are suffering from the worst food deficits in more than two decades.

During the course of the recent period, the U.S. oil industry has been relying more on exports of petroleum from the African continent. This reliance on oil exports has coincided with greater U.S. military involvement in West Africa.

In Ghana, the recent discovery of oil reserves off the coast of the country has set into motion a new scramble for these resources by the imperialist-based oil firms from the U.S., Britain and France. These efforts by the multinational oil companies are clashing with the offers from the People's Republic of China, which is stepping up its economic cooperation efforts in Africa.

Dallas-based oil firm Kosmos has been accused of attempting to reap windfall profits from the sale of its oil industry interests, which were negotiated under a previous, more conservative government.

A recent report published in Ghana Public Agenda states: "The move by the Texas-based company was clearly intended to hype the value of its stake and use that in its subsequent negotiation with the Ghanaian government. Kosmos again has been accused by GNPC as showing bad faith by disclosing vital technical and financial data to third parties without the express consent of its partners in the Jubilee Field [Ghana oil resources], including GNPC, an act for which GNPC is bent on exacting its pound of flesh." (Oct. 27)

The article stresses, "Realising that it was losing ground to the Chinese, who have made generous overtures to the Ghanaian Government and are willing to go beyond helping GNPC to finance its purchase of Kosmos' stake to providing some budgetary support to Ghana, Exxon Mobil has made a U-turn on its alleged deal with Kosmos and is now courting GNPC for the coveted shares."

Other multinational oil firms are also maneuvering for a share in Ghana's oil wealth. British Petroleum is being advised by Goldman Sachs of New York on how to finance its expansion into the burgeoning West African oil industry. In addition, French-based Total is also interested in purchasing a stake.

In an article reprinted on Ghana's Joy Online website, author David Lee Smith asks: "Why is the stake so valuable? It just so happens that Jubilee may lie at the eastern edge of a 700-mile structure that could finish up at the western edge in Sierra Leone. Oil was discovered there recently in nearly 6,000 feet of water by a group that included Anadarko Petroleum ... and Spain's Repsol, along with the U.K.'s Tullow Oil and Australia's Woodside Oil." (Oct. 28)

## Other resources sought in eastern and southern Africa

In Somalia the efforts by the military and naval forces off its coasts and throughout the East Africa region are designed to control the flow of resources and goods through the Gulf of Aden as well as the Indian Ocean. The collapse of the Somalia government in 1991 also provided the opportunity for western countries to take control of the region's enormous seafood resources, which had supplied a livelihood for people in the fishing industry.

Other reports have indicated that for many years the nuclear and chemical producing states have used the waters off Somalia to dump waste that has contaminated the waters and the shores.

Johann Hari of the London-based Independent newspaper describes these dumps: "As soon as the government was gone, mysterious European ships started appearing off the coast of Somalia, dumping vast barrels into the ocean. The coastal population began to sicken. At first they suffered strange rashes, nausea and malformed babies. Then, after the 2005 tsunami, hundreds of the dumped and leaking barrels washed up on shore. People began to suffer from radiation sickness, and more than 300 died." (Jan. 5)

The article points out: "This is the context in which the 'pirates' have emerged. Somalian fishermen took speedboats to try to dissuade the dumpers and trawlers, or at least levy a 'tax' on them. They call themselves the Volunteer Coastguard of Somalia—and ordinary Somalis agree. The independent Somalian news site WardheerNews found 70 per cent 'strongly supported the piracy as a form of national defence.'"

In the Southern African nation of Zimbabwe, a recent round of attacks has been leveled at the country in attempts to ban its diamonds from being distributed on the international market. The government of President Robert Mugabe and the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front party has been battling for a decade to stave off attempts at regime change by the imperialist states of Britain, the U.S. and the European Union.

An Associated Press article stated, "The

world's diamond control body is calling on Zimbabwe to clean up a lawless field, but has stopped short of suspending the country from a process meant to keep 'blood' gems off the market." (Nov. 6)

These efforts can only be continuing the same imperialist aims of overthrowing the ZANU-PF government, which fought for the national liberation of the country during the 1960s and 1970s. ZANU-PF has entered into an inclusive alliance with the western-backed Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai opposition party, which is being funded by the U.S. as a parallel government. MDC-T recently engaged in another attempt to break up the inclusive arrangement in response to the arrest and threatened prosecution of a white settler businessman who was accused of smuggling arms into the country for the purpose of staging a violent attack on the president and his party.

## Role of AFRICOM must be challenged

For more than a year now the U.S. Africa Command has been officially in operation in the western European state of Germany. The efforts of the U.S. imperialists to base AFRICOM directly on the continent generated considerable controversy and opposition during 2007 and early 2008.

