



the People

Published by the Socialist Labor Party  Established in 1891

VOL. 114 NO. 2

JULY-AUGUST 2004

\$1.00

NEC Statement

Torture: An Imperative Of Imperialist Domination

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party adopted the following statement on June 14 and ordered its publication in this issue of The People.

—Editor

Millions of workers in America and around the world were horrified by the torture and abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers at the Iraqi Abu Ghraib prison. For some, these outrages committed by American soldiers challenged their ideas about what America is supposed to stand for; for others, these horrendous acts only confirmed their worst fears of what America has come to represent.

Ruling-class elements, politicians and other supporters of capitalism and class rule also expressed indignation over the conduct of the soldiers involved. But theirs were the voices of hypocrisy.

The initial reaction of the Bush administration to these blatant acts of brutality was to blame them on rogue elements in the military while asserting that torture "was the wrongdoing of a few," words that didn't wash. A 6,000-page report authored by Maj. Gen. Antonio Taguba outlining torture and abuses in Iraqi prisons run by the U.S. Army was issued to Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld months ago, absolutely confirming what administration sources denied.

The CIA and other agents who actually interrogated prisoners may have committed unspeakable acts. They were undocumented and conducted in secrecy. Recent reports record 33 deaths in detention in Iraq and Afghanistan. Most, allegedly, were related to "heart problems," but nine were due to homicide, of which six were due to "blunt force injuries" and one to multiple gunshot wounds.

This all flies in the face of the statement President Bush made last year on behalf of United Nations International Day in Support of Victims of Torture that the U.S. is "committed to the worldwide elimination of torture and we are leading this fight by example," challenging all other nations "in prohibiting, investigating, and prosecuting all acts of torture and in undertaking to prevent cruel and unusual punishment."

In fact, the Bush administration has deliberately made a policy of rejecting the Geneva Conventions on treatment of prisoners. His general counsel for the Department of Defense, William J. Haynes, signed off on the legality of withholding Geneva Convention protections for detainees at the U.S. prison facility at Guantanamo Bay.

(Continued on page 10)

U.S. Imperialist Record Imperils Iraq's Future

Former President Bill Clinton came to President Bush's defense on Iraq in June when he echoed administration claims that the United States has no imperialist ambitions in Iraq. Clinton's statement during an interview with *Time* magazine proved again that the Democratic and Republican parties are indistinguishable when it comes to promoting and defending capitalist interests.

Although *Time's* interview with Clinton had not hit the newsstands before this issue of *The People* went to press, advance copies circulated to many media outlets enabled them to broadcast stories or carry articles summarizing Clinton's remarks.

Most of these stories concentrated on the former president's criticism of the abuses at Abu Ghraib prison and on the administration's timing in launching the war. Clinton obviously meant his comments to boost the chances of President Bush's presumed Democratic rival for November's elections, Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts.

Clinton, however, went a step further by echoing earlier claims by President Bush and his White House national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice, that the United States has no imperialist ambitions in Iraq.

President Bush famously disavowed any such interest four months before the war began.

"We have no territorial ambitions, we don't seek an empire," he said in November 2002. Condoleezza Rice made a similar assertion in the following exchange from an interview with ZDF German television in July 2003.

"Q: Dr. Rice, let us start with a question to the academic/teacher Condoleezza Rice. Struggling to find a comparison in history for America's position in the world now, people have come up with the Roman Empire, as in comparison. *There's an obvious difference: America doesn't strive to acquire foreign countries.* But beyond that, would you, as an academic, accept the comparison?"

"DR. RICE: I wouldn't accept the comparison to the Roman Empire, of course, because the United States has no imperial ambitions..." (Emphasis added)

Dr. Rice clearly sidestepped the distinction her interviewer tried to draw between *territorial expansion* and *economic imperialism*. She knows, or should know, that American capitalism has a long history of imperialist intervention in Latin America, for example, and that the extension of its empire in that part of the world rarely involved permanent military occupation or territorial annexation.

As noted in an article marking the 50th anniversary of the U.S.-inspired invasion of

(Continued on page 8)

Court Order Helps IBM Squelch Toxics Study

By Bruce Cozzini

A scholarly study that was barred as evidence from the IBM toxics suit at San Jose, Calif., earlier this year will not appear in a scientific journal as scheduled because the author is involved with other suits against the computer-making firm.

The author, Boston University epidemiologist Richard Clapp, received access to IBM's employee mortality data as an expert witness for the plaintiffs in the trial. He and coauthor Rebecca Johnson analyzed mortality data from 33,370 former IBM employees and workplace histories for more than 18,000 deceased workers for the years 1969 to 2001.

According to their analysis, the IBM workers suffered cancer rates higher than the general population. Their study showed that the 7,697 male workers "who had died of cancer were between 23 percent and 62 percent more likely to have died from cancers of the kidney, brain, blood and skin." (*Science*, May 14) The 1,667 IBM women "were 20 percent more likely to have died from kidney cancer."

For those who had worked at least a month at one of IBM's chip manufacturing plants, results were dramatically higher: Men "were 62 percent to 79 percent more likely to have died from kidney, skin or brain cancer, and female workers were 112 percent more likely to have died from kidney cancer."

IBM attorney Robert Weber called the paper "junk science," and a "litigation-produced study in which lawyers supplied key data and gave instructions on how the study was to be done." Clapp, however, noted that IBM furnished the data and that he and Johnson only designed the study, chose the statistical software and analyzed the data IBM had supplied.

The IBM lawyers succeeded in blocking use of the study in the trial. Before the trial started, Judge Robert Baines blocked jurors from seeing the report, claiming it did not prove the link between workplace exposure to chemicals and cancer, and calling it "simply irrelevant and...highly prejudicial." With the study gone, the suit against IBM had little chance, and

(Continued on page 8)

Visit our Web site at www.slp.org

Textbooks and 'Politically Correct' History

By B.G.

Like any other capitalistic enterprise, book companies are in business to make money, and unless their income exceeds their outgo they will not be in business very long.

It used to be the practice for publishers of American history texts to publish one version for schools in the North and another version for schools in the South, manipulating such things as slavery and the Civil War to suit the prejudices and serve the purposes of either northern or white-dominated southern school boards. Now there is a tendency among schoolbook publishers to accommodate every prejudice between one set of covers by producing history texts that will be acceptable in all parts of the country. This is admittedly a daunting task, the publishing industry's equivalent of being all things to all people.

Classconscious workers and Socialists will find it difficult to empathize with the industry's marketing problems, if only because the key to understanding the history of this or any other country—the class struggle—is not even a consideration. Nonetheless, it is interesting to watch how publishers perform their dance.

To keep a market and make a profit, one textbook company eliminated mention of widespread prostitution in the frontier West because one southern member of an influential school board objected to portraying the seamy side of frontier life.

Frances FitzGerald, in her 1979 book *America Revised*, dealt with this problem and gave, for one example, a prosouthern view of the Mexican War presented in school history textbooks. She said that since the 1950s, "New England children, whose ancestors heartily disapproved of the Mexican War, have grown up with heroic tales of Davy Crockett and Sam Houston." Why? Apparently not because Davy Crockett died at the Alamo in 1836 during the Texas War of Independence and a dozen years before the Mexican War of 1848–1850, or any similar fine point of historical accuracy. No, not that, but because certain Texans having a voice in deciding what is "suitable" and what is not demanded it, and because Texas was and remains the second largest buyer of textbooks in the nation after California. Issuing separate editions for Texas, or for various other states or regions, would reduce profit margins. Call it the publishing industry's version of the Texas Reel.

A more recent book, Jonathan Zimmerman's *Whose America?* (Harvard University Press, 2002), enlarges on FitzGerald's themes. In early 20th-century school textbooks, history was used as a means of Americanizing the many immigrant children coming into the public school system. Presentation of the American Revolution was done in such a way as to minimize the antagonism of some American colonists toward England and to emphasize support for the revolution in England. It was part of an effort, according to Zimmerman, to get children to accept American culture and the English language. When Irish-Americans came to dominate the politics of certain cities in later years, they demanded a more anti-British outlook in history texts. Multiculturalism later became popular, and immigrants such as Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Casimir Pulaski, the Marquis de Lafayette, Friedrich von Steuben and Haym Solomon had to be included for their contributions toward American independence.

In today's textbooks, no race, ethnic group or gender can be presented in any way that might be seen as stereotyping. Mexicans must not be presented as farm laborers, Jews must not be presented as capitalists, African Americans must not be presented as maids or athletes. (Jackie Robinson is an exception to this rule because of his role in breaking the race barrier in sports.)

All races and ethnic groups must be presented in uniformly positive, even heroic, terms, regardless of what role individuals from various ethnic backgrounds may have played in grinding down and bleeding the working class, which also is composed of all these elements of humanity.

So, then, what is really missing from all this controversy over how to depict American history is the class struggle. Efforts to gloss over the class struggle, or to ignore it entirely, are as misleading as stereotyping all African Americans as compliant victims of racial prejudice. Such efforts produce as many misleading myths, shed as little light and spread as much darkness as in the past.

Romanticizing the cavalry unit known as "Buffalo soldiers" to establish a more positive image of the contribution of African Americans to the westward expansion and development of the United States, for example, does more than simply gloss over the horrific treatment of African Americans as plantation slaves and industrial wage workers, or the part many African Americans played in trying to build labor unions and political movements of the working class.

Indeed, the role that the "Buffalo soldiers" played in crushing Native American resistance to that westward expansion, in fulfilling capitalism's imperialist ambitions towards Cuba during the Spanish-American War and of acting as the guards at the infamous "Bull Pen" concentration camps, where striking miners and their families were herded at the behest of the mining capitalists, may run counter to the preferred depiction of everyone as being heroic, but it corresponds to historic fact.

Similarly, the fact that many women of the capitalist class opposed the women's suffrage movement because they perceived any expansion of working-class suffrage as a threat to their class interests and privileges is rarely noted by any textbook on American history, yet it too corresponds to historic fact.

A group known as Texas Public Policy Foundation has strongly attacked what it feels is a simple-minded glorification of all minorities in education today. They want textbooks to tell how Africa's chiefs helped round up slaves for sale in America. They also want the role of Europeans who were opposed to slavery to be included in the story. In addition, they want texts to downplay the role of President John F. Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in promoting civil rights and note that they did not give support to the civil rights movement at important times.

They are right to want all these things because they are all true. Nonetheless, what they want misses the historical forest for the historical trees. These things are true because material compulsions and class interests made them possible, or even inevitable. However, they

appear as so many random, seemingly inexplicable events vulnerable to "spin" because their historic roots in the ever-unfolding class struggle are hidden from view.

Help Them Out!

