

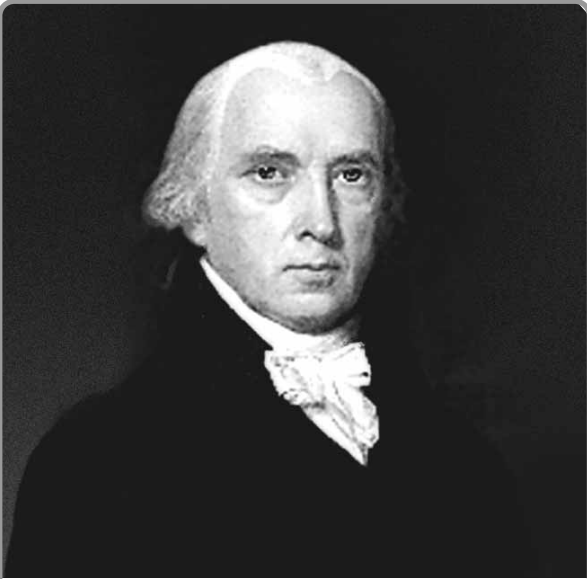
the People

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James Madison on War and Liberty

James Madison was fourth president of the United States and “father of the Constitution,” which every public official is sworn to uphold. When it comes to understanding the Constitution and what the Founding Fathers had in mind, Madison is the man to turn to. When it comes to presidential authority and the power to wage war, here is what Madison had to say:

“The management of foreign relations appears to be the most susceptible of abuse of all the trusts committed to a Government, because they can be concealed or disclosed, or disclosed in such parts and at such times as will best suit particular views; and because the body of the people are less capable of judging, and are more under the influence of prejudices, on that branch of their affairs, than of any other. Perhaps it is a universal truth that the loss of liberty at home is to be charged to provisions against danger, real or pretended, from abroad.”

Madison to Jefferson, May 13, 1798

“The only case in which the Executive can enter on a war, undeclared by Congress, is when a state of war has ‘been actually’ produced by the conduct of another power, and then it ought to be made known as soon as possible to the Department charged with the war power.”

Madison to Monroe, Nov. 16, 1827

Academics, politicians and jurists love to wrangle over “interpretations” of the Constitution, but these words of Madison are as plain and straightforward as they could be—including that part about “the loss of liberty at home.” The challenge for academics, politicians and jurists does not come from any need to “interpret” or demystify the Founding Fathers’ “intent,” but to craft plausible-sounding rationalizations to get around it. So, do not be overawed by the academics’ sheepskins, the politicians’ rhetoric and the jurists’ black robes. When it comes to plain speaking, the Founding Fathers are hard to beat.

IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM

Bush Defends War on Iraq, Police-State Spying at Home

In a series of five addresses toward the end of the year, the last from the Oval Office on Dec. 18, President Bush sought to demonstrate that his administration’s plan for winning the war in Iraq and establishing a political democracy there is succeeding. His purpose, ostensibly, was to reassure the American people that he knows what he is doing and that the war has been worth the cost in life and destruction.

Regardless of how the administration is progressing toward its goals in Iraq, however, what reportedly prompted President Bush to deliver his speeches is his sagging popularity and growing doubts about the war. In short, most Americans do not believe that President Bush or his advisers know what they are doing and that the administration has led them by the nose down the primrose path to international scorn and contempt.

The doubts that trouble a majority of Americans, at least as presented through the media, range from the knowledge that Mr. Bush misled them about Iraq’s ties to terrorists, its nonexistent weapons of mass destruction and by fabricating a connection between Saddam Hussein and the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. These central doses of false information have been spiced up at various intervals along the way with such additional tidbits of misin-



White House Photo
Imperial set design for the imperial president speaking at Annapolis on Nov. 30, 2005.

formation as, for example, that Iraq bought nuclear rods from impoverished and famine-plagued Niger to enhance a nuclear weapons program. That tidbit proved to be not just fiction, but a purposeful falsehood meant to deceive the American working class into believing that Iraq posed an immediate and serious threat to its neighbors and even to the United States itself.

Mr. Bush did not confess that any of these and other falsehoods imposed on the American public were deliberate efforts at mass deception, much less what was the motive behind

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The Campaign Against Evolution

By Bruce Cozzini

The campaign against teaching evolution in public schools has been fought over the last several months on two major fronts: Dover, Pa., and the state of Kansas, with additional skirmishes in several other states. Each represents an attack on the separation of church and state in the United States and offers a different danger to the integrity of science education. They are also part of a widespread attack on scientific objectivity by reactionary religionists, and with the encouragement of George W. Bush and his administration.

In each case, religiously motivated school boards have tried to cast doubt on Darwin’s theory of evolution through natural selection, claiming it is just “a theory, not a fact,” and pushing the teaching of “intelligent design” (ID) in science classes as an “alternative view.” ID pretends to go along with scientific theory, but makes the claim that some things, like the structure of the human eye, are too complex to have evolved through the evolutionary processes of natural selection. Rather, they claim, they must have arisen through design by an unnamed intelligence, that is to say, supernatural means. As a scientist from the University of Kansas put

it, it’s just “creationism in a cheap tuxedo.”

But Darwin’s theory of evolution through natural selection is far more than “just a theory.” It is one of the basic organizing principles of all of biological science. Repeatedly tested and challenged since Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, its principles have been upheld and strengthened throughout the years. Incorporation of Mendelian genetics showed the mechanism of passing natural selection from one generation to the next. And the discovery of DNA in recent years has made evolutionary theory stronger, and has provided the mechanisms for understanding the evolution of antibiotic resistance in microorganisms and the continual modification of viruses. One cannot understand biology without an understanding of evolutionary theory. To not teach it is to cripple the learning of students.

Six years ago, the Kansas Board of Education tried to block teaching of evolution in the state’s public schools. A change in the membership of the board reversed that action in 2001. As of November, a new board has again formalized an anti-evolution stance, but of a more subtle and insidious nature. Leaning heavily on ID, the Kansas board has tried to redefine science itself.

(Continued on page 10)

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255075100 years ago

[Emmett Till, a 14-year-old boy from Chicago, was on a summer visit with relatives in Mississippi in August 1955 when a white woman accused him of making sexual advances. A few days later, the woman's husband and his half brother abducted and murdered the teenager. Although several African Americans witnessed the boy's abduction, an all-white jury acquitted the men. The verdict sparked protest demonstrations in a number of cities. In January 1956, *Look* magazine published an article in which the men who abducted and murdered Emmett Till boasted of their crimes, but no new trial was ever held. *The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till*, a film by Keith Beauchamp, was instrumental in a U.S. Justice Department decision to reopen the case in 2004. By then, however, the men accused of the crime had died.]

Southern Justice a Farce When Negroes Are Victims

(*Weekly People*, Jan. 28, 1956)

The facts coming out of the [Emmett] Till case in Mississippi are a fresh indictment of the class-ruled society of the South and its "justice."

On Jan. 11, the attorney general and governor-elect of Mississippi, James P. Coleman, told the *New York Post* that there was no question in his mind that the two men acquitted of mur-

dering Emmett Till, a Negro boy, would have been convicted "if forces outside the state hadn't barged in and upset things."

Mr. Coleman was even more emphatic in a Jan. 12 interview broadcast by Station KXDL, Fort Worth. Speaking of J.W. Milam and Roy Bryant, the two men charged with the Till murder, Governor-elect Coleman said: "So far as I am personally concerned they both should have been convicted and electrocuted."

Mr. Coleman's statements coincided with the publication by *Look* magazine of an article by William Bradford Huie (author of *The Execution of Private Slovik*) in which Milam was quoted as confessing that he and Bryant deliberately killed the Till boy because he was "tired of 'em sending your kind [Till] down here to stir up trouble." "Goddam you." Mr. Huie quoted Milam's words to Till, "I'm going to make an example of you—just so everybody can know how me and my folks stand." *Look* answered the subsequent denials by Milam and Bryant by stating that it was prepared to prove the facts "in the unlikely event the magazine is sued [for libel]."

Governor-elect Coleman's excuse for the acquittal of two men whom he regards as cold-blooded murderers was that "we would have got the job done [of convicting and executing Milam

and Bryant]" "if the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Rep. Diggs* of Detroit would stay out of our state and let us alone." In other words, the excuse is that the State of Mississippi gave a license to white upholders of the prevailing property system to kill Negroes with impunity in resentment against carping critics from the outside.

The excuse is a false one. The governor-elect was able to cite only one case in Mississippi's history in which white men were convicted of murdering Negroes. Coleman himself, as a judge, sentenced three white men to life imprisonment for killing "a whole bunch of colored people." The NAACP had nothing to do with the wholesale murder case, but—as usual in the South—the white criminals escaped with their lives. In general, white men are never convicted of murdering or raping Negroes, but charges of murder or rape against Negroes (when whites are the alleged victims) are tantamount to conviction and execution. That's the code of the property system of the South, which, like northern capitalism, we are told is based on religion, ethics, culture, democracy, etc., but which is actually based on class rule and different standards for the rulers and the ruled, and the lowest standards of all, and no rights, for the Negro portion of the ruled class.

*Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (1922–1998), Democratic politician from Michigan, was a founder and first chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Beware the Mystifiers!

By Michael James

Beware! There are those in our society who pretend to think, guide and enlighten. They promote and present themselves as having wisdom or expertise. But they are breathtakingly ignorant. Consider the antics of spiritual guru Deepak Chopra, for example. A recent *U.S. News & World Report* reveals that he is lecturing at the Pentagon on "relieving stress in the workplace."

Apparently his refined spiritual powers have not prepared him to question authority or to challenge criminal wars. He can only roll up his sleeves and pitch in to see that those who serve the capitalist war machine are not hindered by stress. Perhaps his incantations can make this a kinder and gentler illegal war. Perhaps his recitations will allow Halliburton and its Pentagon servants to more easily pacify the Iraqis who resist U.S. occupation. At any rate, war in the pursuit of profit can be made to seem somehow noble with a little spiritual whitewashing. Richard Nixon had Billy Graham to secure God's blessing for mass murder in Vietnam, and now the Pentagon has Deepak Chopra. Praise God and bombs away!

Another culprit is *Newsweek* editorialist Anna Quindlen. She recently examined the U.S. war against Iraq and found it tragically similar to the U.S. war against Vietnam: "The war in Iraq is a disaster in the image and likeness of its predecessor." She has no answers, of course, in spite of her standing in the world of bourgeois journalism. She can only articulate a question that truly reveals her hopeless and thorough lack of insight: "If we are such a great nation, why are we utterly incapable of learning from our mistakes?"

Her confusion can at least make a more enlightened person grateful for the gift of truth and vision that is Marxism. It is only with a Marxian analysis that we can understand that capitalism means war. War is, despite its glorification and romanticization in American culture, simply a tool of business. War is intimately tied to the search for corporate profit. Marx demystified capitalist wars for us when he wrote that the need for resources, markets and profits "chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe." Ms. Quindlen, without Marx, cannot get beyond the lame notion that the criminals in government and business, the masters of war,

should learn some lesson "from our mistakes" in Vietnam. Apparently then, according to her thinking, war will end. The masters will suddenly become moral or humane and will no longer resort to warfare to pursue their class interests. There are two lessons that she should learn from the genocidal holocaust that America unleashed against peasants in Vietnam.

