

How to fight Trump? Break with both capitalist parties!

John Lamparski / WireImage



By MARK UGOLINI

Donald Trump, a pompous real-estate mogul and multi-billionaire, has taken the White House while surrounded by billionaire cabinet appointees who have a combined net worth greater than one-third of the United States. An Ivy-League-educated bigot, who from childhood has become accustomed to an opulent lifestyle, including a Manhattan “grand penthouse mansion” with gold-plated furnishings, has the temerity to present himself as the voice of the down-trodden and the defender of American workers.

Trump’s inaugural address was a demagogic mixture of populist and nationalistic rhetoric. The assembled dignitaries were a “Who’s Who” of the ruling elite: nationally prominent political hacks, lobbyists, and influence peddlers intermingled among the most powerful captains of industry and finance.

Oblivious to the irony, Trump said: “Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country. ... That all changes, starting right here and right now.”

Trump’s comments are intended to manipulate and deceive workers into believing that he can bring back good paying manufacturing jobs. Despite his orchestrated media events, posing to “threaten” companies planning to move operations elsewhere, he has offered few details on how more jobs will be created.

Trump blames Mexico, China, and other countries when U.S.-based companies outsource jobs and build factories outside the U.S. where wages are very low. He also continues scapegoating immigrants for loss of jobs.

The new administration plans a major shift in trade policy, and Trump has already threatened Mexico with a 20% tariff if they don’t pay for the wall on the border. Other statements, and selection of Peter Navarro as a top trade advisor, signal an aggressive move on China. Navarro is a well-known advocate of this approach. However, the administration has received harsh warnings that raising tariffs will only cause higher prices for consumer goods, added unemployment for some sectors of the U.S. workforce, and run a high risk of a trade war.

Trump’s words are deceitful, cynically ignoring the reality of an ever-expanding global economy domi-

nated by huge multinational corporations and banks. The only way U.S. capitalists might attract new jobs would be to accelerate severe austerity measures that drive down wages and weaken or eliminate unions and all the protections they provide.

According to Trump, the U.S. role in the world will reflect “a new vision ... America First,” to advance U.S. domination and supremacy over world markets by means somewhat different from past administrations. His aggressively nationalistic foreign policy will drive toward the same objective as Obama’s before him—free reign for the huge multinational corporate and banking interests to dominate and control the world economy.

Trump revealed more of his view of “America First” in a Jan. 25 interview with ABC News. He explained, “We should’ve kept the oil when we got out” of Iraq in 2011. “To the victors go the spoils,” said Trump in another interview, arrogantly declaring an intention to steal Iraq’s national resources. He prefers this course, recognized as “illegal” under international law, rather than the more veiled imperialist approach of previ-

(continued on page 8)

200 years ago: Black people protested African exile

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

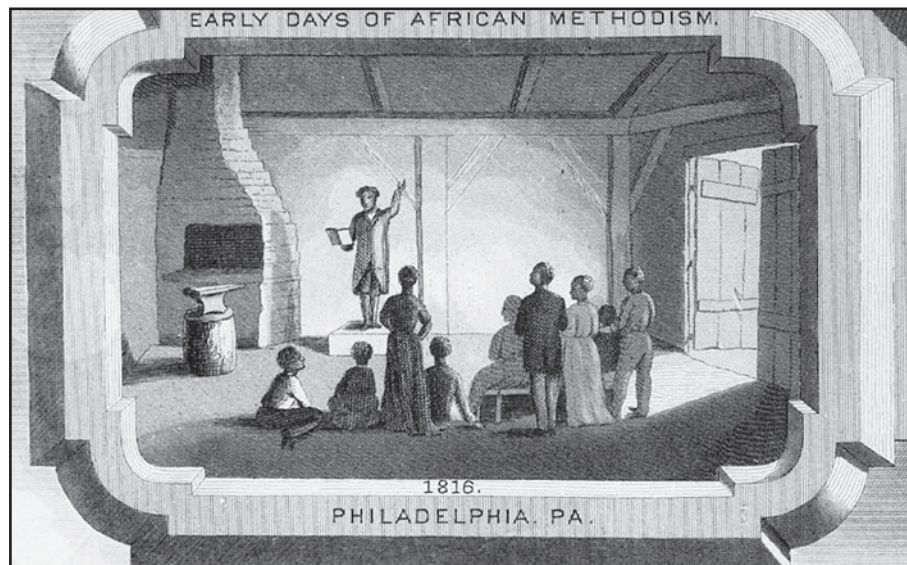
On Martin Luther King Day, Jan. 16, over 5000 people marched to a street rally outside Philadelphia's Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. The march was sponsored by a broad number of groups under the aegis of the MLK Day of Action and Resistance (MLK-DARE) coalition, which presented to the public its comprehensive declaration of principles as "a vision for a more equal and just America."

The reason that the marchers assembled outside historic Mother Bethel was to mark the 200th anniversary of another rally at the same site. In January 1817, some 3000 Black people had gathered at the church to speak against efforts to expel free Black people from the United States and send them into exile in Africa.

In early 1816, Charles Fenton Mercer, a Federalist legislator in Virginia, initiated a campaign to convince the federal government to colonize Black people into a new state on Africa's west coast.

It was an idea that some well-intentioned whites had raised before: Why not give American Blacks a fresh opportunity in Africa, where they could develop their skills unhindered by white prejudices, and at the same time bring Christianity and civilized values to the untamed continent?

Historian Gary B. Nash ("Forging Freedom") sums up the motivations of white "reformers" who were attracted to the colonization movement: "White racial prejudice was permanently relegating free blacks to a degraded position, which was a contradiction of the entire credo of the republican ideology emanating from



the American Revolution. Caught in such an impasse, white reformers chose to remove the object of white racism rather than combat racism itself."

Mercer soon caught the ear of Robert Finley, a Presbyterian clergyman and director of the Princeton Theological Society. Finley developed a plan to establish the American Colonization Society (ASC), based in the city of Washington, a location chosen to facilitate the task of lobbying members of Congress.

It was not long before a number of Southern slave-owning planters and politicians joined the ASC—and indeed became its major leaders. This became clear at the founding conference of the society, on Dec. 21, 1816, in Washington City, chaired by Kentucky Senator Henry Clay, a slaveholder.

The elected president of the society was Bushrod Washington, nephew of the for-

mer president, and a slaveholder at the Mount Vernon estate.

Although the language of the ASC convention spoke of "ameliorating the condition of the free people of colour in the United States," less glowing opinions were voiced by many delegates. This was seen in the positions of Robert Goodloe Harper, from Maryland, who wrote in 1817 that the growing number of free Blacks in his region were a "nuisance and burden," "a degraded, idle, and vicious population."

Southern planters saw free Black people as worse than a nuisance; their very existence as "free" labor served as a constant threat to the institution of slavery. "King Cotton" was becoming supreme as an export crop, and slavery was being extended to new U.S. territories in the west.

It had become evident to Black people at the time that, as the abolition move-

ment steadily lost ground, white hostility to Blacks was rising in the North. What few equal rights they did have, such as the right to congregate in public parks on holidays, were often taken away. Accordingly, many Black leaders were initially attracted to the goals of the Colonization Society. The image of a haven in a free Black-ruled republic (like Haiti) had great attraction.

One strong supporter of the idea was Paul Cuffee, a New England merchant, ship owner, and sea captain of African and Native American parentage. As a political organizer, Cuffee used his ability to sail from port to port to spread the vision of "returning" to Africa.

At first, Philadelphia Black leader James Forten felt pulled toward Cuffee's ideas. But the meeting at Mother Bethel Church—which he chaired—helped to steer him away from support to colonization when he observed one speaker after another denounce it.

Most Black families in this country had lived here for generations and had no memory of the Africa of their ancestors. Most felt instead that they should have full rights in the very country that they had helped to build.

Soon, the role of Southern slave owners in the American Colonization Society became clear to all. Moreover, not just a few Black Americans who had emigrated to western Africa (Sierra Leone and Liberia) found themselves in conflict with local peoples. And whole families died from diseases to which they had no immunity.

But as racism grew in the United States, the idea of exiling the free Black population to a distant country continued to come to the surface. ■

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Socialist Action newspaper editorial offices: socialistactionnews@yahoo.com Website: www.socialistaction.org

WHERE TO FIND US

- BOSTON: socialistactionboston@gmail.com
- BUFFALO, NY: wny-socialist@google.com
- CHICAGO: P.O. Box 578428 Chicago, IL 60657, chisocialistaction@yahoo.com
- CONNECTICUT: (860) 478-5300
- DULUTH, MINN.: adamritscher@yahoo.com, www.thenorthernworker.blogspot.com
- KANSAS CITY: kcsa@workernet.org (816) 221-3638
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- MADISON, Wis.: Northlandiguana@gmail.com
- MINNEAPOLIS/ST. PAUL: (612) 802-1482, socialistaction@visi.com
- NEW YORK CITY: (212) 781-5157
- PHILADELPHIA: philly.socialistaction@gmail.com

- PORTLAND, ORE.: (503) 233-1629 gary1917@aol.com
- PROVIDENCE: ADGAGNERI@GMAIL.COM (401) 952-5385
- SALEM, ORE.: ANN MONTAGUE@COMCAST.NET
- SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA: P.O. Box 10328, OAKLAND, CA 94610 (510) 268-9429, sfsocialistaction@gmail.com
- WASHINGTON, DC: christopher.towne@gmail.com, (202) 286-5493

SOCIALIST ACTION CANADA

NATIONAL OFFICE
 526 Roxton Road, Toronto, Ont. M6G 3R4, (416) 535-8779
<http://socialistaction.ca/>

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Trump OKs oil pipelines

By MARTY GOODMAN

In a move that surprised no one for its greed and arrogance, on Jan. 24 President Donald Trump reversed President Obama's Executive Order impeding construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline. The route of the pipeline goes across sacred Sioux land and under the Missouri River near the Standing Rock reservation in North Dakota.

Delivering on a promised one-two punch against climate sanity and Native American rights, climate change denier Trump also approved restarting the Keystone XL oil pipeline project, halted in November 2015 and stretching all the way from Canada to the Gulf Coast.

In order to stoke chauvinist rhetoric that attempts to address the burning desire of working families for good jobs at decent pay, Trump said that the pipelines must be "American made." That might sound promising to some because the Democrats have done little to create good paying jobs.

But here's the kicker: Trump promises 28,000 jobs at Keystone XL, but a State Department review found that the project would yield only 35 permanent jobs! Trump invited Keystone to re-apply to start digging.

