

# the People

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## The Pork In Terror

By Paul D. Lawrence

Headline writers work under tighter deadlines than reporters do. They need to quickly read an article, sum it up and compose a headline that will fit in the space available. Every one of us has read headlines that contradict the article. On the other hand a headline in the Aug. 7 *Washington Post* went beyond anything specifically reported—but caught the real essence of the situation: "Bioterrorism Response Hampered by Problem of Profit."

In 2000, the Pentagon's Defense Science Board determined that the United States would need 57 drugs, diagnostics and vaccines to protect against a bioterrorist attack. There was only one. Now the number has doubled—to two.

"Senators are aggressively promoting legislation that would grant companies unprecedented enticements to work on meeting the bioterrorism defense needs on the classified list," the *Post* reported. One key incentive would be extending by 18 months patents on the most profitable drugs of companies that participate in the war against bioterrorism.

"The bill's sponsors, including Senators Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.) and Sam Brownback (R-Kan.), say that without an incentive of this magnitude, big drug companies will not invest in financially risky bioterrorism research," the *Post* continued. "Although vaccines and antibiotics for smallpox, anthrax, plague and other potential biological weapons may be lifesavers some day, they are unlikely ever to be profitable."

Whether one calls this extortion or bribery makes little difference. The bottom line is that the pharmaceutical companies place profits before patriotism.

How serious is the threat of bioterrorism is a different matter altogether. Real or not, it is a powerful propaganda tool to get people to gooseseep behind the president.

### Strange Bedfellows

It's not often the United States finds itself in the company of Lesotho, Papua New Guinea and Swaziland. In a survey of 168 nations last year five nations provided no paid maternity leave.

The fifth, Australia, however, provides one year of job-protected leave. That's how the world's most powerful plutocrats treat their wage slaves.

## AFL-CIO Split: What It Means for U.S. Workers

Is the recent split in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations fraught with danger for workers or ripe with possibilities? Will it strengthen workers' position in the class struggle with the employing class or advance their interests in the least? The details show the split to be much ado about nothing as far as workers' interests are concerned.

In July four major union affiliates boycotted the 50th anniversary convention of the AFL-CIO. The Teamsters and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) went a step further the day the gavel opened the convention, disaffiliating from the federation. Four days later, the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) also disaffiliated.

Seven unions with 6 million members have at last count joined the "Change to Win" reform coalition, which was founded in June. The Change Coalition includes the Teamsters, SEIU, UFCW, three AFL-CIO affiliates—the Laborers' International Union of North America (LIUNA), the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), and UNITE HERE (formed in 2004 from the merger of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union). It also includes one non-AFL-CIO affiliate, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (CJA).

The coalition's preconvention platform included, among other things, demands that the AFL-CIO direct half its budget to organizing, and that it "actively support mergers that unite workers by industry," "assume the role of the overall coordinator of labor's efforts to unite workers to build bargaining strength," "unite workers' strength across borders" and elect "leadership committed to building a movement..." When it became apparent that AFL-CIO officials weren't likely to implement the coalition's demands and that John Sweeney would not retire, the Teamsters and the SEIU walked, followed by the UFCW.

In his keynote remarks to the convention, federation president John J. Sweeney claimed that the split is "a tragedy for working people" because "a divided movement hurts the hopes of working families for a better life."

In fact, Sweeney and the Change Coalition's fakers must know how little they really have to offer workers. The history of the procapitalist labor movement is well known to the fakers involved. Both the "reformers" and the Sweeney "old guard"—which was the "reform" element in 1995 when they came to power—must be aware that everything they are enforcing or proposing has been tried and has failed to rejuvenate the U.S. union movement. The AFL was founded to "coordinate" a lot of individual trade unions in the service of capitalism, was then opposed by a "more aggressive" Congress of Industrial Organ-

izations that wanted to organize industrywide for a "better deal" and failed to do so, then was "united" with the AFL in a "federation" both thought would stave off the decline that followed. Now the "more aggressive" elements have split off again, in search of more effective rear-guard action to defend their retreat.



The People

The labor fakers know this history. They know that their brand of unionism turned its back on the real class interests of workers long ago, leaning on the capitalist state for "labor laws," and on the class enemy of the workers for support of "labor contracts." They have always howled when their capitalist-class masters periodically kicked those props from under them, in lock step with capitalist-class interests. They despair now because the capitalist system they have supported all along is kicking them in the teeth and taking away the duespayers they bleed to feather their own nests. With only 8 percent of private sector workers and 12.9 percent of all workers now members of unions, their desperation is reaching new levels.

A UFCW statement on its disaffiliation from the AFL-CIO says that "The UFCW and the Change Coalition unions are rapidly moving forward to develop a national organizing, bargaining and political program based on our vision and strategy for the future."

But even if every reform demand of the Change Coalition had been embraced by the whole AFL-CIO, the end result for workers would have to be more of the ongoing long, slow slide into joblessness and insecurity for increasing numbers of U.S. workers.

Why? The thing most battering the existing unions is that they accept capitalism in the first place, and nothing the Change Coalition has to say changes this in the least. They want the best deal capitalism has to offer for their members.

For the first half of the 20th century U.S. capitalism was on the ascendant, eventually dominating the globe after two world wars destroyed most of the productive capacity of its strongest competitors. Under such circumstances the capitalist class generally bought the labor fakers' "product"—labor "peace"—and bargained with the fakers over the terms of workers' exploitation, sprinkling some concessions to workers to fend off dissent. "Organizing" jobs with the goal of getting the best deal capitalism had to offer

(Continued on page 11)

# Karl Marx Still Regarded As 'Greatest Philosopher'

When BBC Radio 4 announced the results of a listeners' poll on the "greatest philosopher" in July, Karl Marx came out an easy winner. Marx polled nearly 28 percent of the 30,000 votes cast, more than twice the number received by the second place finisher, 18th-century Scottish philosopher David Hume, who came in with less than 13 percent of the total.

The poll results set off a flurry of commentary in newspapers around the world, particularly in the British press, but more particularly in the Scottish homeland of the snubbed runner-up. The *Sunday Herald* of Glasgow, Scotland, for example, printed a column by Ian Bell under the heading of "Karl Marx, who was voted Britain's favorite philosopher last week, never offered answers. But his questions are still worth asking." Among other things, Bell had this to say about Karl Marx:

"Neither the man himself, nor those who subsequently claimed his name, ever got around to explaining what you, me or anyone else might do with the consequences of the question. How is power to be exerted in an authentically socialist society? The 20th Christian century suggested that ceding all rights to the latest sociopath might not be the way to go. After so many corpses of people murdered in the name of the people, it is pointless to argue. Logically, for democracy to be perfect, we would all have to vote, always, for the same thing at the same time, always. All in favor of that? Possibly not."

Almost immediately after this article appeared, SLP supporter James Plant of England sent a letter to the *Sunday Herald* in response to Bell's column, with special emphasis on the passages quoted above, which was printed on July 24 in what Plant described as "a very truncated, emasculated, form."

The editors of the *Sunday Herald* not only "emasculated" Plant's letter, they showed themselves to be bad losers, soreheads and downright falsifiers by publishing their letters column under the heading of "Full marks to Bell but Karl gets nothing." Our readers may judge for themselves. The following full presentation of Plant's letter highlights with italicized type what the *Sunday Herald* left out.

—Editor

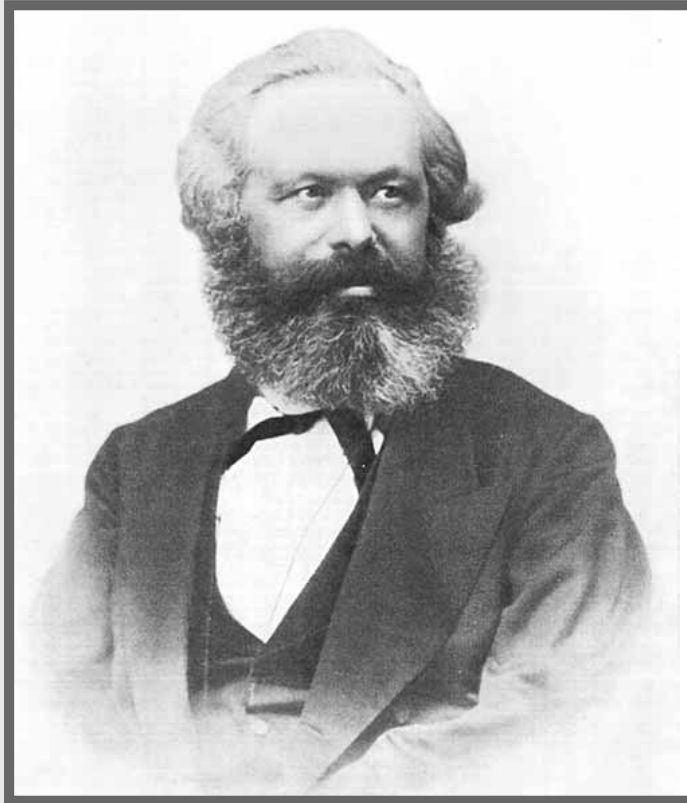
Dear Editor,

Ian Bell (*Sunday Herald*, 17 July) correctly acknowledges that Karl Marx was right on the ball in showing that the great majority within capitalist society—the working class—are exploited, or to use Bell's terminology, they "get screwed." Marx, of course, explained the process in scientific detail, demonstrating that workers produce "surplus value" over and above that which they receive in wages, and that this surplus value is appropriated by the minority capitalist class.

Bell touches upon an important point when he avers that neither Marx, or any subsequent Marxist, ever explained how power would be exerted in a future socialist society. Marx was not a utopian. He was no St. Simon or Plato who thought he could blueprint the future with his "Republic," as if it was a prefabricated house. Material conditions—such as the level of production reached by society at the time of the socialist revolution, the scientific-technical knowledge immediately available for rapid technological advance, the extent and quality of the infrastructure, the general educational and cultural level of

the population—these would be among concrete factors dictating the precise shape and mode of operation of a future socialist society.

Nonetheless, Marx did give some pointers when responding to one of the seminal events of his time, the Paris Commune of 1871. Marx enthused about, and was inspired by, the broad democracy, equality and openness of the Commune, which was in marked contrast to so many societies since his day that have falsely



claimed to be inspired by his ideas. He drew some important lessons from the experience and eventual defeat of the Paris Commune, concluding that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." And he adds: "The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time." By contrasting "working" with "parliamentary," Marx indicates that an entirely new governmental or administrative form had to be evolved, in short, an administration of things or industrial administration replacing the old outdated class-based political state.