Dear SLP,

A thousand greetings!! I had been given the [subscription renewal] envelope and felt down trodden. I know of the tough economic times that befell this nation. The same tough economic times that one suffers in prison without family assistance. I hope that I may continue to count on your gracious generosity to continue *The People*. Yes, prison life sucks, even more so with many of the "budget cuts" that have directly impacted us, less food, less staff, less health care,



LNS

along with the many other things that have been reduced or eliminated. As they say, it is a warehouse of human beings. Especially now with less education, less books in the library, and less rehabilitation programs. So it goes in Wisconsin's prison system. Thank you for keeping me on your mailing list this long, and I hope that your generosity will continue onward.

Thank you.

EDWARD C. FITZPATRICK
Fox Lake Correctional Institution
Fox Lake, Wis.

We renewed Mr. FitzGerald's subscription for him, but we have a stack of similar requests from indigent prisoners. We can't afford them all, but you can help them out by sending a \$5 contribution to our Prisoner Subscription Fund. Send to *The People*, P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218.

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.

De Leon examines every major argument—pro and con—on the union question, traces confusion on what unions can and cannot accomplish to its source in the American Federation of Labor, and outlines the general principles on which genuine and effective working-class unions can be built. One of De Leon's best.



48 pages—\$1.25 postpaid

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS
P.O. Box 218
Mountain View, CA 94042-0218

A sample copy of *The People*
is your invitation to subscribe.

\$5 for a 1 year sub \$8 for a 2 year sub \$10 for a 3 year sub
 \$9 for a 1 year sub by first-class mail

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ APT. _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make check/money order payable to *The People*.

the People P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218

Countering the Threat to Liberty

By Ken Boettcher

People who oppose the Patriot Act (we are among them) sometimes equate it with fascism (we do not). The Patriot Act and certain other state measures implanted in the country's laws over the last 30 years or more may have a fascist "look and feel" about them, and few who are crushed under the iron heel of oppression care much about the brand name of the boot that holds them down. Nonetheless, fascism is no more a string of right-wing or reactionary measures (such as the Patriot Act) than socialism is a string of "left wing" and "progressive" ones (such as Social Security or unemployment insurance).

Fascism is an oppressive form of government, to be sure, but not all forms of oppressive government are fascist and fascism is not simply that. Fascism is a product of the streets and the gutter, of poverty locked into a petty bourgeois mindset of brutish social ignorance. Fascists hated capitalism until capitalism found a use for them and bought them off (or thought it did) with money and state power.

Nevertheless, antidemocratic and unconstitutional measures such as the Patriot Act pose a major threat to our liberties as Americans and our rights as workers to resist exploitation and other capitalist antisocial conduct. Consider Attorney General John Ashcroft's now infamous attempt to paint Patriot Act protesters as traitors who give aid and comfort to the enemy—a prime constitutional qualification for treason—when he said, "To those who scare peace-loving people with phantoms of lost liberty, my message is this: Your tactics only aid terrorists, for they erode our national unity and diminish our resolve." An unnamed White House spokesperson quoted in an article on the Web site capitolhillblue.com put it even more directly last year before the attack on Iraq. "The president," the source said, "considers this nation to be at war, and, as such, considers any opposition to his policies to be no less than an act of treason."

Thanks to the Patriot Act, the Homeland Security Act of 2002 and executive orders by the president, the attorney general and others, as well as judicial decisions that back them up, the U.S. government has many more tools in place to more rapidly establish a totalitarian state. More draconian measures like the Domestic Security Enhancement Act—sometimes referred to as Patriot Act II, a kind of Patriot Act on steroids—are now working their way through Congress. The Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2004, a chunk of Patriot Act II that President Bush quietly signed into law last December while the media distracted us with reports of Saddam Hussein's capture, grants the FBI new and unprecedented powers to obtain records from financial institutions without a court order and without having to prove just cause.

This wave of repressive measures, contrary to Attorney General Ashcroft's arrogant assertion,

has already produced far more than "phantoms" of lost liberty. According to an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) document, "8,000 Arab and South Asian immigrants have been interrogated because of their religion or ethnic background, not because of actual wrongdoing."

"Thousands of men, mostly of Arab and South Asian origin," the document continues, "have been held in secretive federal custody for weeks and months, sometimes without any charges filed against them. The government has refused to publish their names and whereabouts, even when ordered to do so by the courts."

"The press and the public have been barred from immigration court hearings of those detained after Sept. 11 and the courts are ordered to keep secret even that the hearings are

taking place."

Further, the ACLU document notes, "President Bush has ordered military commissions to be set up to try suspected terrorists who are not citizens. They can convict based on hearsay and secret evidence by only two-thirds vote." And, it adds, "American citizens suspected of terrorism are being held indefinitely in military custody without being charged and without access to lawyers."

By mid-2003, the Justice Department's own inspector general's office had issued a report that considered credible at least 34 complaints of civil rights and civil liberties abuses, including charges that some immigrants in federal detention centers had been beaten. Earlier this year,

(Continued on page 8)

The Bill of Rights vs. The Patriot Act

The USA Patriot (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) Act of 2001 is the most wide-ranging attack on our constitutional rights and liberties in a long line of legislative acts, executive orders and judicial interpretations that have increasingly circumscribed those rights over the last century. It is far from the only such attack, as any longtime reader of *The People* is aware. That its 133 pages of rights-abrogating language just happened to be waiting in the wings to be pulled out, slapped on the desks of those in Congress, passed with almost no debate and signed into law by the president—all within a bit more than a month after the Sept. 11 attacks—speaks volumes about the readiness of the political representatives of the U.S. ruling class to use fear as a means of "legitimately" pushing the nation further down the slippery slope toward totalitarianism. Below are its most disturbing features:

1st

The First Amendment provides:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

1st

The PATRIOT Act assault:

In Section 802, it defines "domestic terrorism" very loosely as any acts that "appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population" or "to influence the policy of government by intimidation or coercion." Such a broad definition could include almost any action taken by peace activists or environmental groups, for example. It could even be used against recall groups that threaten to not reelect candidates.

Section 215 requires all libraries, bookstores and booksellers to turn over all records requested. Librarians and clerks are under gag orders not to inform anyone of an order to produce records.

New powers granted the attorney general have produced at least two edicts that assault the First Amendment. One allows the Bureau of Prisons to eavesdrop on inmate/attorney conversations without need for a court order or warrant. Another allows information to be withheld by government agencies responding to requests for information through the already emasculated Freedom of Information Act, even if that information has not been flagged for national security priority.

4th

The Fourth Amendment provides:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

4th

The PATRIOT Act assault:

Title 3 of the act requires financial institutions to assign an officer of the institution to observe account activity and report any "suspicious" activity ("suspicious" is not defined) to the Department of the Treasury. The Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, a new Treasury office, was created to investigate and track the information provided.

In Section 203, law enforcement agencies are given authority, with no court order needed, to share information from criminal investigations with each other and with foreign governments, regardless of the outcome of the investigation and whether the information was directly or indirectly gathered as a result of the investigation.

Roving wiretaps on any device even "believed" to be connected to a suspect are authorized in Section 206. These are authorized secretly by a Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court established by the act.

In Section 213, agents are permitted to search private property with no one present and with notice of the search warrant delayed for an unspecified time. Copies and photos may be taken and property can be removed, all without notice.

Section 215 extends the power to request court orders for seizures granted under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to any with the rank "assistant special agent in charge" or above.

The requirement for a warrant is completely removed in Section 218 for many kinds of "intelligence gathering." Information can be gathered however agents see fit, even without probable cause, unless the evidence is to be used in a criminal proceeding. The reason for the surveillance and intelligence gathering needs only to mention "foreign intelligence."

Section 411 gives the secretary of state the authority to label as a "terrorist organization" any person or group, domestic or foreign, that has engaged in any kind of "violent activity." Together with the definition of "domestic terrorism" and all the powers that can be invoked under the act, this gives the secretary of state strong autocratic power. And Section 412 gives the Attorney general authority to "certify" immigrants as a "risk" with no probable cause at all.

5th

The Fifth Amendment provides:

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

5th

The PATRIOT Act assault:

Section 412 also authorizes mandatory detention of suspected terrorists. There is no judicial review of such arrests, no right of habeas corpus and no time limit on the detention period. No charge is needed and no attorney is allowed.

Other sections of the act allow for secret military tribunals for all "noncitizens" defined as "enemy combatants." Yet other provisions allow even citizens to be defined as "enemy combatants."

6th

The PATRIOT Act assault:

Section 412 clearly assaults the Sixth and Eighth amendments as well. "Enemy combatants" can be held at will or deported with or without bail or trial.

8th

The Eighth Amendment provides:

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

6th

The Sixth Amendment provides:

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

the People

Founded April 5, 1891

The People (ISSN-0199-350X), continuing the Weekly People, is published bimonthly by the Socialist Labor Party of America, 661 Kings Row, San Jose, CA 95112-2724.

Periodicals postage paid at San Jose, CA 95101-7024. Postmaster: Send all address changes to The People, P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218. Communications: Business and editorial matters should be addressed to The People, P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218. Phone: (408) 280-7266. Fax: (408) 280-6964.

Access The People online at: www.slp.org. Send e-mail to: thepeople@igc.org.

Rates: (domestic and foreign): Single copy, \$1. Subscriptions: \$5 for one year; \$8 for two years; \$10 for three years. By first-class mail, add \$4 per year. Bundle orders: 5-100 copies, \$16 per 100; 101-500 copies, \$14 per 100; 501-1,000 copies, \$12 per 100; 1,001 or more copies, \$10 per 100. Foreign subscriptions: Payment by international money order in U.S. dollars.

the People

Published by the Socialist Labor Party Established in 1891

National Secretary: Robert Bills

VOL. 114 NO. 2

JULY-AUGUST 2004

Degrading the Oceans

Life on Earth began in the primeval oceans. Land-dwelling species emerged later. With continental drift and the breakup of the supercontinent Pangaea, oceans and seas developed different ecosystems.

With their myths of ocean and sea gods, ancient peoples recognized the importance of oceans, although with prescientific understanding. Even today surprising little is known about the oceans.

Nonetheless, alarms have been sounded recently about the degradation of the oceans. The U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy has drafted a 450-page report. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, problems include: "seafood contaminated with bacteria and chemicals such as mercury and dioxins; urban runoff laden with oil, trash and human waste; farm runoff that causes blooms of algae that suffocate all life and create oceanic 'dead zones'; sea temperatures that are killing coral reefs and spreading water-borne viruses."

Perhaps redundantly the *Times* continued, "The report lays blame on a variety of human activities." Translated from the "objectivity" of the bourgeois media, that means that in a few centuries profit-driven capitalism has jeopardized eons of evolution.