The fossil fuel industry's blitzkrieg has outraged Native Americans who are vowing to take the fight to a new level. "We will fight back through the courts, protest in any means possible and necessary," said Ariel Derenger of the Athabasca first nation.

After court challenges by the Sioux Nation, if what's called an "easement" or permission to dig under the Missouri and Lake Oahe, a source of drinking water for the Sioux and millions downstream, is granted, and if the digging resumes, it is estimated it could take as little as two weeks to complete the pipeline. But that depends, again, on the courts and the mass movement. John Hasselman, an attorney for the Sioux Nation, says that stopping the oil in the pipes through the courts is still a possibility. He states that Trump "unlawfully and arbitrarily sidestepped" the findings of the Obama administration.

We will see if any justice in the capitalist courts is possible, but the experience of Native Americans in this country is 400 years of rape, murder, theft of resources and broken treaties!

The flashpoint of resistance at Standing Rock has ignited unprecedented mobilizations and unity among over 100 Native American nations. In December, crowds were said to peak at 10,000, including thousands of native and non-native American solidarity activists from across the US and Canada, 3000 of whom were veterans.

The largest numbers of water protectors were in camp around the time Barack Obama ordered an environmental review on Dec. 4, demonstrating the power of mass mobilization for Standing Rock across the world. About 500 remain at Standing Rock in the sub-zero North Dakota weather.

At the present time, the main camp at Standing Rock, Oceti Sakowin, is being relocated due to oncoming spring floods in the plain area and a unanimous decision by the Tribal Nation Council, reiterated on



(Above) Water protectors in a snowstorm near Standing Rock, North Dakota.

Jan. 21, to leave the camp. Cops and security goons are taking quick advantage of the situation.

Diné water protector and videographer Marcus Mitchell spoke with Pacifica's "Democracy Now!" (Jan. 25) lost sight in one eye after a police attack. He described cops brutalizing water protectors: "After about five minutes on the bridge, my hands were raised, and I was saying, 'I am an American citizen practicing my First Amendment right to freedom of speech. I'm unarmed, and I am in peaceful protest.' I was then shot in the leg.

"I looked down. And as I looked up, a beanbag hit me. ... And then, another round came in my face and hit me—hit my eye directly. I then turned around to run and was nearly shot in the back of the head."

Donald Trump invested up to \$1 million in Energy Transfer Partners (owner of the Dakota Access pipeline), but last year was reported to have divested his stock in the company. Nevertheless, he was the recipient of large campaign contributions from Energy Transfer Partners head Kelcy Warren—including a \$100,000 check to the Trump Victory Fund.

What's more, in June 2015, Warren gave \$5 million to a PAC that supported the presidential campaign of Ex-Governor Rick Perry, now Trump's nominee for Secretary of Energy. Perry sat on the board of Energy Transfer Partners until Jan. 5 and also Sunoco—a corporation that also is involved the Standing Rock pipeline. During his time as Texas governor, Perry distributed hundreds of millions in "incentives" to corporations wishing to do business in Texas.

The nominee for Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, is the longtime CEO of Exxon Mobil, the wealthiest corporation in the world and the biggest threat to the climate's survival.

The Democrats hardly pose as an alternative to Trump's fossil fuel madness. Hillary Clinton refused to speak out against rampant police brutality against peaceful protesters at Standing Rock, seen by mil-

lions in news broadcasts and YouTube videos across the world (which has continued), while she continued to pose natural gas as an alternative to coal. Senate Democratic Minority leader Chuck Schumer has been a big recipient of Wall Street donations, including from energy companies.

Donald Trump's orders to revive the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines sparked a number of emergency protests in Washington, New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Philadelphia, and other cities. Josh Fox, filmmaker and protest organizer, told "Democracy Now!" that "we had, we think, between 2000 and 5000 people last night in New York City in the freezing rain."

Thousands of No DAPL protesters are expected at this #SuperSundayMarch in Pershing Square in Los Angeles. (Stay in touch with #NoDAPL and #NoKXL, Stand With Standing Rock and Labor for Standing Rock).

Troy Fairbanks, the sixth-generation grandson of Sitting Bull, told the British *Guardian*, "Have we as Native people ever been given a fair shake? Nah. But this time, the whole world is watching."

Another method of resistance was shown by Local 10 of the International Longshore Workers Union, which carried out a one-day strike at Bay Area ports on Jan. 20, the day of Trump's inauguration. This points a way toward further labor action against Trump and his billionaires. Militant labor action, alongside oppressed communities within the working class, can ultimately take down the whole rotten system, now plunging headlong toward environmental disaster. ■

See Bill Onasch's article on page 5 for more information on the struggle against the oil pipelines.

By BILL ONASCH

Seeing the light in Baltimore—At the beginning of the Trump era, an important organizing victory has taken place. After a vigorous campaign that included home visits, phone banking, and twice a day plant gate rallies and leaflet distributions, an NLRB election certified the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to represent more than 1400 Baltimore Gas & Electric workers.

Obama legacy includes smaller unions—There were high expectations in organized labor when Obama took office eight years ago. Their hopes centered on labor law reform. But no significant legislation was passed during his administration, not even during his first two years when the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress.

Labor Briefing

Some beneficial new Labor Board rulings were passed about overtime coverage and "joint responsibility" of national corporations for workers in franchised workplaces. Those rules most certainly will be reversed by Trump appointees. Trump's nominee for Labor Secretary is CEO of the Hardy's fast-food chain, who will undoubtedly strangle "joint responsibility" in the crib.

Instead of a resurgence in union strength, the final annual report by the Bureau of Labor Standards (www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.htm) shows a decline in union numbers and density on Obama's watch to a new low since the reporting of such stats began in 1983. In 2015, unions repre-

sented 16,441,000 workers, 12.3 percent of the workforce, of which 11.1 percent were actual union members. In 2016, representation declined to 12 percent, and union membership to 10.7 percent. The new figures in the private sector show only 7.3 percent represented, 6.4 percent dues-paying members.

The discrepancy between union-represented workers and union membership is primarily due to free-riders choosing not to join the union in those states where so-called "Right to Work" laws ban union-shop agreements. The right-wing American Legislative Exchange Council has succeeded in getting RtW passed in several new

states in recent years, including former union strongholds in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Kentucky—and passage in Missouri appears imminent. It is possible Congress will pass a national version.

Still popular though—Despite declining members, polls show the number of Americans who view unions favorably is on the rise. A new Pew Poll shows a sixty percent approval rating.

Both the positive public perception of unions and the employer drive to get rid of them are undoubtedly influenced by wages. Full-time union workers had a median usual weekly paycheck of \$1004 last year. The same measure for non-union workers was \$802. ■

If you have a story idea appropriate for Labor Briefing, please contact: billonasch@kclabor.org

Chicago immigrant rights supporters rally



By MARK UGOLINI

CHICAGO—Over 1000 immigration rights activists and supporters packed the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) hall on Jan. 14 to protest attacks on immigrants and refugees, and new Republican administration plans to continue and escalate harassment and mass deportations.

The event was part of a National Day of Action for Immigrant Rights, with protests in more than 70 U.S. cities that mobilized thousands from Washington and Miami to Houston, Los Angeles, and San Jose. The largest event took place in Washington, D.C., where several thousand from throughout the Eastern U.S. converged for a march and an overflow rally in the Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal church.

The actions marked the beginning of what turned out to be a giant wave of protests organized in response to the incoming Trump administration's attacks on immigrants and refugees, including Trump's crack down

on Muslims entering the U.S. and his pledges to build a wall on the border with Mexico.

The Chicago rally, held in an industrial district on the West Side, was sponsored by the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR) and supported by the CTU, Service Employee International Union, United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 88, various Teamster union locals, and some 44 community and religious organizations representing the city's Latin American, Arab, and Asian communities.

The diverse crowd included broad representation from Muslim communities, who demanded a halt to harassment and outrage over Donald Trump's call for a Muslim registry system. Signs saying "Resistance, Unity and Respect," "Stop the Deportations" and "No Muslim Registry" were prominently displayed throughout the crowd.

Many low-wage workers from Fight for \$15 were in attendance, making a strong stand for immigration rights. One of the group's leaders spoke at the rally.

Attending with her family, Rehab Alkadi, 31, a Syrian refugee, spoke of their worries of deportation, particularly in light of Donald Trump's incendiary rhetoric targeting Muslims. She spoke of how hateful, racist, and xenophobic rhetoric has the effect of "criminalizing" refugees and creates fertile ground for harassment, intimidation, and violent physical attacks against them.

Representing the Japanese American Service Committee, Michael Takada called for unity to stop the coming ramp-up of "the deportation machine." He echoed calls of other speakers demanding that local city governments provide protection for immigrants by adopting sanctuary policies to help shield them from ICE.

Rally organizer and head of ICIRR Lawrence Benito told the *Chicago Tribune* that it's time to "join hands with immigrant, refugee, faith and labor brothers and sisters and their allies to declare, in no uncertain terms, that we will stand in the way of criminalization, mass deportation and hatred in our communities. ... We will resist. We will continue to fight for dignity and respect for our communities."

The Chicago Teachers Union was at the center of labor movement solidarity for the event. Recently, the union passed a resolution pledging full support for immigrant and refugee victims of government attacks: "The CTU will not tolerate hate or discrimination ... and shares a responsibility to support and protect students and their families ... [from] policy decisions made by the President Elect ... and acknowledges that the policies of deporting and criminalizing immigrants are policies [Chicago Democratic Party] Mayor Rahm Emanuel devised as adviser and chief of staff of the Clinton and Obama administrations respectively."

The CTU resolved to not "participate in or perpetuate the divisiveness created by politicians by labeling undocumented immigrants as good or bad immigrants" and to "oppose any efforts to create a Muslim registry system, build a wall, enforce massive deportations, and impose stop and frisk civil rights violations upon our communities."

The CTU endorsed the Jan. 21 Women's Marches and pledged to "support rallies, marches or other actions that further protections for students and their families against harmful policies that aim to divide or incarcerate students ..."

Mexico won't pay for the Wall!

By MARCO DAVILA

The reactionary white contingent in the United States has become braver with the recent arrival of one of their "own" in the White House. And at this point it has become clear that to underestimate Trump is an error.

For Trump and his followers, Mexicans are to blame for most of the ills in the U.S. Undocumented workers are treated like the lowest of the low and the New York billionaire like an honest worker.

