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The Pope's Successor

By the time this issue of *The People* reaches the hands of its readers, the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church will have chosen a successor to Pope John Paul II.

There was plenty of speculation about who that might be and where he would lead the church—whether a “conservative,” such as the German Cardinal and John Paul confidant Joseph Ratzinger, or a “liberal” and non-European from Africa, South America or some other impoverished area of the world.

The second choice was the fear of some. As the *Washington Times* put it when the Cardinals sequestered themselves to make their choice:

“Forty percent of Catholics worldwide come from Latin America, which has a powerful clique of 21 voting cardinals. Most of these have been decades-long backers of liberation theology, the dangerous concoction of twisted religious tenants and Marxist principles that espouses class warfare and proletariat revolution. Brazil is the largest Catholic country in the world, putting Sao Paulo Archbishop Claudio Hummes at the head of the pack of frontrunners. Cardinal Hummes is outspokenly anti-American and supports confiscation and redistribution of property belonging to the rich. Likewise, Honduran Cardinal Oscar Andres Rodriguez Maradiaga supports Third World debt relief and the ‘equalizing’ redistribution of global wealth.”

John Paul II did his best to guarantee that the ruling classes who find the church useful would not have to contend with the complications that a “liberal” or, worse yet, “liberation theology” pope might create. However, they need not concern themselves. Historically, the church has played a “smart” political game to ensure its own survival, regardless of what else may be going on in the world. For centuries, it has pursued essentially the same course, dodging whatever bullets history and social evolution might throw its way. The one steady feature in all of its tactical turns around strategic obstacles has ever been to “speak for the poor and powerless,” to act for the rich and powerful, and to stand in the way of social progress. It never leads and only ponders how it should follow historic trends before it commits itself to any course of action. As Jean-Pierre Cloutier wrote for the *Haitian Times* nearly 20 years ago:

“Liberation versus Submission. The balancing act is proving hazardous. Either the Church endorses Liberation Theology in clear and unambiguous terms, or it risks losing its membership to more active and radical ways of effecting change. With or without Rome, the trend is too strong to be halted now and looks likely to be a determining factor until the current state of things becomes more oriented towards a better repartition of wealth and resources, a trend that seems bound to carry us through to the turn of the twentieth century.”

Translated: The ruling classes of the Southern Hemisphere need the church as badly as their northern brethren.

The Social Security 'Crisis'

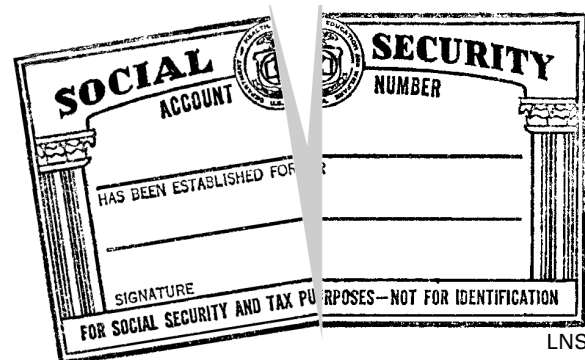
Divide & Conquer Tactic Targets Working Class

Divide to conquer is as old and effective a strategy in politics as it is in war. It has proven its worth on the field of the class struggle between capital and labor. Whenever the ruling class wants something that is certain to solidify the working class to resist, politicians move in to drive wedges aimed at dividing workers against workers and causing some workers to identify their own interests with those of their capitalist exploiters. That is precisely what the Bush administration is up to with its bid to dismantle the Social Security system. Frontal attacks of the past have failed. The new strategy seems to be the political equivalent of the military maneuver of feinting to the left to conceal an attack on the right.

Earlier this year, for example, a White House memo leaked from an aide to Karl Rove, the arch-propagandist of the Bush administration, ended with “a warning to his conservative colleagues,” wrote the *Boston Globe*. “It is their ‘responsibility’ and ‘duty,’” the memo said, “to ensure that they ‘do not create an intergenerational conflict’” in their pushing the administration’s Social Security plan. The memo, asserted the *Globe*, said that “retaining strong ties between the generations is ‘a deeply conservative belief.’”

Judging from the character of the incessant

drumbeat against the Social Security system, however, the warning must have been code to Rove’s henchmen in the media and elsewhere to do precisely the opposite: Play on the fears of the young that they might not “benefit” from Social Security like their parents and grandparents. President Bush himself has reflected



that character with his nonstop message that young workers can expect nothing if the system that benefits those nasty “Baby Boomers” isn’t “fixed.”

In March, on a stop at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, during his “60 stops in 60 days” anti-Social Security blitz, Bush asserted, “By the way, we don’t have a trust in Social Security...what happens is we take your money, we pay money out for the promises

(Continued on page 8)

Texas City Refinery Blast Exposes BP's Record

By B.B.

The explosion that ripped through British Petroleum’s sprawling oil refinery plant in Texas City, Texas, on March 23, killing 15 workers and injuring 100 additional workers and nearby residents, was the worst, but not the only, refinery-related disaster to hit the area in recent times. Indeed, the Occupational Safety and Health Agency (OSHA) has cited BP repeatedly for safety violations at the plant. Only last September, for example, two workers died at the sprawling facility that reportedly produces 3 percent of the nation’s gasoline and accounts for more than 30 percent of BP’s North American production of petroleum products.

Since 1981, 49 workers have died from accidents in the Houston area’s huge petrol-chemical complex. Hundreds more have been maimed and traumatized. According to the Texas Public Interest Research Group, an environmental and public interest advocacy organization, BP’s U.S. refineries have ranked first for accidents since 1990—an astounding 3,565 accidents.

The latest explosion was not the worst disaster ever to hit the Gulf Coast town. In April 1947, a cargo of ammonium nitrate fertilizer aboard a French ship anchored at a pier in its harbor exploded and triggered a series of events that nearly wiped the town off the map. That explosion killed between 500 and 600 people and injured 2,000 in a town that then had a population of about 16,000 people.

However, the March 23 explosion was the worst ever at the BP or any other oil company facility in and near Texas City. The explosion did something else besides kill, injure and destroy property. It exposed a number of festering sores on the company, the federal government, the labor “unions” and the so-called political left.

After firefighters fought to control and douse the fire, OSHA officials and representatives from the U.S. Chemical Safety and Hazardous Investigation Board (CSB), a government investigative body designed to review the effectiveness of regulations and their enforcement (!), descended on the disaster site. The inspectors

(Continued on page 9)

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hammer blows

Pure No More

In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels wrote that "all that is holy is profaned" by capitalism. The most recent casualty is the concept "as pure as mother's milk."

A recent study, the first ever for perchlorate in breast milk, found otherwise. The Texas Tech University's Institute of Environmental and Human Health reported that "virtually all" samples of woman's breast milk were contaminated by perchlorate, a component of rocket fuel. Average levels were five times higher than in cow's milk. Perchlorate impairs thyroid function. Infants and fetuses are the most vulnerable to these effects.

Next, the Alphabet?

Chapter XXXVII of *Capital* is "Expropriation of the Agricultural Population of the Land." In it Marx noted the enclosure and expropriation of the "common," communal property, in England. It began as "individual acts of violence" in the 15th century; by the 18th century Parliament passed laws to allow "the theft of the people's land."

Now Nissan North America Inc. has sued Audi of America Inc. over Audi's planned use of the letter Q as a prefix to the name of a new line of SUVs. Nissan has been using Q for its Infiniti line since 1989. "Let's forget, for a moment, that somebody else already owns that letter," the AP reported. "According to the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, Q is registered by Eller

Industries Inc., a wireless technology company outside Boulder, Colo."

Wait a minute! Let's not forget that. Expropriating the alphabet? Followed to the logical conclusion, if all letters were registered, royalties might be required before saying, writing or publishing anything beyond a primordial grunt.

Sovereign of Sovereigns

The so-called missile defense system requires the faith of a true believer. Canada's government recently decided it wants no part of this Rube Goldberg scheme. That's too bad, according to outgoing U.S. Ambassador to Canada Paul Celluci. "We simply cannot understand why Canada would in effect give up its sovereignty...to decide what to do about a missile that might be coming towards Canada," Celluci said. Despite membership in NATO, Canada is not the most likely target of missile attack. The United States is. Stripped of diplomatic double-talk, Celluci means Canada has no sovereignty. The United States will do whatever it wishes wherever it wishes, like trying to shoot down missiles in Canadian airspace.

Messages From the Future?

In its effort to build a nuclear waste dump at Yucca Mountain, Nev., the Energy Department has trumped science fiction, solving the problem of time travel! *The New York Times*, citing employee emails, stated that one DOE report certified instruments had "been calibrated

before the procedure was performed, and even before the equipment was received." If that's not true, then the DOE was lying. Imagine that! But not to worry, the DOE now says the revelations "are not likely to discredit or bring into question" important "scientific" conclusions about the dump. That's reassuring. The DOE has always said the dump is safe—to contain wastes longer than *Homo sapiens* have been around.

Nuclear Terrorism

The Bush regime is ranting and raving over the few nuclear weapons Kim Jong Il's dictatorship claims to have and those that the U.S. claims Iran's theocracy seeks to build. A recent AP-Ipsos poll showed that the American public, overwhelmingly working class, is concerned about the very existence of nuclear weapons. According to the Associated Press, "two-thirds of Americans say no nation should have nuclear weapons, including the U.S...." (emphasis added). For the record, the United States has about 5,000 active nukes. Fortunately all are in the hands of a ruling class that would never use them. Remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the only nuclear attacks in history?

Birds of a Feather

Politicians constantly raise funds to keep themselves in office. In March, U.S. Rep. Dennis Cardoza (Merced, Calif.) and U.S. Rep. Richard Pombo (Tracy, Calif.) held a joint fundraiser, at \$1,000 a head, and will split the take. It makes sense. Although Cardoza is a Democrat and Pombo is a Republican, their real constituents are the capitalist class.

—Paul D. Lawrence

letters to the People

Alienation (1)

Michael James' article "Marx on Alienation" was just fantastic! The section "Alienation From Nature" was just so true—the loss of wonderment at nature. Ancient Chinese philosopher Lao Tsu wrote some 2,500 years ago in his *Tao Te Ching*: "When men lack a sense of awe, there will be disaster..." How often I have read that and thought how true that is.