*These thoughts were further developed by the American Socialist Daniel De Leon—whose ideas, incidentally, were very influential among Socialists in Scotland in the early part of the last century—with his concept of the Socialist Industrial Union. An uncompromising union which would unite all workers, regardless of trade or specialty, to initially conduct the class struggle effectively so long as capitalism still*

existed, to also provide the "might" to ensure the success of the socialist revolution, and then to provide the democratic administrative structure of the future socialist society. Not a rigid blueprint to be imposed upon the future, which as stated above would be utopian, but a realistic and practical starting point and framework.

We live in an age where the possibility of comfort and plenty is a realistic possibility for all mankind; a society not only without exploitation, but where the causes of war and terrorism would no longer exist, and the long-term viability of the planet and its atmosphere would not be subordinated to the short-term needs of the profit motive. Such a society will not come about by trying to "reform" the capitalist system—experience has shown that this is just as likely to succeed as persuading a leopard to change its spots—but only by its complete elimination and replacement by a genuine socialist society. The [Thus] only way to "make poverty history" is to make capitalism history. The study of the work and ideas of Karl Marx and Daniel De Leon is a vital first step.

Jim Plant  
Sawbridgeworth

NOTE: Word at start of last sentence in square brackets is a substitute by *Sunday Herald*.—J.P.

## Do You Belong?

Do you know what the SLP stands for? Do you understand the class struggle and why the SLP calls for an end of capitalism and of its system of wage labor? Do you understand why the SLP does not advocate reforms of capitalism, and why it calls upon workers to organize Socialist Industrial Unions?

If you have been reading *The People* steadily for a year or more, if you have read the literature recommended for beginning Socialists, and if you agree with the SLP's call for the political and economic unity of the working class, you may qualify for membership in the SLP. And if you qualify to be a member you probably should be a member.

For information on what membership entails, and how to apply for it, write to: SLP, P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218. Ask for the SLP Membership Packet.

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# SLP's 46th National Convention Adopts National Platform

The following is the text of the National Platform of the Socialist Labor Party adopted by the 46th National Convention in Santa Clara, Calif., July 9-11. The platform is subject to ratification by a general vote of the whole membership of the party. SLP members are urged to read the text carefully before marking and returning their ballots to the National Office for tabulation by a special committee appointed by the party's National Executive Committee. The general vote closes on Friday, September 16.

**F**ew can deny that the world today is in a constant state of upheaval. That is reflected in the widespread anarchy, turmoil and conflict not only in the developed industrial nations but also in developing nations throughout the world.

The fact that such conditions prevail generally throughout the world, and have prevailed for a long time, logically suggests the presence of a dominant common social factor. That common social factor, the Socialist Labor Party has repeatedly demonstrated, is the capitalist system that does not and cannot work in the interests of the majority. It is a social system in which society is divided into two classes—a capitalist class and a working class. The capitalist class consists of a tiny minority—the wealthy few who own and control the instruments of production and distribution. The working class consists of the vast majority who own no productive property and must, therefore, seek to work for the class that owns and controls the means of life in order to survive.

The relationship between the two classes forms the basis for an economic tyranny under which the workers as a class are robbed of the major portion of the social wealth that they produce.

The beneficiaries and defenders of this economic dictatorship never tire of declaring it the "best of all possible systems." Yet, today, after decades of new deals, fair deals, wars on poverty, civil rights legislation, government regulations, deregulations and a host of other reform efforts, capitalist America presents an obscene social picture. Millions who need and want jobs are unemployed, including many of whose jobs have been outsourced. Others are underemployed, working only part-time or temporary jobs though they need and want full-time work. Millions aren't earning enough to maintain a decent standard of living for themselves and their families despite the fact that they are working.

The malignant evil of racism and discrimination is pervasive. The nation's educational system is deteriorating. The health care system, despite heated debate for years, still fails to meet the needs of tens of millions. The country's infrastructure continues to crumble.

even alleviate them to any meaningful degree have imposed decades of misery and suffering on millions of workers and their families.

Against this insane capitalist system the Socialist Labor Party raises its voice in emphatic protest and unqualified condemnation. It declares that if our society is to be rid of the host of economic, political and social ills that for so long have plagued it, the outmoded capitalist system of private ownership of the socially operated means of life and production for the profit of a few must be replaced by a new social order. That new social order must be organized on the same basis of social ownership and democratic management of all the instruments of social production, all means of distribution and all of the social services. It must be one in which production is carried on to satisfy human needs and wants. In short, it must be genuine socialism.

That is precisely the mission embodied in the Socialist Labor Party's program—a program calling for both political and economic organization and action. That program also is based upon the SLP's recognition and unqualified acceptance of the fact that the revolutionary change to socialism must be the classconscious act of the workers themselves! Accordingly, the SLP calls upon the workers to rally under its banner for the purpose of advocating this revolutionary change, building classconsciousness among

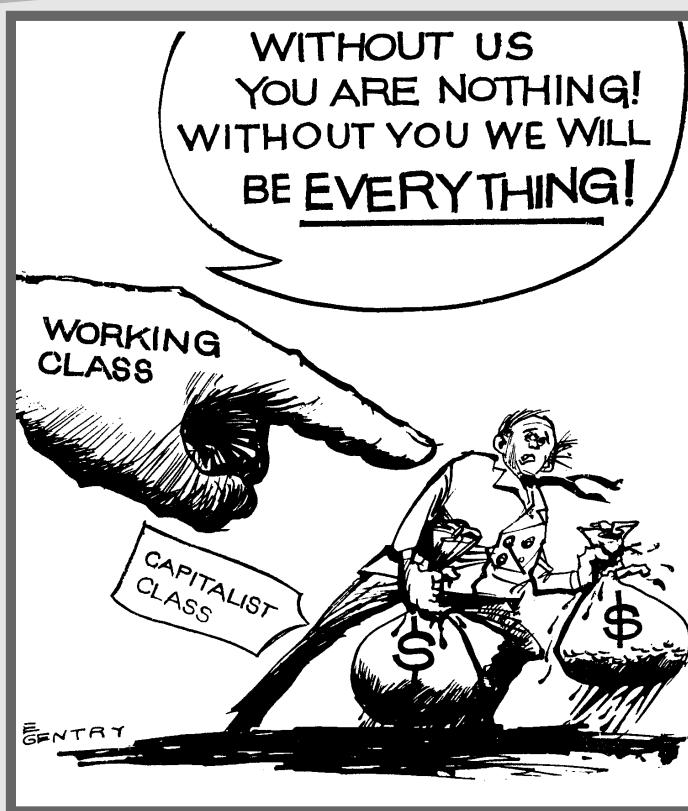
workers and projecting a program of organization that the workers could implement toward this end. That program also calls for the organization of revolutionary socialist unions. These are essential to mobilize the economic power of the workers not only to resist the ever-increasing encroachments of the capitalists more effectively, but ultimately to provide the essential power to enforce the revolutionary demand.

Capable of assuming control and continuing to administer and operate the essential industries and social services, these integral socialist unions can exercise the power and provide the decisive leverage to "swing" the revolution. Moreover, they have the structure that provides the necessary foundation and structural framework for socialist society. It is the workers who will fill out the new social framework and make the people's ownership, control and administration of the new social structure a reality.

Despite the many threats to workers' lives, liberty and happiness today, despite the growing poverty and misery that workers are subjected to, a world of peace, liberty, security, health and abundance for all stands within our grasp. The potential to create such a society exists, but that potential can be realized only if workers act to gain control of their own lives by organizing, politically and industrially, for socialism.

The Socialist Labor Party calls upon all who realize the critical nature of our times, and who may be increasingly aware that a basic change in our society is needed, to place themselves squarely on working-class principles.

Join us in this effort to put an end to the existing class conflict and all its malevolent results by placing the land and the instruments of social production in the hands of the people as a collective body in a cooperative socialist society. Help us build a world in which everyone will enjoy the free exercise and full benefit of their individual faculties, multiplied by all the technological and other factors of modern civilization.



E. Gentry for *The People*

Widespread pollution of our environment worsens. Crime and corruption are widespread at every level of capitalist society. Many workers suffer from alcohol and drug abuse. Homeless men, women and even children roam our streets. Thanks to capitalism's exploitation of workers poverty continues to grow. The number of people living below the official poverty line has risen from 24.1 million in 1969 to a 2005 level of over 33 million, 13 million of whom are children.

Even the foregoing fails to give a full picture of the wide-ranging plague of social and economic problems modern-day capitalism is imposing on society.

A confluence of diminishing oil supplies, rapid industrialization of previously agricultural societies and the bloated wasteful energy demands of capitalist society have added to the social malaise enveloping the world. Thus wars for the domination of oil sources and spheres of influence in Afghanistan and Iraq are serving to satiate capitalist appetite for profit and survival. Meanwhile, new emerging threats to U.S. hegemony have arisen in Iran, Korea and China, promising future chapters of class-rule cataclysms.

A century ago there were no computers, no space exploration and no nuclear weapons. Nor was there great concern regarding pollution of the land, air and water on which all species—humanity included—depend for life. But there was widespread poverty, racial prejudice and discrimination, spreading urban chaos, brazen violations of democratic rights, the material and economic conflicts that contain the seeds of war, and a host of other economic and social problems.

All of those problems still plague the American working class—but have grown to even more monumental proportions. These long-standing problems and the failure of seemingly unending reform efforts to solve or

## the People

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## A PAGE FROM WORKING-CLASS HISTORY

# The Meaning of the AFL-CIO Merger

We interrupt our series of articles on the 100th anniversary of the original Industrial Workers of the World to take notice of another anniversary from the annals of the labor movement—the merger 50 years ago of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The following prognosis of what the AFL-CIO merger would mean for American workers is timely, not only as a test of the accuracy of what *THE PEOPLE* and the SLP anticipated, but also with the recent secession of seven organizations from the AFL-CIO in mind. Then it was merger; now it is dismemberment, but neither was more than a change in form without a change in principle.

(*Weekly People*, Sept. 3, 1955)

What will the forthcoming AFL-CIO merger mean to the 15 million members of the two federations? Will it strengthen the hands of their agents at the bargaining tables? Will it end the exhausting, labor-sundering jurisdictional fights? Will it help to unite labor politically?

To answer these questions we must first understand the nature of the merger. For this is preeminently a merger “at the summit.” It is an agreement between union bosses to unite two federations of autonomous unions. The idea of one big federation of 15 million members is superficially attractive to many workers. But these 15 million members are in fact organized within their respective federations into separate, and often competing, job trusts. The AFL and CIO are like two armies organized into independently commanded divisions loosely affiliated for the mutual convenience of their commanding generals. The merger will make the two armies one, but the divisions will still be autonomous, hence incapable of acting unitedly as one army.

*The Wall Street Journal*, which has always been realistic about the role and nature of American labor unions\* recently (Aug. 16) assured its capitalist readers that the merger would change nothing basically. Competition and jurisdictional fights, it said, will continue, adding: “...We rather think it [the merger] is going to seem less and less attractive to those immediately affected by it. Competition among labor unions is not only a good thing but it is also likely to prove hard to squelch.”