In these times of darkness for immigrants and refugees, undocumented workers, who are disparaged by all sides, are experiencing an extra dose of stress. Trump is clarifying the unclear future of undocumented workers by bringing the threat of deportation to the forefront. With the inauguration of President Donald J. Trump, the attacks against immigrants, Muslims, women, and minorities have just begun.

The United States creates immigrants and refugees in other countries and then blocks their entry into this country. In the end, it is not Mexico who will pay for the wall, but undocumented immigrants and the 50 million poor citizens who live in Mexico.

If the corrupt government of Mexico hasn't been able to defend its undocumented people for dozens of years, if it hasn't been able to use its own resources to become self sufficient, if it hasn't been able to create living wage jobs for its own citizens, what makes us think it will do so now? Mexico should have stopped looking to the North, should have stopped trying to emulate or depend on the North, should have stopped trying to satisfy imperialism a long time ago.

In Mexico it is said that Trump is making national security more vulnerable, but in reality it is the corrupt Mexican government that has made its own security more vulnerable through their ruthless capitalism.

Trump will find a strong rival in Mexico—not within

the Mexican government, but within the organized and united Mexican community. He will encounter this rival in the very streets of the United States, when Mexicans, along with their American brothers and sisters, take to the streets to send a strong message of defiance to the Trump administration.

With his attacks against human rights and dignity, Trump has ignited the spark of rebellion within sectors of the population that have never attended a protest, march, or rally and who now feel that their basic human rights are being threatened. Within days of his taking the presidency, marches across the nation are beginning to break records with the size of their attendance.

Mexico should stop trying to placate its imperial neighbor as it has done in the past. The resistance of the North American people has just begun. The resistance will be on both sides of the border and at the same time beyond it.

Undocumented immigrants are not alone. They are supported by the most conscious and militant layers of the working class in the United States.

Por MARCO DAVILA

¡México no pagará el muro!

Los blancos reaccionarios están envilecidos con la llegada a la casa blanca de uno de los "suyos". Y a estas alturas ya queda claro que menospreciar al "simple payaso" es un error. Para Trump y los fieles trompistas, los mexicanos son culpables de casi todos los males de EEUU; para ellos los trabajadores indocumentados somos los rateros y el multimillonario de Nueva York es un trabajador impecablemente honesto.

En estos tiempos de oscuridad para el migrante y refugiado se le ha inyectado una dosis extra de estrés a los trabajadores indocumentados, quienes son menospreciados por un lado y por otro. El futuro incierto de millones de indocumentados Trump lo está aclarando, la amenaza de deportación está más latente que antes. Con el periodo presidencial

de Donald J. Trump, los ataques contra inmigrantes, musulmanes, mujeres y minorías apenas comienzan.

EEUU crea migrantes y refugiados en otros países y luego bloquea la entrada a ambos refugiados y migrantes. En conclusión, de llevarse a cabo, México no pagará el muro, el muro lo pagaremos los indocumentados y los más de 50 millones de ciudadanos mexicanos pobres.

Si el mal gobierno mexicano no ha sido capaz de defender a los indocumentados por decenas de años, no ha sido capaz de usar sus propios recursos para ser auto-suficientes, no ha sido capaz de crear empleos bien pagados para sus ciudadanos, ¿por qué deberíamos creer que ahora sí van a hacerlo?

México desde hace mucho tiempo debió

mirar hacia el sur y dejar de mirar hacia el norte, dejar de copiar todo, dejar de depender del norte, dejar de complacer al imperio.

Dicen en México que la seguridad nacional Trump la está vulnerando, pero quienes han vulnerado la seguridad del pueblo mexicano son los malos gobernantes de México y sus oligarcas, minoría capitalista rapaz.

Desde luego que Trump puede encontrarse con un rival fuerte, pero este rival no lo encontrará en el mal gobierno mexicano, el rival fuerte lo encontrará en el pueblo mexicano organizado y unido, ese rival fuerte lo encontrará en las propias calles de EEUU cuando los mexicanos, junto al noble pueblo estadounidense se tomen las calles para enviar un mensaje

de repudio contra las políticas antipopulares de Trump.

Con su batalla contra la civilización, Trump ha venido a encender la chispa de la rebeldía en sectores de gentes que jamás en su vida han asistido a una protesta o una marcha o un mitin y que ahora se sienten también abusados y ven sus derechos básicos amenazados. A pocos días de la toma de protesta de Trump, las marchas comienzan a romper récords en asistencia.

México debe dejar de complacer al imperio, la resistencia de las minorías y el pueblo norteamericano comienza apenas en la frontera y más allá de dicha frontera.

Los inmigrantes indocumentados no están solos, cuentan con el respaldo de la gente libre, consciente y más luchadora con que cuentan los EEUU.

Towards a just transition to sustainable jobs

By BILL ONASCH

The Trump administration wasted no time before launching a veritable blitzkrieg on all fronts in pursuit of an “alt-right” America First agenda. But resistance has been swift and massive. Some examples of those counter-attacks are reported elsewhere in this newspaper.

In addition to various movements mobilizing in action, we also heard from scientists. Agence France Presse (AFP) reported: “Comments by U.S. President Donald Trump on nuclear weapons and climate change have helped make the world less safe, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists warned ... moving its symbolic ‘Doomsday Clock’ 30 seconds closer to midnight.”

This heightened warning by atomic scientists about two overarching crises closely followed an announcement by climate scientists at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration that, for the third consecutive year, 2016 had been the hottest since record keeping began in 1880.

Trump replaces an Obama administration that offered token gestures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, which are the prime culprit in heating our planet, while at the same time also promoting fossil-fuel expansion through destructive fracking of gas and oil.

Now, the 45th president has dismissed global warming as a job-killing hoax perpetrated by China to sabotage the American economy. Rather than presenting any of his signature “alternative facts” to bolster this fantastic conspiracy theory, he has focused on the job-killing argument. Jobs are a big and legitimate concern of the working-class majority.

Making nice to some unions

Largely overlooked in all the turmoil was Trump’s duplicitous reach-out to sectors of trade-union leadership, promising to save and create middle-class jobs. He invited AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka, and Teamsters president James P. Hoffa to the White House to celebrate his canceling of the Trans-Pacific Partnership deal negotiated by President Obama.

All unions and environmental groups had strongly opposed TPP for good reasons. Like NAFTA and other such regional agreements, TPP is more about the unrestricted movement of capital across borders than trade. Trumka and Hoffa endorsed Trump’s action.

Trump also summoned leaders of several construction-based unions to unveil his plans to create jobs by rebuilding infrastructure and reviving the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipeline projects.

Of course, there’s plenty that needs to be done to repair or replace dangerous bridges and tunnels, deteriorating water and sewer lines, aging rail and urban mass-transit systems, and many more projects that have been long neglected through “deferred maintenance” imposed by austerity budgets.

The head of the Ironworkers union was cautiously enthusiastic: “The Ironworkers union applauds Donald Trump’s infrastructure program. We have to have a sustainable maintenance program that recognizes that the existing bridges need to have ongoing maintenance, and quite frankly politicians in both parties have done us a disservice.”

The brother will likely see more disservice. Trump’s scheme, still being fleshed out, is no grand plan for useful public works—as is sorely needed. Ronald A Klain, who headed Obama’s “shovel ready” project to stimulate jobs during the height of the Great Recession, wrote in a *Washington Post* Op-Ed piece, “Trump’s plan is not really an infrastructure plan. It’s a tax-cut plan for utility-industry and construction-sector investors, and a massive corporate welfare plan.”

The initial list of Trump’s proposed projects supports



Klain’s assertion. As in many cities, the Water Services Department in my hometown of Kansas City cannot keep up with even major leaks in water and sewer lines, some dating back to the 19th century. But the sole KC project on the preliminary list is a refurbishing of passenger terminals at Kansas City International airport to facilitate more efficient security.

Prevailing wage law targeted

The unions expecting to get such work should keep in mind that the Davis-Bacon Prevailing Wage law—enacted during the Hoover administration—which has long guaranteed union jurisdiction on public projects, is targeted for repeal by Congress.

The expansion of the 200,000-mile network of pipelines will exacerbate climate change and inflict major environmental damage. Leaks are inevitable. Over the past decade, 38 million gallons have polluted land and water.

The proposed Keystone Pipeline (KXL) would move not oil but bitumen—a hydrocarbon often used as an ingredient in asphalt. It is mined in the Tar Sands of Alberta and injected with chemicals to create a sludge suitable for flowing through the pipeline to special refineries that convert it into a synthetic oil. Unlike oil, bitumen is heavier than water and when it leaks into rivers and streams it does more damage by sinking to the bottom. *It is the dirtiest fuel on the planet.* Mass protests by climate activists pressured Obama to consign the project to purgatory.

The Dakota Access Pipeline would transfer shale oil extracted through hydraulic fracturing (fracking) from the Bakken in North Dakota to also special refineries in Illinois. Bakken oil has a very high methane content. Methane is a greenhouse gas more potent than carbon dioxide. It also makes the oil much more volatile. Currently Bakken oil is shipped by rail and there have been numerous fiery, sometimes deadly transport accidents.

Once KXL is completed, the owners expect to operate it 24/7 with only about 35 regular employees. If DAPL is ultimately completed one way or another, it too will provide only a few dozen long term maintenance and inspection jobs. But a substantial number of rail jobs will be lost once the pipeline is flowing—*creating an*

overall net loss of middle class union jobs.

Some unions not welcomed

Those pointedly *not* invited for a White House chat with the Denier-in-Chief include such major unions as the Service Employees International Union, Amalgamated Transit Union, and National Nurses United. Those unions have made a good start in educating and mobilizing their members around climate issues. They built mass actions around KXL and DAPL with member participation and material contributions. NNU nurses cared for those peaceful protesters at Standing Rock injured by police pepper gas and rubber bullets.

These unions are affiliated to coalitions like the Labor Network for Sustainability (www.labor4sustainability.org) in North America, and the global Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (unionsforenergydemocracy.org). This labor wing of the climate justice movement understands the working-class majority is the only force with both the material interest and potential power to defeat capitalist climate wrecking and replace it with a sustainable economy.

These climate-conscious unionists realize that overcoming the threat of job loss is task #1 in winning over workers. They have revived and adapted the long promoted principle of Just Transition. In a nutshell, this means when workers lose their livelihood for the good of society, society must guarantee their living standards and, if necessary, provide retraining and relocation expenses until they find suitable new work.