The first is that the American ruling class is capable of any horror, and the list of those it has committed and continues to commit is long and growing. It includes the near extermination of our own indigenous Native American peoples, the brutal enslavement of Africans, the massacre of countless industrial workers, the use of atomic bombs on civilian populations, environmental degradation and assaults on such developing nations as Nicaragua, Cuba and Chile—not to mention the current criminal enterprise in Iraq. The second lesson is that this capitalist class will never stop waging war until the working class carries out its historical and revolutionary mission of abolishing capitalism.

And so Deepak Chopra is out to make the Pentagon, the muscle behind bloodthirsty capitalism, a spiritual place. And Anna Quindlen, unless she is somehow visited by Marx in her dreams, will keep on mystifying and bewildering and asking naive questions. It is the bright, shining light of *The People* and Marxism that saves us from their world of darkness.

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.

REVILING OF THE GREAT By Arnold Petersen

Jefferson, Lincoln, Marx and De Leon were victims of reaction. This pamphlet examines the campaigns of vilification against them.

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New Orleanians Meet Appeals With Skepticism and Scorn

By B.B.

C. Ray Nagin, mayor of New Orleans, has traveled from Houston to Atlanta since last September to meet with refugees from his decimated city and convince them to return and to participate in the rebuilding effort, but skepticism has met him all along the line.

Nagin and other officials have spoken of a new "Big Easy" with decent housing, schools, services, infrastructure; in short, with all the things that the old "Big Easy" did not have, at least not in the working-class neighborhoods where a majority of the city's population lived before Hurricane Katrina came roaring through last August.

After Nagin spoke in Atlanta in December, for example, the *Atlanta Daily World* reported the reactions of some of the 2,000 people who sat through the mayor's appeal.

"Many former New Orleans residents now living in the Atlanta area yelled questions at Nagin, and were angry when he did not have the answers or the authority they were looking for," the Atlanta newspaper reported.

"Home to what?" one refugee at the Atlanta meeting wanted to know.

"Bringing us back to living in poverty is not a new beginning," declared another former resident.

"I feel like he's coming down here to say he's [Nagin] doing something, but this is more of a ploy to get the workers to come back," declared another.

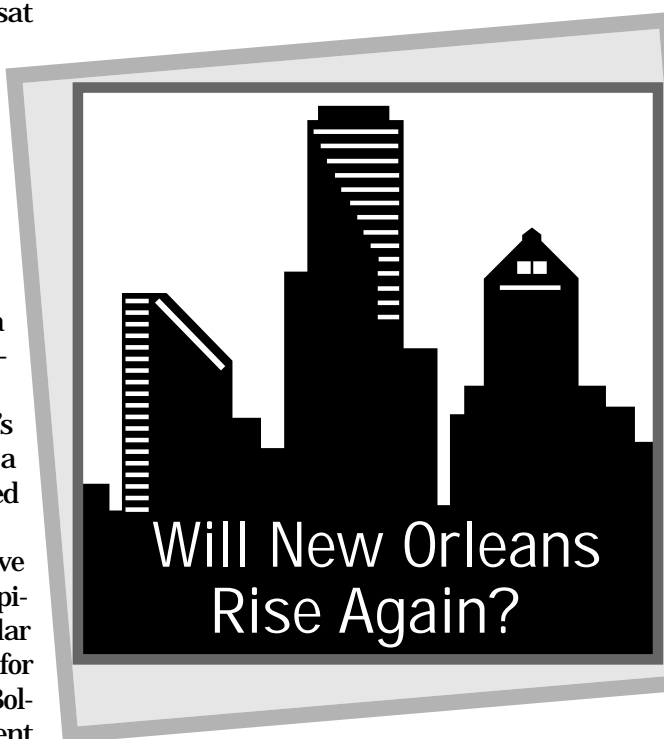
Nagin is not the only one whose appeals have met with skepticism and resistance. Local capitalists who hope to rebuild have met with similar reactions among refugees. In November, for example, Donald T. Bollinger, president of Bollinger Shipyards, the nation's third largest, sent emissaries far and wide searching for former workers to return to New Orleans to labor in one of his 13 yards on the Gulf Coast. Despite "20 or so trips...they did not sign up a single evacuee." (*The New York Times*, Nov. 11)

Other local capitalists have their own worries. Banker and real estate developer Joseph C. Canizaro put it this way: "One of the key problems is jobs. You look at the housing situation, and the schools situation, and you wonder where businesses are going to find the people they desperately need to get things going." Businesses, after all, can't make a profit without workers.

Workers, however, know that a number of problems would confront them if they returned, one of which is lack of food. "The American Red Cross is still serving about 37,000 meals daily to New Orleans residents," Reuters reported on Dec. 15. Reuters went on to say that "nearly one-quarter of current residents do not have water or gas in their homes." In addition, the Mayor's Office reported in December that one-fourth of

the homes are without electricity, and the local phone company announced it would be January or February before it could restore service to 40 percent of the city.

Worse, workers are getting conflicting reports of the area's toxicity. State and national officials declared most of the city safe for resettling. *The Washington Post*, however, reported on Dec. 15 that a recent study found "some New Orleans neighborhoods are covered in a layer of sediment containing lead above the concentration the federal government considers hazardous to human health." Several environmental groups contend that "as much as 75 percent of the city still is marred by dangerously high levels of heavy metals, pesticides and petroleum products." (*New Orleans Times-Picayune*, Dec. 10)



Compounding the problem for displaced New Orleanians and others from the region is the housing situation. Many homes and apartment buildings have been destroyed or condemned, of course, but that is not the worst of it. Mr. Canizaro's woes notwithstanding, banks and mortgage companies will soon begin foreclosing on homes. Already New Orleans property owners have begun evicting absentee renters, and rents on habitable apartments and rental homes have gone up drastically.

"Three months after Katrina flooded most of the city's neighborhoods and displaced nearly 80 percent of its residents," Reuters reported on Dec. 7, "both sale and rental properties are fetching prices 30 percent higher than prestorm levels." The same report added:

"The state lifted a stay on evictions in early November, and relief officials said many evacuated tenants had not been contacted before being kicked out."

"There is basically lawlessness with regard to landlords," said Judith Browne, an attorney with Advancement Project and Grassroots Legal Network. "We are seeing market forces at their worst: people are being evicted with the last of their belongings being thrown out to the street."

Truth is that capitalism and capitalists are capable of much worse, and those with a stake in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast seem bent on proving it. Met by the well-founded skepticism and scorn of many working-class refugees from the devastated city and region, they began the search for other workers who are desperate enough to do the hazardous cleanup work, without adequate shelter and no need of schools—and they found them.

Shortly after the cleanup began, immigrant workers, many of whom are undocumented and especially vulnerable to ruthless exploitation, were lured by recruiters to the area with prom-

ises of "good pay." "Because they are mostly young and lack roots in the United States, many migrants are ideal for the explosion of construction jobs to come," the *Los Angeles Times* wrote back in September. By then, migrant workers had already established camps on the outskirts of New Orleans, living in squalid mobile homes without electricity or running water. Others were forced to sleep on New Orleans streets or in warehouses. Some set up tents in a nearby churchyard.

Immigrant workers have few protections if they should become sick, or suffer disability or fatal accidents, or not receive the full wages promised them. Last November Salon.com reported immigrant rights groups were already fighting for unpaid wages on behalf of workers in the area. One group has filed a complaint with the Department of Defense, alleging that a subcontractor owed 74 workers \$56,000 in back wages. Rights groups also report immigrant workers engaged in the cleanup suffering from illness, cuts and bruises, sprained ankles and other injuries without being given medical assistance. The Public Broadcasting Service also has reported that Latino workers were sent on jobs without protective clothing.

The abuses of immigrant labor has become so pervasive, that Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.) said, "It is a downright shame that any contractor would use this tragedy as an opportunity to line its pockets by breaking the law and hiring a low-skilled, low-wage and undocumented workforce."

It's more than a "downright shame" that New Orleans and the gulf area are being rebuilt at the expense of workers' safety and well-being. It's a crime, part of a crime that capitalists commit against every worker, every day. Exploitation of wage labor is the very foundation of capitalism, and if capitalists can get away with particularly inhumane exploitation of particularly vulnerable workers "to get things going," they will do so.

(Donna Bills contributed to this article.)

Toxic Cloud Released Over Davenport, Iowa

By Michael Wenskunas

A capitalist newspaper in Davenport, Ia., recently reported another incident of capitalism's disregard for human life in the race for more profit. The newspaper printed its story under a heading of "Chemicals Go Awry," as if the chemicals had a mind of their own and simply lost control of themselves.

What really happened is that a toxic chemical cloud resulted from an unexpected violent reaction during the mixing of large quantities of several acids. An orange, yellow and red plume of smoke billowed out of a building on Davenport's west side, just a few blocks from the Mississippi River. It sent workers, residents and customers of the mixed industrial, commercial and residential neighborhood fleeing.

Officials sealed off a several-block area, and rerouted pedestrian and automobile traffic. One person was sent to the hospital with difficulty breathing. A worker at a business across the street from the chemical plant said he could not see the building because the smoke was so thick. Firefighters went to neighboring houses and told residents to stay inside and to turn off their air conditioners.

Although the newspaper did not say the scene was chaotic, it seems apparent that it was. Cars and skateboarders were directed out of a gro-

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Ending Barbarism

"Is there not a necessity for deeply reflecting upon an alteration of the system that breeds these crimes, instead of glorifying the hangman who executes a lot of criminals to make room only for the supply of new ones?"

—Karl Marx

Two grim events briefly focused public attention recently on the death penalty in the United States: The execution of Tookie Williams, co-founder of the Cripps street gang, and the passing of a milestone marking the 1,000th execution since the death penalty was reinstated in the United States in 1976. The issue deserves the attention of every worker.

The evidence shows that the judicial system's ability to correctly determine guilt or innocence in such capital cases is no more reliable today than it was in 1972, when the Supreme Court ruled that the arbitrary manner in which the death penalty was then applied amounted to "cruel and inhuman punishment," and "abolished" it. In 1976, four years after having blunted growing criticism of the barbaric practice, however, the Supreme Court ruled that revised capital punishment laws were constitutional unless applied in a "discriminatory" manner and without "uniform" criteria.

The arbitrary and discriminatory application of such laws since 1976 has produced plentiful travesties of justice. "During these past three decades," according to Witness to Innocence, "122 people have been exonerated and released from death row, innocent of the crimes for which they were convicted."

Studies of racial and class bias in the application of the death penalty repeatedly deliver similar results. According to a press release that summarized a study published late last year in the highly respected *Law Review* of Santa Clara University in California, "the race and ethnicity of the victim and the location of the crime play a critical role in determining who will be sentenced to death." The study found, among other things, that "80 percent of executions in California were for those convicted of killing whites, while only 27.6 percent of murder victims are white," and that "Those who murder whites are over four times more likely to be sentenced to death than those who kill Latinos and over three times more likely to be sentenced to death than those who kill African-Americans."