James D. Watkins, a retired Navy admiral, who headed the commission, said: "Everyone agrees the oceans are in trouble. We know if we don't get moving now, in 10 years we may not be able to recover."

The recommendations of the commission, which included oil, shipping and finance capitalists, government bureaucrats and scientists, are similar to those of the Pew Ocean Commission, whose members were more tilted toward environmentalists.

However, the concurrence does not mean that anything meaningful will be done. First of all, the U.S. commission believes its 200 some recommendations could be put into effect for \$3 billion. That sum is unimaginable for any working person, but a drop in the bucket compared to the \$166 billion for the conquest and occupation of Iraq. Capitalism has its priorities, after all.

Second, the *Times* reported that the commission recommended that President Bush "set up a National Ocean Council, appoint a White House assistant to lead it, and bring order to the chaos of 20 federal agencies that implement 140 federal laws related to America's [sic] oceans." The same George Bush who denies that burning fossil fuels has anything to do with global warming!

Letting George do it alarms Roger T. Rufe Jr., president of the Ocean Conservancy. "My fear is that he would do the old lipstick-on-the-pig routine," Rufe said. "Pick a few minor things in the report, call it his clean-oceans initiative and make it look like he's done something significant."

That is not a bad description of Bush's MO. But Bush is not the problem. Capitalism is. The mess the oceans are in is the result of profit-driven capitalism and its social economic planning.

That some minions of capitalism are alarmed about what their system has done and is doing underscores the seriousness of the problem. But to expect real restoration of the oceans is unrealistic. De Leon observed that the capitalist rules not only in the shop but also in the "legislatures and capitols of the nation. He buzzes around them and accomplishes political results. He gets the laws passed that will protect his economic class interests, and he pulls the wires when those interests are in danger..."

When capitalist interests clash, the most powerful will prevail. While the commission recommended stricter regulation of the commercial fishing that has depleted fish populations, it would weaken the federal law that protects marine mammals from various activities like mapping sea floors with sonar. Mapping with sonar would facilitate seabed mining and, likely, oil production. The U.S. Navy is developing extremely powerful sonar to detect the vessels of enemy capitalist classes.

Many years ago a factory caught fire in New York City and more than 160 young women were immolated or leaped to their deaths. Capitalism's response to that disaster was similar to capitalism's response to the impending environmental disaster that degradation of the oceans foreshadows today—it appointed a commission to investigate and make recommendations. "Bosh!" said Daniel De Leon. "Bosh!" because everyone knew the source of the problem, and everyone knew that more such disasters would follow regardless of what the commission found and recommended, and regardless of what new laws the ruling class might enact to "regulate" itself. De Leon added:

"There is but one commission that can 'investigate'; but one grand jury that can 'indict'; but one trial jury that can convict in the premises—that commission is the socialist movement, that grand jury the socialist organization, that trial jury the industrially organized useful labor of the land, marshaled on the political and the economic field.

"That commission need not wait to be appointed—social evolution has appointed it; that grand jury need not wait to be paneled—science has paneled it. The two have ascertained the facts, drawn up the indictment, and named the culprit—*capitalism*. As "to the trial jury, it still lags behind, though assuredly drawing together.

"Investigate!?!—Bosh! The hour calls for conviction and sentence."

Unfortunately, the working-class "jury" is still out on capitalism. If it doesn't bring in a "guilty" verdict on capitalism soon, nature is likely to pass sentence on us, "one and all."

—P.D.L.

A De Leon Editorial

Presidential Power



The expansion and concentration of capital forced the expansion and concentration of presidential power to meet the needs of capitalism's plutocracy. Increased executive powers have drawn the teeth from the "checks and balances" concept of government.

Rapid Transition

(*Daily People*, Feb. 16, 1905)

It is a truism, but one that cannot be repeated too often, that the form of government reflects the material conditions that the respective government is intended to safeguard. As the political movement of labor is bound to be a reflex of the trades union organization which constitutes its base, so, likewise, systems of government cannot choose but reflect the stage of economic development of which they are the flower. This principle explains the system of "checks and balances" upon which the Constitution of the United States was constructed. Capitalism, then in its infancy, neither needed nor wanted a centralized administration. What on the field of trade was known as "competition," found in politics its equivalent in "checks and balances." Accordingly, no branch of the government, the executive least of all, was entrusted with controlling power. All the three branches—executive, legislative and judicial—were coordinate. They mutually checked one another, just as in old Rome the two Consuls were elected to do. But the times have changed; that is to say, the material interests that government is born of have since assumed a developed body. How far the development has gone may be measured by the practical change that the Constitution has undergone, or to be more accurate, is rapidly undergoing.

Within the last four years the executive, under President [Theodore] Roosevelt, has, in six noted instances, wiped out the legislative branch. It repealed the Spooner Act on Nicaragua; it assumed legislative function in the matter of Pension Order No. 78; it struck out, by the theory of "constructive recess," the function vested in the Senate to confirm appointments; it seized and exercised, in the matter of Panama, the House's exclusive privilege to declare war; it put, in the matter of the Indian School Fund, a rider on the act of Congress which prohibited appropriations for sectarian purposes, and turned the act into exactly the opposite; finally, latest to date, it excluded, in the matter of Puerto Plata, San Domingo, the prerogative of the Senate as a coordinate treaty-making power. The transition is rapid; and trustified capital is compelling submission on the part of the Senate and the House. From being a power, checked at every motion, the executive is becoming, if it has not yet become, the sole governmental power in the land. Concentrated capital at the trust stage of today, needs and wants a "checked and balanced" executive as little as Imperial Rome, having grown giddy with conquest, needed or wanted two mutually checking Consuls. These continued to be elected as a matter of form, of custom and to save appearances—the same as with us, the Senate and House will soon continue to meet wholly as a matter of form, of custom and for the sake of saving appearances. In Imperial Rome, the emperor's will

(Continued on page 10)

what is socialism?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Victor Reuther

A man of proven personal courage who understood the class struggle, but who ultimately rejected socialism and accepted capitalism

When Victor Reuther died on June 3, at age 92, John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO, eulogized him as “one of the most imposing and inspirational figures in the developmental years of the labor movement....” Reuther, he said, “ranks among our movement’s heroes.”

Sweeney also alluded to the sit-down strikes of 1936–1937 to embellish his tribute to the last of the three Reuther brothers. The sit-down strikes caused General Motors, and eventually the entire auto industry, to accept the United Auto Workers Union as the exclusive bargaining agent for autoworkers. “Together with his brothers, Walter and Roy, [Victor] built the UAW into a powerful force for social good,” Sweeney said.

Ron Gettelfinger, president of the UAW, was no less effusive. “The entire UAW community is saddened by the loss of Victor Reuther, a pioneer of our union whose passion for social justice and talent as an orator energized and mobilized early sit-down strikers,” he said.

Conspicuous by their absence, however, were tributes from such ruling-class sources as the president of the United States and the *Wall Street Journal* to match those given to Victor Reuther’s older brother, Walter, 34 years ago.

When Walter Reuther died in an airplane crash in 1970, President Richard M. Nixon described his death as “a deep loss not only for organized labor but also for the cause of collective bargaining and the entire American process.” President George W. Bush, however, had nothing similar to say about Victor Reuther, at least nothing that was appropriate for posting on the White House Web site.

The *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* did take notice of Victor Reuther’s passing, as did the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Los Angeles Times* and many other news outlets. Most confined themselves to obituaries that highlighted details of his life, but none of these approached the tribute the *Wall Street Journal* had paid to brother Walter.

“At a time when many liberals were disenchanted with the labor movement,” the *Journal* lamented after the former UAW president’s fatal plane crash, “the United Auto Workers president was a symbol of enlightened unionism and social activism that’s not easily replaced.”

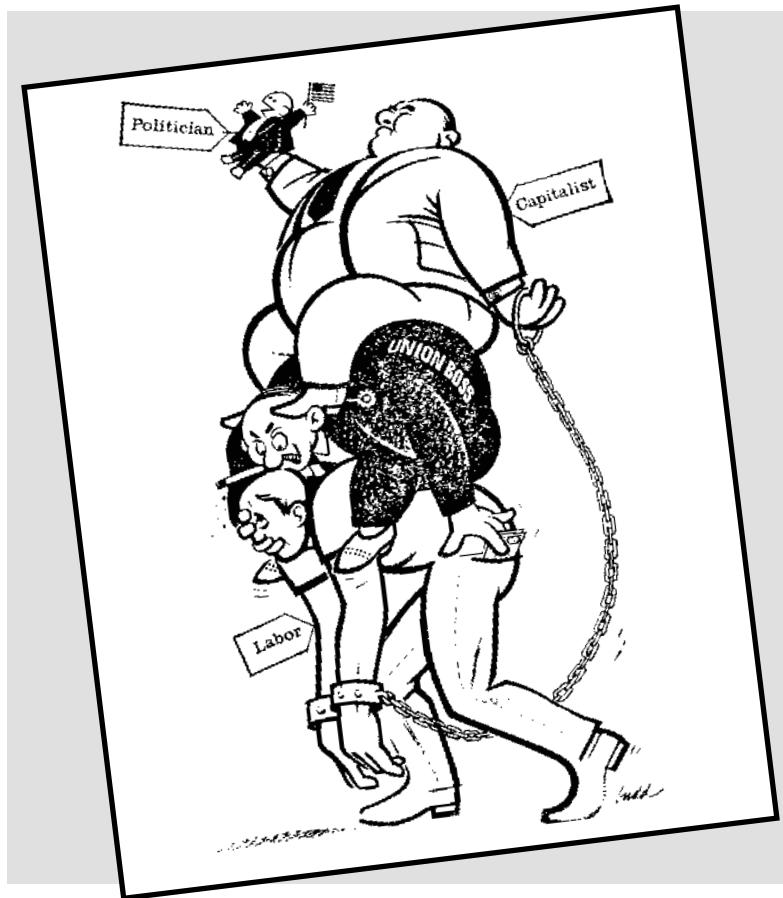
Why the capitalist press did not dwell on Victor Reuther’s passing as it had on his older brother may be explained by its preoccupation with the passing of former president Ronald Reagan; or it may be explained by the weakened condition of the so-called labor movement of today.

The reason for the Sweeney and Gettelfinger tributes to Victor Reuther may, on the other hand, seem obvious to those whose understanding of American labor union history is founded on myth. One such myth surrounded the Reuther brothers’ role in the sit-down strikes 67 years ago. Victor and Walter Reuther in particular were regarded as excellent orators, and both were UAW organizers when the most important of the auto sit-down strikes occurred in 1936–1937. Their presence on the scene is indisputable, but their role in “organizing” and “leading” the workers who staged the strikes is not.