This principle can apply to many areas, such as the armaments industries and workers in the billing and advertising branches of health insurance companies. The required restructuring of the American and world economy to stop global warming short of global disaster will mean eliminating and replacing tens of millions of jobs.

Just Transition is a necessary first step in unifying the struggles for class and climate justice that can secure a peaceful, democratic, sustainable future. The working class needs to lead the discussion and the planned implementation of this goal that is indispensable to the survival of human civilization.

Socialists have much to contribute to this fight that we cannot afford to lose. ■

Road tolls: Highway to greater inequality

TORONTO—How are we going to pay for the better urban infrastructure so desperately needed? It shouldn’t be by resorting to user fees that hit working people and the poor, disregarding ability to pay.

Regressive taxation, like Toronto Mayor John Tory’s new plan for road tolls, is the highway to greater inequality. Wealth in Toronto, in Ontario, and beyond, has never been so humongous, and yet never so concentrated in such few hands.

What is the alternative funding model? How can society fund public transportation, social housing, childcare, education,

culture and recreation facilities, and meet health needs in Toronto, one of the richest cities in the world?

The alternative is clear. Raise taxes on big business, on the giant banks, on land developers, property speculators, non-primary residence owners, on churches, mosques and temples (religious institutions pay zero property taxes), on big commercial advertisers, big landlords, and on all the big businesses that profit from the mass transportation of their workers and consumers to the workplaces, cash registers and credit card machines.

Taxation of the many deep reservoirs of private wealth would end the sham debate between new road tolls versus a general property tax hike. Serious income obtained from those who can afford to pay would rapidly enable the city to end gridlock and abolish homelessness. It could reverse infrastructure break down, and in the process, create good jobs. Best of all, this can be done without fostering fights between downtown and suburban residents -- a favourite ploy of ‘opinion leaders.

— BARRY WEISLEDER

... Refugees

(continued from page 12)

ties. Yes, the ban is reprehensible, but within the logic of the War on Terror, it is also logical.

Socialist Action says we must stand together against Trump’s ban, and against Trump’s registry, but we must also stand together against the illogical logic of the entire War on Terror.

We say no to marginalizing and criminalizing Muslims. Solidarity with Muslims and all oppressed people! Join us! ■

Women's marches: From protest to movement



By PENELOPE DUGGAN

“Over the next months and years we will be called upon to intensify our demands for social justice, to become more militant in our defense of vulnerable populations. Those who still defend the supremacy of white male hetero-patriarchy had better watch out.

“The next 1459 days of the Trump administration will be 1459 days of resistance: Resistance on the ground, resistance in the classrooms, resistance on the job, resistance in our art and in our music.

“This is just the beginning and in the words of the inimitable Ella Baker, ‘We who believe in freedom cannot rest until it comes.’ Thank you.” This was Angela Davis concluding her remarks at the Women’s March on Washington on Jan. 2017. (For the full transcript, see box on next page.)

The worldwide women’s marches on Jan. 21, 2017, were a historic event.

- For the first time since the anti-war demonstrations of Feb. 15, 2003, millions of people in different countries and on all seven continents demonstrated on the same day and for the same reasons, both in a gesture of international solidarity but also an understanding how the same political dynamics are at play internationally.”

- In the U.S. the level of mobilization outstripped the 2003 antiwar demonstrations and in Britain rivalled that level.

- The marches were initiated and led by and mobilized majoritarily women. While the spark was the election of Trump as U.S. president and reaction to the announced and probable attacks on women’s rights in that country under his administration, the international response was also provoked by the attacks and fears of attacks on those same rights by women around the world. The rising tides of far-right and religious reaction are underlining the fact that women’s rights—to choose, to work, to live their lives as they wish—are never definitely won.

- While the impetus came from women—of all ages, women of colour, ethnic minority women, migrant women, women with disabilities—defending their rights, the marches also mobilized those concerned by the attacks to come from the Trump administration—and similar political forces around the world—on migrants’ rights, on Black rights, on the environment.

- In the U.S. the mobilization had a truly mass nature—as is witnessed by the list of mobilizations that has been compiled [see story on next page]. Even the protests of a few dozen, indeed sometimes a few individuals, are recorded, showing the extent to which the desire to stand up and be counted against Trump and his policies sank deep.

Of course, such a spontaneous mobilization was extremely heterogeneous, bringing into the same marches radical feminists, Democrats and Clinton supporters, Black rights activists, radical anti-capi-



(Photos) Marchers in Washington, Jan. 21.

Pashkoff pointed out, “If you expect this nascent movement to understand the fact that it is at the intersections of race, class and gender that women’s oppression is felt the hardest, then we need to be there ensuring that the voices of women of colour, working-class women, LGBTQ people, and disabled women are heard and their demands are taken on board. It is a nascent movement, if you expect that they will not make errors or put out wrong slogans, you are asking far too much.”

Nevertheless the movement, if it is to grow in to the powerful protest movement for social justice called for by Angela Davis in her speech in Washington, will have to go beyond this organized diversity to become an expression of the fights and struggles of

women against all forms of oppression, exploitation and discrimination. (The organizers have understood this point, and are addressing it in their fashion. See Susan Chira and Jonathan Martin, “After Success of Women’s March, a Question Remains: What’s Next?” *The New York Times*, Jan. 22, 2017.)

But movements take time and effort to grow and to build. As the Marxist feminist author Cinzia Arruzza wrote on Jan. 22 in *International Viewpoint*: “Mass mobilizations almost never begin when we expect them, almost never have the features we would expect or consider as politically adequate, almost never have political coherence, they are not free of the social contradictions and divisions that are present in society, or of the cultural prejudices and political shortcomings that characterize them. They are not magical events disconnected from the continuum of social life, although they have the capacity and potentiality of creating discontinuity and breaks. They are messy, contradictory processes, where the outcomes are not given in advance and solidarity is something to be achieved.

“The last 48 hours have shown the potentiality for a new season of mass mobilization, and that this happened especially in a day of women’s mobilizations is even more relevant. Of course, a possible, perhaps likely, scenario is that the Democratic Party and its surrogates will end up taming, coopting and eventually kill this potentiality.

“But the relevant decision we should make is whether we want to already sing the funeral eulogy of a mobilization that could be or whether we want to be true to our desire to change this world and have a serious non-moralistic political analysis of the limitations, composition and potential of these last two days, and of what we should do and how in order to help the growth and radicalization of the struggle.”

That is the challenge facing feminist, anti-capitalist

(continued on page 7)

talist left forces. That was an enormous achievement notably in the U.S., but also at a worldwide level.

Some left commentators because of this have tended to dismiss the significance of these demonstrations, arguing that they were dominated by bourgeois, white, liberal, pro-Democrat forces. That such forces were present and may well have taken the initiative is undeniable. But all the reports from around the world underline the fact that many, many of the demonstrators were young, spontaneous and new to mobilizing. What could be a worse tactic for the diverse feminist, anti-capitalist left than to leave those people only in dialogue with liberal, mainstream, institutional feminists

As Susan Pashkoff writing for *Socialist Resistance* in Britain, said: “It is essential that socialist feminists and the left participate in this movement and not just criticise from the outside. We need to be there, shifting the boundaries further to the left, to support the demands of working-class women, women of colour, LGBTQ comrades and disabled women. We need to make certain that this potential movement is not seized by those that would subvert its aims to further the needs of mainstream political parties and the liberal feminist movement.”

The need for the marches to be of all women, and in particular those that suffer, and have suffered, the most sharply from oppression, exploitation and discrimination—that is, Black and ethnic minority women, LGBTQ people, disabled women, working-class women—was expressed strongly from the outset. The “Guiding Vision and Definition of Principles” in the U.S. were far broader than those of liberal feminism and addressed the demands and struggles of women of colour and working class women.

Real efforts were made to ensure that the organizers (co-chairs) at a national level in the U.S. reflected this diversity, but as with any living movement, such efforts will have to continue if an ongoing movement is to develop out of this surge of protest.

By ANN MONTAGUE
and MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Jan. 21 laid the foundations for a powerful movement for women's rights. The Women's Marches, which took place in Washington, D.C., in over 600 sister U.S. towns and cities, and around the world, were an unprecedented expression of the determination of women and men to struggle against any governmental attempts to roll back those rights.

The inauguration of the misogynist Donald Trump, whose presidential administration along with Congress threatens to cut reproductive health care and other services for women, gave a strong impetus for many to join the protests.

"What we are seeing is undeniable!" affirmed the TV news. Maria Theresa Kumar of MSNBC told viewers, "I heard every language. I heard about abortion and equal rights. I heard about LGBTQ rights." As official estimates came rolling in, people were amazed. The projections of crowd size that rally organizers had put forward only a day earlier had been exceeded in almost every case.

By evening, it became apparent that we had witnessed the largest protest in U.S. history. From 3,600,000 to 4,577,000 marched and rallied in the United States on Jan. 21, according to Jeremy Pressman, from the University of Connecticut, and Erica Chenoweth, from the University of Denver.

At the same time, over a quarter of a million people rallied in other countries—from Sweden to South Africa to Australia. Over 100,000 filled the streets around London's Trafalgar Square. In Paris, thousands rallied near the Eiffel Tower, carrying posters that read, "We have our eyes on you Mr. Trump" and "With our sisters in Washington."

A number of cities and towns in Canada hosted women's marches on Jan. 21, including 60,000 in Toronto, 15,000 in Vancouver, 10,000 in Ottawa, and 5,000 in Montreal.

The official count for the march and rally in Washington, D.C., was 500,000, while some estimated that more than 600,000 had participated. Actress America Ferrera began the rally by stating, "Our dignity, our character, our rights have all been under attack, and a platform of hate and division assumed power yesterday. But the president is not America. ... We are America, and we are here to stay."

Gloria Steinem told the crowd, "This is a day that will change us forever because we are together. Each of us, individually and collectively, will never be the same again." She looked out at a sea of people on the National Mall. Thousands wore pink knitted "pussy caps," which were seen as a retort to Trump's crude remark about grabbing women's genitals.

A *Socialist Action* reporter in Washington pointed out, "The rally was overwhelmingly made up of people who had never been on a protest demonstration before. From the podium, they heard an incredible range of commentary from people with long experience in the Black, prison, LGBTQ, and other libera-

Largest protest in U.S. history!

Gretchen Marino / Socialist Action



tion movements, and from the unions. Despite the fact that most of the solutions that were proposed did not go beyond what is acceptable to the Democratic Party, people still heard an advanced analysis from many movements. The message was that people do not intend to go back to the old racist, sexist America."