Class status ultimately plays the determining role in death penalty prosecutions and convictions. According to the website of New Yorkers Against the Death Penalty, "95 percent of defendants charged with capital crimes are indigent and cannot afford their own attorney." U.S. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg has said she has "never seen a death penalty case on appeal before this court in which the defendant was well represented at trial."

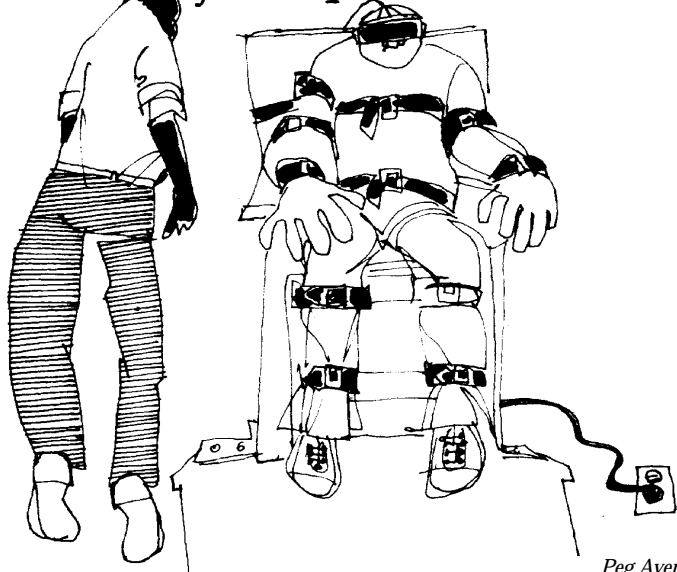
Moreover, local prosecutors decide whether or not to seek the death penalty in particular cases, and their decisions may be swayed by political considerations, local feeling about the penalty and the costs of capital trials, which can be particularly high if a defendant is wealthy enough to afford sophisticated legal counsel and a battery of expert witnesses.

It may well be that the latest round of news reports surrounding these executions will assure that the death penalty will again be used as a political football that politicians can use to make an end run into office, or to block one by their political opponents. Perhaps we are in for another swing of sentiment on the Supreme Court, however doubtful that may seem. After all, other capitalist nations have ended such barbarian practices.

One thing is sure: If the death penalty is ever to be *permanently* abolished it will result from the permanent abolition of the poverty and crime-breeding capitalist system.

—K.B.

capital punishment
means them without the capital
get the punishment



Peg Averill/LNS

A De Leon Editorial

A Marxist Salute to Franklin



Karl Marx hailed Benjamin Franklin as "one of the first economists...who saw through the nature of value." Here De Leon salutes the revolutionary Franklin as a social scientist who ignored property fears and went to the heart of the social question.

Benjamin Franklin

(Daily People, Jan. 15, 1906)

January 17 will be the bicentenary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin. Papers eulogistic of his greatness are the order of the day. One editor says of Franklin in a prefatory note: "He remains more than Washington or Patrick Henry, or even Lincoln or Grant, the typical American." Considering the standards of greatness prevalent, this is high praise, indeed. But it is worthy the man. Franklin, scientist, inventor, philosopher and statesman, was a many and great-minded man. He was versatile without being superficial; active without being strenuous; a genius without being an egomaniac. Born amid Puritanical surroundings, he personified the most liberal culture of the world of his time. Karl Marx, in one of those luminous and profound footnotes to *Capital* (p. 629), for which he is justly renowned, names Franklin as one of the great men who originally studied political economy, in contrast to the "reverend scribblers," like Malthus, who followed them. Says Marx: "Originally, political economy was studied by philosophers like Hobbes, Locke, Hume; by businessmen and statesmen, like Thomas Moore, Temple, Sully, De Witt, North, Law, Vanderlint, Cantillon, Franklin; and especially, and with the greatest success, by medical men like Petty, Barbon, Mandeville, Quesnay." To have one's name mentioned among such names by a man like Karl Marx is a tribute to greatness of the highest order.

And Marx, in another of his admirable footnotes, on the discussion of the nature of value (p. 19), pens these very complimentary words: "The celebrated Franklin, one of the first economists, after Wm. Petty, who saw through the nature of value, says: 'Trade in general being nothing else but the exchange of labour for labour, the value of all things is . . . mostly justly measured by labour.' (*The Works of B. Franklin, &c.*, edited by Sparks, Boston, 1836. Vol. II, p. 267)." This penetrating contribution of the foremost "typical American" to the basic economic doctrines of socialism will, perhaps, jar those who otherwise venerate him.

But it is not alone as an economist that Franklin ranks among the great, and is so recognized by the greatest among them—it is as a sociologist as well. Lewis Morgan, the great American ethnological writer, discussing the property career of civilized nations (p. 552, *Ancient Society*), declares that "The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of the owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past." Franklin anticipated Morgan by a century when he declared, "Private property is a creature of society, and is subject to the calls

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what is socialism?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wal-Mart a Natural Outgrowth Of Capitalist Concentration

By Ken Boettcher

The world's largest corporation, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., has expanded over the past two decades into communities all over the country and the world. A debate has also grown in those communities over the social and economic costs incurred when a Wal-Mart store opens. Groups opposed to Wal-Mart have sprung up everywhere. Last year even saw the release of a feature-length film called "Wal-Mart: The High Cost of Low Price." (See sidebar.)

Critics of the company point out that the average full-time worker at a U.S. Wal-Mart is paid only \$9.68 an hour—about \$17,500 per year before payroll deductions, which, for all practical purpose, means that the average wage is substantially less than the figure cited, as it does for all American workers. If this average worker is the sole wage earner in a family of three, that wage puts the family only about \$1,500 above the federal poverty line, which many economists agree is set artificially low. Only about 48 percent of Wal-Mart workers can afford to buy into the company's health care plan.

In 2004, a study detailing "The Hidden Cost of Wal-Mart Jobs" was released by the Center for Labor Research and Education (CLRE) of the University of California at Berkeley. It found that Wal-Mart workers "disproportionately rely on...public health programs in California compared to workers in large retail as a whole."

An Oct. 26 press release from the authors of the CLRE report corroborated and updated its findings based on new information revealed in an internal Wal-Mart memo leaked to *The New York Times*. According to the press release, "Applying [the memo's] percentages of workers and children enrolled in Medicaid/SCHIP* implies Wal-Mart workers and children cost \$456 million...nationally through their use of public health programs."

The company's main counter to such revelations is its assertion that it "creates 100,000 jobs a year." In fact, the assertion covers a mere economic sleight-of-hand; adding 100,000 jobs per year to the company does not necessarily mean adding that many to the economy.

"When Wal-Mart opens a store in a previously untouched city or county," syndicated columnist Paul Krugman recently noted, "the new store takes sales away from stores that are already in the area; these stores lay off workers or even go out of business. Because Wal-Mart's stores employ fewer workers per dollar of sales than the smaller stores they replace, overall retail employment surely goes down when Wal-Mart comes to town. And if the jobs lost come from employers who pay more generously than Wal-Mart does, overall wages will fall when Wal-Mart moves in."

This is precisely the process confirmed by the CLRE study. Krugman notes that the study "used sophisticated statistical analysis to estimate the effects on jobs and wages as Wal-Mart spread out from its original center in Arkansas." "The authors found retail employment did, indeed, fall when Wal-Mart arrived in a new county," Krugman said. "It's not clear in their data whether overall employment in a county rose or fell when a Wal-Mart opened. But it's clear average wages fell." As the report put it, "Residents of local labor markets earn less following the opening of Wal-Mart stores."

Andy Grossman is the executive director of a

lobbying and publicity organization called Wal-Mart Watch that coordinates the efforts of several anti-Wal-Mart groups. According to an article in *Macleans*, the Canadian weekly magazine, Grossman maintains that "Wal-Mart is driving a vicious cycle: it starts with lower

prices, and leads over time to a single player essentially rewriting the economics of the industry for everybody. Pretty soon, there are fewer employers, lower wages, less medical coverage, more poverty—all widening the gap between the rich owners of Wal-Mart...and the poor who shop and work there."

"This is a societal fight," Grossman says. "Wal-Mart is a symbol, because they're so good at what they do, others have to emulate them. This company's reach is so broad, we need to change the relationship between it and the communities it seeks to do business in, otherwise it's going to continue to destroy our societies."

Stacy Mitchell of the New Rules Project, a program of something called the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, like many "progressives," has some "solutions" she thinks might whip the likes of Wal-Mart into shape. In a recent article on TomPaine.com, entitled "What to Do About Wal-Mart," Mitchell maintains that some good old-fashioned trust busting is what is needed. She adds that communities should expand their control over development, support small business creation and "value work."

Such opponents of Wal-Mart—and Target, Lowes, Home Depot, Best Buy and other retail clones that seek to emulate it—simply cannot see beyond these individual trees to the economic system that nurtures them, a system whose wheels of motion only churn in the opposite direction.

Under capitalism, corporate giants, oligopolies and monopolies are the end result of the competition of yesteryear so many pundits seem to yearn for. A return to greater competition is possible, as Karl Marx explained in *Capital*, but ultimately it would lead to the same end—concentration. As far as the social interest is concerned, competition and monopoly are merely two sides of the same capitalist coin. As Marx explained:

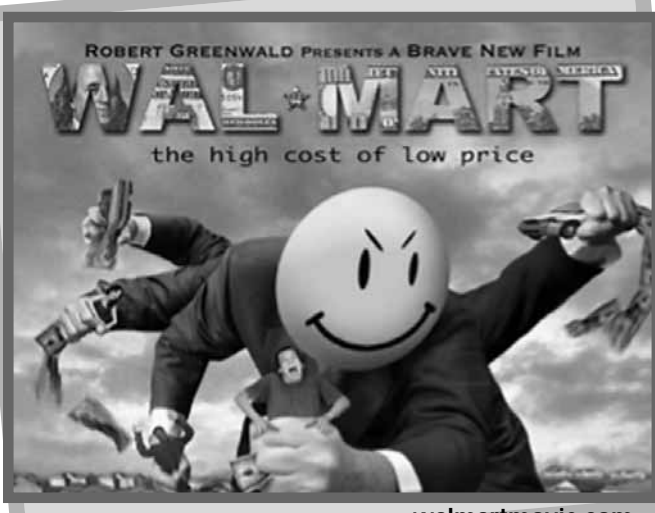
"The battle of competition is fought by cheapening of commodities. The cheapness of commodities depends [other things being equal], on the productiveness of labor, and this again on the scale of production. Therefore, the larger capitals beat the smaller. It will further be remembered that, with the development of the capitalist mode of production, there is an increase in the amount of individual capital necessary to carry on a business under its normal conditions.