Joe Randell
Bellingham, Wash.

Alienation (2)

An outstanding article on alienation. By the author's permission will make my modest attempts to have it reprinted here. Thanks to Michael James with "We want some more."

Severino Majkus
Croatia

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Alienation (3)

The article "Marx on Alienation" by Michael James reminds me of a song sung and partially written by the late sixties satirist Alan Sherman—"Automation" (sung to the tune of "Fascination"). It tells how his wife was replaced by a machine. She's only human, and that's obsolete. Here are the final words to the song.

Chuck Wolfsfeld
Philadelphia, Pa.

[Unfortunately, the amusing lyrics that our reader included are copyrighted material that we may not reproduce without permission and expense.]

Lynne Stewart

As a recent subscriber I commend your support of civil liberties and the Bill of Rights in the face of the Bush administration's assault.

I was therefore surprised that your paper has not defended civil liberties attorney Lynne Stewart who was recently convicted of aiding terrorists and violating government regulations. Not only that, but your paper hasn't even men-

tioned her case.

As you may know, Ms. Stewart was prosecuted by former attorney general Ashcroft for the real purpose of intimidating left-wing and progressive attorneys. Not only that, but her conversations with her client were being secretly videotaped in direct violation of the Sixth Amendment.

Your response to all this has been silence. Remember the motto "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Martin Rosner
Brooklyn, N.Y.

[We are in total sympathy with the view that Ms. Stewart's conviction violated not only the Sixth, but also the First, Fourth and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution. The law she broke is as reactionary, antidemocratic and anti-American as they come. It is worth pointing out, however, that some of the specific violations for which she was convicted and will be sentenced in July were transgressions against measures adopted not by the Bush administration, but by the Clinton administration.

That said, fighting to repeal a repugnant law, or violating one when there is no alternative for avoiding a danger or defending a right, is one thing, but deliberately violating an obnoxious and dangerous law in the naive expectation that it will not come back

to bite you and heedless to the probable consequences is just plain foolish. If the purpose of the regulations she ignored is to intimidate lawyers away from representing unpopular clients or unpopular causes, as the National Lawyers' Guild and other "progressive" attorneys have argued, Ms. Stewart's reckless disregard for those obnoxious restrictions has probably done as much to guarantee that result as the Bush or any other administration could hope for.

Foolhardiness may inspire pity when it does no harm, but it does not perform a useful service and is worse than useless when it comes to mounting an effective defense against the onslaught on our rapidly disintegrating civil rights. Hopefully more competent and clearer-thinking attorneys than Ms. Stewart will join in her almost certain appeal to a higher court and succeed in undoing some of the Clinton-Bush damage to the Bill of Rights and rescue Ms. Stewart

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Iraqi Children Have Adverse Reaction to 'Democracy'

By Donna Bills

Iraq's children are having an adverse reaction to the Bush administration's effort to impose "freedom" and "democracy" on that country. Tragically, acute malnourishment is increasing among Iraqi children, threatening lifelong physical and mental disabilities or death.

The *Washington Post* reported last November that a study by the U.N. Development Program, Norway's Institute for Applied International Studies, and Iraq's Health Ministry found that children age five and under were increasingly suffering from acute malnutrition. The study cited an increase from 4 percent before the war to 7.7 percent last year—roughly 400,000 children. (During the embargo years, the malnutrition rate had reached 11 percent but had steadily declined with the Oil-for-Food program.) The results of the study were reported to the U.N. Human Rights Commission in March by Jean Ziegler, a Swiss professor and U.N. special rapporteur on the right to food.

Predictably, the U.S. State Department says the report is "open to doubts." To refute the study, State Department spokesman Adam Ereli cited the government's efforts to screen children for malnutrition; vaccinate Iraqi children and pregnant women; and distribute high-protein biscuits, vitamin and mineral supplements to children and pregnant and nursing mothers. (United Press International, March 30) If the

government's efforts to stave off hunger in Iraq are as "successful" as they are in the United States, then we have no doubt that there is truth in the study's findings.

What isn't open to doubt, however, is the cause of malnourishment among Iraqi chil-

tributes to poor health, including chronic diarrhea that can rapidly deplete a small child's body of nutrients.

Another cause is poverty. Since America's capitalist government began "liberating" Iraq, unemployment has shot up, preventing many Iraqi citizens from obtaining adequate food for their families and creating a serious protein deficiency in the young. The *Washington Post* reported Kasim Said, an unemployed day laborer, as saying, "Things have been worse for me since the war. During the previous regime, I used to work on the government projects. Now there are no projects." Kasim Said's one-year-old son weighs only 11 pounds and is hospitalized. Doctors recommend his young son be given Isomil, a nutritional supplement. Isomil, however, can cost \$7-\$10 a can when it can be found, but when he finds work, Kasim Said earns only \$10-\$14 a day.

There was much suffering under Saddam Hussein's tyranny. But capitalist America has done little to alleviate, and much to aggravate, that suffering. In its insatiable appetite for world markets and spheres of influence, and despite its pretense of democracy and freedom, our country has substituted one form of tyranny for another in Iraq. As with Saddam Hussein, it is a tyranny characterized by class divisions, violence and economic deprivation. Rather than protecting and nurturing its youngest citizens, capitalism destroys them—biscuits and vitamins notwithstanding.



AB CAP for *The People*

dren. In addition to the violence and disruption of social services brought on by the war and the resulting insurgency, health experts say dirty water and unpredictable electricity needed to boil water and run sanitation plants con-

'Iraqi health officials like to surprise visitors by pointing out that the nutrition issue facing young Iraqis a generation ago was obesity. Malnutrition, they say, appeared in the early 1990s with U.N. trade sanctions championed by Washington to punish the government led by President Saddam Hussein for invading Kuwait in 1990.'

—*The Washington Post*

Bush Concealing Imperialist Goals Behind Democratic Rhetoric

By Michael James

Webster's defines *euphemism* as the "substitution of an inoffensive term for one considered offensive." Euphemistic language is designed to conceal truth and to soften the impact of a statement. It is a subtle and somewhat sophisticated communications tool, allowing the speaker or writer to say something without really saying it, to make the point without provoking or exciting the target audience.

There are, for example, two key euphemisms that cloak and conceal the reality of bourgeois rule in America. These two euphemisms are mere words, small words at that, but they work marvelously to mask, to mystify, to mislead. In other words, our corporate ruling class maintains power with military and police might but also with words. Consider the way that the working class is duped, swindled and led into false consciousness by the following two euphemisms.

The first euphemism, which helps to prolong capitalism and mentally enslave the working class, is served up daily in the corporate media, but a recent editorial in *U.S. News & World Report* serves as a specific example.

Editorialist Michael Barone credits George W. Bush with "a breathtakingly ambitious goal: to bring democracy to the entire world." This is euphemism number one: *democracy*.

Sometimes corporate spokespersons such as Bush or Barone use related euphemisms such as *freedom* or *liberty*. But what they really mean is *capitalism*.

Now let us take Michael Barone's sentence and revise it so that he accurately credits Bush with

"a breathtakingly ambitious goal: to bring capitalism to the entire world." Now it rings true.

The point is that capitalism has little to do with democracy or freedom or liberty. Genuine democracy, with a just and humane allocation of natural and social wealth, would pose a grave threat to capitalist-class accumulation of profit.

What Bush and other corporate gangsters really want to impose upon the world is capitalism's brutal exploitation of labor, degradation of the natural environment and class conflict. No worker in his or her right mind would embrace that agenda. So Bush and Barone and other bourgeois spokespersons dress up ruling-class politics with pretty words guaranteed to dupe the working class. After all, who can oppose democracy, or liberty, or freedom?

Barone continues his euphemistic gushing: "Bush means to spread liberty around the world. And by force of arms when necessary." Again, a slight and simple revision of his statement gives it honesty and integrity: "Bush means to spread capitalism around the world. And by force of arms when necessary."

Note that Barone does not question or criticize, much less condemn, this "force of arms." He serves capitalism well by endorsing U.S. aggression abroad. Indeed, any nation that opposes the spread of "democracy," meaning the spread of U.S. business interests and the ability of the corporate ruling class to globalize, appropriate and exploit, will pay a severe price. Marx analyzed it beautifully:

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the im-

(Continued on page 8)

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Negroponte's 'Qualifications'



John Negroponte

John Negroponte is President Bush's choice to become the country's director of national intelligence (DNI), a newly created post that will oversee the activities of all federal police and spy agencies.

Negroponte is a career "diplomat," whose critics link his name to some of U.S. capitalism's most nefarious activities abroad since the 1960s, when he was posted at the U.S. Embassy in what was then Saigon. From 1964 to 1968, for example, Negroponte was a political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Vietnam. That was a period that saw extrajudicial executions and gross human rights abuses by U.S. forces, as well as massacres by the notorious "Tiger Force" from the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division.

From 1981 to 1985, Negroponte served as ambassador to Honduras for President Reagan, who needed someone he could trust to coordinate his administration's sinister policies in Central America. Negroponte's embassy coordinated Reagan's illegal Contra and Central Intelligence Agency war against Nicaragua, which was based in Honduras. It also assisted the CIA's work with the death squads that scourged El Salvador and worked with a secret Honduran army intelligence unit called Battalion 316, whose mission was to keep Honduras free of opponents of U.S. policy in Central America.

"Battalion 316 used shock and suffocation devices in interrogations," the *Baltimore Sun* reported 10 years ago. "Prisoners often were kept naked and, when no longer useful, killed and buried in unmarked graves." The *Sun* then added: "...Declassified documents and other sources show that the CIA and the U.S. Embassy [in Honduras] knew of numerous crimes, including murder and torture, committed by Battalion 316, yet continued to collaborate closely with its leaders." Hundreds of Honduran citizens "were kidnapped, tortured and killed" by Battalion 316, the newspaper said.