A great many demonstrators in Washington, as in other cities, carried colorful and clever hand-lettered signs. Slogans included, "A woman's place is in the revolution!" "Tweet women with respect!" and "Girls just want to have FUN-damental rights!" Many signs contained anti-racist slogans and expressed solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement against police killings and violence. Climate change was another issue that many marchers protested on their signs.

In New York City, the mayor's office estimated 400,000 marchers, while Women's March organizers said 600,000. Fifth Avenue was so clogged that people had to move at a snail's pace, and the march continued late into the night. Los Angeles organizers put their crowd at 750,000.

A *Socialist Action* reporter in Chicago states, "The *Chicago Sun Times* says 250,000 marched, estimated from aerial photographs. Organizers cancelled the march after collaboration with the police, as its size seemed to overwhelm them."

Seattle police estimated 130,000. About 175,000 gathered on Boston Common, where Tanisha Sullivan, head of the Boston NAACP, called on marchers

to draw courage from the women who have marched in protests in decades and centuries before. "Despair, my sisters, has no place here," she said. "Today, my sisters, we march through our disappointment to the promise of freedom. We march through our fear in search of racial and gender equality. We march through great uncertainty in pursuit of justice for all!"

Other cities saw massive crowds fill the streets—including 200,000 in Denver, 150,000 in San Francisco, 100,000 in Portland, Ore., 60,000 to 100,000 in Oakland, Calif., and 75,000 to 100,000 in Madison, Wis. In St Paul, Minn., police estimated 90,000 to 100,000—at least twice the size of any other demonstration that had ever been held in Minnesota.

The Philadelphia mayor's office reported that over 50,000 marched there, including a raucous contingent of 1000 LGBTQ persons from the national Creating Change Conference, which was meeting in the city. Some 25,000 marched in San Jose, and 5,000 braved a heavy snow in Boise, Idaho. About 10,000 protested in Kansas City and in Hartford, Conn., and 15,000 to 20,000 in Montpelier, Vt.

The Tucson police said that over 15,000 marched there. Phoenix saw 36,000, and Flagstaff had 1200. There were high numbers of protesters in the South, where Atlanta had 60,000, Raleigh 17,000, Houston 20,000, Louisville 5,000, and Memphis 900. ■

(Read more on page 11: Worldwide women's strike!)

By ANGELA DAVIS

Civil rights activist Angela Davis who is known for writing such books as "Women, Race, and Class," spoke at the Women's March in Washington. She asked the audience to become more militant in their demands for social justice over the next four years of Trump's presidency.

Here is the full transcript of Angela Davis' Women's March speech:

At a challenging moment in our history, let us remind ourselves that we, the hundreds of thousands, the millions of women, trans-people, men and youth who are here at the Women's March, we represent the powerful forces of change that are determined to prevent the dying cultures of racism, hetero-patriarchy from rising again.

We recognize that we are collective agents of history and that history cannot be deleted like web pages. We know that we gather this afternoon on indigenous land and we follow the lead of the first peoples who despite massive genocidal violence have never relinquished the struggle for land, water, culture, their people. We especially salute today the Standing Rock Sioux.

The freedom struggles of Black people that have shaped the very nature of this country's history cannot be deleted with the sweep of a hand. We cannot be made to forget that Black lives do matter.

This is a country anchored in slavery and colonialism, which means for better or for worse the very history of the United States is a history of immigration and enslavement. Spreading xenophobia, hurling accusations of murder and rape and building walls will

not erase history. No human being is illegal.

The struggle to save the planet, to stop climate change, to guarantee the accessibility of water from the lands of the Standing Rock Sioux, to Flint, Michigan, to the West Bank and Gaza. The struggle to save our flora and fauna, to save the air—this is ground zero of the struggle for social justice.

This is a women's march, and this women's march represents the promise of feminism as against the pernicious powers of state violence. And inclusive and intersectional feminism that calls upon all of us to join the resistance to racism, to Islamophobia, to anti-Semitism, to misogyny, to capitalist exploitation.

Yes, we salute the fight for 15. We dedicate ourselves to collective resistance. Resistance to the billionaire mortgage profiteers and gentrifiers. Resistance to the health-care privateers. Resistance to the attacks on Muslims and on immigrants. Resistance to attacks on disabled people. Resistance to state violence perpetrated by the police and through the prison industrial complex. Resistance to institutional and intimate gender violence, especially against trans women of color.

Women's rights are human rights all over the planet, and that is why we say freedom and justice for Palestine. We celebrate the impending release of Chelsea Manning. And Oscar López Rivera. But we also say free Leonard Peltier. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. Free Assata Shakur.

Over the next months and years we will be called upon to intensify our demands for social justice to become more militant in our defense of vulnerable

populations. Those who still defend the supremacy of white male hetero-patriarchy had better watch out.

The next 1459 days of the Trump administration will be 1459 days of resistance: Resistance on the ground, resistance in the classrooms, resistance on the job, resistance in our art and in our music.

This is just the beginning, and in the words of the inimitable Ella Baker, "We who believe in freedom cannot rest until it comes." Thank you. ■

(continued from page 6)

forces in the U.S. and around the world in the wake of this wave of protest. What is at stake, and also the possibilities opened up, are undoubtedly greater in the immediate in the U.S. But as women around the world fight to defend and extend their rights, this protest movement is a sign of the possibilities to build their own movements, whether for the right to abortion in Ireland and Poland, against violence in India and South Africa, against femicide in Mexico, and for women's rights as human rights everywhere. ■

Penelope Duggan is a member of the bureau of the Fourth International and editor of the on-line journal *International Viewpoint*. She is a member of the New Anti-capitalist Party in France. of the NPA in France.



Protests against the racist policies of the Trump administration have taken place worldwide.
(Left) Students in Leeds, England.

working people is pure fantasy, and will only confuse and disorient the movement. It's part of a broader effort to manipulate independent struggle, tamp down its militancy, and channel new activists into an electoral framework and capitalist politics. Obama correctly explained the common ruling-class interests of the two major parties after the election when he reminded his supporters, "We are all on the same team."

This has been the primary role of the Democratic Party throughout history. In past elections, the Democrats often presented themselves as champions of working-class and minority communities. But during the 2016 presidential race, Hillary Clinton's campaign largely took these traditional allies for granted and more openly featured full-throated support for Wall Street interests, leaving the field wide open for Trump's populist message.

The preceding eight years of a Democrat in the White House proved to be anything but "hope and change" for working people. It started with bailouts of the giant financial firms and auto barons, while the working class fell victim to large-scale unemployment, union-busting wage cuts, home foreclosures, and other austerity measures.

These years produced record profits for the tiny few and soaring income inequality. Good paying jobs remained scarce, with growing poverty and homelessness. The Democrats paid little attention to the despair and anger that was growing, and were only concerned with counting heads when it came time to "get people to the polls."

The illusion that fundamental social progress can be won under the leadership of the Democratic Party, or any capitalist political party, is one that is challenged directly by revolutionary Marxists. This is borne out by history.

Some Democratic Party-influenced anti-Trump protests portrayed the election as "illegitimate" because Trump's victory was determined by the Electoral College, despite Clinton's winning the popular vote. This is premised on the conception that, despite a few flaws, the U.S. government operates on principles of democracy and majority rule. Instead, a tiny capitalist ruling class maintains its rule through a highly organized and repressive state apparatus. It will maintain its vital interests through brutal force and violence whenever necessary.

The democratic rights available to working people were won through bitter and hard fought working-class battles over years past.

Presidential elections were never based on majority rule. This is why the Electoral College was codified in the Constitution in the first place, along with other measures designed to ensure domination by the wealthier strata of society. Today, eliminating the Electoral College would not make U.S. elections democratic. The restrictions imposed by the rigid two-party electoral system are one reason for this.

An onerous set of undemocratic election laws effectively lock competing political parties out and restrict their ability to compete. These laws create insurmountable obstacles for smaller parties to gain ballot status and participate in forums and debates.

The Democratic Party's strategy relies on bickering over Trump's cabinet appointments and participation in electoral activities, keeping opposition to new attacks within the narrow framework of the routine legislative sparring between the two big capitalist parties.

We need a fundamentally different approach—a strategy that builds massive independent actions in the streets opposing all racist attacks; assaults on woman's, LGBT, Native, and immigration rights; for climate justice; and opposing all austerity measures designed to drive down the standard of living of U.S. workers. Powerful independent demonstrations in the streets around these issues can provide a political impact truly capable of defeating Trump's ugly plans.

There are signs that the growing movement has begun to include sections of the U.S. working class that have a major stake in the battle—including African Americans, Latinos, and all immigrant communities. These forces will play a big role in future class battles.

Unfortunately, today's unions and many traditional organizations of the oppressed communities are hobbled by a severe crisis of leadership, utterly enmeshed in Democratic Party politics. Hopefully, the organized labor movement, when faced with the inevitable attacks from the new Republican administration, will begin to rely on its own strength and power, rather than following the bankrupt strategy of the Democrats.

Ultimately, the fightback will require working people and their allies to make a clean break with the Democrats and to form their own political party. ■

... Break with the two capitalist parties!

(continued from page 1)

ous administrations, allowing the huge energy giants like Exxon and Chevron to exploit Iraq's oil resources through "legal" means. Either way, mega-profits end up in the hands of the same capitalist oil barons.

Reactionary executive orders

During his first week, Trump made sweeping executive orders to begin implementation of his party's reactionary agenda. Here are some of the most significant:

- Health care: Allowed government agencies and states to waive or delay implementation of Affordable Care Act provisions and undermine existing insurance markets. These actions threaten the existing insurance-based system and could result in the loss of health insurance coverage for over 20 million Americans.

- Women's reproductive rights: Reinstated the so-called "Mexico City Policy," which prohibits use of taxpayer money to fund non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that perform or promote abortions. One NGO that promotes family planning reports that loss of funding will result in 2.1 million unsafe abortions worldwide.

- Climate change: Provided backing for construction of both the Dakota Access and Keystone XL Pipelines. TransCanada, the energy giant behind the XL Pipeline, is instructed to re-submit its application for a presidential permit to construct the pipeline and promises action by the Secretary of State within 60 days.