In truth, the sit-down strikes were spontaneous actions taken by desperate workers whose collective intelligence and class instincts led them to adopt what, to them, was a new tactic. No one “organized” them and no one “led” them. Other workers, in Europe, in the rubber plants of Ohio and in smaller auto parts plants in Michigan, already had tried them with some success. The autoworkers were disgusted with

the ineffectual American Federation of Labor, and the newly organized Congress of Industrial Organizations was fully prepared to take advantage of their rival’s discomfiture and the workers’ discontent.

General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and the other major auto-producing companies of the period, were fiercely determined to keep the unions out



of their largest assembly plants. It was a tumultuous time, however, with the country locked in the depths of the Great Depression and the ruling class having good reason to fear that working-class discontent would mature and grow into something more ominous for them than simple trades union demands for better wages and working conditions. Alfred M. Sloane, president of General Motors, demonstrated his understanding of the larger issues and stakes involved in the sit-down strikes. In January 1937, when workers were occupying GM’s Fisher 2 plant in Flint, he placed a full-page advertisement in Detroit area newspapers in which he asked: “Will a labor organization run the plants off General Motors Corporation or will the management continue to do so?”

Some workers also understood the implications of staying put inside the production plants rather than pouring onto the streets where they would be vulnerable to attack by company goons, scabs, police and the National Guard. The leadership of the UAW and the CIO also understood the situation. At one point, CIO President John L. Lewis blustered about joining workers at the plant to die fighting off the National Guard that the state’s governor had deployed at the insistence of the auto companies. What he was after, however, was “recognition” of the UAW-CIO and a “collective bargaining” agreement with GM and the other auto-making companies.

The stakes were high and the companies did not flinch at violence. The Reuther brothers were young organizers sent in by the UAW to take charge of the strike. “On Jan. 11, 1937,” according to the *Detroit News*, “the Reuther brothers organized a sit-down strike at the GM Fisher 2 plant in Flint. After a pitched three-hour battle with police, in which strikers were gassed and shot with buckshot, the workers routed the police with water hoses and makeshift industrial-sized slingshots, hurling two-pound metal hinges....”

Perceptive readers may stop to ask: “What’s wrong with this picture?” The answer, of course, is that the battle did not take place *inside* the

plant where the sit-down strike was on, but *outside*—and that’s where the Reuther brothers were. The “Battle of the Overpass,” as the *Detroit News* called it, took place all right, and Walter Reuther subsequently received a severe beating at the hands of company stooges and scabs, but that had nothing to do with *organizing or leading* the sit-down at GM Fisher 2.

Truth is that despite John L. Lewis’ blustering, the leadership of the UAW-CIO *opposed* the sit-downs because they alienated the companies and complicated rather than helped UAW-CIO efforts to lead GM to the bargaining table. Homer Martin, UAW president at the time, made this clear in January 1937 when the “Battle of the Overpass” occurred, when he said: “We have never given anybody orders to sit down.” Truth is that Victor Reuther and his brothers were UAW organizers sent in to take charge of the strike by leading workers into channels that the UAW-CIO leadership regarded as more constructive. The Reuther brothers failed at that. What brought the automakers to heel was the knowledge that the only way to dislodge the workers was to send the National Guard into the plants. A major bloodbath seemed to be in the offing, but the possible consequences such a massacre would have for the auto capitalists and their precious system posed a risk that was too big to take.

The sit-down strikes were “successful” in two important respects. They forced the auto industry to recognize the UAW as the “bargaining agent” for auto industry workers, which was the end all and be all of what the UAW and the CIO were after. That, in turn, gave the U.S. Supreme Court the “courage” to outlaw sit-down strikes as a “high-handed proceeding, without shadow of legal right.” In short, the sit-down strikes were intolerable violations of capitalist private property rights, and with the tacit if not explicit consent of the CIO and UAW, the court mustered up the nerve to deprive workers of an important and effective tactic in their struggles with capital.

The UAW-CIO “leadership” quietly accepted this, and Victor and his brothers went on to lead the UAW down the, to capitalists, acceptable path of “collective bargaining.” Hence, the capitalist accolades for Walter Reuther 34 years ago. Hence, the tributes paid to Victor Reuther by John Sweeney and Ron Gettelfinger. Hence, the deplorable condition the labor movement finds itself in today and why it must be rebuilt, from the ground up.

Victor Reuther and his brothers were men of unquestionable personal courage. Victor and Walter Reuther in particular suffered greatly from the brutal beatings they received during the sit-down strikes, and both survived attempts at assassination in later years.

We may readily concede that the three brothers were sincere and honest men at the time of the sit-down strikes, and perhaps until the end of their lives. They understood from first-hand experience just how ruthless capitalism could be.

Ultimately, however, they were reform-minded men whose activities during and after the sit-down strikes betrayed a fundamental lack of faith in the working class. They were self-professed “social democrats” who understood the fact of the class struggle, but who nonetheless rejected the revolutionary objectives of the socialist movement. These are facts, and it takes nothing away from their reputations as courageous men to recognize that, in the end, they accepted capitalism and rejected the underlying logic of a genuine labor movement.

Giacomo Matteotti

Fascist blackshirts murdered the Socialist leader 75 years ago to cover up Italy's own 'Teapot Dome' Scandal

Olive M. Johnson was editor in chief of *The People* from 1918 until 1938. *The People* was a weekly publication back then, but the party was poor—poorer even than now—and its poverty allowed for only one editorial assistant to help the woman in charge.

Johnson had contributed many articles to *The People* before the National Executive Committee asked her to accept the editor's post, but she had no formal training as an editor or as a writer and she was understandably reluctant to take on the task. To make matters worse, she suffered from tuberculosis, an ailment that would plague her until the end of her life.

Johnson was, however, a remarkable woman of considerable intellectual and moral strength, and despite the ailment that tormented her body and occasionally interfered with her work, she persevered for 20 years. She earned and she deserves the same notice of accomplishment on behalf of the socialist movement as some of her better-known European counterparts, such as Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Clara Zetkin, Alexandra Kollantai and Rosa Luxemburg. Indeed, it would be difficult to single out another American woman who contributed as much to the socialist cause.

Johnson died 50 years ago, on June 16, 1954, at age 82. Her life and her accomplishments deserve more than a passing mention in *The People*, of course, and we hope to pay a more fitting tribute in our next issue. Here, however, it is an earlier death—the assassination 75 years ago of the Italian Socialist Giacomo Matteotti, and Johnson's editorial treatment of it—to which we most want to call attention.

In 1922, Italy was in ferment. Factory occupations and other events made it appear that the country was on the verge of a socialist revolution. With that fear to prompt him, King Victor Emmanuel III invited the former "Socialist," Benito Mussolini, to form a new government and restore "order." Bent on seizing state power, Mussolini already had led his black-shirted Fascists in a triumphant March on Rome. He could not resist the aura of "legitimacy" that Victor Emmanuel's overture held out to him, however, and he quickly accepted the king's offer.

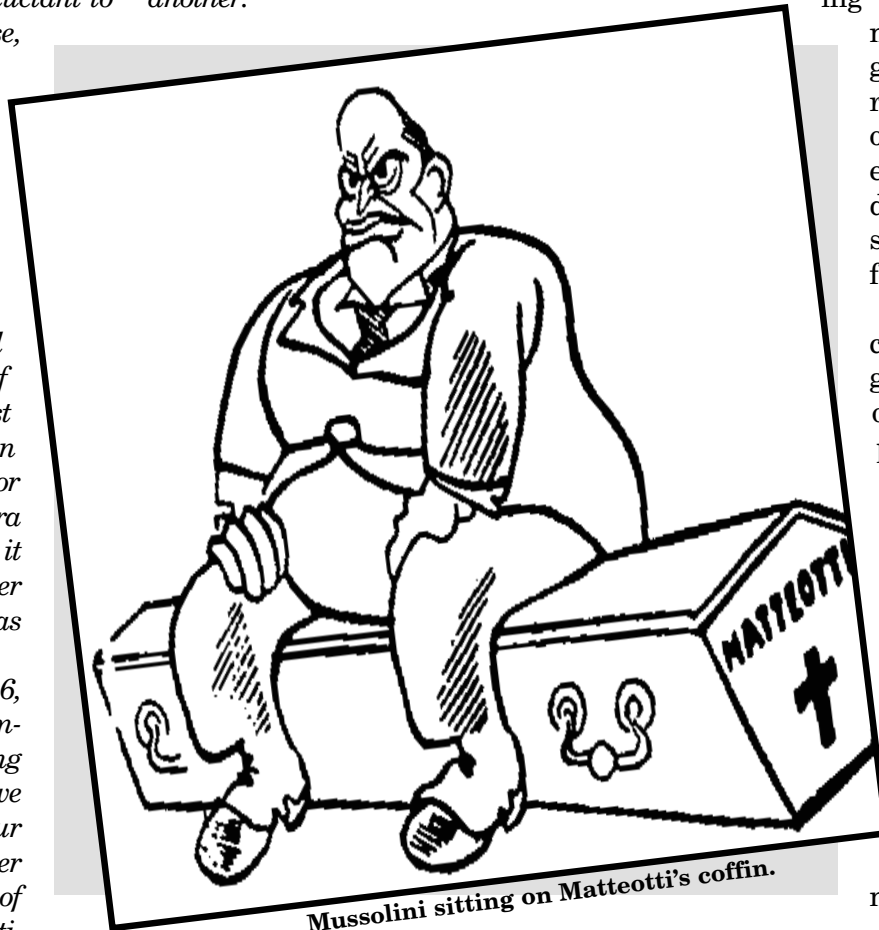
Nonetheless, *Il Duce's* ability to seal his grip on state power was still uncertain by 1924. Conditions during those early years forced Mussolini to retain certain democratic forms. Italy's Socialists, Communists and bourgeois democrats continued to occupy many seats in the national parliament, where they resisted fascist encroachments and, much to the chagrin of Mussolini's expectant followers, dared to speak out in opposition to fascist corruption despite intimidation and threats.

Matteotti was leader of the Italian Socialists. He also was a millionaire, and he may naively have believed that his status guaranteed him immunity from fascist violence. On June 10, 1924, he delivered a speech in parliament in which he promised to return the next day with proof of corruption at the highest levels of Mussolini's government.