During his tenure in Honduras, Negroponte also supervised the creation of El Aguacate Air Base, where the Contra cutthroats were trained and which was used as a secret detention and torture center. He often dined with Honduran Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, "who as chief of the Honduran armed forces personally directed Battalion 316," according to the *Sun*.

Alvarez received increased U.S. support even after he privately let the previous U.S. ambassador, Jack R. Binns, know he was in favor of human rights abuses. Last March, *The Washington Post* reported that Alvarez once told Binns that "'extralegal' methods might be necessary to 'take care' of subversives, declassified State Department documents show. He praised the 'Argentine method' of dealing with the problem."

Negroponte's reports to Congress consistently whitewashed the human rights "performance" of the Honduran Army, enabling the Reagan administration to hone its "Big Lie" propaganda technique adapted from the repertoire of the likes of Hitler and Goebbels—vis-à-vis its dealings with Honduras. In 1983, Reagan awarded Alvarez the Legion of Merit for "encouraging the success of democratic processes in Honduras."

In April, *The Washington Post* reported that Negroponte and Alvarez "typically met once a week, and sometimes several times a week. Although the Honduran military had ostensibly turned over power to a civilian government headed by President Roberto Suazo, Negroponte and the U.S. Embassy viewed Alvarez as the go-to person on security matters."

Negroponte claims he knew nothing of the death squads and torture that were right under his nose. But if he did not actually direct such activities himself, he undeniably associated with those who did.

Today, after 20 years of investigations by many in the Western media, by the Honduran government itself in the years since the death squads of Battalion 316, and even by the CIA and some in Congress, the public record clearly reveals Negroponte as a hoodlum. His world-renowned reputation as a human rights abuser and henchman for capitalism puts his appointment and confirmation beyond the pale of normal practice in such matters.

As *The People* has observed before, "In capitalist America, the installation of heads of departments of government is primarily a function of the ruling class. It is a truism that people nominated to be heads of those departments are not judged qualified or unqualified on the basis of their dedication to democratic principles or their record of service to the people. They are judged on the basis of their demonstrated dedication to the capitalist state and their record of service to the overall interests of the class that owns and controls America."

By selecting John Negroponte for the post of top cop and spymaster for American imperialism, the Bush administration is sending a message to the world and its working classes. It is the message that was spoken by events at Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib, in Honduras and elsewhere: "We will stop at nothing to gain our end. Cross us and we will resort to every means in the vast arsenal of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the National Security Agency and the several armed forces of the Department of Defense."

Negroponte's "qualifications" for the job of director of national intelligence speak very loudly. Indeed, they scream the message that workers must hasten to organize for and successfully establish the economic democracy of socialism—for it is the only viable alternative to the barbaric road down which capitalism is presently dragging humanity.

—K.B.

'Death of a Salesman'

Space limitations prevented us from reprinting the following review of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* in our last issue. The *People* published the review in its issue of July 30, 1949, soon after the publication of Miller's play as a book. Jo Mielziner (1901–1976), mentioned in the review in connection with the book, won nine Tony Awards® for Best Scenic Design for a Broadway play, the first time in 1949 for *Death of a Salesman*.

For the millions of Americans who will be unable to see Arthur Miller's prize-winning play the printed version may provide a measure of solace. We haven't seen the play—yet. So when we say that the book provides solid, thought-provoking fare, and that it focuses a needle-sharp lens on the values of capitalist civilization, we are not carrying the visual experience of the theater back to the written text.

However, as we read the text our mind's eye was able to picture the setting. This was not hard because the book carries a double-page sketch by Jo Mielziner of the actual setting he designed for the play and reader directions for the action and lighting are entirely adequate.

The values of capitalist society don't look very desirable or ennobling when examined under the lens of *Death of a Salesman*. They are, in fact, cheap, tawdry and degrading. But Willy Loman—he's the salesman—didn't know this. He accepted the values of the world of business and commerce as the logical things to aspire to. He tried to shape one of his two sons into the "winner" who enjoys wealth and is admired and envied, and is, in capitalist terms, a success. But Willy, at 65, was a failure. He had failed with his job and had been tossed on the scrap heap. And, worse, he had failed with his son. In the process Willy broke under the psychological stress.

A salesman like Willy deals with executives. He talks with them intimately in a we're-on-the-same-level way. So it is easy for such salesmen to take on the attitudes and snobbishness of class. Willy had these attitudes. He was a snob. And, because he couldn't face things as they were, he was always deluding himself about himself and about his sons. For example, his oldest son, Biff, once had a job as shipping clerk, but Willy deluded Biff and himself into calling it a salesman's job, thus making Biff an "important" guy. Biff did a lot of petty pilfering and this made Willy proud because *stealing if you can get away with it* is something that is secretly admitted in this capitalist world.

Even Willy's suicide is committed under a delusion fostered by delusive capitalist values. Willy takes his life because he thinks his insurance will give Biff, who wants only to work with his hands, the means to become a "success."

In the Requiem, Willy's friend, Charley, says: "Willy was a salesman. And for a salesman, there is no rock bottom to the life. He don't put a bolt to a nut, he don't tell you the law or give you medicine. He's a man way out there in the blue, riding on a smile and a shoeshine. And when they start not smiling back—that's an earthquake. And then you get yourself a couple of spots on your hat, and you're finished. Nobody dast blame this man. A salesman's got to dream, boy. It comes with the territory."

We don't know how *Death of a Salesman* affects the non-Socialist. We hope it raises pertinent questions in his mind concerning the decadent system that is responsible for such wasted lives as Willy's and for the torment and suffering of the millions of whom Willy is a composite. But for the Socialist we are

(Continued on page 10)

what is socialism?

Socialism is the collective ownership by all the people of the factories, mills, mines, railroads, land and all other instruments of production. Socialism means production to satisfy human needs, not, as under capitalism, for sale and profit. Socialism means direct control and management of the industries and social services by the workers through a democratic government based on their nationwide economic organization.

Under socialism, all authority will originate from the workers, integrally united in Socialist Industrial Unions. In each workplace, the rank and file will elect whatever committees or representatives are needed to facilitate production. Within each shop or office division of a plant, the rank and file will participate directly in formulating and implementing all plans necessary for efficient operations.

Besides electing all necessary shop officers, the workers will also elect representatives to a local and national council of their industry or service—and to a central congress representing all the industries and services. This all-industrial congress will plan and coordinate production in all areas of the economy. All persons elected to any post in the socialist government, from the lowest to the highest level, will be directly accountable to the rank and file. They will be subject to removal at any time that a majority of those who elected them decide it is necessary.

Such a system would make possible the fullest democracy and freedom. It would be a society based on the most primary freedom—economic freedom.

For individuals, socialism means an end to economic insecurity and exploitation. It means workers cease to be commodities bought and sold on the labor market and forced to work as appendages to tools owned by someone else. It means a chance to develop all individual capacities and potentials within a free community of free individuals.

Socialism does not mean government or state ownership. It does not mean a state bureaucracy as in the former Soviet Union or China, with the working class oppressed by a new bureaucratic class. It does not mean a closed party-run system without democratic rights. It does not mean "nationalization," or "labor-management boards," or state capitalism of any kind. It means a complete end to all capitalist social relations.

To win the struggle for socialist freedom requires enormous efforts of organizational and educational work. It requires building a political party of socialism to contest the power of the capitalist class on the political field and to educate the majority of workers about the need for socialism. It requires building Socialist Industrial Union organizations to unite all workers in a classconscious industrial force and to prepare them to take, hold and operate the tools of production.

You are needed in the ranks of Socialists fighting for a better world. Find out more about the program and work of the Socialist Labor Party and join us to help make the promise of socialism a reality.

De Leon's Address

To the Members of the ST&LA

As a feature of our celebration of the founding of the original Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) 100 years ago, we publish below an address by Daniel De Leon to the members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance (ST&LA) and printed in the *Daily People* of April 23, 1905. The occasion for De Leon's address was an invitation the ST&LA had received to attend the convention where the IWW would be established and organized in June 1905, and a discussion that had grown out of that invitation and the manifesto, or declaration of principles, that accompanied it.

The ST&LA was the first labor union in the United States to organize on the principle of the class struggle and to call upon the working class to unite economically and politically to abolish capitalism and establish socialism. The ST&LA's principles, tactics and goal were succinctly stated in a Declaration of Principles adopted at its founding in December 1895 and also reprinted in this issue.

The IWW, at its inception, seemed to hold great promise for the American working class and the socialist movement. Those early hopes were dashed within four years, however, by the combined efforts of the capitalist class, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and its allies within the leadership of the so-called Socialist Party (SP), and the anarchist element that was present within the IWW from the outset. It was the last named that finally captured the remnant of the once promising IWW in 1908 and alienated all those who had responded and remained loyal to the principles enunciated by the founders through the Chicago Manifesto and the Constitution adopted in June 1905.

However, those developments were years off and unforeseen in January 1905, when the famous Chicago Conference issued its Industrial Union Manifesto and invited the ST&LA to join with other unions and unionists to form what would become the IWW. Following the conference, and until the IWW's founding convention convened in Chicago on June 27, 1905, the industrial unionist manifesto and what it proposed stimulated discussion and controversy in unions and workers' circles throughout the country.