- Immigration: Orders were issued to: take first steps to construct a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border, which will cost up to \$25 billion; construct and operate detention facilities near the border; hire 5000 additional Border Patrol agents and 10,000 additional immigration officers to intensify harassment; empower state and local police agencies to act as immigration officers; target undocumented immigrants for removal who have been convicted or accused of a law violation; end federal aid to "sanctuary cities"; institute a 90-day ban of nearly all permanent immigration from seven majority Muslim countries (Iraq, Syria, Iran, Sudan, Libya, Somalia, and Yemen), with provision to extend the ban indefinitely; suspend the entry of refugees into the U.S. for 120 days, and direct officials to determine additional screening; suspend entry of refugees from Syria indefinitely.

The sweeping executive orders signify a major escalation in a racist war on immigrants and immigration rights. The new restrictions constitute state-sponsored religious persecution of Muslims; Trump said priority for admission would be given to Christians. These immigration orders need to be forcefully condemned by all who support and value democratic freedoms; the demonstrations that have erupted in cities and airports around the country point the way forward.

Outpouring of protest in the streets

Even before Trump's inauguration, a massive outcry of opposition was already erupting. Millions have taken to the streets in this country and around the globe. Most prominent were historic Woman's Marches

in over 600 U.S. cities and on seven continents, involving over 4 million worldwide. This was the most powerful mass protest in U.S. history. Over 600,000 protested in Washington, D.C., 750,000 in Los Angeles, 500,000 in New York City and 250,000 in Chicago, but these are just the largest.

The Woman's Marches were fueled by widespread revulsion with Trump's sexist actions and statements, and strong support for abortion rights and other woman's right's issues. Strong opposition to other aspects of Trump's agenda were raised in homemade signs and banners. Special focus centered on the fightback against Trump's racist anti-Black, anti-Latino, anti-Native American, and anti-immigrant policies. Many protesters were also fighting for health care, climate justice, and LGBT rights.

The message was crystal clear—a resounding "no" to the plans of Trump and his reactionary cohorts. The woman organizers of the protest developed a powerful "Guiding Vision and Defining Principles" document that codified the goals of the march. It expressed a realization that all forms of oppression are connected and related; and to fight against one can require a fight against all.

This represents an important step for the women's movement, one that points toward generalized awareness that the system itself breeds these injustices. As socialists and Marxists, we believe that all forms of oppression have their roots in the capitalist system, one that is organized for profit rather than human needs.

The power of the woman's march was also reflected in the very large number of marchers who demonstrated for the first time. This first experience in independent political action can have a large impact on political consciousness.

A few unions endorsed the Woman's Marches, but sadly, the vast majority of unions were not supporters. Substantial union participation would have greatly enhanced the power and strength of the movement and more broadly reflect the support of American workers.

Democrats try to mislead protesters

The Democratic Party and its support groups have played a prominent role in the organization of many anti-Trump protests, including the Women's Marches. At a number of these events, office holders, officials, and organizers who are affiliated or aligned with the Democratic Party were prominent on speaker platforms and set a political tone designed to channel activists into various lobbying efforts to advance future electoral success.

Left-liberal Democrats are strongly promoting "100 Days of Resistance," urging lobbying actions designed to block the Republican congressional agenda and promote local and national electoral campaigns. They urge protest activists to lobby members of Congress, run for local offices as Democrats, and work with organizations committed to "taking over the Democratic Party."

The notion that the Democratic Party, built on endless wars and racism, can be "taken over" and transformed from a capitalist party to one that represents

Democrats blame Russians for electoral defeat

By MARK UGOLINI

The Democrats continue to blame their defeat on Russian hacking. “Vladimir Putin himself directed the covert cyber-attacks against our electoral system, against our democracy, apparently because he has a personal beef against me,” said Hillary Clinton.

However, nearly all capitalist governments around the world have intelligence services and do whatever they can to influence politics in other countries to their own advantage. Internet hacking is common. The U.S. excels in this area, spending more on cyber hacking than any other country. So, the U.S. government shouldn't be sur-

prised when other countries replicate its methods.

Blaming Russia's “interference in our democratic process” displays the height of hypocrisy because the Democratic Party generally promotes democratic rights only when it can benefit politically, and never consistently defends them. Throughout history, the actions of Democratic Party politicians show that they attack democratic rights when it serves their class interests, and have consistently undermined democracy and subverted democratic elections around the world.

The Democratic Party has a long history of promoting regime change in other countries through wars, assassi-

nations, and subversion. The list is long but includes Libya in 2011, and Iraq in 2006, and repeated attempts to overthrow the revolutionary government of Cuba since the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of the CIA in 1961.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties have successfully overturned elected governments and actively subverted democratic elections. An incomplete list is: Haiti from 1990-2004; Chile, 1973; Dominican Republic and Indonesia, 1965; Brazil, 1964; Congo, 1961; Vietnam, 1950s; Guatemala, 1954; Iran, 1953.

Hillary Clinton, while the Obama administration's Secretary of State, played a key role in the 2009 military coup to

topple the democratically elected government Honduran government of President Manuel Zelaya.

As a New York Senator, Hillary Clinton presented her views on democracy and elections. Responding to the *Jewish Press* about the January 2006 election to the legislature of the Palestinian National Authority, Clinton commented on the victory for Hamas over the U.S.-preferred Fatah: “I do not think we should have pushed for an election in the Palestinian territories. I think that was a big mistake....”

“And if we were going to push for an election, then we should have made sure that we did something to determine who was going to win.” ■

The record of U.S. intervention against other countries

By JOE AUCIELLO

If there is a training manual for the sons and daughters of the 1% on how to govern, a kind of “How To Fool and Rule The Masses For Dummies,”—it's easy enough to imagine the need for such a guide—then surely the deluxe edition would include links to what on “The Sopranos” was called “G1.” Recall the Godfather (Marlon Brando) warning his impetuous eldest son: “Never tell anyone outside the Family what you're thinking again.”

Enter President Donald Trump, who brushed aside the findings of U.S. intelligence services that suggest Russia hacked into Democratic Party files to discredit candidate Hillary Clinton and influence the elections in favor of Trump. These allegations, Trump said, were “ridiculous.”

In a reversal that was only a matter of time, Mr. Trump later agreed that the hacking really did occur. But he still maintains that despite the damaging leaks against Ms. Clinton, “there was absolutely no effect on the outcome of the election.” Americans, then, need not fear for the sanctity of their political institutions—President Trump will resolve any problems.

What's more, while in a recent press conference, Mr. Trump claimed there was a positive result from the Russian attacks (“look at what was learned from that hacking”), and that the cyberattacks against the United States would end once he was sworn in as president. This shift in practice would be the result of the “warm relationship” between the presidents of Russia and the U.S.

These are not the words Mr. Trump is expected to speak or the (in)action he is expected to take. “The Ruling Class Rule Book” would say that the incoming president should lock arms with all his class comrades, President Obama on his left, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell on his right, and, stern of voice and firm of jaw, denounce this foreign intervention into American elections, a violation of the core principle of democracy.

Instead, the American people were afforded the small pleasure of watching the ruling class, especially its right wing, fight among themselves as they tried to determine some response to what they cannot even agree has happened.

Arizona Republican Senator John McCain declared that Russian hacking is “an act of war,” while Kentucky Republican Senator McConnell, the voice of reason among reactionaries, solemnly intoned from Capitol Hill, “The Russians are not our friends.” More recently, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper told the Senate Armed Services Committee that Russia was an “existential threat to the United States.”

Mr. Clapper went on to say, “I think the public should know as much about this as possible. ... And so we'll be as forthcoming as we can...”

The intelligence chief's seeming concern for a knowledgeable public was a reversal from his past practice. During a 2013 Senate Intelligence Committee hearing, in answer to the question of whether the National Security Agency (NSA) collects “any type of data at all on millions or hundreds of millions of Americans,” Clapper answered “No.”

Of course, it was later shown that this statement—a prepared response to a question provided in advance—was thoroughly false. The NSA does in fact collect data in bulk from internet and telephone com-



panies from millions of Americans. (See the August 2015 article by Jeff Mackler, “Snowden exposes new NSA spying” in *Socialist Action*). Mr. Clapper claimed he spoke erroneously but did not lie.

Whether or not the assertions of leaders of U.S. intelligence services, and, later, the findings of a joint House-Senate investigation, are ultimately proven and accepted, the allegations themselves are serious. Of course, the United States and its people have the right to conduct their national elections, flawed as they are, free from the intervention of other nations. These are universal rights applicable to countries all over the earth.

Maurice Bishop, former prime minister of revolutionary Grenada, said many times to the United States that “our relations must be characterized by the fundamental principle of mutual equality, regardless of size of country, size of population, or extent of resources” (“Maurice Bishop Speaks,” 1983, p. 77).

The U.S. government could uphold this principle by respecting the rights of foreign nations and not interfering in their internal affairs. The U.S. government should renounce its prior interventions in the affairs of other countries, and even pay reparations for its many transgressions. It's time to fulfill the unkept promise of former President Obama and close the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo, Cuba. Dismantle the 800 U.S. military bases implanted in more than 70 countries around the world.

To uncover the sordid historical record, consider the end of the 19th century, when the United States declared war against Spain. Historian William Appleman Williams wrote: “The tragedy of American diplomacy is aptly symbolized, and defined for analysis and reflection, by the relations between the United States and Cuba from April 21, 1898 through April 21, 1961,”—that is, the armed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, (“The Tragedy of American Diplomacy,” 1962, p. 1).

A nearer starting point might be 1953, halfway through the 20th century, and several years after the United States accepted the Charter of the United Nations which asserts “the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.” Historians and political commentators have largely agreed with Richard J. Barnet who wrote, “The intervention in Iran in 1953

(Above) Fidel Castro addresses Cuban soldiers in 1961 after 1300 CIA-backed counter-revolutionary troops landed at Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs).

to unseat Premier Mohammed Mossadeq was America's first successful attempt in the postwar period to subvert a nationalist government,” (“Intervention and Revolution,” 1968, p. 226).

For the present, it is certainly true that the kind of foreign policy proposals outlined here are not likely to be encountered from reading the news or watching the news-talk shows. As “Democracy Now” host Amy Goodman wrote, “... most of the journalists who reach thousands—and in some cases millions—of readers and viewers do nothing but parrot the government line,” (“The Exception To The Rulers,” 2004, p. 283).

The federal government and its supposed media watchdogs share the same basic assumptions about the U.S. role in the world. Marx noted long ago that the ideas of the rulers are the ideas that rule. For reporters, a shared consensus with the officials about whom they report is simply the price of admission. Deviation brings exclusion.