"The smaller capitals, therefore, crowd into spheres of production which modern industry has only sporadically or incompletely got hold of. Here competition rages in direct proportion to the number, and in inverse proportion to the magnitudes, of the antagonistic capitals. It always ends in the ruin of many small capitalists, whose capitals partly pass into the hands of their conquerors, partly vanish."

In short, bust up a trust, and the many smaller pieces will eventually produce a similar monopoly. Moreover, forcing the modern political state—which serves as the executive committee of the dominant elements of the capitalist class—to bust up all the trusts and keep them that way has historically proven all but impossible.

To even posit the possibility of legislating some sort of "perfect" condition under capitalism in which all its drives to impoverish and enslave the working class, poison the environment, make war on its neighbors, and other antisocial tendencies could somehow be tamed and managed for the benefit of all is worse than naïve.

It serves to keep workers divided and diverted from the urgent task that holds the only possi-



walmartmovie.com

Wal-Mart Movie Falls Short

Robert Greenwald's recently released documentary on the biggest retailer on the planet tries to be more than a compilation of the corporate misdeeds of the Walton family's golden goose. It offers a hopeful "solution" to the social evils brought to community after community by the arrival of a Wal-Mart. It fails, however, because the "solution" it offers is no solution at all.

Greenwald mostly stays away from narration that leads his audience from point to point. Instead, he takes a very personal approach that counterpoises the horrific personal experiences of many Wal-Mart workers and customers and the revealing testaments of former supervisors to the glib public relations schmooze Wal-Mart CEO Lee Scott is using in addressing a corporate cheerleading event.

Among other things, Greenwald's film poignantly attests to:

- The damaging effects that the opening of a Wal-Mart in a community can bring for many small businesses in the area where a store opens. A former manager mentions how senior management visiting such areas used to take odds on how long local stores would last after the opening.

- The company's record on race and sex discrimination, its unlawful and systemic hiring of undocumented workers and systemic practices used to cheat workers out of overtime pay.

- The company's encouragement of workers to sign up for welfare and food stamp assistance rather than offer sufficient wages for a minimal existence without dependence upon the political state.

- Wal-Mart's vicious, well-organized and extremely well-funded strategies to keep unions out of its workplaces and to deny workers overtime.

- Its coverups of horrific working conditions and pay in China, Bangladesh and other countries where it contracts manufacture of some of its products.

- The company's dismal record vis-à-vis local pollution, hazardous waste and other environmental regulations.

The film ends with the details of two victo-

(Continued on page 10)

*SCHIP is the State Children's Health Insurance Program of the federal government's Department of Health and Human Services.

(Continued on page 10)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TRICENTENNIAL

Scientist and Revolutionary Was No Ordinary Bourgeois

Arnold Petersen, former national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, wrote the following essay on Benjamin Franklin for the *Weekly People* of Jan. 14, 1939. We reprint most of it here to mark the 300th anniversary of Franklin's birth, on Jan. 17, 1706.

It is the fashion with many academics today to denigrate the founders of the republic, to dwell on their human weaknesses and to detect "hypocrisy" in their proclamations for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," while tolerating or profiting from human slavery. While expatiating on the shortcomings of the founders, however, many of these same academics are fully aware of the horrors perpetrated by the capitalist system and its wage slavery. Yet, they abstain from the struggle to rid humanity of the evil for fear of losing their positions, of having to defend themselves against the disfavor of their peers, or other excuses that turn their pointing fingers back on themselves.

Whatever one might say about the shortcomings and failures of a Washington, Jefferson, Madison or Franklin, they were men who stood up to the tasks that history carved out for them, though they knew they could not accomplish them all and might fail at what they attempted. Their detractors have less to excuse themselves from today's struggle, not only because the science of socialism has exposed the evil source of today's social problems, but because it points the way out. Socialism provides a better guide for our generation than the simple moral precepts with which—and often against which—people struggled two and three hundred years ago.

If we looked upon men and women for what they failed to do at specific junctures in history, rather than what they managed to accomplish in their time and their surroundings, there would be nothing to admire, to aspire to or to strive after.

Benjamin Franklin truly was a great man whose agile, inquisitive and inventive mind added immeasurably to the storehouse of human knowledge and progress. He did not overcome all of the obstacles that his social surroundings placed in his path, but together with the other outstanding personalities of those revolutionary days, he helped to build a nation and lay the foundations of a system—capitalism—that was progressive and revolutionary in its time. Franklin and his compeers moved society a necessary step farther on the path toward the full realization of what he and his generation could not achieve, but which they brought within the grasp of our own generation. Their detractors will never do as much.

By Arnold Petersen

"Eripuit caelo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis."

—Turgot

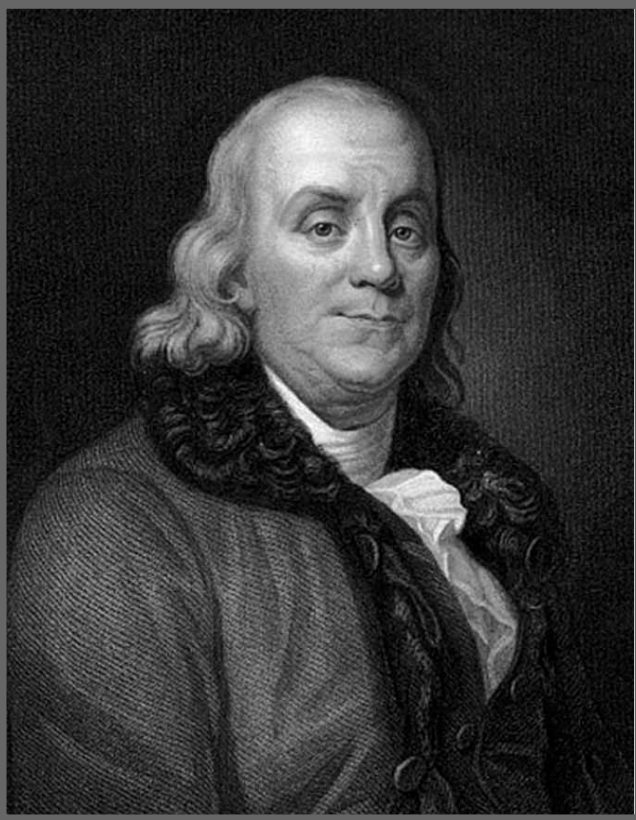
("He snatched the thunderbolt from heaven, the scepter from tyrants.")

I.

There are those who delight in spinning, endlessly, fine webs on the theme: Does the great man create his age, his environment, or is he the product of his age and environment? Without going over the long and tedious arguments of those who hold to the "great man" theory, it may be generally agreed that however much men may and do influence their age, they are basically conditioned by it, and by material circumstances; that to the great man material conditions of his age are what the springtime and sun and rain are to the seed. Both, in the fullness of time, respond to the urge

of the attendant circumstances, and both respond precisely in the degree, and largely in the manner, that circumstances are compelling.

When...we say that a great man symbolized and logically expressed and fully served his age, we do no more than express the thought that a certain material and economic stage had been reached which brought with it a train of super-



Ben Franklin

structural problems which, with the basic economic problems, demanded solution—a stage to which there had to be brought to bear a process of rationalization requiring an intellect of a certain propensity—an intellect of high order endowed with faculties so all-embracing that it at one and the same time summed up the *present* and envisioned the *future*—the future, that is, in logical sequence to the present. That this intellect happened to be *this* particular human being was, of course, more or less an accident. For had the particular individual not responded, some other, equally great, intellect would have appeared—then, or perhaps a little later, but surely within the period calling for the "right man" to serve the "right time." Thus, while the conditions do produce "the man," the advent of "the man" may obviously be hastened or delayed, though in a manner or degree that is of no "great pith and moment" to the process of social evolution in a given economic period, however much the fate of millions of individuals may momentarily be affected one way or the other.

II.

Viewing the life of Benjamin Franklin, truly one of the greatest Americans, we realize readily how typical he was of his age and country, and yet how far ahead of them he was in many important respects....

The greatness of Franklin cannot simply be measured on the yardstick of the absolute; it must be measured also in relation to the almost primitive conditions into which he was born. For early 18th-century America was primitive, in thought as well as action. As the historian McMaster said: "The story of the life of Benjamin Franklin begins at a time when Queen Anne still ruled the colonies; when the colonies were but 10 in number, and when the population of the 10 did not sum up to 400,000 souls...when there were but three colleges and one newspaper in the whole of British North America; when no print-

ing press existed north of Philadelphia; when New York was still defended by a high stockade...."

The formal schooling of Franklin was brief and limited—two years of study of reading, writing and arithmetic, in the last of which he failed! As for the rest, he was essentially a self-taught man, acquiring his style, and taste for books, through those good old standbys—Plutarch's *Lives*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the Bible, writings by Defoe and Mather, but, above all, through reading assiduously Addison and Steele's *The Spectator*. And later still he came upon Locke's essay, "Human Understanding," which gave his philosophical thinking a definite direction. But being unencumbered with the reading of the multitude of superficial, and mostly worthless, newspapers, magazines, etc., which steal the time, and cram the minds of the inquiring youngsters of today, and being, above all...a person endowed with original thought and extraordinary mental powers, he needed little more to fertilize his mind, and he soon began to produce literature which in time was to constitute classical American writing. It has been said of Franklin, disparagingly, that he really was not a man of letters, that he cannot be bracketed with such names in American literature as Irving, Poe, Emerson, etc. That is pure nonsense. To be sure, the greater part of Franklin's writings consists of essays, polemic writings, state papers, not to mention his numerous letters—in fact, he was one of the greatest pamphleteers of all time.

But to say that his racy, wise and varied literary productions are not literature is to place limitations on the meaning of the term "literature," wholly arbitrary and absurd. In American literature, Franklin was as much of a pioneer as he was in economics, in physics, in politics, and in the science of government as distinguished from politics pure and simple....

III.

So backward was the intellectual life in the colonies, that to possess "a trunk full of books" was to be marked out for very special distinction. When only 18 years old, Franklin was reported to have such a "trunk full of books," and, as an earlier American historian observes, "so large a cargo of an article so rare excited surprise." It did so to such an extent that Gov. Burnet of New York invited the lad to visit him and had a long talk with him. As our historian put it: "This incident is valuable as showing the utter simplicity [!] of life in the colonial seaport, where books and men who read them were so few that the king's representative was glad to hold an hour's literary conversation with a printer's boy!"