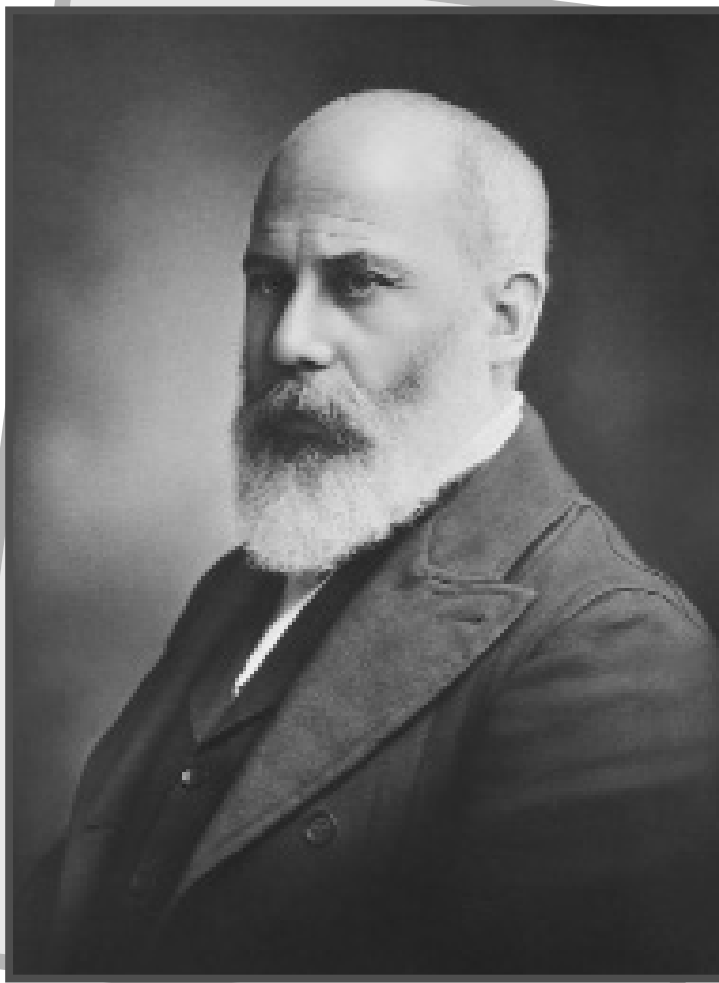
The manifesto (reprinted in full in our January-February issue) declared, among other things, that "craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory," "hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploit-er and employed slave," and "permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists...where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system."

The manifesto went on to declare, "A movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally and working class autonomy generally. It should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

"It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party."

Although the manifesto did not specifically call for socialism and an end to capitalism, there was no doubt about that being the goal.

The men who called the conference that issued the manifesto made that clear in November 1904, when William E. Trautmann, editor of the *Brewers' Journal*, and four other union officials met in Chicago and issued a statement declaring that recent developments had convinced them "that craft division and political ignorance are doomed..." The statement also declared "that working class political expression...must have its economic counterpart in a labor organization" capable of uniting all work-



Daniel De Leon

ers on an industrial basis with the "cooperative commonwealth" of socialism as its goal.

Not surprisingly, this statement, and the manifesto that followed, prompted the AFL and its leader, Samuel Gompers, to attack the industrial unionists and the Socialists who sympathized with their aims. On April 2, 1905, for example, *The New York Times* reported Gompers as accusing the "Debs and De Leon factions of joining hands to disrupt the unions," and on May 7 the *Times* reported:

"Mr. Gompers is very angry at a Japanese Socialist named Katayama, who was brought here by the Debs Socialists and who attacked the American Federation of L, declaring that the eastern unions are not as progressive as those in the west. He [Gompers] characterizes

Katayama as a 'mongrel.'"

Eugene Debs, who had lent his name and prestige to the Chicago Manifesto, had gained fame as leader of the American Railway Union during the Pullman Strike of 1894, one year before the ST&LA was established. By 1905, he was also a leader of the Socialist Party, which was created in 1901 by a merger of the Social Democratic Party he established in 1897 with a group of former SLP members who had split the party in 1899. The Chicago Manifesto, as De Leon noted in his address to the members of the ST&LA, also seemed to

hold out hope for a reconciliation between the two rival socialist parties, or at least between the SLP and the revolutionary element within the SP. That hope also proved futile, however, as subsequent events would show.

In the meantime, however, and outside the AFL and those within the SP that supported it, the debate over the Chicago Manifesto centered on the merits of its proposal for organizing the as yet unnamed IWW. The columns of the SLP's newspaper in New York City, the *Daily People*, carried dozens of letters from SLP and ST&LA members and other supporters who favored or opposed the proposal for various reasons.

The ST&LA and the Socialist Labor Party found plenty in the manifesto with which to identify. There was, for example, nothing new in the idea that the working class must unite on both the economic and political fields to achieve its emancipation from wage slavery. To that extent, the industrial union manifesto only repeated what the ST&LA had proclaimed in its Declaration of Principles. Even that proclamation was not entirely new. In 1871, Karl Marx, acting for the International Workingmen's Association, had written:

"The Conference recalls to the members of the *International*:

"That in the militant state of the working class, its economical movement and its political action are indissolubly united."

When the ST&LA received its invitation to attend the industrial union convention, a lively discussion on what role the ST&LA should play at that gathering led some members to ask De Leon for his views and what he would do in Chicago if elected as a member of the ST&LA delegation.

De Leon and nine other ST&LA members were elected at the ST&LA's national convention in June. Before then, however, De Leon undertook to respond to the questions raised by publishing his "Address to the Members of the ST&LA."

AN ADDRESS.

To The Members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

By Daniel De Leon.

Fellow-members of the S.T.&L.A.:

From several of my fellow-members of the S.T.&L.A., letters have come to me asking whether, if our national convention, which meets early next June at Lynn, Mass., decides to send delegates to the industrial convention, that has been called to meet in Chicago on June 27th, I would consent to form part of the delegation.

Existing conditions render it imperative upon me to answer the question with something more than "yes" or "no"; and also that not those only who ask, but our whole membership should know. Moreover, this is the time to speak, and to speak fully, and I shall be all the more pointed because I am of the opinion that the occasion

raised by the proposed Chicago convention excludes the idea of "instructions." Even under ordinary circumstances "instructions" are unsatisfactory. Where they are needed, they are worthless, they are superfluous. He who wishes to evade his instructions can always find a loophole: no instruction net is imaginable through which a slippery customer could not squeeze out; on the other hand, the platform of an organization, together with its traditions, should be "instructions" enough, both to guide a delegate, and by which his organization can hold him responsible. Instructions, accordingly, will not stand at so critical a period as the one that the Labor Movement of the land is now traversing. For another thing, just because these times are critical, shifting conditions are apt to cause different interpretations of identical terms. The

(Continued on page 6)

...De Leon's Address

(Continued from page 5)

same term may mean materially different things in different mouths. Accordingly, nothing short of a "confession of faith," so to speak, can offer a guarantee either to a delegate that he is understood by his organization, or to his organization that it is understood by him. Such a confession of faith I shall now make.

The argument is frequently heard: "The privately owned and steadily improving mechanism of production and distribution as steadily displaces Labor; an excess of supply in the Labor-Market has two inevitable results—first, it is bound to lower the price (wages) of Labor, consequently false is the economic foundation of a strike for better pay, such an attempt is doomed to failure; secondly, the excess of idle Labor is a reserve quarry upon which the capitalist can draw with more or less ease for the forces that he needs to take the places of strikers; the two reasons combined point to the inevitable present and increased future impotence of the economic organization, or Union."

The reasoning is only partially true, substantially false. How false the reasoning is may be incidentally judged from the circumstance that, although the leaders of "pure and simple" Unionism are not generally as disregardful of appearances as were the late P.M. Arthur of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Bobby Howard of the Spinners' Union, who flaunted their affluence in the public eye, it is well known that they all amass a fortune, provided their incumbency be long enough. Where do they get it? The capitalist does not pay for nothing. What does he pay them for? He pays them for keeping the Union stuck fast in the ruts where the failure, pointed out in the above defective reasoning, is natural and inevitable. And why does he pay? Just because, instead of failure, success would crown the efforts of the Union if, instead of the wheels of its train being deep in the ruts of muddy ground, they stood upon the smooth steel-tracks of the revolutionary roadbed. The failure to grasp, what may be termed the Social topography of Capitalism in a thoroughly capitalist nation like America, is accountable for the failure of shallow men to grasp the power, and, with it, the mission of Unionism.

It goes without saying that the Union, whose goal is harmony between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class, stands upon economically and sociologically false foundation when it strikes for better pay: to grant capitalist premises and then bristle up against their results can obviously be followed only by failure: it is a foot-in-the-mouth posture. But it does not equally follow that the Union, whose goal is the overthrow of Capitalism, stands upon equally economic and sociologic false foundation when it strikes for better pay. To expect an unsupported ball to rest on an inclined plane, let alone rise higher, is absurd: the expectation reveals a lack of knowledge of the "lay of the land"; but it is not, therefore, absurd to expect the ball to hold its own and roll up to the top, if the "lay of the land" being known, the necessary measures are taken to counteract the law of gravitation, and propel the ball upward to where it can be brought into stable equilibrium.

The comparison brings out the fallacy that underlies the plausible claim of the labor-fakirs and the "Intellectuals" that the Union can only attend to "present needs," the "needs of the moment," and that all attempts to broaden the Union's vision is "fine-spun theory" that can not engage the Union-man's attention. The plight that "pure and simple" Unionism has left the Working Class in should be a sufficient answer—unless the position is taken that the emancipation of the Working Class is an impossibility, leastwise by itself. This alternative must be dismissed: it is untrue to historic evolution. The plight that "pure and simple" Unionism has left the Working Class in proves that, not unless the mission of Unionism is kept in mind, in other

words, not unless the Union is switched upon the revolutionary track, can the ball be expected even to keep its place on the inclined plane of the capitalist hill, but will ever roll back, down to the bottom, where it now is.

At this point the sapient "Intellectual" sneers. His loose grasp of the Social Question immediately raises before his eyes the police, militia, military and gatling guns on paper of the capitalist mechanism of government, and causes him to give the grotesque of interpretations to the Marxian principle that "The Labor Movement is essentially political." He jumps to the conclusion that the ballot is all that is wanted. The "Intellectual" seems not to realize that the identical police, militia, military and gatling guns on paper will at the right moment bar his own way at the hustings—unless he becomes a political fakir, in other words, sacrifices the emancipation of Labor to personal political preferment and personal glitter. The light-weight "Intellectual" is too much possessed with what Marx termed "parliamentary idiocy" to heed, or is too bent upon his own personal advancement, to preach and act up to the fact. The "political aspect" of the Labor Movement lies in its revolutionary NATURE, not in any of the methods that it might adopt; nor is there, despite the importance of the ballot, anything more cravenly reactionary than the ballot, without MIGHT to back it up. That MIGHT nothing can supply to Labor except the class-conscious, and, consequently, revolutionary economic organization of the Working Class—and that might would be amply to the purpose.