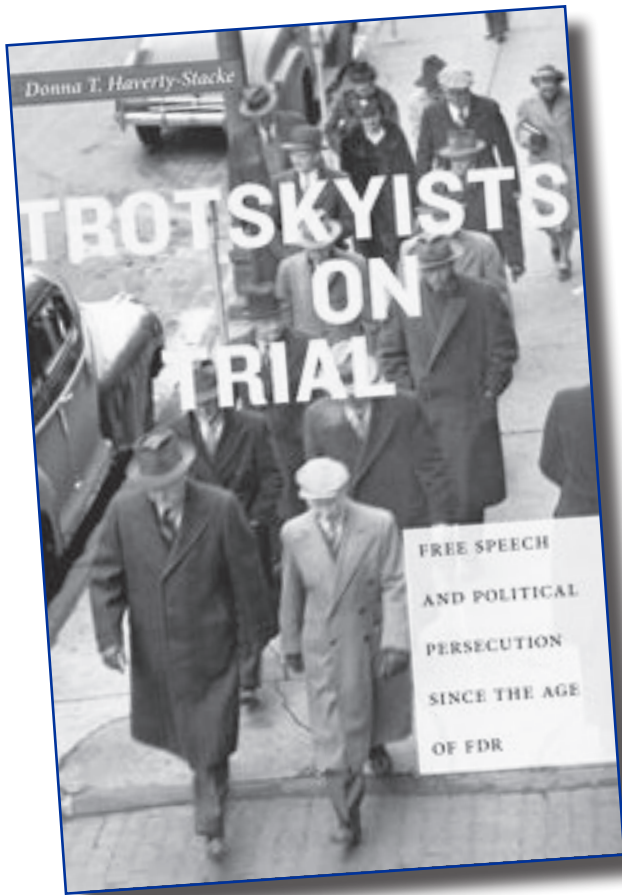
The Trump administration is gleefully applying this principle with special vigor.

Naturally enough, the democratic ideas presented here will never be discussed in a President Trump cabinet meeting, just as they were not considered in a President Obama cabinet meeting and would not have been raised in a Hillary Clinton administration. These ideas will never come before Congress in the form of legislation or in any other form.

It would require an entirely new government, a revolutionary government, to act on the principles that the ruling classes have long proclaimed but long ignored.

One hundred years ago, in the midst of World War I, revolutionaries in Russia led by Lenin and Trotsky created a new political order that brought the workers, peasants, and soldiers to power. They published openly the secret diplomatic treaties approved by the Russian Tsar, and they guaranteed self-determination to the peoples denied equality in the Russian Empire.

The socialist government that will someday come to power in the U.S. will be inspired by the example of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. ■



By BARRY WEISLEDER

"Trotskyists on Trial, Free Speech and Political Persecution Since the Age of FDR," by Donna T. Haverty-Stacke, NYU Press, 2015, 291 pages.

Before Trump there was Roosevelt. Is it fair to compare the patrician liberal icon of the 1930s and '40s with the billionaire bigot who now occupies the White House?

You bet. Both viciously attacked civil liberties to bolster minority rule. With the help of fake news, Donald J. Trump targets Muslims and Mexicans for exclusion, blaming them for a failed economy. Franklin Delano Roosevelt repressed union activists and socialists. He accused them of sedition for refusing to subordinate workers' rights to the aims of the imperialist war machine.

During World War II, FDR designated thousands of Japanese Americans as potentially "disloyal," confiscated their property, and put them in detention camps. The same happened to Japanese-Canadians under the Liberal government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who invoked the War Measures Act also to outlaw radical leftist parties north of the border.

This book is mainly about the Smith Act of June 1940, named for the segregationist Democratic Party Representative Howard Smith of Virginia. His legislation led to the indictment of 29 Socialist Workers' Party members, 15 of whom belonged to the militant Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis.

The Act required the registration of aliens and rendered organized opposition to capitalism and its state illegal. Such provisions presaged the Cold War security apparatus that today routinely violates personal privacy, tramples the presumption of innocence, and most recently, bars travellers from select Muslim-majority countries.

Political repression is nothing new. It victimized the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, the IWW, and organizing efforts among steelworkers, culminating in the infamous Palmer raids of the 1920s.

But the Smith Act was the first time since 1798 that the United States put defendants on trial for sedition while the country was not at war.

The charge of "conspiracy to overthrow the government" was an indictment of political opinions and ideas, not concrete actions. There was no evidence of an organized, violent overthrow of the government in the offing, nor any "clear and present danger" that posed a threat to the capitalist state. The law was simply a tool for framing-up opponents of the system.

Why did Washington target the SWP? Its members played a key role in organizing coal yard workers and truck drivers in Minneapolis. The 1934 general strike, in which revolutionary socialists led the creation of democratic, inclusive, grassroots bodies to run the strike and communicate its aims to the entire population, made the Twin Cities a union stronghold.

Known as the "Gag Act", the 1940 law sought to intimidate and silence SWP leaders, including James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson, Felix Morrow, and Albert Goldman. Revolutionaries like Cannon, Dunne, and Skoglund were expelled from the Communist Party USA when it broke with Marxism, when it decided to adhere to every twist and turn of the Stalinist bureaucracy that came to



(Above) Minneapolis Socialist Workers Party meeting, ca. 1940. In center of front row are Vincent Ray Dunne and Grace Carlson, two conspiracy trial defendants.

dominate the Soviet Union and the Communist International. The SWP stood for permanent revolution, against the CP's class-collaborationist dogma of alliance with the "progressive bourgeoisie."

After the collapse of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the CP flipped into the camp of the Allies. It became an ardent supporter of Washington and the no-strike pledge. The SWP remained in principled opposition to the imperialist war. It refused to cater to the interests of the "democratic" boss class. That made the SWP a target of the enmity of Roosevelt and his labour lackeys, including the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Bill Tobin. The IBT was affiliated to the conservative, craft-union centred American Federation of Labour (AFL).

While the FBI intensified its investigation (i.e. spying and infiltration) into the SWP, Tobin collaborated with a right-wing opposition that formed in the Trotskyist-led Teamsters Local 544. In 1941 Tobin lifted the charter of the local on spurious grounds, restored it, and then put the unit in trusteeship. On June 9 Vincent Dunne and Farrell Dobbs spoke to a mass meeting of the Local, attended by 6000 members. They urged immediate disaffiliation from the AFL and acceptance of a charter from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The meeting voted by a large majority to do just that.

On June 12 Tobin sent a telegram to Roosevelt, in which he "argued that the Trotskyists, who had succeeded in organizing drivers across the central states, were in a position to disrupt the nation's commercial transportation networks and ... could overthrow the government and set up a socialist state. He pointed to their opposition to the war in Europe and their Union Defence Guard to sustain his accusations" (page 60).

The defence guard was formed as a response to the threat posed by a local fascist group known as the Silver Shirts. The union body was far from being the prototype of a proletarian army as claimed by the prosecution at trial.

To deal with the complaint by the anti-communist local opposition that the SWP was using Local 544 to advance party interests, Cannon convinced party members in the leadership of 544 to drop down to being supporters of the SWP. But that didn't stop the attacks from Tobin. The National Labour Relations Board declined the request by 544-CIO for a vote to determine representation. Instead, the NLRB granted bargaining rights to 544-IBT AFL, despite its use of padded lists (of non-dues payers), and plenty of violence and intimidation.

The trial of the SWP leaders began in October 1941. Party lawyer and defendant Albert Goldman stated that the accused opposed the war but insisted that there was no evidence that they had or would sabotage the war effort. He explained that following the Voorhis Act (1940), which made "it illegal for a party to be part of an international organization," the SWP had officially severed its ties to the Fourth International.

And going to the heart of the question, he said that the party's prediction that there would be violent class struggle at some time in the future did not constitute such advocacy. The SWP's followers could not create something that would come about of its own volition (class struggle) and because they actually preferred a peaceful transition to socialism (page 92-3).

In his testimony, Cannon elaborated on this point, and expanded on other socialist policies. On the subject of military conscription, he explained that SWP members who are called up to serve in the armed forces would do so. Not being pacifists, they would serve as part of the

conscripted working class, and exercise their rights to free speech in the armed forces.

After the trial, in which 18 were convicted, the SWP published the record of Cannon's testimony, titled "Socialism on Trial." Long after appeals of the verdict, the bid for pardon, and the campaign to rescind the Smith Act were over, this classic book has been regularly reissued.

The value of the present volume, "Trotskyists on Trial," is that it presents more trial testimony and provides information from newly declassified government documents and recently opened archival sources.

This enables the reader to delve into the trial strategy of the defendants, to learn the impact and results the whole process had on its major participants, and to see how a revolutionary party, albeit a small one, deals with the tribulations of such an ordeal—how it organized itself, found allies, and even grew under forbidding conditions.

In support of the campaign to appeal the verdict against "the 18" and to protest the "Gag" Act, unions representing about one million workers, including over three dozen United Auto Workers locals and more than a dozen United Steelworkers locals, passed resolutions of solidarity.

"Trotskyists on Trial" offers a guide to union militants about how to deal with right-wing opponents, locally and in the top union bureaucracy, distinguishing between tactics and strategy.

The book also serves to remind the radical public of the utterly short-sighted, sectarian role of the Communist Party. The Stalinist CP enthusiastically supported the prosecution of the Trotskyists, calling them "a fascist fifth column." Then the same legislative hammer came down on the heads of the CP in 1949. At first, 11 of its leaders were jailed. Over the next six years the government arrested and prosecuted under the Smith Act 145 members of the Communist Party. Despite everything, the SWP rose to the defence of the CP victims of state repression.

For over 40 years the FBI continued to follow, spy on, and disrupt the SWP. In 1986, the party won a lawsuit against the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO programme. Judge Thomas Griesa "found the FBI guilty of violations of the constitutional rights of the SWP ... and of its members." He "ordered the government to pay the SWP and YSA \$264,000 in damages." It was a small price to pay for ruining the lives of thousands of people.

In conjunction with the stupendous rise of the civil rights, antiwar, and feminist movements in the 1960s, COINTELPRO was dismantled. But the FBI continued to engage in domestic political spying under the secret "Foreign Intelligence/Terrorism" guidelines of Ronald Reagan, the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1996, and George Bush's USA PATRIOT Act of 2001.

"Trotskyists on Trial" is chock full of compelling information, fluidly presented. For this I am grateful to Donna T. Haverty-Stacke and recommend her book. However, it suffers a serious weakness—the political perspective of the author.