In the popular mind, Franklin's name is held synonymous with thrift, and with the traits generally possessed by, or attributed to, the petty bourgeoisie. That Franklin at one period in his life was thrifty, and all that is associated with thrift, is undoubtedly true. But he was far from being the virtuous, homely, thrifty husbandman that many reports made him out to be, and which some of his writings would seem to indicate, and if the numerous banks now bearing his name were made to publicize what he practiced, rather than what he preached, such publicizing would constitute anything but arguments in favor of patronizing the particular bank, or any bank for that matter! However, Colonial America of necessity imposed upon the average person the need of expending sparingly one's income, or limited savings. Again, when

Franklin preached moderation in eating and drinking, or morality, such as was prevalent at his time, or when he stressed the supposed value of continence, etc., he was far from lending personal example to his own precepts. For, despite his outward simplicity, despite his seeming moderation, he was essentially a man of the world—with a hearty zest for living, shrewd and calculating when he had need of being so, cautious when occasion required it, but he was, indeed, no Yahoo!...Franklin was no Cincinnatus who returned to his plough after heroic or political conquests. Franklin lived in a transition period, and, as so many other great men of such periods, shared to some extent the characteristics of both the old and the new era. At times he was certainly a perfect specimen of the *petit bourgeoisie*—but not for long. The thinker, the student, the philosopher, the inventor, statesman and practical man of affairs, were ever predominant, whatever may have been the frequency of petty bourgeois “lapses.” His *Poor Richard's Almanac* is a veritable anthology of the wisdom of all the ages, including, as said, a goodly collection of the homilies proper to a rather primitive bourgeois society....

IV.

His active mind was forever occupied with speculations on making life less laborious....

However, his inventions were numerous, his experimentations endless. There was scarcely a mechanical difficulty or toilsome effort which he did not attempt to solve or eliminate. His invention of the lightning rod won him wide acclaim.... Other inventions and experiments of his included the “Franklin stove,” the kite experiment, the so-called Ferguson clock and innumerable gadgets for his own personal use which stimulated inventions generally....The recording of his inventions and various proposals for improving methods of doing things in general would make a long list—too long even to permit of an adequate summary in this limited space. But although at times he bitterly complained of the ridicule to which he was subjected by the ignorant mob (a circumstance which frequently prompted him to pursue his experimentation in stealth), he had the satisfaction of winning recognition in the contemporary world of science (even medical science). As early as 1752 he was awarded the Copley Medal of the Royal Society of London, which earlier had ridiculed his theory of lightning, and in 1777 he was elected a member of the Royal Medical Society of Paris, and an honorary member of the Medical Society of London in 1787. These medical distinctions, however, did not prevent him from poking fun at the doctors of medicine. While still in Paris, in 1784, he observed:

“There are in every great city a number of persons who are never in health because they are fond of medicines and always taking them, whereby they derange the natural functions and hurt their constitutions. If these people can be persuaded to forbear their drugs in expectation of being cured by only the physician's finger or an iron rod pointing at them [a la Mesmer!] they may possibly find good effects though they mistake the cause!”

In the field of political economy and sociology, Franklin's discoveries were even more original and important than in the others. While a mere youth he gave expression to a thought which prompted Karl Marx to refer to Franklin as “the celebrated Franklin,” as one who, after William Petty, was “one of the first economists....who saw through the nature of value.” To the Marxian Socialist it is a matter of extreme satisfaction to be able to cite America's greatest all-around genius—certainly one of the greatest—against the vulgar contentions of the exploiting class which today holds in subjection the country's only useful class, the wage workers. In his pamphlet, *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*, Benjamin Franklin wrote:

“There is a certain quantity of money needed to carry on trade. More than this sum can be

productive of no real use. Less than this quantity is always productive of serious evils.* ...[Money] is a medium of exchange; and whatever men agree to make the medium is, to those who have it, the very things they want, because it will buy for them the very things they want. It is cloth to him who wants cloth. It is corn to him who wants corn. Custom has made gold and silver the materials for this medium of exchange. *But the measure of value for this medium is not gold and silver, but labor.* Labor is as much a measure of the value of silver as of anything else. Suppose one man employed to raise corn, while another man is busy refining gold [?]. At the end of a year the complete produce of corn and the complete produce of silver [gold?] are the natural price of each other. If the one be 20 bushels and the other 20 ounces, then one ounce of silver [?] is worth the labor of raising one bushel of corn. *Money, therefore, as bullion, is valuable by so much labor as it costs to produce that bullion.*”

This, indeed, is remarkably clear language, and sound doctrine, and revolutionary withal—and especially revolutionary in its effect in our day. For when Franklin uttered it, he was unhampered by any restrictions now imposed by the necessities of a class which fears that labor would get revolutionary ideas into their heads. But in Franklin's day there was no such revolutionary class as the working class. Hence, such subjects as value, the true nature and measure of it, could be discussed freely and honestly. There were neither college professors, hired capitalist editors, nor “red”-baiting politicians at hand to denounce Franklin as a “Socialist,” or as a tool of whatever might have been the contemporary equivalent of “Moscow”!

Again, on the subject of private property Franklin spoke with amazing clarity, and in a manner that likewise would have called down upon his head the denunciations of the quavering professors, the sleazily insinuating editors, and “public relations counsels,” and the howling, medieval clerical propagators of falsehoods. Always strongly opposed to discrimination against the poor and propertyless, especially as regards the suffrage, he bitterly denounced the attempt to make the possession of property the condition for the exercise of the franchise....

In 1789, in Franklin's 84th year, the proposal was made to amend the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania by which the upper house (Franklin, by the by, had opposed the reactionary bicameral legislature) would be elected by the property-holding class only—that is, a minority of the population—yet exercising equal power with the lower house, elected by the majority. Franklin exclaimed:

“Why should the upper house, chosen by a minority, have equal power with the lower chosen by a majority? Is it supposed that wisdom is the necessary concomitant of riches, and that one man worth a thousand pounds must have as much wisdom as 20 who have only 999? And why is property to be represented at all?...Private property....is a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society, *whenever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing.*”

And the courageous, noble and great thinker concluded by deploring the tendency among some of his fellow citizens “to commence an aristocracy by giving the rich a predominancy in government.”

At the Constitutional Convention (1787) Franklin had previously given expression to similar convictions. On the same question of attaching property qualifications to the ballot, he is reported by Madison as follows:

“Doctor Franklin expressed his dislike of everything that tended to debase the spirit of the common people. If honesty was often the companion of wealth, and if poverty was exposed to peculiar temptations, it was not less true that the possession of property increased the desire of more property. Some of the greatest rogues he was ever acquainted with were the richest rogues.”**

As might naturally be expected, Franklin was an ardent opponent of slavery. His enlightened mind revolted against the concept and practice of human slavery; but he also argued against it as disadvantageous, as uneconomical. The first anti-slavery society in America was organized by the Quakers in 1775. It did not thrive, but when it was revived in 1787 Franklin was made the president. He was one of the signers of a memorial addressed to the first United States Congress, petitioning for the abolition of slavery, but the politicians, in true style, “passed the buck,” invoking the already hoary excuse of states' rights. This so outraged Franklin that he published a supposed account of the deplorable situation prevailing in Algeria in 1687, where “good Christians” had been captured by the pirates and sold into slavery. The satirical hoax goes on to relate how one Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the “Divan” (diet—i.e., Algerian legislature!), reported on a petition to free the Christian slaves, with the result that the following resolution was adopted by the “Divan”:

“The doctrine that plundering and enslaving the Christians is unjust, is at best problematical; but that it is the interest of this state to continue the practise, is clear; therefore, let the petition be rejected.”

Thus, satirically and scornfully, Franklin exposed the smug hypocrisy of the pious, Christian slaveholders in America, and laid bare the sordid, material interests which moved heaven and earth to maintain the nefarious institution of slavery, precisely as today the “wage slaveholders” oppose the emancipation of the working class, justifying wage slavery in the same hypocritical manner, and for the same reasons, of those who opposed the efforts of noble Franklin to remove the foul blot on the young republic's escutcheon. Three weeks later Franklin was dead. Thus to the very last he fought intensely for human freedom and social progress, dying as nobly as he had lived.

V.

It was David Garrick, the great 18th-century English actor, who said (about the famous preacher, George Whitefield) that he (Whitefield) was so great an orator that he could move an audience to tears and hysteria simply by varying his pronunciation of Mesopotamia! No such orator was Franklin. His speech was simple, direct and logical, and invariably convincing. And when his arguments or actions were met with slander and personal abuse, he could remain cool and silently disdainful. An instance of this we find on the occasion of the debate on a petition for the removal of Gov. Hutchinson of Massachusetts, which debate took place at a meeting of the Privy Council in London in 1774. Wedderburn, a lawyer who, as solicitor general, spoke against the petition, fulminated against Franklin, who was falsely accused by the Tories of having stolen certain letters which compromised Gov. Hutchinson. Wedderburn's attack on Franklin (who was present) was violent and vituperative in tone and language, but Franklin remained quiet and dignified, as a result of which he reaped a new crop of admirers and friends, and considerable sympathy for the cause of the colonists. Horace Walpole later wrote these lines on the disgraceful incident:

“Sarcastic Sawney, swollen with spite and prate,

On silent Franklin poured his venal hate;
The calm philosopher, without reply,
Withdrew, and gave his country liberty.”

Franklin belongs to the company of the immortals. Yet, for all his greatness, despite his towering genius, and extraordinary personality, he was more human than any among the men of his time and after. He was robust, yet capable of

(Continued on page 8)

*Compare William Petty: “Money is but the fat of the Body Politick, whereof too much doth as often hinder its agility, as too little makes it sick....”—A.P.

**For more on this subject see “Franklin on the Richest Rogues” in another column.—Edit.

Franklin on the 'Richest Rogues'

(Weekly People, Jan. 21, 1956)

Of Benjamin Franklin, Maj. William Pierce, of Georgia, wrote in his "Notes" on the Constitutional Convention of 1787:

"Dr. Franklin is well known to be the greatest philosopher of the present age;—all the operations of nature he seems to understand,—the very heavens obey him, and the Clouds yield up their Lightning to be imprisoned in his rod. But what claim he has to the politician, posterity must determine. It is certain that he does not shine much in public Council,—he is no Speaker, nor does he seem to let politics engage his attention. He is, however, a most extraordinary Man, and tells a story in a style more engaging than anything I ever heard. Let his Biographer finish his character. He is 82 years old, and possesses an activity of mind equal to a youth of 25 years of age."

Yet the far more comprehensive notes of James Madison revealed that Franklin played a most significant part in the convention, entering several debates and expressing reasoned views. On two or three occasions, instead of speaking on the subject debated, he submitted a paper that another read. Throughout he showed concern that those without property (they were a small minority then!) should be protected against the ambitions and aspirations of wealth. Thus, while the subject of property qualifications for voting was



Benjamin Franklin Memorial

National Park Service

being debated, Madison entered this note:

"Dr. Franklin expressed his dislike of everything that tended to debase the spirit of the common people. If honesty was often the companion of wealth, and if poverty was exposed to peculiar temptation, it was not less true that

the possession of property increased the desire of more property. Some of the greatest rogues he was ever acquainted with were the richest rogues."

Franklin had long been perturbed by the tendency of wealth to accumulate. He was, of course, a product of his age and therefore his thinking was hemmed in by its material possibilities. But that he grasped the implications of this tendency is shown by the following:

"Better days may come when, the true principles of the happiness of nations being better understood, there will be some sovereign sufficiently enlightened to put them in operation, that the causes, which tend continually to accumulate and concentrate...property and wealth in a few hands may be diminished."