The U.S. has established a military base in the Horn of Africa nation of Djibouti at Camp Lemonier, where some 2,000 troops are stationed. This base hosts the Combined Joint Task Force, which is ostensibly set up to combat "terrorism" in the region.

In an Oct. 27 Global Research article, Rick Rozoff reviews the numerous U.S. military efforts on the African continent. These military operations are closely related to the U.S. desire to control the flow of oil and other strategic resources from the African continent into the imperialist states.

For example, the oil-producing West African nation of Gabon was the site of a large-scale military exercise involving the U.S. and a number of countries on the continent.

This article continues by stating that "Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi are to provide troops to join 450 U.S. military personnel in drills which 'involve live fire in the field as well as convoy operations, crowd control and vehicle checkpoints.' [quoted from the East African, Oct. 12]"

These U.S. military exercises are escalating at a critical period when the economies of both the imperialist states and the developing countries are undergoing tremendous upheaval and distress. Anti-war and anti-imperialist forces inside the United States and other western industrialized states must raise the increasing military involvement in Africa as a major source of the continuing underdevelopment and destabilization of the continent.

The military maneuvers and exploitation of resources in Africa have not provided any relief to the hundreds of millions of people suffering from unemployment, poverty and food deficits on the continent. In conjunction with the workers, farmers and their organizations in Africa, the progressive forces in the United States must oppose all efforts aimed at the further exploitation of the continent's resources as well as the occupation of its lands by the international capitalists and their military forces.

Visit [www.workers.org](http://www.workers.org) to view this article in its entirety.

## Hyatt workers strike

*Continued from page 5*

According to a union press release, the Hyatt CEO was paid \$6.7 million in compensation in 2008; the corporate chair, on top of his high compensation, got a bonus of \$1.4 million. The union added, "Hyatt has distinguished itself for its pursuit of profit at any price. In Boston, for example, Hyatt recently fired all housekeepers at its three non-union hotels, replacing them with outsourced workers paid about half of what the fired workers had earned."

On Nov. 6 almost all the striking workers marched together around the hotel and Union Square itself, chanting, "All day, all night, Local 2 is on strike!" and "If we don't get a contract, you won't get no peace!" The chants referred to complaints of noise because vocal strikers are on

picket line duty both day and night, which forced some guests to check out and move into hotels blocks away.

As wealthy tourists arrived and entered the hotel lobby, the workers chanted extra loudly, "Shame on you!" When a local pizza delivery person entered the lobby, the workers pointed and said, "Look at the new Room Service!" To the out-of-town Hyatt managers brought in to try to do the jobs of the striking workers, the picketers chanted, "Scab, scab!"

During the three-day strike, union workers at the 30 other high-end hotels remained on the job, although job actions, including a strike, remain possible union tactics until contract negotiations produce a reasonable offer from the hotel owners. For more information, visit [unitehere2.org](http://unitehere2.org).

## El presupuesto del Pentágono: el mayor, y sigue en crecimiento

Por Sara Flounders

El 28 de octubre el Presidente Barack Obama firmó el Acta de Autorización para la Defensa, el presupuesto militar más grande en la historia de Estados Unidos.

No solamente es el presupuesto militar más grande del mundo, sino que es mayor que todos los gastos militares de todo el resto del mundo combinados. Y sigue creciendo sin límites. El presupuesto militar para el año 2010, el cual ni siquiera cubre mucho de los gastos relacionados con guerras, es de \$680 mil millones de dólares. En el 2009 era de \$651 mil millones de dólares y en el año 2000 de \$280 mil millones. En diez años este presupuesto se ha más que duplicado.

¡Qué contraste con el asunto del cuidado de la salud!

El Congreso de los Estados Unidos ha estado discutiendo por más de seis meses, un plan básico para la salud, lo cual todo país industrializado tiene en una forma u otra. Ha habido intensa presión por parte de las compañías de seguros, amenazas de la derecha e incluso advertencias de que un plan para el cuidado de la salud no debe agregar ni siquiera un centavo al déficit.

Sin embargo, en medio de este debate de vida o muerte sobre el cuidado médico para millones de trabajadores/as y pobres que no tiene cobertura de salud, un extensísimo subsidio para las corporaciones de contratos militares y armas más grandes de Estados Unidos, un certero creador de déficit, es aceptado casi sin ninguna discusión ni artículo en la prensa.

El grupo Doctores por un Programa Nacional de Salud estima que un plan universal de salud costaría \$350 mil millones al año, cifra que en realidad sería la cantidad ahorrada por la eliminación de todos los costos administrativos en el actual sistema privado de salud, un sistema que excluye a casi 50 millones de personas.