In America, capitalist society has reached fullest development—politically as well as economically. For that very reason, paradoxical as the statement may appear, Capitalism, so far from being strongest in America, is here most vulnerable. The day when all the means of production and distribution will be under one hat is only a theoretical day: the feudal grandees of modern America are waging a positive White and Red Roses mortal feud among themselves; coupled with that are the freedoms—political, of speech and of the press—that the country still enjoys, and that are enjoyed in none other to the extent that they are enjoyed with us. These are conditions that can bloom only in a country of untrammelled Capitalism. They are so many weapons that lie ready at hand for the Union; but they are weapons that either break in the Union's hand, or whose points are turned against itself, if used for any but an uncompromising revolutionary purpose. There is not an industry—the larger ones conspicuously, the smaller ones substantially so—that is not criminally guilty, even under capitalist laws,—as shown in these very days by the revelations on the Gas Company in this city, the Equitable Life, the Standard Oil, etc.,—purely a feature of well-rounded capitalist society; consequently, there is not an industry before whom a revolutionarily conducted strike would stand impotent as the strikers of "pure and simple" do. Moreover, the floating mass of wild-eyed "reformers," now missionless, will have found its mission: visionary as the "reformer" is, his conduct ever disturbs capitalist equanimity from within: the straightforward and well-aimed blows of Labor on the economic field would fire the "reformer" into antics most perilous to the capitalist concern involved: the simultaneous political unity of Labor, possible only then, would add grist to the mill of the tribulations of the capitalist establishment struck against: finally, what with all that, and the further fact, a fact of deepest significance, that—as betrayed by the above referred to Gas, Equitable Life, Standard Oil, etc., squabbles—there is not a capitalist magnate whom some other magnate is not "lying in wait for," and must "lie in wait for,"—what with all that, the capitalist concern struck against by a revolutionary Union can not choose but yield ground. To-day, the capitalist cuts deeply into his profits with the bribes he flings at his Labor-lieutenants. The power of these being gone

or crippled, the capitalist will throw tubs to the whale of the class-conscious Union on strike. What it would be absurd for the "pure and simple" Union to demand—a higher price than the market quotations for the merchandise labor-power—becomes supremely sound on the lips of a body that is organized for the purpose of wiping the human being "Workingman" clean of the merchandise smudge that capitalism smears him with; and the demand is withal supremely sane when made by a body, the revolutionary spirit of whose organization brings the rest of the wage slaves into its fold, instead of barring them out, as the "pure and simple" Union does, and thereby challenging and urging them to break its strike. The stream of the wealth that now flows into the private channels of the fakir's pockets, and only works a corrupting, would be turned into the channels of the rank and file's pockets, and would have a stimulating effect. But in order to accomplish this end, the economic organization must, indeed, be a Union of the Working Class.

The lures in the path of the workingman, tending to draw him from the direct forthright, are so numerous that, at first blush, it would seem next to impossible to draw the Working Class into a revolutionary Union and keep them there. These lures rise of themselves like will-o'-the-wisps from the surrounding quagmires of Capitalism, and the agencies of the capitalist class are ever on the alert to raise additional ones, either for the general purpose of fettering him in the ignorance of his class condition, or for the specific purpose of exploiting him politically, or for the purpose of leading him off the scent when he is in hot pursuit of the oppressor—on the same principle that bullfighters draw the enraged animal aside by fluttering a disturbing rag before his eyes when he crowds one of their companions too closely. How is the workingman, the hard-worked, tired-minded workingman to acquire the vast knowledge, that, at first blush, it would seem one must have in order to guard him against these innumerable lures? It is an error that the knowledge need be so vast. Providence has vouchsafed to the Working Class the boon that it denied to the tyrant of old, who prayed that his enemies may have but one neck that he may cut them all off at one blow of his sword. No separate information is needed to cut off the head of each separate lure as it rises. Innumerable as these lures be, they all stand on one neck—the wage-slave condition of the workingman.

The knowledge that he is a merchandise in the world's market, that the price of his merchandise is bound to decline by reason of the increase in the supply, due to the private ownership of the ever improving social tool that his class needs to work with; the knowledge, accordingly, that wages are the workingman's chain, that the size of his chain is bound to shrink and shrink,—that knowledge is simple and easy enough to acquire. It points directly to the path he must strike—the path that shall place the social mechanism of production in the hands of his class, that trains him to strike the blow that will strike off his chains as a wage slave, and that leads him to no effort that does not actually look in that direction; it, accordingly, points to the structure of economic organization that alone can secure his emancipation—the Union that plants itself upon these principles; that, as a consequence, embraces his whole class; and that, as a further consequence, jointly strikes at the ballot box, under the device of the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class, while it drills his own class into the body requisite to make that ballot good. Obviously, such a Union is structurally different from the "pure and simple" Union. No lures can prevail against it: their heads are cut off automatically as fast as they rise. Even industrialism, superior as it is in possibilities to craftism, would not of and by itself fill the bill. The form without the essence would be no real improvement.

Upon all these matters I believe no serious difference of opinion will be found among us. Should the Chicago convention fall short of this standard—a fear that the Manifesto calling the convention does not justify,—then all that convention

would accomplish would be to justify the forecast that the hierarchical line of succession, which may be said to have started with Terence V. Powderly, will not close with Samuel Gompers. The dove will have returned back into the Ark with the message that land is not yet in sight above the waters. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegation should forthwith withdraw.

But there is another line of thought that must be considered by us—a line of thought without clearness upon which, we would all be very much at sea. The line of thought that I have in mind is certainly upon your minds also. It is the line of thought suggested by that clause of the Manifesto which declares that the proposed new Union “should be established as the economic organization of the Working Class WITHOUT AFFILIATION WITH ANY POLITICAL PARTY.”

When the S.T.&L.A. was organized there was but one political party that flew the colors of Socialism—the Socialist Labor Party; the S.T.&L.A. affiliated itself with the S.L.P. Since then, another party has risen which, although it sails under three different names, everywhere flies the colors of Socialism. We know what that party is: its foundation, in so far as it has any, is the A.F. of L., whose emblem, the Arm with the Torch, it instinctively and even deliberately adopted; its policy is “possibilism,” which means log-rolling with fakirism on the economic, and, consequently, with capitalist candidates and principles on the political field—and it has bravely lived up to its policy; its press resembles a row of fishermen, each with his private line in the waters of the Labor Movement fishing for private gain; its principles vary according to latitude and longitude; its vote is largely typified by the Wichita, Kans., Social Ethics, which preaches, not even bourgeois radicalism, but downright populism; another portion of its vote is pronouncedly “radical bourgeois”;—in other words and to sum up, it is a drift-sand party, with no reason of being in America, bound to be scattered by the logic of events, and, already seen to-day in a wild turmoil of dissension, with its vote collapsing almost everywhere, and bearing out what I stated last summer in my report to the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress that it “may be said to have fairly entered upon its period of dissolution” after the stand that the placemen and journalistic beneficiaries of the A.F. of L. in its last national convention compelled it to take. We know all that; but all is not said when that is said. A perceptible number of the element that that party drew to itself—whether the number be one-fourth or one-eighth of its vote—joined it in the belief, not only that it was really a party of revolutionary Socialism, but that its methods were superior to those of the S.L.P. and, consequently, would sooner lead to victory; that element was attracted wholly by Eugene V. Debs with his favorable record for “Union Smashing” attempted against the fossil Brotherhoods of railroad workers; that element honestly and seriously wants Socialism; that element would be gladly welcomed in the ranks of the S.L.P.;—and that element is learning fast. What, in view of these facts—I consider them facts,—is the “treatment” applicable to the case?

I do not consider that there is one chance in a thousand of the Chicago convention’s pronouncing for the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party. Should that fraction of a chance in a thousand happen, then, of course, there would be nothing for the delegation of the S.T.&L.A. to do but withdraw, and continue its independent stand until greater clearness shall prevail. But what as to the S.L.P.?

I am of the opinion that a motion to endorse the S.L.P. would be ill advised:—it would be a challenge to a conflict with the only element in the said S.P. upon which the Socialist Movement can be safely built, the Working Class element—an element that is drawing nearer to us over the only bridge over which the Socialist forces in the land can march towards unity—the bridge of the class-conscious, revolutionary economic organiza-

tion, of which our own S.T.&L.A., on one side of the stream, and the A.L.U., on the other, may be considered the piers. Consequently, if I am a member of your delegation to Chicago I shall not make such a motion.

Should such a motion come from any other quarter, I would deplore it; I would oppose it. I would oppose it for the reason just stated, and for the further reason that, even if such a motion prevailed, it could not be the result of mature thought.—Healthy fruit does not ripen quite so fast.

But there is a third, and more important reason

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance

“WHEREAS, In the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, methods and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist aggressions of concerted capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earners, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and

“WHEREAS, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things cannot be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people, except through the direct action of the working people themselves economically and politically united as a class;

“THEREFORE, It is the class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step, and sworn to achieve its own emancipation, that the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of production.”

that guides me on this head.—An act of “endorsement,” by one body in the Labor Movement towards another on such matters, is an act of SELF-JUSTIFICATION. It is an act, not so much of approval for the benefit of the other, as it is an ATTESTATION OF THE APPROVER’S OWN TITLE TO A PLACE IN THE CAMP OF THE MILITANT PROLETARIAT. Now, then, when the Union, that the Manifesto justifies the expectation of seeing issue from the Chicago convention, is actually and finally born in the land, then the fact will be an evidence that the Labor Movement of America has reached that ripeness when, no longer the economic must justify itself to the political, but THE POLITICAL MUST JUSTIFY ITSELF TO THE ECONOMIC BRANCH OF THE MOVEMENT. It will be the evidence of the accomplishment, in the womb of the Movement, of a revolution akin to that which takes place in the mother’s womb at about the seventh month of gestation, when the fetus, until then feet down, is by the law of gravitation turned around, head down, preparatorily to that next and final revolution that consists in birth. A Union such as America demands, will rather be the bar before which political organizations, that

claim to be of Labor, will be summoned to justify THEIR existence;—nor will such a Union’s decree in the matter be of doubtful weight; it is the only guarantee imaginable in political America against the decoy-duck political parties of Labor that everybody knows one capitalist party has periodically set up against the other: it is the only guarantee against the ever threatening danger of the centrifugal force, that may cause the non-wage-slave element—which will inevitably crowd into the political branch of the Labor Movement—to yield to the ambitious and self-seeking designs that they bring along with them from their class, and split into rival political factions: it is the only guarantee for a united political vanguard of Labor. In short, the crude days when the S.T.&L.A. was compelled to make the demonstration of endorsing a political party will be past. Thenceforth it will be the political branch of the Movement that will be called upon to pronounce itself clearly, and by its pronouncement attest its title to the post of trust as the vanguard of the Labor Movement, or stand branded and collapse.