Today the true principles of the happiness of nations are understood. And understood also are the means, not to diminish the concentration of economic power in private hands, but to terminate this power and render free those

who now wear the yoke of servitude. But no "sovereign" (ruler) will do this. It will be the work of the working class, the propertyless who now compose the overwhelming majority.

What more fitting salute to Benjamin Franklin, the man of revolution and initiator of change, than to help this work—the historic task of our generation—along.

...No Ordinary Bourgeois

(Continued from page 7)

restraint—fond of good living...witty companions and learned fellow-savants. He was, in short, a strange combination of diverse personalities, as for instance, of an Icarus, a Plato, a Falstaff. But, unlike Icarus, his wings of invention were not melted by flying too close to the sun; though a teacher and a scholar, he was not a didactic Plato; and though he lived his life richly, fully and with gusto, he escaped the grossness of Falstaff. It is perhaps as much for his purely human, lovable qualities, his essentially (and pardonable) human weaknesses, as for his great contributions to human thought and social progress, that we love him. Though born into a primitive society, essentially a parochial society, he was anything but primitive or parochial. His was a universal, all-embracing mind. Daniel De Leon hails him as being the first to suggest the internation-

al brotherhood of man when he (Franklin) suggested that the field of stars on the American flag would eventually be widened to make room for many more stars, these to represent all the peoples and races on earth. Of all the great Americans he is peculiarly of the people—even more so than Lincoln—because he is elemental, of the earth earthy, and we understand him and love him in the same sense that we love the wind, and the rain, and the earth, and all things sweet and natural; all that is fructifying and truly great and imperishable! He represents true progress, he is science and invention incarnate, and, instead of trembling before tyrants, he makes tyrants tremble. Even today, as we witness the mad witches' cauldron that we call capitalism, we are reminded of his sage words on war. "A highwayman," he said in 1785, "is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single; and a nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang." Was Franklin referring to a contemporary Hitler or Mussolini when he made this reference

to bandit rulers and gangster nations?

His repudiation of his son William, for the latter's base treason, and unnatural support of usurpation—the British Crown—endears him to us still more, for though it would have been human if Franklin had yielded to sentimental considerations, he could not, and would not, condone betrayal of all that he held dearest and worthwhile in life, even when his first-born was the offender. He could not, would not and did not bow down before the tyrant. One who could and did so could be no son of his! Monarchs and tyranny, he knew, would perish. Liberty and humanity would in the end conquer and endure. And in the kingdom of the intellect, of the nobler human spirit, it is the Franklins who rule, while the petty kinglets grovel in the dust!

"When monarchs tumble to the ground
Successors easily are found;
But, matchless Franklin! What a few
Can hope to rival such as you,
Who seized from kings their sceptered pride,
And turned the lightning's darts aside!"

—Philip Freneau

**'They that can
give up essential
liberty to obtain
a little temporary
safety deserve
neither liberty
nor safety.'**

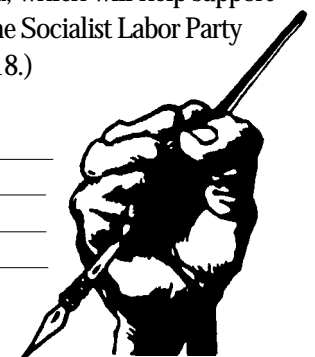
—Benjamin Franklin

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'Communist' China Forces Millions From Their Homes

In one of his most important and popular works, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Frederick Engels referred to the sanctity of the home as the "the basis of all personal freedom." That may surprise those who think that socialism implies a barrack existence for "the masses." Nonetheless, the latter is a myth and the former is a fact.

With that thought in mind, imagine how Engels might react if he were to suddenly reappear and find that a government that still invokes his name and once claimed his principles as its own has been forcibly evicting millions of people from their homes!

Well, there is such a country. It is China, and, according to the Center on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), it has been forcibly evicting and destroying the homes of millions of people since at least the 1980s. Scott Leckie, director of the Swiss-based center, recently summed that history up in the following paragraph.

"More than 40 million Chinese farmers lost their land and livelihoods in the past 20 years due to rapid industrialization and urbanization. At least 1.25 million households were demolished and nearly 3.7 million people evicted and relocated throughout China in the past decade, causing widespread suffering to thousands of communities across the country. The lack of legal remedies to resist these evictions, the inadequate compensation and resettlement provided to those evicted, the use of extreme force in carrying out evictions, and police brutality towards those protesting against land grabs and forced evictions are testimony to the Chinese government's ruthless contempt for housing rights. COHRE is particularly concerned about the forced evictions of at least 400,000 people carried out in Beijing in connection with the upcoming 2008 Summer Olympic Games—a figure to which the Beijing Municipal State Land Administration itself admits. Removing people from their homes against their will is not only a human rights violation, but contrary to the 'Olympic Spirit' as well."

Whatever the violence to the "Olympic spirit," China's actions are in perfect harmony with the "spirit" of capitalism. Indeed, what is happening in China today bears an uncanny resemblance to what happened in Europe a few hundred years ago in the wake of a technological revolution that cleared the way for capitalism to uproot the old system of feudalism. Engels summed up that revolutionary transformation in the same work in which he identified the sanctity of the home as the "the basis of all personal freedom."

Hand-held tools and individual production were the foundation of the feudal economy, Engels observed, and continued:

"But all this changed as soon as the means of production became socialized and concentrated in the hands of capitalists. The means of production, as well as the product, of the individual producer, became more and more worthless; there was nothing left for him but to turn wage-

worker under the capitalist. Wage-labor, aforerime the exception and accessory, now became the rule and basis of all production; aforerime complementary, it now became the sole remaining function of the worker. The wage-worker for a time became a wage-worker for life. The number of these permanent wage-workers was further enormously increased by the breaking up

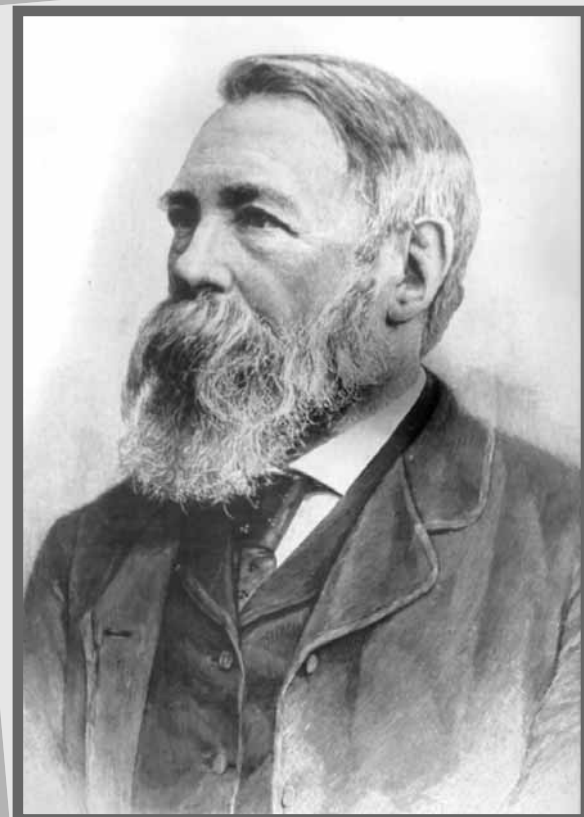
contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie."

Not all of China's uprooted millions have been forced to abandon the countryside and move to its already overcrowded cities. China's headlong rush away from its supposed communism toward full-fledged and bona fide capitalism has acted as a magnet to draw farmers and peasants to cities where they hope to find decent jobs and lift themselves out of poverty.

Many have been disappointed, of course, not only because the number of people pressing into China's urban centers far outnumber the jobs available, but because the flood has expanded the pool of available labor, increased the competition for work and enabled China's "entrepreneurs" to hold wages down.

Whether driven off the land and forcibly evicted from their homes, or simply drawn to China's burgeoning industrial centers to better their lives, one thing is certain: the revolutionary changes transforming China's economy have also brought a revolutionary transformation of China's class structure. China has today what it did not have in 1949 when the "Communist Party" came to power, and what it could not develop on its own. What China has today—or will have before many more years pass by—is the industrial foundation and the industrial working class needed to build socialism. With that comes the modern class struggle between the working class, on the one side, and the capitalist class and its champions in power, the Chinese "Communist Party."

China, of course, is on the verge of evicting Engels himself from the national pantheon, but it cannot stop "the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie"—*the class struggle*—from taking root in China's soil. Indeed, many manifestations of that struggle have already emerged. Where they will lead is still an open question, but they will bear close watching as they unfold.



Frederick Engels

of the feudal system that occurred at the same time, by the disbanding of the retainers of the feudal lords, the eviction of the peasants from their homesteads, etc. The separation was made complete between the means of production concentrated in the hands of the capitalists on the one side, and the producers, possessing nothing but their labor-power, on the other. *The*

Those Three Little Words

By Michael James

Driven anywhere lately? Been stuck in traffic? Who hasn't? The only thing worse than gridlock is being forced to stare at one of those "Support Our Troops" yellow ribbons attached to the back of the car or truck in front of you. It is bumper-sticker brainwashing. Those three little words deserve critical analysis.

First, the term "our" is so misleading. The troops do not serve the working class. They are in the service of the capitalist ruling class, which, unlike the U.S. working class, always acts in its own interests. Marx said this bourgeois class is always "squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure." In other words, corporate and governmental leaders, the pirates of capitalism, routinely send working-class soldiers to their deaths as part of conducting business.

The term "support" is an invitation to close your mind, surrender your moral duty to question usurped authority, abandon your civic responsibility to resist needless wars, and passively, willingly, mindlessly participate in the current criminal enterprise on foreign soil. Workers who brandish this slogan have been duped into unwittingly betraying their own class interests in favor of collaboration with capitalist ruling-class interests.

That little yellow ribbon represents a kind of emotional blackmail. It plays on sentiment to pervert the natural and spontaneous concern that people have for soldiers by twisting that good-natured concern into jingoistic war frenzy.

"Support Our Troops" is an abdication of the fundamental duty of parents to protect children. Working-class parents would not surrender their

children to robbers or rapists on the streets, but eagerly and proudly surrender their children to capitalist criminals such as Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld who orchestrate the mutilation and murder of working-class soldiers.

The ruling class is predatory, not unlike sexual predators, preying upon the minds and bodies of working-class youth. If you think this is an extreme accusation, pause and consider the seductive, manipulative and aggressive tactics of the U.S. military.



For example: the federal government strong-arms high schools with the "No Child Left Behind Act" into giving recruiters access to student phone numbers and addresses or facing loss of federal monies. Recruiters are stalkers, waving the flag while searching for young flesh. "Support Our Troops" signifies complicity with U.S. militarism, a policy that pours nearly half the public treasury into the Pentagon and away from health care, education, the environment, cities, infrastructure, libraries, housing and other basic human needs.

Those who believe "Support Our Troops" is an expression of good citizenship are blind to the interests of their class, their country and the soldiers themselves. Good citizens, on the other hand, know that capitalism must be abolished because it always means war. Good citizens understand the need for resistance and revolution. In addition, good citizens know the beauty of another set of three little words: "Peace Through Socialism."