Matteotti "disappeared" that night. It took police two months to discover his body in a shallow grave near Rome, but few ever doubted that Fascist thugs had murdered him. Johnson summarized what many believed Matteotti had uncovered in a news brief printed in the *Weekly People* of July 12, 1924:

"More and more information is leaking out as to the reasons that caused the Matteotti assassination. It is a regular Teapot Dome affair. Matteotti was ready to charge that Sen. [Mario] Corbino [Bear], minister of national economy (apparently the Italian equivalent for secretary of

the interior) had imitated our own [Secretary of the Interior Albert B.] Fall by handing over to the Sinclair Oil concern over 400 square miles of oil lands in Emilia and Sicily without any guarantees. Whether Corbino got a black satchel full of cash for the favor the report does not say, but it may be inferred that there must have been something in it for Corbino and his fascist gang because Sinclair is no piker, but always willing to act up to the principle that one good turn deserves another."



Mussolini sitting on Matteotti's coffin.

The assassination of Matteotti and Italy's version of the Teapot Dome scandal threatened to topple Mussolini from power, but his opponents in parliament made the fateful mistake of resigning their seats in the belief that new elections would result in a resounding defeat for the Fascists that would send them packing. At that point, however, the blackshirts confronted Mussolini and demanded that he either put an end to the democratic charade and prove himself the *Il Duce* they wanted by declaring himself dictator or they would find someone else who would live up to their expectations. He did not disappoint them.

It was against this background, while events were still unfolding in Italy, that Johnson wrote her editorial "Government by Assassination." She could not project herself forward to our time, when the leaders of such "democratic" states as Israel and the United States would publicly imply, condone or declare abduction and assassination to be acceptable government policies, so she looked back into history for comparable examples. She knew what crimes capitalism was capable of committing. The massacre of millions of workers in one world war was still fresh in the minds of everyone, but the second great massacre of the 20th century was still years off. Matteotti was among the first of capitalist fascism's "disappeared." Capitalism has many political guises, however, and if the puny oil deposits of an Italy were motive enough for murder in 1924, imagine the strain Iraq's massive oil reserves have placed on the "Christian" consciences of our capitalist ruling class in 2004.

Government by Assassination

By Olive M. Johnson

(*Weekly People*, July 5, 1924)

In the good old times murder seems to have been a necessary auxiliary to "good" and stable government. The king, the caesar, tribune or dictator, whatever the good tone of the moment required that "his majesty" should call himself, if he was a man of "strength" and

"character" and expected to rule long enough to be remembered at all in the pages of history, whether he ascended the throne "legitimately"—someone having accidentally forgotten to kill him off—or "illegitimately" by usurpation and murder, immediately started his career by killing off in his own favorite manner any claimants and rivals that dared to be alive at the moment, and after that he upheld his now "legitimately" established rights by applying the same approved and effective method to any grumbler against his good and benevolent rule that dared to raise his head, i.e., if the grumbler was of high standing, noble and important enough to be worthy of so honorable a death. If he wasn't he was simply massacred along with a few hundred or a few thousands of his fellows.

This method of establishing legitimacy, and of making and perpetuating good government has gone slightly out of fashion, since, with the advent of the printing press, mankind took the wicked notion of writing contemporary history, not always flattering to the "majority" of one man who by "consent" or tradition held the title of "head of government." The last enthusiastic advocate of the methods here described, in Western civilization and in a country important enough to loom big in history, was "Bluff King Hal" of pre-Elizabethan England. Elizabeth, the worthy daughter of "Hal," practiced it to be sure, but not with approved spirit and bravado.

Mussolini, in our own day, appears to be attempting to revive the institution of government by assassination. The old Roman emperors, the Fascist chief's historical ancestors, were particularly enthusiastic practitioners of the assassination method of establishing firm and stable government. Mussolini, undoubtedly looking upon himself as "the noblest Roman of them all," could scarcely be expected to fail to revive this noble ancient institution if a good occasion should present itself. Having subdued the recalcitrant mobs, Socialists, trade unionists and the like, most effectively by castor oil and the mailed fist, it was not to be expected that this modern son of a Nero should sit pretty and take sauce from one of his own size.

Deputy Matteotti, a Socialist, and "unfortunately"—for the Fascists—also a multimillionaire and one of Italy's powerful, rose in the Chamber and accused the government of tremendous graft and mismanagement, and gave notice that he would return the following day with absolute proofs. He did not appear, for that night he was foully and brutally murdered—for the sake of good and stable government, of course.

But the "firm government" assassins had forgotten to remember that there are several obstacles to reviving first-century good government tactics in the 20th century. Some of these obstacles are newspapers, who are hungry for sensation even to the damage of stable government; the telegraph; the wireless; international relations tintured by modern "Christian" hypocrisy; and to a certain extent, also a riotous notion of "democracy" which has gotten abroad in many lands, thanks to the printing press and other modern superfluities. The assassination of Deputy Matteotti has produced a repercussion throughout Italy and the world that is making the good government of the black-shirted dictator rock to its foundations.

To become the "noblest Roman of the all," Mussolini has evidently been born some 19 centuries too late.

Guatemala

A U.S.-backed 'revolution' toppled its democratically elected government 50 years ago and ushered in decades of dictatorship and violence

Fifty years ago, the United States instigated an invasion of the tiny Central American republic of Guatemala. The politicians who occupied Washington in 1954 still had not developed the same open contempt for common decency as the set that occupy it today. They lacked the audacity needed to take public responsibility for their actions. They were still at the sneak-thief stage of hiring other people to do their dirty work. Two later examples of this moral turpitude were the U.S.-instigated overthrow and assassination of Chilean President Salvador Gossens Allende in the 1970s and the still later Iran-Contra affair in the 1980s. Nonetheless, U.S. sponsorship of the invasion of Guatemala was an "open secret" that was freely discussed in the press. The United States inspired, financed and armed the invasion. It was not the first, and would not be the last, example of U.S. intervention in Latin America. The excuse in 1954 was "communism," but the real reason was U.S. displeasure with Guatemala's decision to exercise sovereignty over its own territory. That decision ran counter to the interests of the United Fruit Co. Bananas, not communism, caused the United States to seek "regime change" in Guatemala 50 years ago.

More stains than stars have come to "adorn" our country's flag since private interest came to replace the common welfare as the guiding principle of the country. The leading article from the Weekly People of July 3, 1954, helps us to remember how and why one of those stains, now too many to count, came to besmirch what some now sadly describe as Old Gory.

Press Tries to Hide the Truth

Hand of United States Is Seen in the Aggression

Nine-tenths of what appears in the capitalist press on the war in Guatemala is lies and hypocrisy. Taking its cue from Washington, the press treats the invasion of the tiny Central American republic as if it were an uprising inspired by popular resentment against the government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, which, although, not communist, is Communist-supported. But all the world knows that the self-styled "Army of Liberation" of Col. Carlos P. Castillo Armas invaded Guatemala from bases in the U.S.-dominated "republic" of Honduras, and that it has the encouragement of the U.S. government, and is probably fighting with arms supplied by the United States.

At least one prominent newsman, who is noted for his contacts in high places in the U.S. government, has strongly hinted that the aggression was instigated, if not actually organized, by the head of the American Central Intelligence Agency. On June 20, James Reston, chief of *The New York Times* bureau in Washington, made the following revealing observation in a dispatch to his paper:

"John Foster Dulles, the secretary of state, seldom intervenes in the internal affairs of other countries, but his brother Allen is more enterprising.

"If somebody wants to start a revolution against the Communists in, say, Guatemala, it is no good talking to Foster Dulles. But Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, is a more active man.

"He has been watching the Guatemalan situation for a long time."

Post Admits 'We Have Intervened'

The *New York Post*, June 21, was completely candid in admitting that the United States has a hand in the aggression. First, arguing that communist influence in the Arbenz government justifies American intervention, the *Post* stated editorially:

"We have intervened....No austere disclaimers can hide our role, and we shall win little world esteem by refusing to admit the complexities of our stand. We have plainly encouraged the rebels, and

we render ourselves a trifle ludicrous by joining in a solemn call for a 'cease-fire' as they start marching."

Why Intervention?

The question is not "Is America intervening?" but "Why is America intervening?"

The *Post* says it is to "counter" the "intervention" of Soviet Russia. It deduces such Russian "intervention" from the fact that the Communist Party of Guatemala supports the Arbenz regime



AB CAP for The People

and the regime accepts its support. And Communists, it correctly states, are subservient to the Kremlin.

It is significant that, except in those Latin American states whose dictators are virtual puppets of the United States, such as Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, there are few Latin Americans who accept this as the reason for U.S. intervention. According to the American press, it is the "Communists" of Mexico, Uruguay, Chile and other Latin American countries who are raising the cry of *Yanqui* imperialism, but the facts give this the lie.

In Mexico, for example, although the government has apparently given its tacit blessing to the aggression, there is a broadly supported non-Communist pro-Guatemalan movement. Gen. Cardenas, ex-president of Mexico and perhaps the country's most influential single individual, has written a letter to the press sharply protesting the American position. A Mexico City dispatch to the *Christian Science Monitor*, June 15, states that "a sizable and important sector of public opinion ranging from a prominent group of individuals who have organized themselves as the Society of Friends of Guatemala to, surprisingly, the extreme right-wing Sinarquista Party" supports the Guatemalan regime. In large advertisements placed in the Mexican press, the Society of Friends of Guatemala said:

"Mexico knows well attacks against its sovereignty realized in past epochs by foreign interests not disposed to tolerate that the country acquire its economic independence—but just as Mexico was accused of communism because it did not tolerate the petroleum companies exercising a tribunal above the tribunals of the republic, so also now Guatemala is accused of communism because it does not tolerate that a foreign company disavows the judgments of the Supreme Court of Guatemala."

This is a reference to the Guatemalan Supreme Court's decision upholding the law confiscating land formerly owned by the United Fruit Co., which was lying idle.

Finally, to emphasize the anticommunist nature of the voices raised against *Yanqui* intervention, the

Roman Catholic-supported Sinarquista Party of Mexico "sharply criticized the United States for sending arms to Guatemala's neighboring countries 'under the pretext of protecting a democracy that does not exist and a security that is not menaced, and in reality for defending the illegitimate interests of North American monopolies that have robbed the riches of brother peoples.'" (*Christian Science Monitor*, June 15)

Again, the allusion is to the American-owned United Fruit Co., whose control of the railroads and electric power system of Guatemala, not to mention the banana industry, gives it an unwholesome power over the country's economy.

The enterprise of this company in exploiting Guatemalan labor, and its skill in corrupting public officials and securing special advantages for itself, were directly responsible for the success of the reform movement that put and has kept the Arbenz regime in office, and that has given it an overwhelming majority in the legislature.

Colonialism—American Style

Apologists for American capitalism boast that the United States rejects imperialism and colonialism. The fact is that the United States rejects the kind of imperialism and colonialism that subordinates other countries to the political rule of Washington. This is the old-fashioned imperialism and colonialism that enabled three or four European powers to control vast areas of the world for more than a century, and that is rapidly dying today.