That this theory is founded upon experience may be gathered from two salient facts:—for one thing, the S.L.P., hounded and traduced by the Labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class from one end of the country to the other, has proved itself indestructible, even in point of votes, and its unterrified press—the largest of any in the political field, larger, in fact, than all the others put together—has continued its work with unabated, aye, with increasing effectiveness; for the other, the S.P., while denying the principle that a political organization, which claims to be of Socialism, is a reflex of some kind of economic organization, has been forced to render homage to the principle by seeking, however unsuccessfully, to conceal its Civic-Federated A.F. of L. material foundation, and is now seen crumbling together with its base.

If the Union, which, it is to be expected, will be born at Chicago next June, is the ripened Union that the American Labor Movement demands, it will be thoroughly alive to the responsibility of its body towards the Labor Movement of the land. If, on the other hand, expectations are deceived, why bother about the “endorsement”?

There is just one consideration that may be made against the idea of the S.T.&L.A. going up in a new national Union “affiliated with no political party”—always, of course, supposing that the Union that will rise in Chicago will be what the Manifesto justifies the expectation of its being. That consideration is that the S.T.&L.A. endorsement of the S.L.P. will be dropped. That consideration is, however, purely sentimental. A thousand to one, the S.P. will be dumped at Chicago. In going up in the new Union, the A.L.U. does dump the S.P., alias S.D.P., alias P.O.P. In fact, it has dumped the thing already, by again and again pronouncing it a “scab-herding” concern, and proving the charge. It is otherwise with the S.L.P. and the S.T.&L.A. Never did the S.L.P. give the S.T.&L.A. cause for any such charge; never was any such charge made by it. By going up in the expected new Union, “without affiliation with any political party,” the S.T.&L.A. element does not dump the S.L.P.; it preserves for the S.L.P. all its respect, admiration and enthusiasm; it simply joins the revolution that I have pointed out above as indicative of a long step forward in the Labor Movement of the land.

These are my views in the matter; I have expressed them fully, and I hope clearly. Should they be substantially yours, I shall feel proud to receive your mandate as a member of your delegation to the Chicago convention. If, however, in any important respect, your views differ from mine, then I must request you, in justice to myself and to you, to drop me from the list of candidates.

Yours fraternally,
DANIEL DE LEON

...Social Security Cuts

(Continued from page 1)

for those people who have retired, and if we've got anything left over, we spend it on things other than Social Security.... And what's left are a pile of IOUs, paper."

The "crisis" is a straw man conjured up by opponents of Social Security who wish to see their taxes spent on war and other projects more important to the ruling capitalist class than providing a pittance per person to the elderly, to (as of 2002) over 3 million spouses and children of retirees, to 5.5 million disabled workers and 1.7 million of their spouses and children. The Bush administration's plan for cuts and other changes to the system is an attempt to knock that straw man down and accomplish those ends.

According to a recent Social Security trustees' report, "the program can pay all benefits through the year 2042, with no changes," a report from the independent Center for Economic and Policy Research said recently. "Even after 2042 the program would...be able to pay retirees a higher...than what current retirees receive." Moreover, the report noted, "The assessment of the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO) is that Social Security...can pay all benefits through the year 2052 with no changes." "By either measure," the CEPR report continued, "Social Security is more financially sound today than...throughout most of its 69-year history."

The seed of truth from which ruling-class propagandists have conjured the "crisis" is that today, because more retirees are in the pipeline and people are living longer, it is necessary to raise the Social Security tax to cover benefits. But the CBO estimates that "Social Security can be made solvent throughout its 75-year planning period with a tax increase that is less than one-quarter as large as the one in the eighties," according to the CEPR.

That's what the big fuss is all about. The reactionary elements of the ruling class represented by the Bush administration, who are more than willing to fund the Iraq war and arm the nation to the teeth, aren't willing to fund an increase in the Social Security tax to assist the nation's neediest. It's really nothing new.

The wealthiest segment of the U.S. population, the wee, tiny class—relatively speaking—that owns and controls nearly all the wealth produced by the working-class majority of the country has whined about coughing up the dough for the Social Security system ever since it became a thorn in their sides in the 1930s.

The more crafty among this capitalist class realized, as did President Roosevelt when he introduced the reform, that "Social Security" provided more security for the capitalist class than the working-class majority. That, in fact, was why it was introduced. "Reform if you would preserve," preached Roosevelt to the less crafty among his class when proposing his New Deal reforms as a stimulative solution to the vice-like grip the Great Depression had around world capitalism's throat at the time.

But the more intellectually challenged elements of the capitalist class just didn't understand. All the poor things could see was more of their hoarded wealth headed out the door, ostensibly to benefit the very workers considered by many in this parasitic capitalist class to be an albatross around their necks rather than the real source of their wealth.

The debate continues today, and the mean-spirited ire of their idle grandparents has been handed down to the present generation of the idle rich. They've whittled and whittled, raising the retirement age and trimming benefits relative to the value of the dollar, but they've just never found the right wedge to completely overpower the votes of those segments of the working class that happen to benefit a little

from Roosevelt's desire to save capitalism.

Their latest drive attempts to bolster a wedge they've used before—playing young workers against old—by cranking up the hue and cry of "Crisis!" in the mix. Those seeking the "fix" (the cuts) can be counted on to step up their efforts in the months ahead. "It's all going to be moving very fast," said one Senate Republican leadership aide of the push for Social Security [reform] in the next few months," the publication *Roll Call* noted recently.

That makes it all the more important that workers—especially younger ones—heed the warning of Socialists that cuts in Social Security payments for elderly and disabled workers and the neediest children will do absolutely nothing to improve the lives of younger workers.

Moreover, cuts today will do nothing to ensure that Social Security will be there for today's younger workers when their time comes, since what the political state gives it can just as easily take away.

To anyone delving beyond the propaganda, it is abundantly clear that the real motivation in cutting back Social Security payments stems from the overall economic interests of the capitalist class. The "crisis" of Social Security is a crisis for capitalists only.

The proposals to cut—and perhaps eventually abolish benefits—are a confession that the well-being of the elderly and disabled, like that of all working people, cannot be secured under an economic system based on private ownership and control of the means of life by a tiny capitalist minority, and on the robbery of workers such a system allows.

Providing a comfortable retirement for older workers and the highest possible standard of living for all working people requires the abolition of capitalism. It requires the building of the economic democracy of socialism, under which the means of life will be collectively owned and democratically administered by the producers themselves.

—K.B.

...Democratic Rhetoric

(Continued from page 3)

mensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image." (*Communist Manifesto*).

In other words, capitalism brings imperialism, and from which it takes no stretch of the imagination to recognize that imperialism brings war. American history, with numerous wars and acts of aggression against other nations, is nothing less than a bloody confirmation of this Marxian insight.

War is romanticized and glorified in our capitalist society to sell it to the working class. Beneath the romance and glory, however, we see that war is a horrible but inevitable tool or strategy in service of ruling-class profit. This brings us to the second example of euphemisms adopted by our bourgeois masters and propagated by their editorial sycophants to ensure that workers serve as cheerleaders for corporate crimes.

Professor of English and euphemisms expert Dr. William Lutz has called this one the "doublespeak coup of the century." He is referring to the fact that, for over 150 years, the United States had a Department of War. Then, in 1947,

the Department of War became euphemistically renamed the Department of Defense.

Don't be fooled by mystifying, manipulative language. Our ruling class is devoted to its own enrichment. It unleashes bombs and troops or economic sanctions upon any nation that opposes the corporate will. Democracy is not what capitalism is bringing to the world. Capitalism is imposing itself on the world—not simply by

choice, but as a consequence of its own inner contradictions and compulsions.

Capitalism cares nothing for democracy in the abstract, and is concerned with democratic forms in politics only because they are the least self-destructive method of refereeing cockfights in the cockpit of capitalist competition.

Bush, Barone and others like them are devoted to exploitative, violent and criminal capitalism. Their words would enslave the minds of the proletariat.

The words of Marx and *The People* liberate us. We must build socialism.



M. Herder for *The People*

United States Has Long History of Imperialism

By B.G.

Shortly before the end of his term as secretary of state, Colin Powell replied to a reporter's question about United States intentions in Iraq by saying, "We have never been imperialist."

No doubt Secretary Powell was sincere in making that remark. The average American would surely and very promptly give the same reply to any inquirer who intimated that the United States had ever been imperialistic. Such responses, however, indicate a gross lack of knowledge of American history.

From the earliest days of the coming of the Europeans to the North American continent, the newcomers had surrounded and largely dispossessed the Native American inhabitants. The American Revolution freed the former colonists in America from British restraint against movement beyond the Allegheny Mountains into Indian country, for the British government had relinquished control over the western territory as far as the Mississippi River. White Americans began pouring over the Allegheny Mountains, grabbing up land and pushing the Indians off their own territory.

In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson purchased Louisiana Territory from France—the greatest real estate bargain in American history. This vast area comprised 828,000 square

miles and extended from the mouth of the Mississippi River in the south to its source in the north and westward to the Rocky Mountains. The area was populated by Native Americans. The French had only scattered settlements there, but they had gazed upon the land and considered it theirs. The American army fought bitter wars with the Indians of the region who were trying to protect their homeland. The army rounded up the protesters and sent them south to Oklahoma Territory—an area that was designated as a dumping ground for unwanted Indians.