## ‘Unity’ Won’t Fool the Capitalists

If a CIO bargaining agent were to sit down at the table today and talk aggressively of having 5 million CIO union members behind him, the employer would laugh in his face. The employer will laugh just as loudly if an AFL-CIO bargaining agent tries to throw around the weight of the 15 million-member organization. Employers aren’t fooled by AFL-CIO “unity.” They know such “unity” is a myth, and that they can almost always depend upon the unions not involved in the bargaining to mind their own “autonomous” business.

The employers are at least partly responsible for the fact that the present unions are autonomous. They encouraged organization along craft lines, for they perceived that this *divided* the workers instead of uniting them. And they deliberately adopted the policy of signing separate contracts with the various crafts—always seeing to it that these contracts expired at different dates. In this way they not only made sure that the workers would stay disunited in spite of the unions, but they also caused “organized” workers to scab on one another and thus break

the other’s strikes. Today it is almost an everyday occurrence for the members of one union to cross the picket lines of another union and thus help the employers to defeat the strike.

One must be wishful, indeed, to expect any benefits for the workers from a merger of federations that represent such labor-sundering unionism.



### OLD STANDBY

Drag it out and dust it off, Mr. Employer. Hurry. The workers are getting restless. Too bad, but the Post-war Panacea line has been done to death, and the Four (or is it *forty*?) Freedoms are only slightly less ludicrous; but if we can jam this lovely old sentiment down the workers' throats, we needn't shake in our boots even slightly. Perhaps this tried-and-true rallying banner is a little frayed—but it's all wool and a yard wide, and fine stuff for pulling over workers' eyes. [Don't let your conscience bother you. Sure Capital and Labor are brothers. *Liko Cain and Abel.*]

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CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL  
OPPORTUNISTS.

## Union Autonomy Is an Absurdity

To return for a moment to the metaphor of an army, an army that was made up of autonomous divisions like the autonomous unions would immediately be recognized as an absurdity. It simply could not function as an army because if Division A became engaged with the enemy, Divisions B, C and D—or rather the commanding generals of these divisions—arguing that *they* had no quarrel with the enemy, would have their men camp on the sidelines and compel embattled Division A to bear the full brunt. Worse, Divisions B, C and D—were they governed by the same philosophy as the AFL-CIO unions—would even supply the troops with which Division A is beaten and forced to surrender!

Such an army, we repeat, would be an absurdity. But is a union movement, built on these very self-defeating lines, any less absurd?

## More Jurisdictional Squabbles

As for jurisdictional fights, AFL-CIO “unity” may mean more of these, not less. On Aug. 11 the AFL had a brief convention in Chicago (preliminary to the special convention in New York, Nov. 1). Reporting this meeting in *The New York Times*, Aug. 12, Joseph A. Loftus wrote:

“Fears and suspicions...are heard informally across the cocktail and dinner tables, in hotel lobbies and in private meetings. The president of one union estimated that if all the AFL union presidents here voted their feelings, 85 percent would vote against the merger.”

Typical of the fears was that of leaders of the AFL metal and building trades who wanted to know “whether the United Steelworkers, a CIO union, could assert the right to build a new steel furnace or steel plant.” The very fact that such fears exist only underscores the competitive attitudes of the union leaders, and the determination of each to preserve his power

and, if possible, to extend his dominion.

## The Political Effects of the Merger

The political effects of the merger are likely to be equally disillusioning. It is known that one of the chief incentives to merge was to create a single political action committee and a single set of union lobbyists. But “unity” among the labor fakers on which gang of capitalist politicians to endorse as “friends of labor,” if that is possible, doesn’t mean the workers will vote as a man. As long as the workers are deluded into supporting capitalism, they are vulnerable to the blandishments of capitalist politicians on both sides. They will truly be united, and vote as a class, only when they wake up to the facts and implications of the class struggle.

There are some would-be radicals who harbor the hope that a merged union movement will result in a “labor party” which may ultimately be infused with revolutionary principles. This is nonsense. First of all, the labor fakers are up to their ears in out-and-out capitalist politics. Moreover, they *like* this setup. As Joseph Loftus wrote in *The New York Times*, May 8, 1955:

“If there is anything union leaders...do not want it is separateness. They want to ‘belong.’ The union leader, by and large, imitates his employer’s way of life. As soon as he is able, he provides himself and his family with a home and car, a substantial wardrobe and a golf club membership. He likes to stop at the best hotels. This is not the stuff of revolutionaries who form class parties.”

Rather it is the stuff of fakers—corrupt leaders who run the unions to advance their own interests.

To sum up, only in a very indirect sense may the AFL-CIO membership expect to benefit from the forthcoming merger. We refer to the implications of the merging of a so-called “vertical” or “industrial” union, and a “horizontal” or “craft” union.

For this merger will prove what the SLP has said all along, viz., that CIO “industrial unionism” is a fake and that there has never been any basic difference between the rival federations. The merger will simplify the exposure of fakerdom and faker-led unions, hence render the task of the agitator for Socialist Industrial Unionism that much easier.

\*On June 6, 1905, *The Wall Street Journal* said: “*The Wall Street Journal* has more than once during the past two years referred to the American Federation of Labor as being ‘the strongest obstacle in this country to socialism.’” And on March 9, 1939, the *Journal* said: “Labor organization is a business; like any other business, it is run primarily to produce a living for those who make it their vocation.”

TWO PAGES FROM  
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DANIEL DE LEON



New York © Labor News

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*From the 46th National Convention*

# SLP Still 'Full of Fight,' Bills Tells Delegates

*The following is the text of National Secretary Robert Bills' opening remarks when convening the 46th National Convention of the SLP, held July 9-11 at the Holiday Inn hotel in Santa Clara, Calif.*

Greetings, and Good Morning—

Two years ago, there was reason to believe that this day might never come. The SLP was confronting a major financial crisis that seemed too formidable to be overcome. However, due in large measure to that generosity of spirit that ever guides the hearts of those who are dedicated to a great cause, we are here this morning to carry on with the great purpose to which the SLP is dedicated.

I recently received a letter from a long-time supporter of the SLP—a letter with which he enclosed a sizable contribution to the New Publications Fund, but in which he also expressed the belief that the SLP had failed.

The identity of this good, if somewhat disheartened, friend of the SLP does not matter. His letter was as brief as his contribution was generous, but it gave me opportunity to respond, as follows:

"I do not believe it is correct to say that 'the SLP has failed,' anymore than I believe it would be correct to say it has succeeded. It has done neither, although it has failed and succeeded in certain important respects. It has not failed because it has succeeded in surviving the repeated onslaughts of many formidable forces that have wiped out entire movements and even nations. Long before I began to read the *Weekly People* in 1960, even before you began to read it 11 years before I was born, the oppo-

nents and enemies of the SLP and its Marxist-De Leonist principles had nailed shut the lid on the party's coffin. It was said that the SLP

fundamental, so sweeping in their effect, that we can, without pausing to quantify the scope of the problem, say they have been revolutionary. However, they are not so revolutionary that they have swept away the foundations of capitalist society, or the Marxist evaluation of how that society operates against the interests of a vast and growing class of dispossessed. Capitalism has survived the stages that Marx and Engels enumerated long ago, the stages of handicrafts, manufacturing and heavy industry. Now it is entering a new era, a stage that has brought new words into our vocabulary—words such as 'deindustrialization,' 'globalization,' 'information economy,' etc.—but none of which have altered *fundamentally* the basic social relations that distinguish capitalism from former systems of class rule, exploitation and oppression.

"How can we rectify this sad state of affairs? Well, I do not claim to know the full answer to that, but I do know that the answer is not to give up on what we know to be right. New conditions demand new thinking, but new thinking based on sound principles. It is as Marx said in his *Eighteenth Brumaire*:

"...Proletarian revolutions...criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, and recoil again and again from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out:

"Hic Rhodus, hic salta!

"Here is the rose, here dance!"

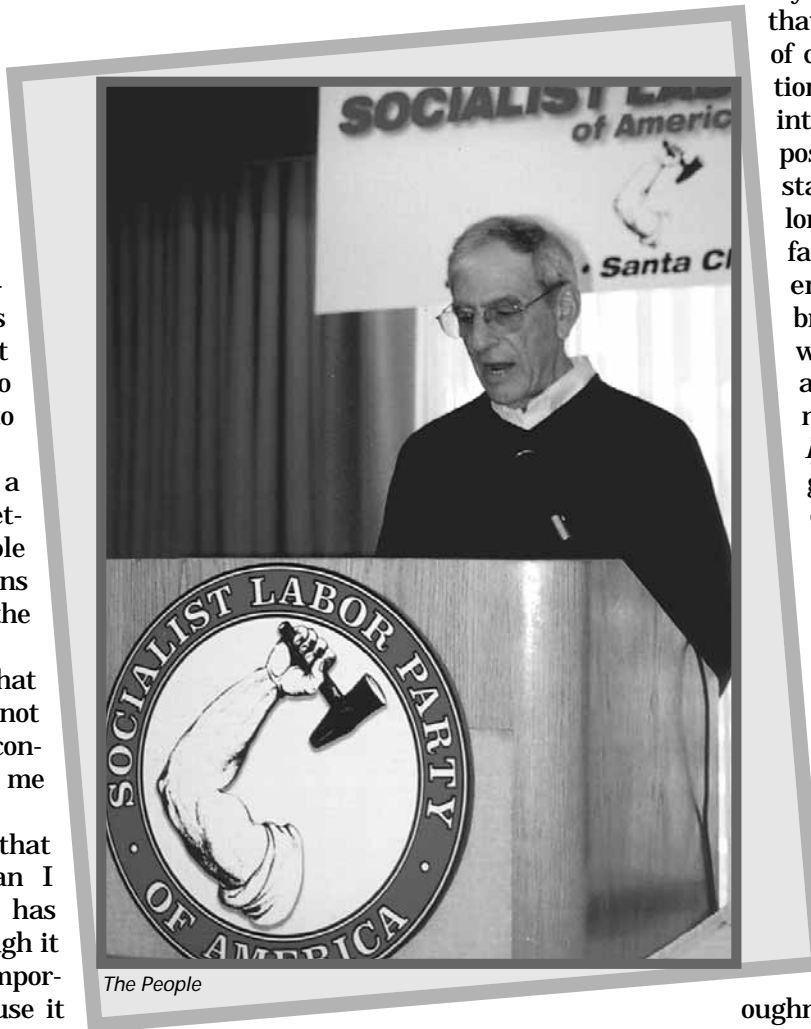
"The SLP has not failed. It is struggling somewhere between its Bunker Hill and its Yorktown. I do not know if it has hunkered down at its version of Valley Forge or is crossing the perilous ice flows of some Delaware on its way to some new 'Battle of Trenton.' What I do know, however, is that the SLP is still here, still fighting and still has plenty of fight in it. Failure is guaranteed only to those who buckle under the pressures of adversity. Success is never guaranteed, but success always lies within the realm of possibility, and sometimes closer to hand than we dare to think.