She vexes again and again over the "compromise" she perceives between free speech and the demands of national security. But we need to ask the questions she does not: Whose nation? Security for whom? What compromise? ■

By ANN MONTAGUE

Women in Ireland call March 8 strike

Women in Ireland are going on strike to protest the country's ban on abortions.

In Ireland it is a crime to have an abortion, and the procedure carries a 14-year prison sentence. There are no exceptions for rape or incest or when the fetus cannot survive outside the womb due to a fatal abnormality. This abortion prohibition is in a clause in the Irish Constitution, which states that the fetus has the same citizenship and rights as a pregnant woman. This is called the Eighth Amendment.

The only way to remove a clause from the constitution is a referendum calling for repeal, which then receives majority support. The Irish government previously agreed to hold a referendum on the Eighth Amendment but has repeatedly failed to carry out its promise.

This women's strike is not generalized around a number of women's issues; it has only one demand. The statement of the organizers of "Strike 4 Repeal" state their demand clearly:

"We are an ad hoc, non-affiliated group of activists, academics, artists and trade unionists preparing a nationwide Strike For Repeal on the eighth of March 2017. Our demand is that the Irish government call a referendum to repeal the 8th Amendment by the 8th of March. If not, Ireland will strike."

They are also asking people to wear black to remember the women who have died because of illegal abor-



tions. This strike comes after the victory in October, when the women in Poland went on strike to oppose an anti-abortion law being considered by the Conservative government. The law was withdrawn.

The women in Ireland will not be alone as they strike on March 8. Women in countries around the

world will be marking International Women's Day with strike action.

Currently, there are 25 countries in which women are organizing strikes. This will include Russia, South Korea, Australia, and Turkey, as well as countries in Central and South America and Europe. ■

Northern Lights

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website: <http://socialistaction.ca>

How 'inspiring' is Trudeau's 'feminism?'



By BARRY WEISLEDER

(Above) March 8, 2016: Trudeau announces that Canadian currency will carry image of a woman.

Canada Prime Minister Justin Trudeau praised the tens of thousands of people who participated in the Women's March across Canada, including over 60,000 in Toronto, on Jan. 21. "Congratulations to the women and men across Canada who came out yesterday to support women's rights. You keep your government inspired," Trudeau wrote on Twitter.

Trudeau claims to be a "feminist." He talks a good game. But how can a politician be a feminist if he pays

only lip service to equal pay for women? Women in Canada are paid, on average, 30 per cent less than their male counterparts.

How can he be a feminist if he opposes raising the minimum wage right now, at least to \$15/hour? How can he justify taking no action to abolish post-secondary school tuition fees and the burden of student debt that weighs so heavily on young women? What kind

of a feminist serves an economic establishment that profits from the exploitation of female workers by dint of precarious employment, unpaid internships, two-tier wages, shrinking health benefits, and unavailable employment insurance?

How does Trudeau's "feminism" stack up against the lack of affordable, national childcare? The Liberal Party's Canada Child Benefit does not come close to covering the costs that young parents face, adding to the double burden on women—unpaid domestic labour, and often no services to mind children so women and men can equally pursue good paying, full-time jobs.

Although abortion is legal in Canada, northern and rural women often cannot find safe, quality medical treatment where they live.

The lack of decent, affordable housing is a crisis in Canada. It harshly affects women and children. Frozen welfare rates compound the problem. Growing inequality and poverty, so blatant in indigenous peoples' communities, belie Trudeau's sanctimonious pledges to realize reconciliation with First Nations. At the same time, he approved new gas and oil pipelines that violate native land rights, steps that accelerate the oncoming climate catastrophe. Violence against women persists. It is not mitigated when there is woefully inadequate funding for women's shelters, and where the courts disbelieve most sexual assault complainants.

Trudeau's trade policy, reflected in the efforts of his Foreign Affairs (and former Trade) Minister Chrystia Freeland to salvage the odious CETA and TPP deals, puts big corporate investor interests far ahead of the interests of women and workers generally. Ottawa's devotion to NATO, its promotion of weapons sales to Saudi Arabia, and its deployment of armed forces in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa have nothing to do with women's rights, and everything to do with imperialism and the maximization of profits for the merchants of death.

If feminism is more than an opportunist's slogan, if it is an agenda for social justice, then Justin Trudeau is a proven fraud. The feminism that craves action for the vast majority—socialist feminism—requires mass independent working class political action – not to "inspire" Justin's government, but to remove it. ■

By BARRY WEISLEDER

Economic growth without 'well-being'

The gap between economic growth and the well-being of Canadians widened considerably since the 2008 recession. That is the conclusion of the Canadian Index of Well-being (CIW), which released its third national report on Nov. 23.

This comes as no surprise to millions of people who personally experience precarious work, longer commute times, or rising rates of diabetes, and yet feel none of the promised benefits of a re-surging gross domestic product. Now we have statistics that shatter the

myth of "trickle down" prosperity.

From 1994 to 2014, Canada's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 38 per cent, while national well-being rose only 9.9 per cent. The Great Recession hit living standards hard, further depriving many of leisure, of volunteer time, even sleep.

Based at the University of Waterloo, the CIW examines 64 indicators across eight domains pertinent to quality of life. While the GDP measures money circulating in the economy, the CIW

identifies changes in community vitality, political involvement, education, environment, health, leisure and culture, living standards, and time use.

Over the past 21 years, the image that emerges is a GDP rebounding from the crash, but with ordinary Canadians paying the price. From 1994 to 2008, the living standards segment rose 23 per cent. Then it plunged almost 11 per cent and has yet to recover. Gains previously made in employment were lost.

Income inequality is rising. While me-

dian family incomes have risen, millions struggle with food and housing costs. And when living standards drop, social, cultural and political engagement do too.

Business pundits argue that the GDP is fragile, that governments cannot afford to worry about wellbeing. The truth is that society cannot afford ongoing environmental degradation. It cannot afford the human and economic costs of poor health. It cannot afford the decline in equality and fairness.

And yet, it seems, that's about all that late capitalism has to offer. ■

Protests challenge Trump's refugee ban



Stephanie Strasburg / Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

By KAREN SCHRAUFNAGEL

Protests erupted throughout the United States and the world following President Trump's stunning order that suspended entry into the U.S. by refugees and other travelers from seven Muslim-majority countries in the Middle East and Africa. Thousands demonstrated at airports and federal courthouses. Chants included: "No hate, no fear, refugees are welcome here!"

At least 10,000 rallied against the ban in New York City's Battery Park on Jan. 29, while taxi drivers held a one-hour strike in solidarity. On the same day, more than 15,000 jammed Boston's Copley Square, and 15,000 marched in Minneapolis on Jan. 31.

Building on the momentum of the massive Women's Marches in Washington and hundreds of other cities a day after Trump's inauguration, the protests have continued into February—even after the ruling by a federal judge that lifted the ban.

The court ruling came in response to a lawsuit by the states of Washington and Minnesota that said the ban harmed residents and mandated discrimination. President Trump tweeted that the court decision was "outrageous." In its appeal, the White House said that a judge should not be "second-guessing" the president. The dispute is expected to go all the way up to the Supreme Court for settlement.

The Trump administration's anti-Muslim policies represent a significant escalation in the U.S. war on Islam. At the same time, these policies are logical extensions of the bipartisan assaults on the civil rights of Muslims in this country spanning nearly two decades, and always justified as important tools for fighting the "War on Terror."

When a gunman opened fire inside the Quebec City Islamic Cultural Centre on Jan. 29, killing six worshippers and wounding many more, the White House and

Fox News repeatedly characterized it as a terrorist attack by a Muslim terrorist, audaciously exploiting this massacre of Muslims to justify their escalating attack on Muslims. It was revealed quickly that the Muslim man from Morocco blamed for the attack by reactionaries was actually a witness to the massacre who had called the police.

The perpetrator of the Quebec attack, Alexandre Bissonnette, is a white nationalist who admires Trump, illustrating how individuals with prejudices are encouraged into action by powerful people using inflammatory rhetoric, magnified by repetition in the sensationalist capitalist media.

As the true story came out, the White House and Fox News continued to maintain their "alt" interpretation of events. Meanwhile, in the rest of the capitalist press, references to a "terrorist" attack quickly stopped and were replaced with "lone gunman" stories more consistent with the underlying narrative that recognizes violence as terrorism only if the perpetrator is Muslim.

Trump issued his edict against Muslims as an Executive Order on Jan. 27. Rudolph Giuliani explained on Fox News the next day that Trump had told him he wanted a "Muslim ban," but he wanted to do it legally. So the administration hatched a plan: "And what we did was, we focused on, instead of religion, danger! The areas of the world that create danger for us, which is a factual basis, not a religious basis. Perfectly legal. Perfectly sensible. That's what the ban is based on."

Of course "danger," unlike religion, is a subjective notion. And many see through this transparent rationale. Glenn Greenwald explained in a recent *Intercept* article: "The sole ostensible rationale for this ban—it is necessary to keep out Muslim extremists—collapses upon the most minimal scrutiny.

"The countries that have produced and supported

(Above) Airport rally in Pittsburgh against Trump's ban on refugees.

the greatest number of anti-U.S. terrorists—Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Qatar, UAE—are excluded from the ban list because the tyrannical regimes that run those countries are close U.S. allies. Conversely, the countries that are included—Syria, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Iran, Sudan, and Yemen—have produced virtually no such terrorists; as the Cato Institute documented: 'Foreigners from those seven nations have killed zero Americans in terrorist attacks on U.S. soil between 1975 and the end of 2015.' Indeed, as of a 2015 study by the New America research center, deaths caused by terrorism from right-wing nationalists since 9/11 have significantly exceeded those from Muslim extremists."

Democratic Party politicians, and some Republicans, also criticized the directive from the White House—often with surprising frankness. Senator Chris Murphy (D-Conn.) succinctly tweeted: "We bomb your country, creating a humanitarian nightmare, then lock you inside. That's a horror movie, not a foreign policy."

The Trump administration's ban is a continuation of the Orwellian logic that has been a centerpiece of the War on Terror from the start. It is the same logic that justified invading Iraq when none of the 9/11 perpetrators were Iraqi, and that reclassified every male in a "combat zone" as an enemy combatant in order to artificially reduce the number of civilian casualties from U.S. drone strikes.

It is the same logic that creates programs like Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), tying funding for essential social services to cooperation with surveillance and entrapment of entire "suspect" communi-

(continued on page 5)