For many years, the white inhabitants of the state of Georgia had looked covetously upon the land occupied by the Cherokee Indians, and particularly so when gold was discovered in Cherokee territory. President Andrew Jackson refused to protect the Cherokees against the Georgians. In 1838, President Martin Van Buren ordered the removal of the entire Cherokee Nation to Oklahoma. The U.S. Army rounded up all the Indians it could find and enforced the removal. Fifteen thousand Cherokees died on the long "Trail of Tears," as the westward march was called.

United States policy toward its original indigenous peoples is called ethnic cleansing.

Many white Americans considered it their "Manifest Destiny" ordained by Providence to fill up and control the entire continent.

As a result of the war against Mexico, 1846–1848, the United States acquired the present southwest area westward to the Pacific Ocean, including the present states of California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona, and Mexican approval to the previous annexation of Texas.

Once the continent was filled up with white people, Americans gazed westward across the Pacific Ocean where new conquests beckoned.

In 1887, the American sugar planters in the Kingdom of Hawaii forced a politically liberal constitution on the Hawaiian king and also a government strongly influenced by these same sugar capitalists, most of whom were descendants of early Christian missionaries to Hawaii. In 1890, the U.S. government passed a tariff act that wiped out any monetary advantages previously enjoyed by these sugar capitalists and gave a bounty of 2 cents a pound to American-grown sugar. The planters were thus left out in the cold, for theirs was "foreign sugar." They were further enraged when a new queen came to the throne in 1891 and instituted a pro-native policy.

The sugar capitalists, supported by John L. Stevens, the U.S. minister to Hawaii and U.S. Marines landed from a battleship in the harbor, fomented a "revolution," raised the Amer-

(Continued on page 10)

...Texas City Blast

(Continued from page 1)

sealed off the site to assess the damage and determine the cause of the accident.

OSHA and CSB officials are not strangers at BP's Texas City facility. Last year, for example, OSHA fined BP \$63,000 for 14 "serious safety violations, including problems with the emergency shutdown system and employee training." This year, OSHA cited BP with additional violations after two employees were burned to death. (*Dallas Morning News*, March 25) BP managed to negotiate the \$63,000 fine down to a "naughty boy" tongue-lashing amounting to \$13,000, proving that the company knows how to fix things when it has a mind to. Having fixed that problem, BP decided to contest the measly \$109,500 fine levied against it after the two burning deaths. The repeated incidents at the Texas City and other BP facilities should make the CSB's job easy. OSHA regulations do not work, and its regulators clearly are less proficient at what they do than BP's lawyers are at what they do.

Workers may wonder what the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union (PACE) was doing during the period before and after this disaster occurred. For all we can tell, they were still in a celebratory mode over their newly forged "strategic alliance" with United Steel Workers of America (USWA). Indeed, as of this writing, PACE still had not posted a press release on the Texas City disaster to its website, but its year-old statement on its merger with the USWA was still there. When announcing that merger on March 24, 2004—just one day short of being precisely one year before the March 23 explosion—PACE President Boyd Young said:

"PACE is known for creating strategic alliances with progressive companies who recognize the value of our union. If we can build such relationships with companies there is no reason why we cannot strategically build on common progressive values with a like-minded industrial union such as the USWA. United in a

strategic alliance we can create exponential power for our membership in the areas of collective bargaining, servicing, organizing and legislative and political action."

One wonders if British Petroleum is one of the "progressive companies" Young had in mind. One wonders if the explosion at BP's Texas City refinery provides an example of how the newly acquired "exponential power for our membership" is being exercised.

Indeed, one wonders if the absence of workplace safety on the list of benefits "for our membership" was an oversight or a strategic omission to aid in forging "strategic alliances with progressive companies who recognize the [real] value of our union"—to them.

Fact is that with or without the "exponential power" that the USWA-PACE alliance supposedly brought "for our membership," the "union" has neither the will nor the structure to protect workers. Refinery workers are, similar to their comrades in the chemical industry, incredibly fractured, which in turn adds to the volatility of an extremely complex industry that otherwise requires very careful coordination and cooperation. Not only are workers disorganized among innumerable companies and among many different trades, but they also are fragmented along contract and company worker lines. At the time of the explosion, for example, there were 1,100 company employees and 2,200 contract workers at the site. Typically, company and contract workers are separated not only by contract, but also by simple association such as lockers and employee services, not to mention different unions if they belong to unionized contractors at all. This, of course, has everything to do with attempts to maximize profits for the BP capitalists, for by subcontracting, maintenance, food service, accounts, etc., capitalists take advantage of competitively priced elements in the production process.

The most that PACE could do is complain that nonunion workers are not as good at what they do as dues-paying, card-carrying members

of PACE. That may be, but apparently PACE has yet to convince BP of what the company can gain from a "strategic alliance," and according to one report it has convinced less than half of all Texas City's refinery workers that such an alliance would hold much for them.

As for the "left," it clings to the labor fakery with the same dogmatic tenacity that a cur clings to a bone. The Communist Party's *People's Daily World*, for example, had this to say:

"Use of nonunion contractors helps corporations enlarge their profits, but at a price in life and limb. Allan Jamail, an official with Pipefitters Union Local 211 in Houston, told *The New York Times* that refineries across Texas have become more dangerous as companies have increasingly used nonunion contractors to do difficult construction and maintenance work. Nonunion workers 'aren't as well-trained and did not have the job security to raise safety concerns with managers,' he said."

Well, as the 19th-century Democratic Party politician William Marcy ("Boss") Tweed is famously misquoted as saying: "What are you going to do about it?"

Nothing, of course, except to back the union bosses who forge "strategic alliances" with "progressive companies" that exploit, kill, injure, maim and, in short, sacrifice workers before the golden calf of profit, then grumble for effect.

"Strategic alliance" is as good a phrase as any to describe what workers really need to force BP and other companies out of their sideline business of creating widows, widowers and orphans—not an alliance with the companies that exploit them and worse, but with themselves.

What workers need is a new union that recognizes the fact of the class struggle and organizes itself accordingly. They need a Socialist Industrial Union that embraces all workers. They need a union that aims at dismantling capitalism and building a new society in which safety on the job is not just a catch phrase tossed around by corporate and "union" con artists, but a fact, guaranteed by their own vigilance and the democratic power to enforce their will. Only then will workers be able to live in safety and the prosperity to which their skills and productivity entitle them.

...Long History of Imperialism

(Continued from page 9)

ican flag and took over the Hawaiian government, asking for annexation by the United States. An investigator sent by President Grover Cleveland found that Hawaiians were opposed to the new government and the planters had maneuvered the cop in order to gain the sugar bounty. Cleveland was conciliatory and directed that the queen be restored to power and that amnesty be granted to the rebels. The planters refused and proclaimed the Republic of Hawaii in 1894 with planter Sanford Dole as president. Cleveland, reluctant to use military force against fellow Americans, recognized the new republic. Hawaii was annexed by a joint resolution of Congress in 1898.

In 1898, the United States went to war with Spain. Spain had a corrupt government in place in its colony of Cuba. The American battleship *Maine*, at rest in Havana harbor, mysteriously blew up. The best evidence points to a boiler explosion. Many Americans, however, believed it was the result of a Spanish mine. War was declared against Spain. The decrepit Spanish empire proved no match for the military might of the United States. The Americans attacked Spain also in its colony of the Philippine Islands, where

they were joined by Philippine revolutionaries anxious for American help to gain their freedom from Spain. Once Spain was defeated, the United States annexed the Philippine Islands and was faced with a long revolt by the disappointed freedom fighters. The United States did not grant freedom to the Philippines until July 4, 1946. But the United States held onto Puerto Rico as a result of its conquest in 1898.

A new type of American imperialism is evident around the world today: military imperialism, as distinguished from colonial imperialism. The United States has 725 military

bases in 132 countries according to the Pentagon's *Base Structure Report*. These countries range from South Korea, Guam, Okinawa, Germany, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kuwait, Qatar, Turkey, Kosovo, Bulgaria, Ecuador, El Salvador, Aruba, Curacao and, of course, Iraq. These bases represent the spoils of previous U.S. wars, from 1898 to the present, and are considered necessary to imposing the will of the United States upon any present or future adversaries.

Yes, Gen. Powell, the United States *has* been imperialist—and still is.

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...Salesman

(Continued from page 4)

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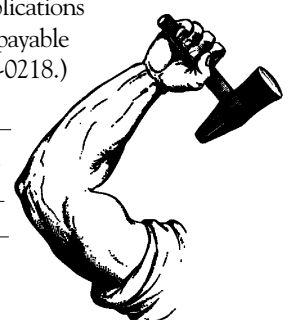
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...Factory Farming

(Continued from page 12)

Australian sheep dog, but neither would exist without the human labor historically spent to develop the special characteristics that distinguish domesticated variety sheep from their wild cousins and the sheep dog from the wolf. Indeed, many of today's farm animals could not survive if "returned" to the wild. Even wild animals removed from their natural surroundings for prolonged periods, or raised in captivity after some calamity befalling them or their natural habitats, frequently fail to readjust when released back into the wild. Domesticated animals, used, abused and removed from nature by millennia, are not what their ancestors were. Drop them back into the forests or onto the plains and their chances for survival would be no better than dropping them into the ocean or shooting them off to the moon.

All that is true, but does all that give agriculturalists the right to subject cattle, sheep and poultry to unspeakable cruelties for the sake of profit? The standards of capitalist property rights say it does. The standards of common decency say it does not.

PETA is right to fight on behalf of animals. The poor creatures can hardly be expected to defend themselves, to fathom their role as social

wealth and chattels, to realize that they are being confined, manipulated, frustrated, exploited and slaughtered in the name of profit. Indeed, a majority of workers are nearly as oblivious to the source of their own exploitation and frequent slaughter at work or war.

Henry David Thoreau said that for every thousand people hacking away at the branches of evil, there is one attacking the root. PETA workers and supporters are flailing away at branches without looking to the root of the problem. In this sense, PETA is exactly like numerous other singular issue organizations that struggle for ecology, or peace, or feminism, or animal liberation, or gay/lesbian rights, or racial equality. In other words, by failing to acknowledge and confront an economic system that makes commodities of the earth and all its creatures, PETA is guilty of reformism and utopianism. PETA wants animal heaven in the middle of capitalist hell. PETA wants the lion to lie down with the lamb.