*"Do not give up on the SLP!"*

Our friend responded to this by sending a second contribution for the New Publications Fund to match the generous contribution he had sent with his first letter, and with a brighter attitude, thanked me for my thoughts.

This morning we have gathered here to take up the work that has inspired thousands of working-class men and women for generations. Your deliberations over the next few days will have their effect on those who have stood by the SLP because they are convinced of its worth.

It is a large responsibility, but it is a challenge that can be met with success by hard work and devotion to duty. I wish you great success in your deliberations, and I hereby call this 46th National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party to order.



SLP National Secretary Robert Bills greets convention delegates.

was De Leon and De Leon alone when the Socialist Party came along and built up its sand castle of a million votes. Only Eugene Debs had the insight and presence of mind to caution his SP compatriots that the SLP was not to be counted out. Debs was wrong about many things, but he was right about the tenacity, vitality and viability of the SLP.

"Look at all the storms the SLP has weathered well enough to allow you to send such a generous gift as the one you just have, and for someone like me, elected by a body of dedicated men and women, to be here to acknowledge its receipt and to express gratitude and appreciation, not for myself alone, but for that body of devoted men and women who don't know how to quit. I could not even start with a comprehensive list of the obstacles, big and small, the SLP has 'outfoxed,' so to speak.

"There was the sad experience with the IWW. There was the initially exhilarating but ultimately crushing disappointment of the Russian Revolution, followed by the attacks our domestic Stalinists made on a small but vigilant and disciplined SLP. There were the incomprehensible tragedies of two world wars and numerous regional conflicts across an entire century. There were the trauma and suffering brought on by the Great Depression, not to mention numerous lesser crises of capitalism. All these things, and many more besides, the SLP has survived.

"It is true, as you wrote, that very few have benefited from advances in technology, just as true now as it was when John Stuart Mill made a similar observation so long ago that Karl Marx could quote it in *Capital*. It is true that the impact of modern technology has brought and will continue to bring sweeping changes to the world. Those advances are so

## Help Them Out!

Dear Comrades:

Please find enclosed your subscription renewal request form/envelope (n.b., stamps are not allowed inside anymore). As you know, I am a state prisoner who would greatly appreciate your kindness in continuing my "free" subscription to *THE PEOPLE*. This single subscription is read by a diverse group inside and, while we don't agree on everything, we do agree on the fact that your newspaper offers us excellent information that has become the source of many of our discussion topics inside the fences.



Peace out (War in),  
RANDW. GOULD  
Hamtramck, Mich.

*Thanks to the generosity of our subscribers, we had the funds to renew Mr. Gould's subscription. Similar requests from indigent prisoners are received regularly. You can help them out by sending a \$5 contribution to our Prisoner Subscription Fund. Send to The People, P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218.*

*De Leon's Seminal Address*

# Socialist Reconstruction Needed More Than Ever

*The following is the text of an address delivered by National Secretary Robert Bills at the 46th National Convention Banquet of the Socialist Labor Party held July 9 at the Holiday Inn hotel in Santa Clara, Calif.*

Comrades and Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is a very special occasion for the Socialist Labor Party. It is held in conjunction with the party's 46th National Convention. That would be cause enough to call this a special occasion.

What makes it very special is that it also corresponds to the 100th anniversary of an extremely important event in the history of the socialist movement. Indeed, it corresponds closely to two such events.

The first of the two is the centennial of the founding of the original Industrial Workers of the World at Chicago at a two-week convention that convened on June 27 and adjourned on July 8, 1905. That organization was born out of the struggles of the day—workers' struggles, but not only their struggles to defend themselves against their employers and exploiters, but also against a failed leadership, or should I say nest of misleaders, at the head of what was then simply the American Federation of Labor.

I do not know how many here may be familiar with a magazine called the *Monthly Review*. It comes out of New York and has the reputation of being a Marxist publication. I have had more than one occasion to take issue with that assessment, but that is not why I mention it.

I mention it because, as you might expect, it also took note of the 100th anniversary of the IWW. Even that might not have induced me to mention it this evening. What induces me is that the person who wrote the anniversary article it published is a man named Paul Buhle.

Buhle is a "scholar." He has that reputation. He has written a pile of books on the labor movement. He is also a former member of the SLP who sometimes describes himself as a De Leonist, of sorts. Even that might not have taken me out of my way this evening, except for something he said in that article that flew in the face of the very thing he wrote to commemorate. It was this:

"No greater contrast in the history of labor could be drawn than the one between the inclusive, democratic, revolutionary IWW and the AFL-CIO. By 1995, Kirkland and his closest confidants, notably American Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker, had essentially given up on enrolling the unorganized, thus completing the misleadership of Kirkland's predecessor, George Meany, in reducing organized labor from bold social movement to conservative special interest."

Some of you may not recognize the names of the men he mentioned, but those names are not important and not what caught my attention. What caught my attention was the assertion that only after the AFL-CIO merger of 50 years ago did that "misleadership [succeed] in reducing organized labor from bold social movement to conservative special interest."

Why, it was precisely that the misleadership of the old AFL, then led by Samuel Gompers, that led to the formation of the IWW. The AFL was corrupt, and nothing summed up that corruption and treason to the working class so succinctly or so precisely as the term "labor lieutenant of the capitalist class." That term, that way of referring to Samuel Gompers and the rest of the top dogs in the AFL, did not originate with their Socialist opponents. It originated with the capitalist and Republican senator

from Ohio, Mark Hanna. Hanna referred to Gompers and company as his "labor lieutenants," and the term stuck.

The misinformation written by Paul Buhle and circulated by the *Monthly Review* is important because it helps to illustrate how important it is that the SLP, its publication *The People* and its literature really are—not only for countering such misleading information—but to provide young people and workers coming into touch with the socialist movement for the first time with sound educational materials.

The second occurrence that makes this occasion a very special one came just two days after the IWW adjourned its founding convention. It did not happen at Chicago, but at Minneapolis, where Daniel De Leon, on July 10, 1905, delivered his address on the Preamble of the Constitution that the IWW had adopted only a few days before.

Today we refer to that address as *Socialist Reconstruction of Society*. For decades, it was the cornerstone on which the whole array of SLP literature was built—and at one time that array of literature was a formidable one. It is regrettable that this wonderful address has fallen out of print; regrettable that it is not readily available for younger people and working people just coming into touch with the SLP.

When De Leon delivered his address he introduced his audience to three brief clauses from the Preamble of the Constitution adopted at Chicago.

The first clause proclaimed: "There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."

The second clause declared: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

The third clause declared: "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party."

De Leon built his address around these three passages from the Preamble, but he singled out the first as "pivotal." Everything else depended on that. Was it true or was it false? If it was true, as the IWW and the SLP maintained, then the propositions contained in the other two clauses followed as night followed day. If not, then the other two fell to the ground and were meaningless.

De Leon held that it was true, and the SLP sticks to that position today. Was it true 100 years ago? Is it true today, 100 years later?

When De Leon delivered his address, the population of the country was between 76 million and 92 million. Those are the census figures for 1900 and 1910, respectively. De Leon delivered his address in 1905, right in between, so split the difference and say there were about 84 million people living in the country when the IWW was organized. Today, or on Thursday, to be precise, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated the population to be 296,560,669.

My reason for mentioning this is that De Leon cited some figures in his address, figures he used to demonstrate that the condition of the working class of his day was going from bad to worse. To demonstrate, he used a chart that the Republican Party had produced as election year propaganda during the presidential campaign of 1904.

The chart, which the Republicans called

"Uncle Sam's Balance Sheet," featured two illustrations of Uncle Sam in his familiar Stars and Stripes costume. One of those depictions was of a straggly looking fellow, the other of a portly looking one. Between these thin and chubby illustrations of Uncle Sam were several columns filled with numbers. The numbers were meant to show several things. They were meant to show that the nation had gone from poor to rich between the end of the Civil War and the 1904 presidential campaign, primarily under Republican administrations. More important, however, they were meant to prove that the American working class was a prime beneficiary of the growth of industry during the five decades of the preceding half-century.

De Leon did not use all the numbers printed on that Republican poster. It was a big hall filled with a big audience. It was July and, of course, there was no air conditioning. He did not want his audience to suffocate from the heat, and he did not want them to nod off in boredom as he explored the numbers. Nonetheless, he thought it was important enough to take some time with it. His reason was to show that the Republican propaganda poster demonstrated something different from the impression it was designed to create. In truth, American workers had not grown more prosperous, but were being exploited, robbed, by the capitalist class, and their condition was in decline.

To make his point, De Leon chose numbers from two columns, the first showing how the value of goods manufactured in the United States had increased in every year from 1860 to 1900. The second column showed the wages paid to the workers who manufactured those goods in each of the years listed. He limited himself to the decennial years of 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890 and 1900.

I will not take you through all of that. Suffice to say that the poster put the value of the goods manufactured in 1870 at \$4 billion and the value of the goods manufactured in 1900 at \$13 billion. Wages for those two years totaled \$700 million and \$2.3 billion, respectively. In short, wages amounted to 17.5 percent of the value of goods manufactured in 1870 and 17.7 percent in 1900.

What these Republican figures demonstrated was that the increased productivity of labor over three decades had not brought prosperity—and not much progress—to the working class. Over that 30-year span, labor's share of its product had increased by two-tenths of one percent.

What "Uncle Sam's Balance Sheet" did not show, however, was how many workers produced the \$4 billion worth of goods and shared in the \$700 million paid out in wages in 1870, or the \$13 billion worth of goods manufactured and \$2.3 billion paid out in wages in 1900. For those numbers, De Leon had to turn to the census. He found no figure for 1860, which is why I skipped over it, but for 1870, it was just over 2 million and for 1900 it was 5.3 million.

From there, it was a matter of simple arithmetic. The average annual wage went from \$350 in 1870 to \$434 in 1900. The average worker, who accounted for \$2,000 of the value of the goods produced in 1870, accounted for \$2,500 in 1900. Wages that represented 22 percent of the product of the average worker in 1870 had fallen to 17 percent by 1900.

What about the last 50 years? What about today? Would a modern version of "Uncle Sam's Balance Sheet" show something similar, or would it show something different?

It can be difficult to find simple numbers corresponding to simple facts. Today, the Census

Bureau, the Labor Department and the Federal Reserve slice, dice and toss things together in ways that serve capitalist purposes, not labor or socialist ones. Nonetheless, something similar to what De Leon put together from the columns he found between the two Uncle Sam's can be done, and had I more time it might have been done more satisfactorily.