The imperialism and colonialism of the United States do not require political subordination. They are more subtle. They control a country by economic means—chiefly by becoming the main customer for the country's chief exports, which are usually raw materials. Such a country is highly vulnerable to economic coercion. It may have nominal "sovereignty" and "national independence," but a mere fluctuation in the price of its products in the American market can create a national crisis.

Moreover, the United States is interested in holding economically subjugated countries in a state of economic "colonialism." The press boasts loudly of American "aid," and of the tremendous benefits that allegedly accrue to Latin American countries from American investments, but the facts show that most of this "aid" and most of these investments were for the purpose of expanding raw-material production, hence they left the countries involved as economically dependent and vulnerable as ever.

How Washington Learned of the 'Communist' Menace

There is little doubt that the present American-blessed—if not American-instigated—aggression is the consequence of a series of developments that grew out of an attempt by the Arbenz government to escape from this pattern of economic colonialism. Its struggles to curb United Fruit, not the fact of Communists in the Arbenz regime, are what aroused Washington to the "Communist" menace. Powerful allies of United Fruit in the Eisenhower administration did the rest. The legitimate government of Guatemala was denied the right of buying arms in the United States to protect itself from foes plotting against it, and when it obtained these arms from behind the Iron Curtain the most sinister inferences were drawn. The Arbenz government was preparing to defend itself, and this seems to have enraged the American ruling class which doubtless hoped that, like other anti-imperialist Latin American governments, this one might be overthrown by a cheaply purchased coup.

It is not a communist threat, even though scheming Communists are involved, but capitalist greed that is responsible for the bloodshed in Guatemala.

...Threat to Liberty

(Continued from page 3)

the inspector general's office issued another semiannual report that documented more than 1,000 complaints of civil rights and civil liberties abuses received by the department over a six-month period. While the report contended that no Justice Department employees engaged in misconduct, it conveniently failed to address the question of abuses by other arms of federal, state or local government.

Moreover, while the Patriot Act and the rest of this wave of repressive measures have been billed as weapons against terrorism, the Justice Department has already used their provisions in other cases not involving terrorism. Mark Corallo, a Justice Department spokesman, made it clear that the department plans to continue to use the new tools against U.S. citizens as well as immigrants and foreign citizens. "If a tool that is legal and constitutionally valid is good enough to use against organized crime or drug dealers, it ought to be good enough to be used against terrorism. Conversely, if it's good enough to be used against terrorists, it ought to be used against other kinds of criminals."

It is not yet true that the United States is in the grip of fascism. What is true is that the ruling capitalist class and its political representatives have in the past three years voted themselves a vast new array of patently unconstitutional weapons with which to protect their interests whenever

they choose to do so. While it may be that the country is slipping into a sort of new Dark Ages with respect to human rights and liberties, there is still time to fashion a real response capable of halting the country's slide toward totalitarianism, rooting out its cause, and establishing permanent protections against the possibility of fascism ever again rearing its ugly head.

Benjamin Franklin admonished in 1755, "Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety." No freedom-loving American worker should be willing to bargain away our rights and liberties in exchange for dubious promises of safety from terrorism.

The task before us is not a small one. The threat of fascism or some other form of totalitarianism cannot be ended by tossing the Bush administration out of office. It cannot be voted out of existence. It must be uprooted and deprived of the social soil in which it thrives—the conditions of privation and constricted economic opportunity wrought by capitalism and capitalist-class rule.

The capitalist system is inherently nationalistic, imperialistic and militaristic. Its ruling class has material incentives to divide workers by race, ethnicity and religion. All it takes is severe economic hardship, social strife, or both—conditions that are inevitable under capitalism—to bring these ingredients together and foster the

growth of fascism or some like-minded right-wing movement. The attendant longing for "order," and the capitalists' need to preserve their rule, can then bring it to power. The German Weimar Republic actually voted to give Hitler the dictatorial power he sought. A future Patriot Act could amount to the same thing here in the United States, should the U.S. ruling class feel threatened enough—or should no opposition arise to the kind of "creeping fascism" that presently confronts us.

Society has reached a point where capitalism is increasingly incompatible with freedom and democracy. To save capitalism, freedom and democracy must eventually be destroyed. To save freedom and democracy, capitalism must be destroyed.

Succinctly put, to reverse the trend toward repression, to defend our rights from attack and to make democracy a reality in every sphere of life, the working class must organize to end capitalist control over the means of life and with it the political supremacy of the capitalist class.

The only cure for the fascist threat inherent in capitalist-class rule is the forging of a classconscious workers' movement for socialism that successfully establishes a socialist economic democracy—a rational social system that can provide fulfilling economic opportunity for all and production for human needs and wants rather than for the profit of the minority capitalist class.

Every classconscious worker who can see what is at stake had best heed the alarm, rouse themselves and join the struggle to educate and organize our class for socialism—while there is still time to do so.

...Iraq 'Sovereignty'

(Continued from page 1)

Guatemala elsewhere in this issue:

"The imperialism and colonialism of the United States do not require political subordination. They are more subtle. They control a country by economic means—chiefly by becoming the main customer for the country's chief exports, which are usually raw materials. Such a country is highly vulnerable to economic coercion. It may have nominal 'sovereignty' and 'national independence,' but a mere fluctuation in the price of its products in the American market can create a national crisis."

President Bush and Dr. Rice notwithstanding, American capitalism's imperialist objectives in Iraq are transparently obvious. Any lingering doubt on that score surely evaporated when the Bush administration's handpicked interim government took office on June 3.

The man chosen as prime minister and leader

of that government is Ilyad Allawi, a former police spy for Saddam Hussein and one-time CIA operative. According to another *Time* magazine report, Allawi's connections to the CIA have made him one of the least popular of all possible appointees to the post among Iraqis.

"Why do Iraqis have such a poor opinion of Allawi? Sadoun al-Dulame, executive director of the ICRSS [Iraq Center for Research and Strategic Studies], pointed to one reason: 'Every newspaper that has reported about his appointment has mentioned his CIA connection.' Although Allawi has sniped at the U.S.-led coalition in recent months, it's his ties to Langley that seem to have registered with Iraqis. (His organization, the Iraqi National Accord, is funded by the CIA.) 'He's a CIA man, like [Ahmed] Chalabi,' said Raed Abu Hassan, a Baghdad University political science post-grad. 'In this country, CIA connections are political

poison.' It doesn't help that the Shiite Allawi is also a former Baathist, and a returning exile. Many Iraqis are scornful of politicians who left the country during the Saddam era." (June 1)

None of this prevented former Clinton from echoing the current administration's claims about the United States having no imperialist ambitions in Iraq during his interview with *Time*. According to CNN.com, Clinton said:

"I have repeatedly defended President Bush against the left on Iraq, even though I think he should have waited until the U.N. inspections were over."

"Clinton," CNN added, "said he did not believe that Bush went to war in Iraq over oil or for imperialist reasons but out of a genuine belief that large quantities of weapons of mass destruction remained unaccounted for."

Clinton's remarks make it clear that workers who oppose war and U.S. intervention abroad will have to look beyond the Democratic Party to stop capitalist imperialism. They will have to look to themselves.

...IBM Study

(Continued from page 1)

was lost. And there are still about 200 lawsuits against IBM that could be affected by the study if it were published.

Joseph LaDou, guest editor of *Medical Clinics of North America*, the journal that had accepted Clapp's study for publication, had a different view. LaDou, director of the University of California-San Francisco's International Center for Occupational Medicine, noted that four peer reviewers had read and approved the study for publication before it had to be withdrawn. LaDou commented, "I wanted this in the journal because it's the most definitive cancer study" until now in the computer manufacturing industry, noting that IBM's action was a "serious disappointment to our scientific and academic freedom."

But this is not about academic freedom. It is about corporate control and, above all, profit. Capitalist enterprises own not only the tools of production that workers must hire themselves

to in order to make a living. They also own the product of the workers' labor and the information that is involved in production and that affects the safety and even the lives of those workers. If the truth had come out connecting cancer to workers' exposure to chemicals, IBM might have had to pay for the damages its toxic work environment had caused and institute

new procedures and modify its production facilities, all of which would have affected profits.

Workers will have a safe environment only when they own and manage industry democratically in a socialist society. Then they will get the full fruits of their labor without being subjected to hazards they cannot control or even know about.

Democracy:

Past, Present and Future

By Arnold Petersen

This pamphlet shows what democracy meant to the slave-owning class of ancient Athens, what it means to America's capitalist class and what it will mean to the emancipated workers under socialism.

80 pages—\$1.50 postpaid

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS

P.O. Box 218

Mountain View, CA 94042-0218

Capitalism and Unemployment

Traces the socialist approach to a problem capitalism has never been able to solve.

61 pp.—\$1.25
(postpaid)

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS

P.O. Box 218, Mtn. View, CA 94042-0218

War as Metaphor

By Michael James

A recent catalog for a mail-order company carries a sales pitch from the president and CEO. He claims that his products "fight the war on aging." He further boasts that he designed his pills, lotions, creams or whatever "to help you take arms against aging." The CEO keeps his militaristic metaphor going by calling his products "artillery" in this dubious war on aging.

Why should *The People* concern itself with the way capitalists choose to hustle their products? Because choosing war as a metaphor in a sales pitch shows how deeply and thoroughly militarism shapes and distorts human consciousness in this society.

The Center for Defense Information (CDI) says that the Pentagon spent \$329 billion in 2002 alone. The CDI, according to *Harper's Magazine*, says that is "more than China, Russia, Japan, Iraq, North Korea, and all other NATO countries combined...." "The American military is now the strongest the world has ever known," the CDI added. "We now substitute military solutions for almost everything, including international alliances, diplomacy, effective intelligence agencies, [and] democratic institutions...."

The War Resisters League confirms that nearly 50 cents of every tax dollar paid goes to the Pentagon, thereby diverting virtually half of the public treasury from education, health care, infrastructure, parks, libraries, children, the elderly, the environment, etc., to antisocial and inhumane uses.

A clever bit of public relations wordplay makes this outrage more palatable. In 1947, the Department of War changed its name to the Department of Defense. It sounds better, does it not? It sounds so much more benign, even necessary, to spend all those billions on "defense" in a hostile world. A professor of English and expert on euphemisms calls this name change

"the doublespeak coup of the century."

The Center for Teaching Peace in Washington, D.C., sums it up this way: "The United States is one of the most warlike societies on the planet...."

Noted historian Howard Zinn agrees. "No nation in the world possesses greater weapons of mass destruction than ours," he wrote, "and none has used them more often, or with greater loss of civilian life."