Comparemos esto sólo al costo extra de cada año en el presupuesto militar. Hasta el Presidente Obama dijo al firmar el presupuesto del Pentágono, "La Oficina de Contabilidad del Gobierno (GAO, siglas en inglés) ha revisado 96 proyectos de defensa del año pasado, y encontró que el costo extra sumaba \$296 mil millones". (Whitehouse.gov, 28 de oct.)

La estafa de Bernard Madoff de \$50 mil millones, supuestamente la más grande en la historia, ni siquiera se compara. ¿Por qué no hay una investigación sobre el crimen de este robo multimillonario? ¿Dónde están las audiencias congresionales o la histeria de la prensa sobre los \$296 mil millones en costos extras? ¿Por qué no se arrestan a los jefes ejecutivos de las corporaciones?

Los costos extras son una parte integral del subsidio militar para las grandes corporaciones. Son tratados como algo normal. No importa qué partido esté en el poder, el presupuesto del Pentágono crece, el costo extra crece y los gastos domésticos disminuyen.

### Adicto a la guerra

El presupuesto militar de este año es sólo el ejemplo más reciente de cómo la

economía de Estados Unidos es mantenida a flote artificialmente. Décadas de revivir la economía capitalista por medio del estímulo de gastos en guerras ha creado una adicción al militarismo sin la cual las corporaciones no pueden vivir. Pero no es lo suficientemente grande como para resolver el problema capitalista de sobreproducción.

La justificación dada para esta inyección multimillonaria era que ayudaría a suavizar o a evitar una recesión capitalista y podría reducir el desempleo. Pero como advirtió el fundador del Partido Workers World Party/Mundo Obrero, Sam Marcy en 1980, en su libro "Generales Sobre la Casa Blanca", después de un período prolongado, se necesita más y más de este estimulante. Eventualmente se convierte en lo opuesto y se convierte en un depresor fuerte y masivo que enferma y destruye a la sociedad entera.

La raíz del problema es que al convertirse más productiva la tecnología, los/as trabajadores/as reciben cada vez menos proporción de lo que producen. La economía de Estados Unidos depende más y más del estímulo de las súper ganancias y del costo extra multimillonario militar para absorber proporciones más grandes de lo que es producido. Esta es una parte esencial de la constante redistribución de la riqueza de la clase trabajadora hacia los súper ricos.

Según el Centro para el Control de Armas y la No-Proliferación, el gasto militar de Estados Unidos es ahora mucho más, en cifras ajustadas a la inflación en el 2009, que durante los años de la Guerra de Corea (1952: \$604 mil millones), la Guerra de Vietnam (1968: \$513 mil millones) o en la era de Reagan (1985: 556 mil millones). Sin embargo no es suficiente para mantener la economía de Estados Unidos a flote.

Aún forzando a los países ricos en petróleo dependientes de Estados Unidos a que sean deudores con compras infinitas de armas, no se puede resolver el problema. Más de dos terceras partes de todas las armas vendidas globalmente en el 2008 fueron de compañías militares de Estados Unidos. (Reuters, 6 de sept.)

Mientras que un gigantesco programa militar pudo en los años de la década de los 30, salvar la economía de Estados Unidos de un colapso devastador, después de un período largo, este estímulo artificial socava el proceso capitalista.

El economista Seymour Melman, en libros como "Capitalismo del Pentágono", "Ganancias sin Producción" y "La Economía de Guerra Permanente: El Capitalismo Americano en Declive", advirtió sobre el deterioro de la economía de Estados Unidos y del nivel de vida de millones de personas.

Melman y otros economistas progresistas hablaban de una "conversión económica" racional o la transición de una producción militar a una civil por las industrias militares. Ellos explicaban cómo un bombardero B-1 o un submarino Trident podrían pagar por los salarios de miles de maestros/as, proveer becas o guardería infantil o la reconstrucción de

carreteras. Diagramas y tablas mostraban cómo el presupuesto militar emplea mucho menos trabajadores/as que los mismos fondos utilizados para cubrir necesidades civiles.

Estas ideas eran muy razonables, excepto que el capitalismo no es racional. En su deseo insaciable de aumentar las ganancias, siempre escogerá la súper ganancia inmediata sobre aún los mejores intereses para su propia sobrevivencia a largo plazo.

### Sin 'beneficios de paz'

Las grandes expectativas después de la Guerra Fría y el colapso de la Unión Soviética, de que miles de millones de dólares ahora podrían usarse para la paz, chocaron contra el continuo crecimiento del presupuesto del Pentágono. Esta triste realidad ha desmoralizado y agobiado tanto a economistas progresistas que ahora casi no se le pone atención a la "conversión económica" o al papel jugado por el militarismo en la economía capitalista, aunque hoy es mucho más grande que en los días de la Guerra Fría.