What I found, however, is that the value of goods manufactured in the United States increased from \$125 billion in 1960 to \$1 trillion in 2000. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the wages paid to production workers increased from \$54 billion in 1960 to \$345 billion in 2000. What these figures suggest is that wages represented 43 percent of labor's product in 1960 and 34.5 percent in 2000.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics also supplied me with the number of production workers for each of the last five decennial periods. That number increased from 12 million in 1960 to 12.4 million in 2000, with a number of undulations in between.

As for wages, they rose from an annual average of \$4,700 in 1960 to \$28,000 in 2000.

The impression that these numbers create is that production workers were much better off five years ago than they were in 1960, but were they? Without going into too much detail, this is what all those numbers tell me.

In 1960, when 12 million workers produced goods valued at \$125 billion, when wages totaled \$54 billion and wages averaged \$4,700, the average worker produced values worth about \$10,400, or \$5,700 more than the average wage. Wages represented 43 percent of the workers' product—at least according to these numbers.

By 2000, when 12.4 million production workers manufactured commodities valued at \$1.2 trillion, when wages totaled \$345 billion and averaged \$28,000, the average worker was producing \$100,000 worth of goods, or \$72,000 more than the average wage. The average wage represented 34.5 percent of the average worker's product—an increase of 17.5 percent, not over 50, but over the last 100 years!

De Leon, however, did not base his case entirely on the increased rate of exploitation. There were other factors to take into account. I will not go into all of them. He mentioned the "cost of living" and the declining quality of goods, which made it necessary for workers to replace clothing and other household goods more often than they could easily afford. When putting together all of the things De Leon had in mind we might say he was talking about the quality of life.

One thing he singled out, however, was food. Here is part of what he said:

"....There is hardly an article of food, especially the food that the workingman can afford to buy, that is not adulterated, consequently, that has not deteriorated in quality. Essays galore are cropping up upon the extent to which this baneful practice has gone. These essays show that health is thereby undermined, even if life is not thereby speedily snuffed out. One of these essays of recent date claims that the food adulterations are directly responsible for the death of over 400,000 infants a year; and it traces the sickness and death of thousands upon thousands of adults to the same cause."

De Leon then quoted briefly from a speech by Sen. William Stewart of Nevada, which he found in the *Congressional Record*. Stewart said:

"I do not think the country has any idea of

the extent of the poisons that are administered in the food that is sold and eaten in this country. I think it is sapping the foundation of the constitution of our people. If we had to raise soldiers now as we did in 1861 I do not believe that throughout the country we could find as large a percentage of young men fit for hard service as there were at that time."

De Leon described the effect of this injection of poisonous substances into the food supply as starvation, slow starvation, because it deprived millions of workers and their families of the nutrition required to maintain their health. Today, many more such substances are in our food than either De Leon or Sen. Stewart could imagine. I do not know how many, but the FDA posts a "Glossary of Pesticide Chemicals" to its

marketing alias of "food." The problem is endemic and its effects are pervasive.

According to the National Center for Health Statistics, "Approximately 127 million adults in the U.S. are overweight, 60 million obese, and 9 million severely obese." Today, "64.5 percent of U.S. adults, age 20 and older, are overweight and 30.5 percent are obese."

But is this what De Leon was talking about? Is this what Sen. Stewart lamented, for his own reasons? Do children still starve in America? Are obesity and the health undermining effects it causes the same as slow starvation? Technically, perhaps not, but the effects are the same. Hold something up in your hand and look at it from different angles. The different angles may give you different perceptions of that thing; but the thing itself is the same.

According to the Bread for the World Institute, for example:

"...Hunger or the risk of hunger in the United States persists. More than one in 10 households experience food insecurity. In 2001 a total of 33 million Americans—including 13 million children—were not always sure when or where they would get their next meal. In most cases, parents skip meals so their children have enough to eat. And many families scrape by with enough to avoid real hunger, but still lack the money to buy the healthy, nutritious foods needed for a balanced diet."

Now listen to this, from the same group:

"Because people associate the state of hunger or food insecurity with eating too little and being overweight and obese

with eating too much, most people see hunger and obesity as mutually exclusive. But in the United States, where most people's experience with hunger or food insecurity is sporadic or episodic (as opposed to continuous or chronic), hunger and obesity can and do coexist."

Now listen to one final passage from this group:

"Problems associated with being overweight and obese affect all Americans, regardless of income or race. However, research is emerging that suggests hunger, poverty and obesity may be intricately linked. Recent work from Cornell University and the University of California at Davis suggest that obesity among poor women may be linked to their habit of periodically going without food so that their children can eat."

Now, then, obesity and malnutrition may have technical differences to occupy the time of researchers, but the human effects, the social effects, the effects on the American working class are essentially the same. Hunger and obesity may be more prevalent among the poorest layers of the working class, the 33 million mentioned. However, if the effects of hunger and obesity are similar, then, remember, it is not just 33 million of the poorest, but 127 million of all Americans that are affected. Those 127 million represent 43 percent of the nation's total population.

There are, of course, many other social problems that could be enumerated and expanded on. Some of them are virtually identical to those that De Leon discussed in his address on the Preamble of the IWW. Some are entirely different. However when they are subjected to the same socialist or Marxist analysis that De Leon brought to the several subjects he covered in what, after all, was just one address, there remain some fundamental similarities.

Now you may say that things have undergone a radical change since De Leon dissected "Uncle Sam's Balance Sheet," most notably

(Continued on next page)

Year	Total Savings Bank Deposits
1894	\$1,747,961,280
1903	\$2,935,204,845

Categories and Sub-totals (Approximate values):

- Democratic Administration: 1894: 1,159,000; 1903: 1,159,000
- Republican Administration: 1894: 588,961,280; 1903: 1,776,204,845
- War of the Rebellion: 1894: 1,000,000; 1903: 1,000,000
- Period of Republican Administration: 1894: 1,000,000; 1903: 1,000,000
- Period of Protection to American Labor and Industries: 1894: 1,000,000; 1903: 1,000,000

Quote: "Behold the splendid results of Protection under the Morrill, McKinley and Dingley Tariffs."

website with this bit of descriptive copy: "The glossary contains entries for 1,022 chemicals. Most of the chemicals included in this glossary are pesticides used during the production of foods or animal feeds."

Today the problem has taken on different shape, so to speak. We don't call it starvation today, and they didn't call it starvation in De Leon's day. Today the same social affliction takes the shape of obesity, and it is not because working-class America is stuffing its face with the foods that supply the nutrition that the human body needs to maintain good health.

De Leon quoted a U.S. senator who was worried that if a war came along the government would not be able to find enough young men to field an army. Well, today we are waging two wars at once, one in Afghanistan and one in Iraq, not only with young men, but also with young women, and what do we find?

Well, several days ago, on July 5, the Associated Press circulated a story about how obesity is taking its toll on the military and officials being "worried about troops being too fat to fight." According to that story, 36.5 percent of the teenagers that the U.S. Army lures into its web are overweight by federal standards, and close to 59 percent of those it snares after they have turned 21 fail to meet the same federal standard. "They're either unfit or overfat." That's how one Army official described them.

But we know that this pound of flesh exacted on the nation does not come out of a special class of warriors, bred to do the purpose. We know it doesn't come out of the ruling class, either. It comes out of the working class, and mostly out of the poorest and most deprived layers of the working class.

Indeed, the same AP report added: "43 percent of women and 18 percent of men in prime recruiting ages exceed screening weights for military service" by federal standards.

It isn't just young working-class Americans who have been fattened for slaughter by the health-destroying garbage served up under the



# ...Banquet Address

(Continued from page 7)

that manufacturing accounts for a much smaller proportion of workers now than it did then. More than that, many workers don't even receive hourly wages. They are on fixed salaries, and whether on salaries or hourly wages, that is not all that workers receive—or are said to receive. According to the Labor Department's *Report on the American Workforce*, by the year 2000 "a typical worker received more than 25 percent compensation in the form of benefits" that "consisted of employer-paid items such as health, life and unemployment insurance; retirement and savings; and holiday and vacation leave."

If you think about it, however, only a very small fraction of that 25 percent ever benefits workers, and in many instances it never does. A number of important pension funds have collapsed and a number—such as United Airlines—claim to be in trouble. Furthermore, these so-called benefits benefit capitalists more than they benefit workers. Capitalists complain about the costs. Imagine if wages were enough for workers to look after their own retirement needs, their own health needs.

For example: We live longer today than we did in 1905, despite what is being done to the nation's food supply. One misimpression we are led into is that workers work until retirement age, collect their pensions and full Social Security, then live happily ever after. Indeed, this very idea is what led to the effort to lift the retirement age from 65 to 67. As the Economic Policy Institute reported recently:

"The assumption is that raising the retirement age further would induce Americans to continue working and to postpone claiming their benefits until they hit the new, later retirement age. If people behaved this way, it would raise revenue and reduce benefits.

"However...large percentages of both men and women lose employment before they reach Social Security eligibility. Increasing either the early retirement age or the normal retirement age would put more Americans at risk of poverty and would do nothing to make employment opportunities more available to older Americans."

To this the EPI added:

"Americans over 45 are disproportionately more likely than their younger counterparts to be among the long-term unemployed (those unemployed for 27 weeks or more). Americans older than 45 make up about 14 percent of the labor force but 37 percent of the long-term unemployed. Older workers—even those as young as their late 40s and early 50s—are disproportionately more likely to fall into the ranks of the long-term unemployed."

When De Leon took up the second clause of the IWW Preamble he spent a considerable time on the labor contracts that the AFL signed with employers. There were no "benefits" in 1905, only wages and profits. Such "benefits" were viewed as a danger to the interests of the workers, to the self-sufficiency of the labor movement. Even Samuel Gompers grasped the point when, in 1917, he said such things "weakens independence of spirit, delegates to outside authorities some of the powers and opportunities that rightfully belong to wage earners, and breaks down industrial freedom by exercising control over workers through a central bureaucracy."

But it was precisely the labor contract, which Gompers pioneered as a means of establishing "safe relations" between his AFL and those he

bargained with—and which De Leon described as a gun placed at the workers head—that allowed Gompers' successors to spurn his advice. By rejecting Gompers' advice they unwittingly did much to lead the AFL-CIO to the sorry state it is in today, when it seems to be falling apart at the seams.

The labor contract served the interests of the AFL bureaucracy, but it tied the workers hand and foot. Worse, it locked the door against many, the majority, of workers, and



AB CAP for *The People*

that was another reason the original IWW was organized. It was one major reason why De Leon argued that the AFL "is directly responsible for existing evils, that it is an accomplice in capitalist crime and has become a scourge to the working class."