If ecologists, for example, look to the root of the problem of environmental degradation, what will they see? They will see that polluting the earth is good for business. If war resisters and peace advocates look to the root of the prob-

lem of war, what will they see? They will see that waging war is good for business. If the oppressed who rebel against racism and sexism and homophobia look to the root of the problem of discrimination, what will they see? They will see that dividing the working class is good for business. If the animal advocates of PETA look to the root of the problem of mistreatment of animals, what will they see? They will see that abusing animals is good for business.

As always, Marx shows us the way. "To be radical," he wrote, "is to grasp things by the root." PETA should radicalize itself. It should grasp the issue of animal abuse by the root and work for the abolition of capitalism.

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ACTIVITIES

CALIFORNIA

Discussion Meetings — Section San Francisco Bay Area will hold the following discussion meetings:

Oakland: May 14, June 11 & July 23, 3-5 p.m., Rockridge Public Library, Community Room, 5366 College St.

Santa Clara: May 21, June 18, July 16 & 1:30-4 p.m.; Santa Clara Public Library, Sycamore Room, 2635 Homestead Rd.

San Francisco: May 28, June 18 & July 30, 1:30-4 p.m., San Francisco Public Library, Conference Room, Grove & Larkin streets.

For more information please call 408-280-7266 or email slpsfba@netscape.net.

ILLINOIS

Rock Island—Moderated discussion meetings will be held on the following Saturdays: May 7, 2-4 p.m. & June 4, 10 a.m.-noon, Rock Island Public Library, Community Room, 401 19th St.

OHIO

Discussion Meetings—Section Cleveland will hold the following discussion meetings:

Columbus: May 15 & June 12, 1-3 p.m., Carnegie Library, Meeting Room 1, Grant & Oak streets.

Independence: May 8, 1-3 p.m., Independence Public Library, 6361 Selig Dr. (off Rt. 21 [Brecksville Rd.] between Chestnut & Hillside). June 26, 1-3 p.m., Independence Days Inn, 5555 Brecksville Rd.

For more information call 440-237-7933.

Cleveland: Hessler Street Fair—Section Cleveland will staff a literature table at this year's street fair, May 22-23, noon to dusk, on Hessler Street in University Circle.

OREGON

Portland: Discussion Meetings—Section Portland will hold the following discussion meetings from 10 a.m.-12 noon at the Portland Main Library, SW Yamhill & 10th: Saturday, May 14, "Corporate Influence on Higher Education: Science and Professors for Hire" (part 1) & Saturday, June 11, "Corporate Influence on Higher Education: The Corruption of Culture" (part 2). For more information call Sid at 503-226-2881 or visit the section's website at <http://slp.pdx.home.mindspring.com>.

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Reynold R. Elkins \$25.00 (Total)

The People's Christmas Box Fund

George & Gloria Grove Olman "In memory of Theos & Marie Grove" \$500; \$200 each Willard E. Grove family "In memory of Marie Grove", Socialist Labor Party of Canada, Irene Schelin; Robert Ormsby \$25; Patrick McElhaney \$15; Harry E. Gibson \$10; Anonymous \$2.
 Total: \$1,152.00

Socialist Labor Party *Financial Summary*

Balance (Dec. 31)	\$213,114.06
Expenses (Jan.-March)	24,986.25
Income (Jan.-March)	15,380.26
Balance (March 31)	\$203,508.07
Deficit for 2005	\$ 9,605.99

New EPA Rule Guts Goals on Mercury Reduction

By Bruce Cozzini

In March, the Environmental Protective Agency (EPA) put into effect a new rule purported to reduce mercury pollution from coal-fired power plants. However, the new rule weakens previous rules under Section 112 of the federal Clean Air Act by cutting mercury reduction goals and extending the time for the full reduction to take place. The principal aim of the rule change is, clearly, to protect industry profits, not people.

The new rule replaces requirements to apply cutting-edge technology to coal-burning power plants with a “cap and trade” system. Cap and trade is a market-based shell game that sets overall pollution goals and allows power companies operating grossly polluting plants to purchase “pollution credits” from other plants that are operating below the prescribed levels. This approach prolongs the operation of the most highly polluting older plants by averaging in their levels with the lower levels of plants elsewhere.

Eight states, mostly in the Northeast, where there are many older coal-fired power plants, joined New Jersey in filing a suit against the new rule. Hot spots of mercury contamination have been identified in the region, and New York, New Jersey and several other states have posted warnings to avoid eating fish caught in many lakes and rivers, including those in Adirondack wilderness areas.

Mercury is one of the most toxic of heavy metals. It is toxic to nerves and most vital organs, and is particularly toxic to pregnant women and their fetuses. In living organisms it is converted to methyl mercury and is passed up the food chain to fish in both fresh and salt water. It is, however, only one of many toxic elements present in coal-fired power plant emissions. These include lead, cadmium, arsenic and chromium. Power plant emissions of mercury are 48 tons annually; of lead, likewise a powerful neurotoxin, 132 tons; of chromium, 153 tons; of arsenic, 62 tons.

A 2000 EPA rule included power plants as major sources of these pollutants, but the new mercury rule “de-lists” the utilities for these. Most of these pollutants are dispersed locally,

within about a 30-mile radius of a power plant. And U.S. census data quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor* (March 31) shows that half of all Americans live within 30 miles of a coal-fired plant.

The reworking of the regulatory agenda is no accident. The Bush administration has been working for some time to replace the Clean Air

Act with its “Clear Skies” Act, which is based on cap and trade and which guts many Clean Air regulations. Since this has been stuck in Congress for some time, the administration has chosen to attack it on a rules basis. Target goals were set on the basis of political agenda and industry influences. Objective data was ignored.

According to a report by the EPA’s inspector general (IG), agency staff was instructed by administrators to set modest goals for mercury pollution and then work backwards from them to justify the proposal. Although industry scientists claimed that the IG had exceeded her mandate and expertise, two staff members at EPA confirmed that the report “accurately described the pressures placed on staff by political appointees.” (*The Washington Post*, Feb. 4) According to the IG, the cap-and-trade process did not account for “hot spots” of pollution or other specific health concerns. In addition, she considered the 25 percent reduction specified by 2008 to be inadequate. But scientists were given it as a “predetermined target” and told to find ways to justify it.

In justifying the rule EPA officials claimed that controls “couldn’t be more aggressive because the cost to industry already far exceeded the public health payoff.” (*The Washington Post*, March 22) But in saying so they were ignoring a Harvard University study “paid for by the EPA, co-authored by the EPA and peer reviewed by two other EPA scientists” that had reached the opposite conclusion. Their analysis, which estimated health benefits 100 times that specified by the EPA, was ordered stripped from the public documents by EPA officials.

According to the study, controls similar to what the EPA had previously proposed “could save nearly \$5 billion a year through reduced neurological and cardiac harm.” EPA officials, on the other hand, claimed health benefits of only \$50 million a year at a cost to industry of \$750 million.

But cost-benefit analyses need to be examined beyond such comparisons, which are performed on a capitalist basis. Either alternative looks at the cost as the amount industry will spend to clean up the mess it creates in its search for profit and the benefit as the mitigation of the misery caused by it. In fact, it is workers who pay the cost by being exploited and subjected to an environment befouled by capitalist production and capitalists who reap the benefit of profits. They assume the absolute right of industry to foul our air and the lot of ordinary working folk to suffer.

A socialist society, based on production for use rather than profit, could not eliminate all risk of production, but would look at it from a classless perspective. Cost would include whatever safeguards were needed to assure public safety and health and the benefits would accrue to all. Where risk and benefit are shared by all, intelligent optimum decisions can be made democratically without conflict of interest and without the dishonest machinations inherent in capitalist politics.



Hubig/LNS

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Factory Farming: A Sadistic Business

By Michael James

PETA, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, seems to be laboring under the assumption that capitalist society can somehow cultivate compassion, decency or sensitivity. The animal liberation organization has reportedly asked Vice President Dick Cheney to give up fishing. PETA spokesperson Karin Robertson had the following message for Cheney: “We hope that you will agree that tormenting these sensitive animals is a pastime that belongs in the past.”

Gandhi said, “The greatness of a nation can be judged by the way its animals are treated.” Well, anybody who bothers to learn even a little bit about the plight of animals in capitalist America will be horrified and outraged.

Corporate factory farming, for example, is a truly obscene and sadistic business, revealing how the profit motive can twist and pervert our relations with even the most humble and inoffensive creatures of this world. Sentient ani-

mals such as pigs and chickens are cruelly manipulated from birth to death, aggressively fattened to maximize profit, fed numerous chemicals which are then ingested by human consumers, and warehoused so tightly that their most basic needs for fresh air, sunshine and freedom of movement are frustrated. Their confinement must truly constitute a “hell on earth.”

Scientific evidence is overwhelming in revealing that raising animals for food is catastrophic for humans, animals and the planet, but capitalism does not permit logical, rational decisions in such matters so long as there is money to be made. A wonderful book entitled *Diet for a New America* by John Robbins graphically describes the nightmarish realities of factory farming and the other abuses to animals, which PETA hopes to stop.

The trouble with PETA’s appeal to Cheney is that the organization seems to totally miss the whacky absurdity of asking a capitalist ruling-

class criminal who profits from war to sensitize himself to the suffering of fish. This man routinely and methodically, day in and day out, wages war in Iraq. This man ruthlessly serves U.S. corporate interests even as the American and Iraqi death tolls mount. This is a man with so much proletarian blood on his hands he is not likely to think twice about dispatching a few fish to the great beyond.

Domesticated animals are not human beings and they are not workers. They would not exist as they exist today if humans had not herded, tamed and taken control of their evolution through breeding. They are products of human labor and intervention.

Animals in their wild state are simply a part of nature. Wild pigs and sheep are natural wealth, but they differ from a seam of coal or a forest of pine because they are sentient. Also sentient are the woolly white sheep and the

(Continued on page 11)