Socialism: Utopian & Scientific

by Frederick Engels

Traces the development of socialism from a movement of "social uplift" to one in which the workers self-consciously struggle to free themselves by changing the social structure. Contrasts idealist conception of history with the Marxist conception. Includes Engels' introduction to the 1892 edition and the essay *The Mark*. (International Publishers edition.)

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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS

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... War and Spying

(Continued from page 1)

them and, hence, his real motive for starting the war. He seemed to step down from the arrogant self-assurance that has characterized all his earlier pronouncements on the war, and took refuge behind what may be the most brazen attempt at deception to date. The latest bit of deception was performed from behind a mask of seeming contrition, in contrast to the self-assured and arrogant posturing that had become all too familiar since that fateful night in March 2003 when he ordered the assault on Iraq to begin. The new posturing was accompanied by a new script built on the theme that "mistakes" had been made, that there had been a breakdown in the gathering of the intelligence on which he and his advisers supposedly based their decision to start hostilities.

Somehow, however, the war has to continue regardless of past mistakes. Somehow, it is still the right thing to do, even though the justification for it was wrong. Somehow, the American working class must accept that the war has mysteriously turned righteous because its aims are righteous, or so he would have American workers believe.

Yet, to reach that point in his speeches Mr. Bush and his speech writers could not quite make a clean break with the old falsehoods and half-truths. By the time he delivered his fifth and concluding speech from the Oval Office on Dec. 18, he had substantially reiterated all the old hash:

The invasion of Iraq was a justified response to the attack of Sept. 11, as though Iraq was responsible or had a hand in the events of that day.

Bush, his aids and other governments thought Iraq had those elusive weapons of mass destruction stashed away somewhere, as though United Nations inspectors had not determined that no such weapons existed before the invasion began.

That if there were "mistakes" to start, they are irrelevant and should not concern the American people because they shrivel to insignificance

when stacked up against the new Iraqi "democracy," as though the new Iraqi government was not dominated by theocrats and other antediluvian elements who care as little or less for democracy as Saddam Hussein ever did.

(Even as Mr. Bush spoke to justify the war on the pretense of its having brought a façade of democracy to Iraq, new revelations about his having authorized spying on American citizens and American organizations were making headlines. Mr. Bush did not deny the reports about these flagrant violations of constitutionally guaranteed liberties. Instead, he confirmed them and claimed that his actions not only were within constitutional bounds, but that they were meant to protect the civil liberties of all Americans. Mr. Bush's assertions put one in mind of what the Louisiana politician Huey Long once said: "Of course we will have fascism in America but we will call it democracy!")

And, so, we come almost full circle back to where we started nearly three years ago. About the only thing missing was a repetition of the denials that Mr. Bush decided to invade Iraq long before Sept. 11, 2001.

The war on Iraq never was about terrorism, a dictator's brutality or democracy. It was and still is about oil and strategic advantages. Indeed, capitalist interests in resources, markets, spheres of influence and strategic advantages have been at the heart of every modern war, regardless of all the rhetoric to the contrary. As Daniel De Leon expressed it:

"There is no exception to this principle: The capitalist's country is his pocket; his patriotism is his profits; and when he uses the words 'American,' 'Patriotism' and the like, he does so only as a mask—a mask that, at convenient times, so completely deceives the working people, that they allow themselves to be cajoled by it, and expose their lives—for the greater glory of the Capitalist Class." (March 27, 1898)

... Campaign Against Evolution

(Continued from page 1)

The old definition of science used in Kansas reads in part, "Science is the human activity of seeking natural explanations for what we observe in the world around us." The board is replacing that with one that calls science "a systematic method of continuing investigation that uses observation, hypothesis testing, measurement, experimentation, logical argument and theory building to lead to more adequate explanations of natural phenomena." As a physics professor at the University of Kansas notes, "The only reason to leave out 'natural explanations' is if you want to open the door to supernatural explanations." (*The New York Times*, Nov. 15)

The Dover, Pa., case is a lawsuit fomented by the Thomas More Law Center, a nonprofit law firm started by two right-wing Roman Catholics. Its purpose is to generate lawsuits in defense of anti-abortion activists, gay rights opponents and school boards that have attacked evolution and advocated the teaching of ID. Its purpose, according to one of its founders, is to use the courts "to change the culture." For years it has sent lawyers around the country to find school boards to fight evolution and teach ID in hopes of generating a high-profile trial. They were turned down by boards in West Virginia, Michigan, Minnesota and a number of other states.

They finally found their taker in Dover, where the school board required teaching of ID, as recommended. When a group of parents favoring evolution instituted a suit, the Thomas More people provided defense. But Dover was not their ideal, since the Dover board had a history of overt creationist teaching, much of which was

evident in the testimony during the trial. The trial started in late September and ended on Nov. 5 after prolonged testimony. The judge in the case was expected to rule in late December or early January. And regardless of the outcome, appeals are expected, maybe going as high as the Supreme Court.

Fortunately for Dover, however, the outcome of the case will be moot. On Nov. 9 voters in Dover ousted the pro-ID board, removing eight of the nine members and electing a board committed to teaching evolution.

The outcome of a similar trial, in Georgia, suggests the path of appeals that may apply. In a Georgia county, the school board had required that the biology texts that taught evolution have a sticker affixed that warned the students, "This textbook contains material on evolution. Evolution is a theory, not a fact, regarding the origin of living things...." A group of parents, backed by the ACLU, sued to have them removed on the grounds that the sticker expressed religious, not scientific, beliefs. A federal district judge agreed and ordered the stickers removed. Now before the U.S. 11th Circuit Court of Appeals, the outcome is in doubt, with one of the judges on the three-judge panel expressing his doubts about evolution as follows: "From nonlife to life is the greatest gap in scientific theory. There is less evidence supporting it than there is for other theories." The judge's ignorance and evident religious bias shows the danger of the courts' deciding what is and isn't science.

The courts are not the only place that the threat to science appears. George W. Bush endorsed teaching of ID while the trial was

... Wal-Mart

(Continued from page 5)

bility for workers to begin to solve all the social, economic and environmental nightmares in which capitalism has enveloped the world. That task is the building of a movement to organize the workers along industrial lines to assume collective ownership of the machines of social production which they and their ancestors have built, and to establish democratic control of the whole economy by the producers themselves.

Only such a socialist reconstruction of society holds any potential to solve such problems—because it would put those who have a material interest in solving those problems in direct and cooperative control of the social resources needed to accomplish their solution.

... Movie

(Continued from page 5)

rious campaigns to keep new Wal-Mart stores out of two small towns, and then fades to happy music and the scrolling locations of many other such "successes."

The film fails precisely because successfully fighting to keep Wal-Mart out of your own backyard is hardly a success. It leaves audiences with the impression that "victory" in the struggle against the likes of Wal-Mart can come simply by making sure the company builds in someone else's backyard.

Victory against rapacious companies such as Wal-Mart and the rapacious socioeconomic system they spring from—capitalism—will begin to be forged when the workers become tired of such hollow "victories" as Greenwald presents in this film and work instead to win the class struggle by expropriating from the expropriators every Wal-Mart store, along with all the industries and services.

In socialist society Wal-Mart's facilities will become democratically controlled facilities from which socially produced goods may be equitably distributed to those who do the work—with provision for the elderly, the young and disabled. And they will exist within the context of a collectively owned economy that will free us all from the economic dictatorship of the capitalist class under which we presently live—the very system which reveres its Wal-Marts as examples of "success."

—K.B.

going on. In addition, an exhibition celebrating the life of Charles Darwin at the American Museum of Natural History failed to find a single corporate sponsor because American companies do not wish to be on the "wrong" side in the debate between science and fundamentalist Christians. (*London Telegraph*, Nov. 20)

The Bush administration has shown contempt for science, not only in relation to evolution but as it relates to the environment, medicine and reproductive health. It shows no compunctions about rewriting results of studies that don't match its viewpoints and changing terminology to cloud debate (for example, "climate change" in place of the more descriptive "global warming"). Meanwhile, it cloaks itself in religion to give the illusion of moral superiority while it indulges in brutal imperialist warfare and aids its corporate supporters in intensifying exploitation of workers.

*

The above article was written before the Dec. 20 ruling in which federal Judge John E. Jones III found that "intelligent design" is a religious doctrine and cannot be taught in public schools. "We find that the secular purposes claimed by the [Dover, Pa., school] board amount to a pretext for the board's real purpose, which was to promote religion in the public school classroom," the judge said.—Editor

...Toxic Cloud Released

(Continued from page 3)

cery store parking lot just east of the plant. The midday incident sent some people fleeing, it said, but it described others as onlookers.

As firefighters in yellow protective suits and breathing apparatus tried to ventilate the building, a Davenport fire captain said: "Products were mixed together that should not have been mixed together." He also said it was "safe down there." However, he did not explain why, if it was safe, firefighters needed protective suits and breathing apparatus.

The plant makes industrial cleaners in a former potato chip factory. Within a few blocks are homes, schools, grocery stores, food-processing

plants, heavy industries and shops. One student who lives nearby said the smoke smelled like sulfur. Others said it smelled like iodine and that the smoke only went up so high and came back down.

The business's owner reported that he was not sure what happened during the blending of about 300 gallons of several acids. The chemicals were being mixed for the first time for a customer that supplied the formula, but the formula had been slightly modified for use as a metal brightener. The unexpected violent reaction produced the cloud of what was thought to be nitric acid. The owner said that all the employees got out of the building just fine and without any

injuries. Referring to what he thought to be the nitric acid vapor, he said that "it's certainly nothing you want to be around very long" but that he did not "think there's any lasting danger." He also wasn't sure how the building or any residue would be cleaned, and that his "guess" is that "it just needs to be hosed down."

Perhaps the "invisible hand" of the capitalist market will clean it up for him. That is what capitalists and their mouthpieces say regulates industry and protects us. Well, the "invisible hand" made a very *visible* chemical cloud in Davenport.

While politicians and capitalist media distract workers with debates about such things the word "God" in the Pledge of Allegiance, people all over the earth try to run away from capitalism's disasters. The senseless and reckless location of dangerous chemical plants near residential neighborhoods, combined with careless experimentation of volatile chemical mixtures, forced people to flee in Davenport. It was not long ago when several thousand people died in Bhopal, India, when another of capitalism's chemical plants went "awry."

Yet, the capitalist news media, in its service to their masters, still attempt to make people believe that the chemicals themselves went "awry."

While the people of Davenport fled a chemical cloud on a warm summer afternoon, their city leaders were hard at work making sure the business climate was good enough to attract a new casino hotel project.

While the chemical reaction continued to produce more nitric acid vapor into the night, the capitalist newspapers were hard at work selling newspapers that spun the latest disasters and developments caused by the effects of capitalism.

Global warming, monster killer storms, wars, environmental disasters and sickness are all a result of this insane system. People around the world are dying because of capitalists fighting over resources to exploit for profit. Even the disasters are a resource to milk for profit by the media corporations.