Marx explained capitalist foreign policy this way: "The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere."

Two popular slogans related to American capitalism's current military enterprise in Iraq reveal the depth of false consciousness among the American working class.

The first is "united we stand." This phrase is an absurd denial of the reality of class division in America. Anyone who thinks America is united is very divorced from classconsciousness.

In the 1990s, for example, an average CEO was paid \$13.1 million—roughly \$36,000 for every day of the year. Figures for the year 2000 show CEO pay as 458 times that of the average production or nonsupervisory worker, drastically up from 96 times as much in 1990.

To put the proverbial salt in the proverbial wound, most of the highest paid CEOs during the period 1994 to 1999 were noted for their layoffs of workers. Income inequality is just a symptom of the disease, of course. The arbitrary power to deprive workers of their livelihoods is more to the point. Capitalist society, with a privileged and degenerate few perverting production and distribution for their own enrichment while the many scramble for economic and social stability, can never be united.

The second slogan, "support the troops," is an

invitation to U.S. workers to function as cheerleaders while the capitalist class pursues its own class interests abroad. What characterizes good citizenship, however, is allegiance to class, the ability to think critically and the existential determination to question autocratic or authoritarian power. Therefore, cries of "support the troops" are nothing less than a total abdication and surrender of all three of these essential characteristics of good citizenship. It is an embarrassing admission of an almost eager willingness to be misled, swindled and betrayed.

The slogan "support the troops" is a manifestation of the human trait Marx found most repugnant: servility. American soldiers should be serving their own class interests at home instead of serving corporate interests abroad.

This country celebrates Martin Luther King Jr. day every year. Dr. King was a fierce critic of military spending even though that portion of his message has been largely whitewashed. On April 4, 1967, in a speech at Riverside Church in New York City, Dr. King pointed his finger at "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government." He concluded, "A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death."

Well, corporate U.S. militarism has drastically increased since Dr. King spoke. Perhaps he would now conclude that America is spiritually dead. Militarism may be a spiritual sickness but, more precisely and materially, war is simply part of conducting capitalist business. American capitalism romanticizes, mystifies and glorifies war. The truth is much more banal yet sinister: the search for profit simply requires muscle. Zinn concludes, "If the world is destroyed, it will be a white-collar crime, done in a business-like way...." This does not have to be our future. The SLP has a plan for peace.

New York's Abu Ghraib

By B.G.

The recently revealed scandal of humiliating, terrorizing and torturing of Muslim prisoners by American guards in the Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad has a parallel, on a more moderate scale, in U.S. prisons after the Sept. 11, 2001, attack.

It was almost immediately after that event that the government began rounding up and incarcerating persons with Arabic names and followers of the Muslim religion. These individuals were held in federal detention, sometimes for months, while federal investigators questioned them and checked out details of their lives, work and associations in the United States. They obviously were all considered guilty until proven innocent. While incarcerated, they were often subjected to abuse by their prison guards.

A federal lawsuit brought by lawyers for Ehab Elmaghraby and Javaid Iqbal, two Muslim men formerly held prisoners in the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn, N.Y., details the severe abuse they underwent by their guards for seven months before the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) finally cleared them of any terrorist links or wrongdoing and released them.

Two *New York Times* articles by Nina Bernstein on May 5 and May 7 described both men's claims of how they were continually insulted as "terrorists" and "Muslim bastards." They said that guards beat them, slammed their heads and bodies against walls, frequently shackled and dragged them across the floor, freely kicked and punched them, then refused them medical treatment. They also said that guards subjected them to numerous strip searches and body-cavity searches. Upon one

occasion, guards shoved a flashlight into Ehab Elmaghraby's rectum, causing bleeding.

Not only did guards deny medical treatment to detainees after beating them, the guard in charge also denied prisoners any access to lawyers.

Fortunately for the truth, the former warden for the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn, fearing that mistreatment of prisoners might occur in the aftermath of Sept. 11, had required videotaping of all Sept. 11 detainees when they were moved out of their cells.

Hundreds of these video and audiotapes have been recovered and detail the brutality of the guards against all Muslim detainees. These tapes are now being used by Inspector General Glen A. Fine of the U.S. Justice Department as evidence of the abuse at the federal Detention Center in Brooklyn. As *The New York Times* reported on May 7, Fine issued "two scathing reports" detailing abuse at this detention center.

For some unknown reason, the Justice Department has decided not to prosecute any of the prison personnel accused of these abuses. The Federal Bureau of Prisons, however, has now begun its own investigation into the actions of the prison officers against the detainees, which may possibly result in action against the guards.

Javaid Iqbal, subsequently cleared by the FBI of any terrorist connection, is now back in Pakistan after a decade of working as a peaceful cable technician on Long Island in New York. His pursuit of the so-called "American dream" of equality, prosperity, liberty and justice for all came to a crashing halt. He has been tragically made aware that his name, his ethnicity and his

religion do not automatically qualify for that "dream."

Of course, names like Smith, Jones, Brown or O'Brien don't buy workers much, either, not even when their names denote an English or Irish heritage, much less when they betray that their ancestors borrowed "their" names from some 19th-century plantation dandy. But when it comes to war, U.S. capitalism has a nasty habit of singling out certain folks for "special treatment." What the persecution of Arabs and Muslims in the United States since Sept. 11 proves is that all that talk we hear about World War II-style detention camps being a thing of the past is just that—talk, and empty talk at that.

Talk is cheap, cheaper even than a worker's wages, but sometimes it seems to have a mesmerizing effect on workers when it comes from slicked-down, clean-shaven politicians, professors, preachers and profit-grubbing "pillars of the community."

Capitalism is a criminal system. Hence, it gives opportunities to criminals—those with uniforms, bludgeons and guns, and those with expensive suits and leather chairs to park their carcasses in while they scheme ways to squeeze more profit out of working-class hides.

It's time to put an end to it.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilm International.

Call toll-free 800-521-0600.
Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International,
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346



... Torture

(Continued from page 1)

To further evade the Geneva Convention prohibitions against torture the administration has also taken to "outsourcing" torture. So-called high-value-suspects are being sent to client countries that practice extreme torture techniques, such as removal of fingernails and dunking victims in tanks of water. Participants are reportedly Egypt, Zimbabwe, Morocco, Jordan and even Syria, the latter having been cited as a worldwide sponsor of terrorism by the United States. Astounding? Not at all.

The base hypocrisy of the Bush administration rests upon a long tradition of past administrations, both Democratic and Republican. They have been unified by capitalism's imperialist drive and incessant search for markets and sources of raw materials that mandate torture as an instrument of military coercion.

Indeed, as the mantel of imperialist world domination has successively fallen from France and Britain to the United States so have the brutal tactics that accompany military control and domination. The ferment, constant rebellions and uprisings among the peoples of the Middle East during Anglo-French colonial domination following the arbitrary geographical divisions of the Ottoman Empire now confront American capitalism as a latter-day extension of those rebellions.

Consonant with American capitalism's decades of leadership among capitalist states in its persistent efforts to subvert nationalist movements and governments that oppose commercial and political domination, the School of the Americas (SOA) was established at Fort Benning, Ga., in 1946. It is run by the U.S. Army and funded by the United States. It is the biggest terrorist training camp in the world. The SOA's purpose is to train Latin American dictators, murderers and torturers in "appropriate" techniques of getting rid of any opposition that threaten capitalist interests in the Americas. It has trained over 60,000 military goons, dictators and high-level government agents, and in concert with the CIA, it developed the torture techniques used during the Cold War and the war in Vietnam.

The SOA, now called the Western Hemisphere Institute of Security Cooperation, is a CIA and militarist school of murder and mayhem. The anti-insurgency techniques fos-

tered by this institution have apparently now become standard practice for extracting information and meting out punishment to those in Iraq and Afghanistan—terrorist or not—who align themselves with a rebellious population resisting the imposition of imperialist rule.

Bush's desire to "Change the World" to one in which American capitalism is more secure in its dominance requires force, as we are seeing today in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the threat of force elsewhere around the world. As resistance arises, capitalist forces will deal with it ruthlessly. The tactics of individual or small group resistance characterized as terrorist, suicide bombings, etc., will continue to be used by American capitalism as an excuse to employ its own far more effective forms of terror—massive military assault, torture and even the abrogation of civil liberties in America itself.

The American working class will pay the price as always. Our sons, fathers, wives and daughters have again been plunged into a seething ferment that fosters ruthless and barbarous conduct toward a distant and impoverished people in the interests of capitalism. In the cause of capitalist wars, our youth are being trained not only as killers but now torturers as well. If the working class does not act to end capitalism, capitalism will destroy us, both physically and morally.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of America unequivocally condemns the use of torture. Its use by the ruling class of U.S. capitalism in its imperialist adventures in Afghanistan and Iraq is only the latest indication that the choice faced by the working classes of the world—capitalism or socialism—is really a choice between barbarism and civilization.



64 pp. - \$1.25
(postpaid)

A discussion of the fundamental difference between procapitalist unionism and socialist unionism.
By Nathan Karp.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS
P.O. Box 218
Mtn. View, CA 94042-0218

Steps You Can Take...

You can help provide for the long-term financial security of *The People* by including a properly worded provision in your Will or by making some other financial arrangement through your bank. Write to the Socialist Labor Party, publisher of *The People*, for a free copy of the booklet, *Steps You Can Take*. Use this coupon.

Socialist Labor Party • P.O. Box 218 • Mtn. View, CA 94042-0218

Please send a free copy of *Steps You Can Take* to:

YOUR NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ APT. _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

directory

UNITED STATES

NATIONAL OFFICE—SLP, PO Box 218, Mtn. View, CA 94042-0218; (408) 280-7266; fax (408) 280-6964; e-mail: socialists@slp.org; Web site: www.slp.org.

BUFFALO, N.Y.—E-mail Ron Ingalsbe: Wanblee27@aol.com.

CHICAGO—SLP, P.O. Box 1432, Skokie, IL 60076.

CLEVELAND—Robert Burns, 9626 York Rd., N. Royalton, OH 44133. Call (440) 237-7933. E-mail: j.oneil@worldnet.att.net.

DALLAS—Call Bernie at (972) 458-2253.

EASTERN MASS.—Call (781) 444-3576.

FRESNO, CALIF.—Call Paul Lawrence at (559) 268-2170.

HOUSTON—Call (281) 424-1040. Web site <http://houston-slp.tripod.com>. E-mail: houstonSLP@frys.com.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN.—SLP, 506 Hunting Hill Ave., Middletown, CT 06457. Call (860) 347-4003.

MINNEAPOLIS—Karl Heck, 5414 Williams Ave., White Bear Lake, MN 55110-2367. Call (651) 429-7279. E-mail: k57heck@cs.com.