El subsidio militar anual multimillonario con que los economistas burgueses contaban desde la Gran Depresión para inyectar la economía y comenzar de nuevo el ciclo de expansión capitalista ya no es suficiente.

Cuando las corporaciones se hicieron dependientes de las ofrendas multimillonarias, sus apetitos se hicieron insaciables. En 2009, en un esfuerzo para impedir el colapso de la economía global capitalista, más de \$700 mil millones fueron entregados a los bancos más grandes. Y esto era solamente el comienzo. El rescate de los bancos ahora se cuenta en los millones de millones de dólares.

Aún \$600 a \$700 mil millones al año en gasto militar ya no puede recomenzar la economía capitalista o generar prosperidad. Sin embargo, Estados Unidos corporativo no puede vivir sin él.

El presupuesto militar ha crecido tanto que ya amenaza con agobiar y devorar todo financiamiento social. Su mero peso está eliminando financiamiento para cualquier necesidad humana. Las ciudades estadounidenses están colapsándose. La infraestructura de puentes, carreteras, canales, diques y túneles está desintegrándose. Veinticinco por ciento del agua potable en los Estados Unidos está considerada de "pobre cualidad". La tasa de desempleo oficial ya ha alcanzado el 10 por ciento y en realidad es el doble. El desempleo de jóvenes negros/as y latinos/as es más del 50 por ciento. Catorce millones de niños/as en los Estados Unidos viven en familias por debajo del nivel de pobreza.

### La mitad de los costos militares está oculta

El presupuesto militar anunciado para 2010 de \$680 mil millones es en realidad sólo la mitad del costo anual de los gastos militares estadounidenses.

Estos gastos son tan grandes que engendran un esfuerzo combinado de ocultar muchos de los gastos militares en otras partidas presupuestarias. El análisis anual

del War Resisters League enumeró los gastos verdaderos militares estadounidenses en \$1.449 mil millones, no el presupuesto oficial de \$651 mil millones. Wikipedia, citando varias fuentes, concluyó que el presupuesto militar total es de \$1.144 mil millones. Independientemente de quien esté contando, es indiscutible que el presupuesto militar en realidad excede \$1 millón de millones anuales.

El Proyecto de Prioridades Nacionales, el Centro de Información de Defensa y el Centro para el Control de Armas y No-Proliferación analizan y revelan muchos gastos militares ocultos en otras partes del presupuesto total estadounidense.

Por ejemplo, los beneficios para veteranos/as que suman \$91 mil millones no están incluidos en el presupuesto del Pentágono. Las pensiones militares, \$48 mil millones, están incluidas en el presupuesto del Departamento del Tesoro. El Departamento de Energía oculta \$18 mil millones en programas de armas nucleares en su presupuesto. El financiamiento por \$38 mil millones de las ventas de armas al exterior está incluido en el presupuesto del Departamento de Estado. Uno de los artículos más grandes ocultos es el interés por la deuda que ha resultado de guerras pasadas, el cuál está entre \$237 y \$390 mil millones. Éste es en realidad un subsidio para los bancos, que están íntimamente ligados a las industrias militares.

Cada parte de estos presupuestos inflados se espera que crezca un 5 a 10 por ciento al año, mientras que el financiamiento federal para los estados y las ciudades está disminuyendo en un 10 a 15 por ciento anual, resultando en crisis deficitarias.

Según la Agencia de Administración y Presupuesto, el 55 por ciento de todo el presupuesto estadounidense para el 2010 irá al ejército. ¡Más de la mitad! Mientras tanto, las subvenciones federales a los estados y las ciudades para los servicios humanos vitales, escuelas, entrenamiento de profesores/as, programas de cuidado de salud en casa, almuerzos escolares, mantenimiento básico de la infraestructura para agua potable, alcantarillado, puentes, túneles y carreteras, están disminuyendo.

### Militarismo engendra represión

El aspecto más peligroso del crecimiento militar es la penetración insidiosa de su influencia política en todas las áreas de la sociedad. Es la institución más alejada del control popular y la más llevada hacia aventuras militares y represión. Generales jubilados toman turnos en salas de sesiones corporativas, se hacen portavoces en los medios de difusión masiva, y se hacen cabilderos, consejeros, y políticos con salarios altos.

No es una coincidencia que teniendo el aparato militar más grande del mundo, Estados Unidos tenga la población prisionera más grande. El complejo prisión-industrial es la única industria en crecimiento. Según el Buró de Estadísticas de Justicia del Departamento de Justicia de

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