Socialists know the truth, that the capitalist system and its political agents are, in fact, what has been "awry" for a long time. Socialists know the essence of capitalism means run like hell—if you can! Socialists also know that a better world is possible.

directory

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...De Leon

(Continued from page 4)

of that society whenever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing; its contributions, therefore, to the public exigencies are...the return of an obligation previously received, or the payment of a just debt." This radical communistic exaltation of the social welfare—of human life—above property, will add to the jar the reverential worshippers of Franklin will perhaps receive from his contributions to the basic economic doctrines of socialism.

Whether it does or not, the economic and sociological contributions of Franklin to the world's progress will add to his stature and raise him above the bourgeoisie he so well served.

All honor to Benjamin Franklin, genius of his age, and, like all genius, in advance of it!

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ACTIVITIES

CALIFORNIA

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

Oakland: Saturday, Jan. 14, 3-5 p.m., Rockridge Public Library, Community Room, 5366 College St.

Santa Clara: Saturday, Jan. 21, 1-4 p.m., Santa Clara Public Library, Sycamore Room, 2635 Homestead Rd.

San Francisco: Saturday, Jan. 28, 1:30 p.m.-4 p.m., San Francisco Public Library, Conference Room, Grove & Larkin streets.

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

OHIO

Independence: Discussion Meetings—Section Cleveland will hold a discussion meeting on Sunday, Jan. 15, 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, Jan. 14, "The U.S. & Iraq Oil"; and Saturday, Feb. 25, "The Media & Manufacturing Consent." For more information call Sid at 503-226-2881 or visit the section's website at <http://slp.pdx.home.mindspring.com>.

Funds

(Oct. 15–Dec. 16)

Christmas Box

John O'Neill \$1,000; \$500 each Anonymous, Marie & Ray Simmons; Chris Dobreff \$200; \$100 each Tom Puszykowski, Reynold R. Elkins, Robert K. Hofem; \$50 each John S. & Rosemary I. Gale, Harvey Fuller, Harley G. & Cecelia C. Selkregg, Fred Punzo, Alex Iwasa, Bills family (In memory of Richard Woodward), Anonymous, James A. Barr, Donald Rogers, T. Sweeney, Joseph C. Massimino.

William E. Tucker \$35; Marshall G. Soura \$30; \$25 each John Lambase, Jean Lee, Phillip Colligan, Robert Ormsby, Ross Schelin, Sarah Haggard, Matt Casick, Steve Druk, Country Health Store, Wendel Wettland, Adam Oviatt; \$20 each Anonymous, Mike Ogletree; \$15 each Chuck Fair, Carl Archambeau; \$10 each Harry E. Gibson, T.G. Barnhill, Paul L. Wolf, Richard F. Mack, E. Pahun, Ewald Nielsen, Juliette Jackson, Kenneth E. McCartney; Alphonse Eiden \$7; Milton A. Poulos \$6; \$5 each William J. Prinz, Gerald Gunderson, William Sariago, Frank B. Evans.

Total: \$3,573.00

New Publications Fund

Roy K. Nelson \$200; Alex Iwasa \$50.

Total: \$250.00

Press Security Fund

\$200 each Chris Dobreff, Irene Schelin; Bruce Gard \$30; James F. Cline \$26.75; \$25 each Daniel Kyrk, Robert Ormsby; George S. Taylor \$11; \$10 each Doug Smiley, Richard F. Mack, William A. Morales; \$5 each N.E. Ibars, Sarah Haggard; Robert Jensen \$2; \$1 each George Gaylord, Daniel B. Lazarus.

Total: \$561.75

Prisoner Subscription Fund

Emily C. Cohen \$15; \$5 each Joe Randell, Donald F. Cuddihee Sr.

Total: \$25.00

SLP Leaflet Fund

Chris Dobreff \$200; Michael Preston \$100; Alex Iwasa \$50; Ali Ebrahimi \$43; \$30 each Michael Wenskunas, Walter K. Bagnick; Mary & John Brlas \$25; James F. Cline \$18; Sid Rasmussen \$12; Juliette Jackson \$10; \$6 each John S. Gale, Daniel Kyrk, Reynold R. Elkins; \$5 each Jill Campbell, Clayton Hewitt, Marshall G. Soura; R.C. Moody \$1.50.

Total: \$522.50

SLP Sustainer Fund

Robert K. Hofem (In memory of Wynn Hofem) \$1,000; Joan Davis \$800; Bernard Bortnick \$300; Chris Dobreff \$200; \$160 each Robert P. Burns (In memory of John Madjarac), Robert P. Burns (In memory of Louis Toth); Michael J. Preston \$150; Lois Reynolds \$100; Michael Wenskunas \$60; Richard Aiken (In memory of John W. Aiken) \$50; Clayton Hewitt \$30; \$20 each Jill Campbell, Steve Littleton; George T. Gaylord \$1.

Total: \$3,051.00

Socialist Labor Party

Financial Summary

Bank balance (Sept. 30).....	\$171,638.58
Expenses (Oct.–Nov.)	24,281.06
Income (Oct.–Nov.)	7,361.35
Bank balance (Nov. 30).....	\$154,718.87
Deficit for 2005.....	\$ 58,395.19

GLOBAL WARMING

Scientists Alarmed by Shrinking Arctic Ice Cap

By B.B.

A recent series of articles in *The New York Times* links socially induced global warming to a dramatic decline in the average size of the Arctic ice cap over the last 25 years. Most scientific observers believe that these changes will have a serious effect on the earth in the not-too-distant future. Some predict summers without any ice cap at all within the next 100 years. Yet, while scientists are alarmed, many capitalists and their governments see nothing in the receding ice cap but new opportunities for making money.

Polar Meltdown

With the aid of satellite photography, scientists have learned that the Arctic ice cap expands less in winter and shrinks more in summer with each passing year. Between its summer contractions and its winter expansions, the Arctic ice cap has covered an average minimum of 2.69 million square miles since 1979. According to scientists interviewed by the *Times*, however, last year "was the fourth in a row with the ice cap areas sharply below the long-term average." (Sept. 12)

The *Times* cited Mark C. Serreze as its source for this information. Serreze is a scientist with the Snow and Ice Center at Boulder, Colo. The center compiles its data on the ice cap in collaboration with NASA.

Ted A. Scambos is another scientist with the Snow and Ice Center. He told the *Times* that the effects of the changes observed over the last 25 years with the aid of satellites could be enduring ones. "Feedbacks in the system are starting to take hold," and that makes "it pretty certain that a long-term decline is under way," he said.

What he meant by "feedbacks" is that cause and effect are starting to intermix. As greenhouse gases cause the earth to heat up by trapping more of the sun's heat in the earth's atmosphere, they prevent the ice cap from expanding as much in winter as it did before those gases came along. With less ice to reflect the sun's

heat back into space, and more exposed water to absorb it, the surface of the earth heats up. The heat that the exposed water retains compounds the effect of the greenhouse gases and accelerates the global warming process.



Carol Simpson

"With all the dark open water, you start to see an increase in Arctic Ocean heat storage," Dr. Serreze said.

Another scientist compared heat storage to the motions of a flywheel that, once started, continues spinning by inertia. "Within a few decades ...the insulating power of greenhouse gases will dominate natural climate fluctuations, possibly for centuries." (Oct. 25)

While there is general agreement among scientists that something is amiss and that massive burning of fossil fuels and smoke stack emissions are involved in global warming, some capitalists and capitalist governments are gloating over the prospect of an enormous bonanza resulting from a polar meltdown. Opportunities to exploit likely new shipping routes, fishing rights, and gas and

oil drilling have not been lost on "entrepreneurs" such as Pat Broe. Broe is a Denver rail capitalist who bought a derelict Hudson Bay port, Churchill, Canada, for \$7 with a view to building a great port city with rail links as far as Monterrey, Mexico! The fabled Northwest Passage suddenly looms, not to mention tourism.

Despite the election of a "leftist government," the Norwegian government is building a major natural gas facility known as Snohvit near Hammerfest, Norway, for the purpose of shipping liquefied natural gas (LNG) to, among other places, Cove Point, Maryland, by 2007. The United States regards this as a hedge against interruptions of LNG shipments from politically unstable sources in the Middle East and Africa. "Norway's importance to the United States in terms of our national energy policy is increasing with every passing year," said U.S. Norwegian ambassador John Doyle Ong, a former energy capitalist. (Oct. 10)

(Incidentally, "our national energy policy" refers to the timeworn capitalist doctrine to make as much profit as possible and to hell with everything else.)

Conflicting Territorial Claims

Several other capitalist nations around the Arctic Circle are weighing in for a piece of the action that only portends future conflict, destruction and war. Apart from Norway, Canada, Russia, Denmark and the United States are being drawn into a North Pole version of the "great game."

Russia, for example, lost no time in sending a ship to the North Pole to lay claim to half the Arctic. The ship reached the pole on Aug. 29 without the help of an icebreaker, a first. This follows an old claim by Stalin that Russian territory stretched from Murmansk to the pole to the Chukchi Sea, which did not raise an eyebrow when the former Soviet dictator laid claim to that vast territory more than half a century ago. Now that the "land grab" is in full swing, Canada, the United States, Russia and Denmark are considering their options, with Norway emerging as a major contender to Russian claims in the Barents Sea.

Additional antagonisms have emerged with claims between the United States and Canada, and between Canada and Denmark. Bill Graham, Canada's defense minister, while beefing up the Canadian military in the region, made a visit to Hans Island, a two-mile stony outcropping disputed with Denmark. For its part, Denmark wants to claim the thousand-mile undersea ridge known as the Lomonosov Ridge. If the ridge is geologically linked to Greenland, a Danish possession, it would give Denmark a claim to the North Pole.

Canada's claim over portions of the Beaufort Sea has led to protests over unannounced visits by U.S. naval vessels into disputed waters. Indeed, the United States is entertaining a claim of Arctic seabed larger than California, which has stoked the Pentagon's appetite for the appropriate military and naval equipment to enforce any potential ocean grab.

Global warming and its effects prove that capitalism is an insane and suicidal social system. Global warming, and the consequent destruction of the Arctic, can only be arrested and reversed by an organized effort of the majority working class, based in a democratic integral industrial union prepared to take, hold and operate the industrial apparatus of society.

Receding Polar Region Affects Native Peoples

Reindeer Habitat, Herds Shrinking

Global warming caused by capitalist industrial practices affects others besides the working class. The melting Arctic has raised protests and confusion among such indigenous peoples as the Inuit, Ykut and Sami in the Arctic region. They depend upon eking out a living from the frozen North. For example, changing weather patterns have affected the reindeer's ability to forage for food, reducing their numbers. This, in turn, has adversely affected the Sami people, who have traditionally maintained large herds of the animals. Other traditional livelihoods—trapping and fishing—also have suffered from warmer Arctic weath-



National Archives of Canada

Reindeer remains in Canada.

er. In addition, many native peoples have lost their homes and villages as warmer weather melts the permafrost, collapsing coastlines and allowing the sea to engulf the land upon which they once lived.

—D.G.B.