Today the effect manifests itself in new ways, but for the old purpose of keeping the working class divided, disorganized and, at least for now, incapable of defending itself against the assaults of capital—all in exchange for the false security of so-called benefits that are largely as illusory as they are meant to be alluring.

The working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common. Their interests are opposed. The task of a socialist party, of the Socialist Labor Party, is to overcome the illusions capitalism creates, to get workers to think of themselves as workers and to organize themselves, first for defense, but also to rid themselves of capitalism and to replace it with the economic democracy of socialism.

Indeed, the country and the world have undergone a technological revolution since the middle of the 20th century. That revolution has had a profound effect on the country and the world. It has produced dramatic changes in the division of labor and the makeup of the working class. It has removed a majority of workers from the wealth-producing and -distributing industries as effectively as the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries forced agricultural workers and small farmers off the land and into the factories and the mines.

Although the SLP and *The People* took alarm at these changes as they began to unfold in the 1950s and the 1960s—seeing in them the emergence of the industrial feudalism of which De Leon warned—the party and its press have struggled to keep pace with these changes.

To illustrate: There is no more fundamental tenet of Marxian economics than the law of value and the extraction of surplus value, i.e., the exploitation of social labor—of human labor—for private profit. Exploitation is the

focal point of the class struggle. This is as clear as a bell where it affects the coal miner and the autoworker, and it is also clear where the truck driver and the railroad worker are concerned. They are among the categories of workers who produce and deliver commodities to their final destination, to the point of consumption. These are the workers who are directly exploited at the "point of production," or somewhere along the chain that starts with the extraction of raw materials from the earth and moves them through the manufacturing process to the point of sale. But most workers today are far removed from the "point of production" and from the process that transforms raw materials into finished commodities and delivers them to their final destinations.

These changes are obvious, even to the most inattentive of observers. They are obvious because virtually everyone in the world has been affected by them.

The technological revolution that has changed economic conditions has also changed the working-class perception of the world and their place in it. That should not surprise any Socialist. The materialist conception of history tells us that it is our social existence that determines our consciousness. But our social existence is not a static thing. It changes as technology advances, and as technology advances our relationship to the society we live in also changes, and with that our consciousness—our perception of ourselves and of our places in society—is modified.

The one thing that has not changed is the fundamental line that divides the working class and the capitalist class. But within that all-embracing and relatively constant relationship many lesser relationships exist that are in a constant state of flux. That's where the question of effective or relevant propaganda comes in. That's where the SLP needs some help to do the job that the times require of it. We need your help, and with your help the SLP will accomplish its mission.

Thank you for listening.

## Abolition of Poverty

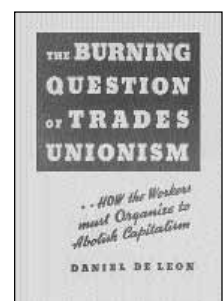
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# All Talk, No Action, Worsens Threat From Global Warming

By Bruce Cozzini

In industrializing the world, the capitalist system carries in its wake environmental degradation and destruction. The most far-reaching example of this is global warming. Despite clear evidence of dramatic effects happening today and the devastating effects global warming will have in the future, the United States, the leading source of greenhouse gases, refuses to take timely action to deal with the problem because such action will adversely affect capitalist profits and economic growth.

The term global warming describes the artificial increase in worldwide average temperatures caused by the generation of so-called greenhouse gases, primarily carbon dioxide, which trap the infrared radiation of the sun in much the same way that the glass of a greenhouse does.

These gases are primarily generated by the burning of fossil fuels—coal, gas and oil—that are the principal source of energy used to generate electric power, fuel transportation and provide heat.

Global warming has already led to dramatic changes in the physical environment and ecosystems around the globe. Last year was the fourth hottest year on record, extending a trend that has registered the 10 warmest years since 1990. It included four category 4–5 hurricanes in the Caribbean, which caused an estimated \$43 billion in damages. Numerous typhoons in Japan and the Philippines caused extensive damage and loss of life. Droughts in a variety of places around the globe extended a decade-long trend.

In the meantime, glaciers have been melting at an alarming rate, threatening water supplies in countries that rely on snow packs and glacial melt. Most dramatic have been the shrinking of glaciers in the Arctic and Antarctic. Well-studied glaciers in Alaska have been shrinking at an increasing rate in recent years, and dramatic changes are taking place in fragile arctic ecosystems.

Scientific studies reported this year have clearly demonstrated that changes in ocean temperatures over the past 40 years correspond closely to increases in greenhouse gases, as predicted by computer models. Researchers from a number of institutions showed effects on ocean ecosystems, and suggested that future changes could accelerate warming if marine organisms that absorb carbon dioxide are adversely affected.

In addition, the melting of arctic glaciers has

been adding large amounts of fresh water to the North Atlantic, potentially disrupting the flow of warm water from the tropics to the north. Scientists worry that slowing or shutting down this “conveyor belt” could lead to drastic changes in the world’s climate.

In February of this year, 140 nations, account-

mal framework in place and little accomplished.

The principal industrialized nation holding out against Kyoto is the United States, which produces about one-fifth of the world’s greenhouse gases—and the United States is increasing its production. As of 2002, the British Royal Society calculated that U.S. production of greenhouse gases was about 13 percent above that of 1990.

The Bush administration, with its ties to the petroleum and electric power capitalists and its need to bolster a faltering economy, is clearly unwilling to act to control global warming. It prefers to study the matter and has ignored, blocked or thrown pennies at efforts to develop renewable sources.

However, there is no time to delay. Scientists estimate that to reverse the existing buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, the world will need to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by 40 to 70 percent by the end of this century. Such changes will require restructuring the world’s energy and transportation systems.

Such changes require massive investment and represent a threat to existing capitalist industries, their growth and profits. Capitalism requires profit and economic growth to survive. Capitalists want their profits *now*. The future has little meaning in a profit-driven society.

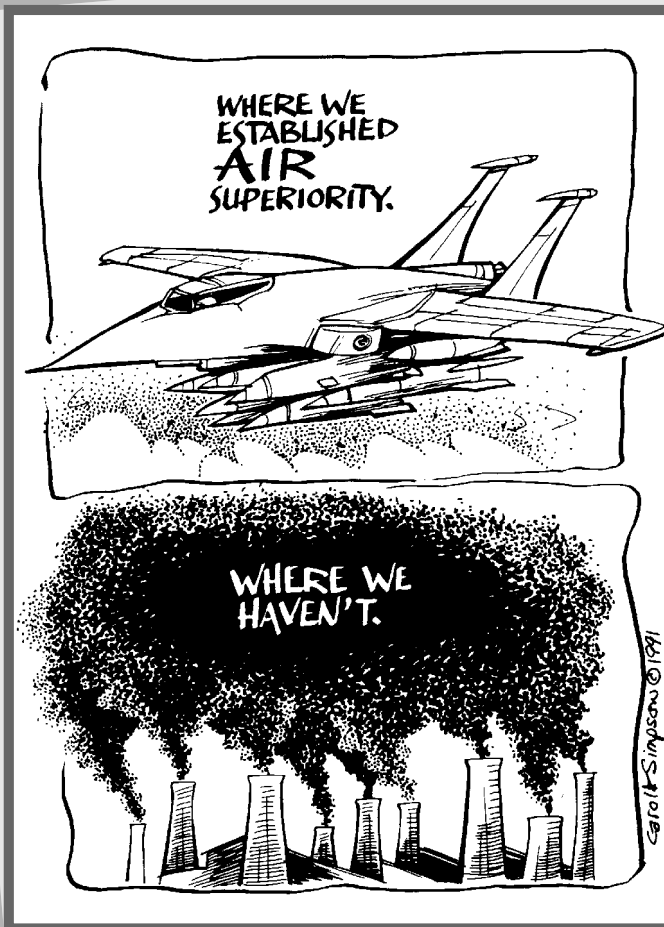
Environmental reforms are not the answer. Capitalism has eroded even those feeble efforts of the past. The Bush administration has been so effective at rolling back environmental regulation and increasing fossil fuel consumption,

that capitalist pundits have recently declared the environmental movement to be dead.

International agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol are not the answer, either. Similar agreements on disarmament, on peace, on torture litter history, as do the bleached bones and broken bodies of tens of millions whose fate proved just what such agreements are worth.

If the future is not to be plagued with the floods, droughts and other catastrophes predicted related to global warming, the political and economic system of capitalism must end.

Accordingly, the Socialist Labor Party urges workers to organize to abolish capitalism and institute socialist production for use. Society will then have the means to employ the renewable resources we now have available and develop new ones, but only if society’s focus is on the common good rather than capitalist profit.



Carol\* Simpson

ing for 55 percent of greenhouse gas production as of 1990, approved the Kyoto Protocol to control greenhouse gases. Parties to the agreement include Russia, Japan and the nations of the European Union, which were particularly motivated following warming-induced floods of the last decade. Of these, 35 have agreed to reduce their greenhouse gas production by 2012 by five to eight percent below levels measured in 1990.

However, the Kyoto Protocol is only a symbolic advance. China and India, the two nations with the most rapidly developing economies, and in the top four in greenhouse gas production, have not only not agreed to any reduction, they have increased their output markedly since 1990 as they push for economic growth and profits. The Kyoto Protocol, signed eight years after its inception in 1997, will expire in 2012, leaving no for-

## Capitalist Ethics

By Bruce Cozzini

Freedom of speech means one thing in the Bill of Rights and another in the world of commerce. Indeed, commercial free speech rights for advertising are generally so broad that it is extremely rare that courts ever rule against false advertising.

A judge in Humboldt County, Calif., seemed bent on proving the point in June when he threw out a suit brought against Pacific Lumber for submitting false data on landslides when lobbying for logging permits in the late 1990s.

District Attorney Paul Gallegos filed the suit in 2002. He claimed that the lumber company

“submitted faulty data to get access on steep slopes it would otherwise have been unable to touch.” (*San Jose Mercury News*, June 16)

Superior Court Judge Richard Freeborn evidently did not dispute the point. Nonetheless, he decided “the company is immune from prosecution because of a legal argument based on free-speech rights which makes a company immune from liability when lobbying the government to do something.”

Gallegos intends to appeal Freeborn’s decision to the California Supreme Court. He characterized that decision as follows: “Yes, guess what, you’ve got the right to lie when you’re going through a government agency asking for

a permit, even if you’re doing it for the purpose of asking for vast amounts of money.”

For its part, Pacific Lumber did not like Gallegos exercising his rights to act against them. The company helped fund a recall election against him in 2004, but he survived.

### NATIONALISM: Working-Class Nemesis

Discusses the origins, development and dangers of nationalism, and what the working class must do to resist and counter nationalist rhetoric.

16 pages; \$1 postpaid.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS  
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# Technology Still a Job Killer

By Carl Miller

Computers, cell phones and the Internet are just a few of the technological marvels created over the last few decades that have brought tremendous changes into our lives. Now we can communicate with our families, friends and coworkers from anywhere at anytime just by picking up a cell phone or connecting to the Internet.

These and other new "consumer" technologies unquestionably have eased the lives of millions of people in many ways. New technology, however, has not been restricted to consumer items. Industry also has seen its share of advances with effects that have devastated the lives of millions of workers.

There is no secret about who and what is responsible for the "downside" of modern technology. Capitalism has turned these technological marvels into so many means of destroying jobs, increasing the exploitation of human labor and amassing profits.

That should not surprise us much. That is how capitalism works, and how it has always worked. Indeed, it would be impossible for capitalism to survive if it stopped introducing labor-displacing technology into the workplace. "Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones," as Karl Marx and Frederick Engels explained in the *Communist Manifesto* more than 150 years ago.

Capitalists have no choice in the matter. They must seek out every method of reducing the costs involved in producing commodities. The introduction of new technology into production reduces the amount of labor needed and lowers the cost of production, thereby increasing profits.

Increasing profits and holding wages down is what counts, for capitalists. For millions of workers, however, new technology in the workplace leads only to harder work—except for the millions more tossed onto the streets and into joblessness. That, however, is not what concerns the enterprising capitalist.

Not so long ago capitalists and their lickspittles in politics, the universities and the media promised that automation would bring better jobs, better pay and better lives to all Americans. Now they tell us we are not competitive enough, which is just a longer word for what they used to say about the American workers—they are "lazy." However, American labor is still the most productive on earth, despite millions of us being unemployed or channeled into useless or even antisocial occupations. Capitalism wastes human labor with the same abandon that it squanders our natural resources and fouls our environment.

Labor-displacing technology is becoming more evident even in our everyday lives. Self-service grocery checkout lanes are replacing clerks, ATM machines are replacing bank tellers and automated airline kiosks are replacing ticket agents. The driving force behind these technological advances is the elimination labor. You know it, we know it and the ruling class that "earns" its living by destroying yours knows it too. Here is a bit of the evidence straight from capitalism's "newspaper of record," *The New York Times*:

"Eager to save money on labor costs, businesses are stepping up the pace of automation. Nearly 13,000 self-checkout systems will have been installed in American retail stores like Kroger and Home Depot by the end of this year, more than double the number in 2001, according to the market research firm IDC. Delta Air Lines spent millions of dollars this year to line 81 airports with chest-high automated kiosks: 22 million of its passengers—40 percent of the total—checked in by touch-screen this year, up from 350,000 in 2001." (Nov. 17, 2003)

The benefits for the firms that use these machines are plain—a machine does not require a wage, it never calls in sick and it does not need health insurance or a pension. A machine would certainly never organize with its mechanical brethren for better working conditions.

So, where does this leave you and your neighbors who may also be replaced by these technological wonders?

"To begin with," as Kirkpatrick Sale, author of several books on technology, wrote, "it is indisputable that automation has eliminated vast numbers of jobs across all sectors of the economy in all industrial nations, maybe 35 million of them in the last decade. The example of the United States, still the leading economic power in the world, is revealing. From 1988 to 1994 the number of jobs lost was estimated to be 6.5 million, far higher than in any other post-war period, and fully 85 percent of them are thought to be permanently lost to machines and overseas transfers. Automation is held to be responsible for the loss of half a million manufacturing jobs every year in this period and close to 3 million in the decade before—the completely automated factory is only a few quarters away—but it has also begun to make deep cuts into service jobs and seems likely to make its biggest future impact there."

Worse, no one seems to know what to do with the workers displaced. The propaganda about retraining displaced workers to service and sup-

port the very technologies that replaced them was only that, propaganda! It was only a diversion from the truth to lead workers off the scent. Millions of workers did retrain, but the training was either outmoded by the time they finished with it or the jobs never materialized. Now high-tech firms dump workers as fast as any auto plant or steel mill ever did. Many "retrained" workers displaced by technology end up in low-paying or part-time jobs or with no jobs at all.

Why is it that these great advances in technology, which could be made to benefit the working class, is instead ruining lives and creating a massive problem that seems to have no remedy? The answer is simple: capitalism utilizes this technology to increase profits. Today, the capitalist class that owns and controls this technology has only one view in mind: to cut costs and swell the bottom line. They could not care less what detrimental effect the profit motive has on society so long as profits are rolling in. Besides, who is there to stop them?

Well, you, to start with; then there are millions in the same leaky boat you are. The American working class has the power, but changing society takes some knowledge and training, just like any other job.

It is obvious that current trends are leading the working class further into poverty and destitution. Workers, however, can avert this by recognizing that they constitute a class with

(Continued on page 11)

## directory

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This is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for *The People's Press Security Fund*, which will help support the SLP's official journal. (Please make checks/money orders payable to the Socialist Labor Party or *The People* and mail to P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218.)

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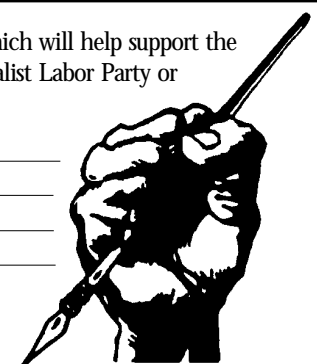
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# ...AFL-CIO Split

(Continued from page 1)

brought results that at least made the *fakers* somewhat secure.

Today U.S. capital is so massive and is aided by such vast advances in technology—in transportation and communication as well as in manufacturing—that globalization, spurred on by intensifying world competition, is an easy choice when U.S. workers and the labor fakers

who help control them cost more than the deal presented by offshore production in countries where wages are much lower and technology makes workers almost as productive as they are here.

In short, the labor fakers are today peddling an outmoded product. Capitalism has no deal to offer U.S. workers. As we noted on a previous occasion:

“Since the first wave of automation in the 1950s, which corresponded closely to the merger of the AFL and the CIO, the ground has steadily been cut out from under the feet of trades-based unionism. Union membership has declined in lock step with the forward march of technology that has wiped out many of the old skills and dramatically altered the nature and reduced the number of jobs in many industries. Displaced workers were dropped from the membership rolls in droves, and some unions completely disappeared as the old trades were swept away.”

The AFL-CIO's split really makes these facts no worse, nor better, for workers. What would make it worse for workers would be if the working class looked on the wreckage and concluded that unionism itself was a failure.

As we have also said before:

“Now is the time for every classconscious worker to step forward to ensure that no such tragedy occurs. The first step toward building a genuine union movement—a movement to embrace all workers, employed or unemployed—can be taken only by those classconscious readers of *The People* who are prepared to take it. You know that Socialist Industrial Unionism, as advocated by the Socialist Labor Party, is needed if workers are to successfully resist the attacks of the capitalist class while simultaneously organizing their strength to eliminate the capitalist system of exploitation. You know that Socialist Industrial Unionism stands out as the only viable alternative to the disastrous policies of the AFL-CIO. Now is the time for you to step forward and make it known to others.”

—K.B.

# ...Job Killer

(Continued from page 10)

mutual interests of survival and well-being and whose interests are in conflict with those of the capitalist class. Accordingly, they must unite to abolish the social relationships that bind them to a life of misery and economic servitude.

They must unite to establish a socialist society where the means of social production are collectively owned and operated for the social good, thus allowing advances in technology to be used to reduce the burden on those that do the work and not to kick people out on the street with no means to support themselves. In a socialist society, mechanization and technological advances will simply mean less arduous toil and a shorter workday—and the benefits will accrue to all of society, not just a wealthy few.

The Socialist Labor Party calls upon the working class to take the first steps toward this goal by organizing their strength economically and politically. On the economic field workers must build new economic organizations to include all workers, employed or unemployed, young and old, blue collar or white collar, with the goal of collectively taking, holding and operating the industries and services for the benefit of all. On the political field, workers must organize to challenge the capitalist form of government and to institute a new form of government based on social ownership and economic democracy.

## 255075100 years ago

### The Meaning and Origin of Labor Day

(Weekly People, Sept. 3, 1955)

American Labor Day—the first Monday in September—is traditionally a day for buttering up the American workers and telling them about the wonderful gains they are supposed to be making under the capitalist system. This is a logical use of Labor Day. The holiday is not something labor wrested from capital through struggle. On the contrary, it represents a gift handed to the workers free, gratis and for nothing by the capitalist politicians.

This is how Labor Day became a legal holiday: The labor fakers of the AFL had pleaded in vain with the politicians to give them a legal holiday. Then, in 1889, the Founding Congress of the Socialist International declared the first of May a day for workers in all countries to demonstrate for the eight-hour day and pro-

claim their class solidarity. Shortly thereafter several state legislatures made the September Labor Day—which symbolizes the falsehood that capital and labor are brothers—a legal holiday, and in 1894 Congress made it a national holiday. September Labor Day was meant as an antidote for labor's own May Day.

Ever since the first Labor Day the “organized” workers have furnished “captive” audiences for capitalist politicians posing as “friends of labor.” Indeed, for the labor fakers who run the job-trust unions, Labor Day long ago became an occasion for displaying their voting cattle and for making political deals.

Labor Day was inspired by the fear that the workers, heeding the message of socialism, might wake up to their true status as wage slaves. It is logical, therefore, that it be used to keep labor in capitalist blinders.

## ACTIVITIES

### CALIFORNIA

Discussion Meetings—For more information call 408-280-7266 or email slpsfba@netscape.net.

### OHIO

Cleveland: **Literature Booth**—Section Cleveland will staff a literature table at this year's Slavic Village Fair, Saturday, Aug. 27 (1–10 p.m.) and Sunday, Aug. 28 (12–9 p.m.). Readers are encouraged to stop by, meet the members and pick up SLP literature. For more information call 440-237-7933.

Columbus: **Discussion Meetings**—Section Cleveland will hold discussion meetings on Sunday, Sept. 18, and on Sunday, Oct. 16, 1–3 p.m., Carnegie Library, Meeting Room 1, Grant and Oak streets. For more information call 440-237-7933.

Independence: **Discussion Meetings**—Section Cleveland will hold discussion meetings on Sunday, Sept. 25, and on Sunday, Oct. 23, 1–3 p.m., Independence Public Library, 6361 Selig Dr., (off Rt. 21 [Brecksville Rd.] between Chestnut and Hillside). For more information call 440-237-7933.

### 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, Sept. 3, “Constructing Public Opinion: The Thought Control Industry,” and Saturday, Oct. 8, “The Military-Industrial Influence.” For more information call Sid at 503-226-2881 or visit the section's website at <http://slp.pdx.home.mind-spring.com>.

## Funds

(June 11-Aug. 12)

### New Publications Fund

\$1,000 each John & Mary Brlas “In memory of Lazar Petrovich, editor of Yugoslav SLP organ,” Nicholas Poluhoff; Karl Heck \$648.90; \$500 each Anonymous, Jack Radov; Section Wayne County, Mich., \$400; Mrs. Mary Buha \$300; \$250 each Bruce Cozzini, Steve & Juliette Banks “In memory of Faye and Harry Banks”; \$200 each Bernard & Rachel Bortnick, Gerald M. Lucas, Roy K. Nelson; Henry Coretz \$160; \$100 each Bill & Joan Kelley, Earl Prochaska, Gloria Grove Olman, Irene Louik, John Houser, Keith Wood, Section San Francisco Bay Area, Walter Vojnov; Anthony Econom \$75; \$60 each Harvey Fuller, Jean Lee; \$50 each Al & Ada Bikar, Dimitre Eloff, Donald Rogers, Earle McGue, Horace Twiford, John S. & Rosemary Gale, Ken Boettcher, Marty Radov, Robert Ormsby, Tillie A. Wizek, Tony Marsella, William H. Nace; Marshall G. Soura \$45; John Hagerty \$40; \$30 each Ali Ebrahimi, Bill Barry, Mildred & Richard Woodward, Orville Rutschman, William E. Tucker; William Rickman \$28.

\$25 each Al Goldberg, Bills family, Debbie Bayer, Diane M. Giachino, Harley Selkregg, Irving R. Hulteen, John M. Lambase, Joseph C. Massimino, Matt Casick, Mr. & Mrs. Walter Leibfritz, Paul Bakulski, Phillip Colligan, R. Brunson, Richard Deshaies, Steve & Nancy Kellerman; \$20 each Anonymous, Dagfinn Sjoen, Irwin Hunsher, Joseph Groelke, Juliette Jackson “In memory of Faye and Harry Banks,” Lawrence Hackett, Manuel Luevano, Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Teunion, Mr. John Wood, Roger Caron, Steve Littleton, William B. Scanlan; \$15 each Ann Anderson, Donald L. Scott, Roger Hudson; \$10 each Berenice Perkis, Eugene J. Pacharis, Harold

Madsen, Harry Buskirk, Harry C. Segerest, Harry Gibson, Janelle Barabash, Jill Campbell, Joe Randell, Joseph T. Longo, Lloyd A. Wright, Mark McGrath, Paul D. Lawrence, Richard Mack, Roger M. Garavel, Stephen Hawkins, Todd M. Jordan & futureoftheunion.com; \$6 each Milton Poulos, Randy Fleming; \$5 each Alex Iwasa, Anthony W. Greco, Charles Bateman, Charles Johnson, Diane Secor, Harold W. Bauer, Jack Lally, L. Lela, Lawrence Phillips, Lois Kubit; \$1 each Anonymous, Don Patrick, Joseph Bellon.

Total: \$8,013.00

### Press Security Fund

Chris Dobreff \$300; Phyllis Emerson \$63; \$10 each Harold Bauer, Richard F. Mack.

Total: \$383.000

### SLP Sustainer Fund

Joan Davis \$800; Bernard Bortnick \$300; Chris Dobreff \$200; Robert P. Burns “In memory of Esther Trifonoff” \$160; Robert P. Burns “In memory of George Norton” \$160; \$100 each Lois Reynolds, Michael J. Preston, Thad Harris; Clayton Hewitt \$60; Archie Sim \$35; \$20 each Michael Wenskunas, Paul D. Lawrence; \$10 each Jill Campbell, Steve Littleton; George T. Gaylord \$1.

Total: \$2,076.00

### SLP Leaflet Fund

D. Borowsky \$6. (Total)

### Socialist Labor Party

#### Financial Summary

Bank balance (May 31)	.....\$199,525.81
Expenses (June-July)	..... 24,471.57
Income (June-July)	..... 14,029.49
Bank balance (July 31)	.....\$189,083.73
Deficit for 2005	.....\$ 24,030.33



# Mysterious Doings at Guantanamo Bay

By B.G.

What is going on at the U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba? We know from general press reports that the military is using the facility as a prison for large numbers of captives from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. We know further that some of these prisoners have been "captured" as a result of the military's offer of generous monetary rewards to Afghani and Iraqi citizens willing to turn in "terrorists," without any verification as to whether the informants were telling the truth or lying to obtain much needed cash. We also read in various news reports that these prisoners at Guantanamo are harshly treated to break them and force them to confess to real or government-imagined terrorist activity. Prisoners being tortured will invariably confess to anything, the quicker to relieve their agony.

Contrariwise, we hear from U.S. administration supporters that the incarcerated ones never had it so good in their prior lives as they do now, in their heavenly repose in the Guantanamo prison.

We know also that President George W. Bush has proclaimed that prisoners taken in Afghanistan and Iraq are terrorists and not legally recognized soldiers and, therefore, do not come under the protection of the regulations of the Geneva Conventions to which the United States was a signatory.

*The Wall Street Journal*, which no one can accuse of being a bleeding-heart liberal rag, began to shed some light on the subject in an article published on Aug. 1 entitled "Two Prosecutors at Guantanamo Quit in Protest." The article details how two Air Force lawyers became alarmed at what they perceived as unethical methods used in building cases against prisoners and asked to be reassigned rather than continue in cases they considered rigged from the start.

According to the *Journal*, which has obtained from the Defense Department copies of the emails sent by the two officers, "Maj. John Carr,

then a captain, and Maj. Robert Preston accused fellow prosecutors of ignoring torture allegations, failing to protect exculpatory evidence and withholding information from superiors." Maj. Carr's March 15, 2004, email to then-chief prosecutor Army Col. Fred Borch stated that these actions of the prosecutors "may constitute dereliction of duty, false official statements or other criminal conduct."

Carr also noted "an environment of secrecy, deceit and dishonesty" in the prosecution's preparation of the case and an original attempt to accuse these "fairly low level" alleged terrorists of massive terrorist attacks such as "the U.S. Embassy bombings in Africa, the USS Cole and the Sept. 11, 2001, strikes on New York and Washington." He stated that these immense charges were toned down after officials in the U.S. Justice Department "appeared less than totally comfortable with our theory."

President George W. Bush has authorized the military commissions to try non-U.S. citizens alleged to be involved in terrorist acts for war crimes. He said these trials should be "full and fair" but did not have to give defendants rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution, or given to U.S. military in courts-martial trials.

In a March 11, 2004, email, Maj. Preston noted, "I lie awake worrying about this every night...writing a motion saying that the process will be full and fair when you don't really believe it will be is kind of hard—particularly when you want to call yourself an officer and a lawyer."

Chief Prosecutor Col. Borch made the Carr and Preston emails available to his office personnel but attached a note calling them "monstrous lies."

Maj. Carr had also complained that three prosecutors had concealed evidence of "FBI allegations of abuse at Bagram," the Air Force base in Afghanistan where prisoners were kept and questioned before shipping them to Guantanamo. These prosecutors, Carr wrote, had learned of the abuse in conversation with the FBI agents but

had declined to forward the information to their superiors.

In November of 2004, a trial was held to determine the seriousness of the allegations and resulted in the halting of the military proceedings against the detainees "on the grounds that they violated due process and U.S. obligations under the Geneva Conventions," according to the *Journal* report.

In July a three-judge federal appeals court reversed the findings of the lower court and declared the former military proceedings to be lawful. John G. Roberts Jr., President Bush's current nominee for U.S. Supreme Court, was one of the three-judge panel that overturned the lower court's findings.

Defense Department officials are gleeful. "We found absolutely no evidence of ethical violations, no evidence of any criminal conduct," according to Air Force Brig. Gen. Thomas Hemingway, a legal adviser to the trials.

The Bush administration is looking forward to restarting the trials by September of this year. Military lawyers assigned to the task of defense, however, feel that the deck is unfairly stacked against them, as they have been denied access to the investigations of Maj. Carr and Maj. Preston's allegations of corruption and foul play. One of the current military defense lawyers said of these two men: "I know both of these Air Force prosecutors, they are very ethical, highly respected individuals."

So much for fair play, innocent until proven guilty, the enduring validity of the U.S. Constitution and the eternal blessings of democracy!

If the Bush administration is seeking to win friends and influence people in the Middle East by demonstrating the superiority of American democracy, they have made a bumbling start that may undermine any hopes for democratic government in that area anytime soon. Perpetual war, suppression, torture and imperial domination are poor advertisements for democracy—even for the Bush brand of *bourgeois* democracy.

## Misery Equals Opportunity

*No sooner is the exploitation of the laborer by the manufacturer...at an end...than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.*

—Communist Manifesto

*But the main secret of making a rational consumer out of the laborer is yet to be told....A reduction of wages and long hours of labor—that is the essence of the rational and healthful processes which are to uplift the laborer to the dignity of a rational consumer, so that "they make a market for things showered upon them" by culture and growth of invention.*

—Capital, II

By Bruce Cozzini

No one on earth is too poor to escape the attention of the global merchant. That was the central point of a July 6 commentary by David Ignatius of *The Washington Post*, although that was not exactly the way he said it.

Writing of the recent Group of Eight (G8) summit in Scotland, Ignatius focused on one of the purported aims of the summit, how to aid poorer nations. The G8 leaders are missing the point, he said. Rather than "treating the poor as wards of the global economy," capitalists should recognize them as a vast market.

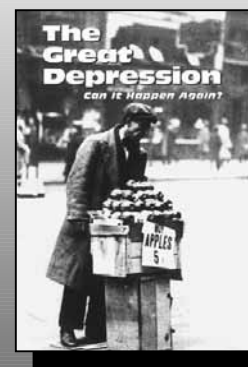
Ignatius' source for this viewpoint is a new study by Prof. C.K. Prahalad of the University of Michigan Business School, *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid: Eradicating Poverty through Profits*. Prahalad claims that the 4 billion people who live on less than \$2 a day make up a huge underserved market: "Four billion people can be the engine of the next round of global trade and prosperity." Prahalad's report offers case studies of how companies have exploited this market.

The tactics begin with the recognition "that poor people are like everyone else—they just have less money," Ignatius explained. They can be made brand conscious, for something like a Procter & Gamble shampoo, but since they cannot buy a whole bottle, P&G learned it could make good money selling shampoo in India in single-serve packets.

Prahalad describes a "single-serve revolution" sweeping poor countries where companies market small packets of shampoo, ketchup, tea, coffee, fruit juice or cookies. Prices may vary from one to four cents. "The margins might be low for each unit," Ignatius added, "but we're talking volume here, on an unprecedented scale."

The poorest are the targets, those who "earn their money a penny—or a fraction of a penny—at a time." Already cruelly exploited as margin-

al producers, they are now to be cynically set upon again as consumers—truly a great opportunity from the capitalist standpoint.



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