NEW LONDON, CONN.—SLP, 3 Jodry St., Quaker Hill, CT 06375. Call (203) 447-9897.

NEW YORK CITY—Call (516) 829-5325.

PHILADELPHIA—SLP, P.O. Box 28732, Philadelphia, PA 19151.

PITTSBURGH—Call (412) 751-2613.

PONTIAC, MICH.—Call (586) 731-6756.

PORTLAND, ORE.—SLP, P.O. Box 4951, Portland, OR 97208. Call (503) 226-2881. Web: <http://slp.pdx.home.mindspring.com>. E-mail: slp.pdx@mindspring.com.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—SLP, P.O. Box 221663, Sacramento, CA 95822-8663.

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.—SLP, P.O. Box 526, Forestville, CA 95436-0526.

S.F. BAY AREA—SLP, P.O. Box 70034, Sunnyvale, CA 94086-0034. E-mail: slpsfba@netscape.net.

SEABROOK, N.H.—Richard H. Cassin, 4 New Hampshire St., Seabrook, NH 03874.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.—Call (727) 321-0999.

AUSTRALIA

Brian Blanchard, 58 Forest Rd., Trevallyn, Launceston, Tasmania 7250, Australia. Call or fax 0363-341952.

CANADA

NATIONAL OFFICE—Socialist Labor Party of Canada, P.O. Box 11091, Station H, Ottawa, ON K2H 7T9, Canada. Call Doug Irving at (613) 226-6682. E-mail: jdirving@sympati-co.ca.

VANCOUVER—SLP, Suite 141, 6200 McKay Ave., Box 824, Burnaby, BC, V5H 4M9.

GREAT BRITAIN

Jim Plant, P.O. Box 6700, Sawbridgeworth, CM21 0WA, UK. E-mail: socliterature@btopenworld.com. Fax 01279-726970.

PUERTO RICO

Call C. Camacho at (787) 276-0907. E-mail: redflags@coqui.net.

... De Leon

(Continued from page 4)

became law, Consuls or no Consuls; so today in trustified America, the executive is becoming the sole administrative wheel.

There are those, who, looking at President Roosevelt's course, pronounce him a jockeyer of the land. Insofar as Roosevelt is blissfully ignorant of the social evolution of which he is but the momentary tool, and characteristically delights in the show of safe despotism, the epithet is just. Taking, however, a broader survey of the field, Roosevelt is but the exponent of a social and economic evolution that has reached and is now undergoing its period of rapid political transition—the transition of the conservative form of our bourgeois republic's existence into its political revolutionary form, into the stage of unbridled despotism.

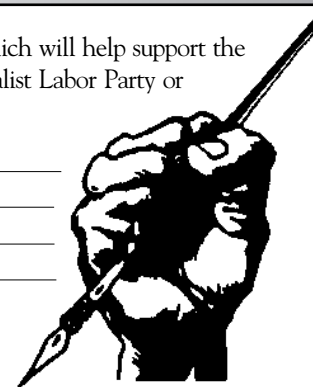
A question of deep interest, at this season, is this: How far and how deep does the acclaim reach with which the Catalina of the approaching American Caesar is being now greeted by washed and unwashed mobs? Or whether the cheers that are reported to "rend the welkin" wherever Mr. Roosevelt appears, are of the nature of those that "rent the welkin" when the present shivering czar was "hailed by his devoted subjects" only seven months ago, or of those that were gotten up to order when King Edward of Great Britain was recently "welcomed by his loyal Irish subjects" in Dublin.

The People's Press Security Fund

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

Name _____
Address _____
Apt. _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

(Political contributions are not tax deductible.) Acknowledgments will be made in *The People*.
Please indicate if a receipt is desired: Yes No



hammerblows

He's No Lincoln

The California Legislature is considering a measure to increase the state's minimum wage. Speaking in opposition, Assembly member Tony Strickland said: "Not every job in California is supposed to be able to provide for a family of four."

Was he right or was he wrong? Let's see.

The minimum wage in California is \$6.75 an hour. Wash clothes, sweep floors, wait on tables—it's \$6.75 an hour. That's useful work, we'd say.

California Assembly members don't get the minimum wage. Last we heard, a run-of-the-mill member pulled in \$99,000 a year and, according to one source, "those lawmakers in leadership positions can make up to \$113,850."

That breaks down to about \$48.00 an hour on the low side and about \$55.00 on the high side for a 40-hour week, 52 weeks a year. But the Assembly doesn't meet eight hours a day, five days a week, 50 or 52 weeks a year. From 1991 to 2000, it met on 1,628 days. That breaks down to 163 days a year and a three-day "workweek." It breaks down to a \$607.36 "workday," or \$75.92 an hour.

Is Mr. Strickland's \$76 opinion worth more than the labor of the \$6.75 hour the worker?

Abraham Lincoln said:

"An honest laborer digs coal at about 70 cents a day, while the president digs abstractions at about \$70 a day. The coal is clearly worth more than the abstractions, and yet what a monstrous

inequality in the prices!"

So you see, Mr. Strickland was right after all. He just picked the wrong job.

Better Medical Care

It's no secret that rich capitalists receive better medical care than workers, of whom an increasing number lack any health care coverage. Community Medical Centers in Fresno, Calif., has made this class bias its publicly proclaimed policy with its "Friends of CMC Program."

While CMC is trying to keep some details secret, "friends" appear to be those who donate at least \$10,000. Officials assert everyone will receive the same medical treatment. But "friends" will have preference for private rooms and a 24-hour hotline for questions about hospital stays. Some other San Joaquin Valley hospitals send their donors get-well cards and flowers.

Is care really equal? "I'm sure the medical treatment is *relatively* [our emphasis] similar, but there is a difference being in a private room compared to a shared room. It can affect your ability to sleep," said Kathleen O'Connor, owner of a health care marketing and strategy company. "Health care isn't just about medical procedures; there is more around it that helps a patient heal and get well." She continued, "Major donors get better attention."

Don't Forget Munitions Makers

War is good for business, not just for control of foreign resources, markets, exploitable labor and strategic territory to protect those interests. It's also good for capitalists who produce weapons. The Associated Press reports: "American soldiers are firing so much ammunition that the military's largest supplier of bullets can't keep up. Tanks that log 800 miles a year in peacetime [relative, of course] are grinding through that many miles in a month, wearing out their treads."

The AP was short on details about the bottom line. But with increased hiring, production lines running around the clock and small-caliber bullet usage more than doubling since 2001, business and profits are booming.

—N. Malleus

255075100
years ago

Two Views on 'Economic Freedom'

(*Weekly People*, July 17, 1954)

The New York Times, in an editorial July 2, on the decision of the Alexander Smith Carpet Co. to close its Yonkers plant permanently, thus leaving some 2,200 workers economically stranded, has given us what amounts to a definition of "economic freedom." The plutocratic mouthpiece said:

"We Americans deeply prize our economic freedom. Just as we allow a new company to enter any lawful business anywhere, without the by-your-leave of any government agency, so also we do not put restraints on an old company from withdrawing from a business when it ceases to make a profit."

This concept of "economic freedom" is peculiarly a capitalist concept. It reminds us of the southern slaveowners' definition of "liberty" to which Abraham Lincoln referred in his Baltimore speech, April 18, 1864. Said he:

"The world has never had a good definition of the word 'liberty,' and the American people, just now, are much in need of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word 'liberty' may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others [specifically the supporters of slavery] the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, 'liberty.' And it follows, that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—'liberty' and 'tyranny.'"

What Lincoln says here of "liberty" may also be said of "economic freedom." "Economic freedom," as conceived by *The New York Times* is, plainly, the freedom of capitalists to exploit wage labor. It is concerned exclusively with the "freedom" of capital. But to those who define "economic freedom" another way—as, say, the right of workers to appropriate the full social value of their product, and to have collective control of their tools—the *Times'* "economic freedom" is *despotism*.

In the enlightened future, when man lives under a system in which the means of social production are owned socially and managed democratically, and production is carried on for the benefit of all instead of for the private profit of a few, there will be no more confusion over the despotism of capitalism than over the despotism of chattel slavery.

SLP Sustainer Fund

Joan M. Davis \$800; Bernard Bortnick \$300; Chris Dobreff \$200; \$150 each Robert Burns, Robert Burns (In memory of Katherine Kapitz); Carl C. Miller Jr. \$140; Lois Reynolds \$100; Robert Hofem \$60; Michael Preston \$50; Section San Francisco Bay Area: William Kelley \$40; \$30 each Jill Campbell, Steve Littleton, Clayton Hewitt, Richard A. Aiken (In memory of John W. Aiken); Archie Sim \$25; George E. Gray \$20; Section Wayne County, Mich., \$15; Lois Kubit (In memory of Conrad Gutermuth) \$10; George Gaylord \$1.

Total: \$2,181.00

SLP Leaflet Fund

Joseph J. Frank \$10; Richard Wilson 6; Clayton Hewitt \$5; Walter Bagnick \$4.

Total \$25.00

Genevieve Gunderson Memorial Fund

Karl Heck \$200; Paul D. Lawrence \$20.

Total: \$220.00

Daniel De Leon Sesquicentennial Fund

Richard F. Mack \$30.00 (Total)

Socialist Labor Party

Financial Summary

Bank balance (March 31)	.....	\$248,766.48
Expenses (April-May)	.....	23,025.79
Income (April-May)	.....	9,140.39
Bank balance (May 31)	.....	234,881.48
Deficit for 2004	.....	\$ 46,504.08

ACTIVITIES

CALIFORNIA

Discussion Meetings—Section San Francisco Bay Area will hold the following discussion meetings. For more information please call 408-280-7266 or e-mail slpsfba@netscape.net.

Oakland: Saturday, July 17, 3–5:30 p.m., Rockridge Branch Library, Community Room (2nd floor), 5366 College St. (corner of College & Manila sts.). Moderator: Frank Prince.

San Francisco: Saturday, June 26, and Saturday, July 24, 1:30–4 p.m., San Francisco Main Public Library, ground floor conference room, Grove & Larkin sts. Moderator: Robert Bills.

Saratoga: Saturday, July 10, 1:30–4 p.m., Saratoga Public Library, 13650 Saratoga Ave. (exit Hwy. 85 at Saratoga Ave. and proceed toward the city of Saratoga). Moderator: Bruce Cozzini.

OHIO

Cleveland: Section Cleveland will have a literature table at the Slavic Village Harvest Festival on Saturday, Aug. 28, 1–9 p.m., and on Sunday, Aug. 29, 12 noon–9 p.m. The festival is located on Fleet Ave., from E. 49th St. to E. 65th St. (Cleveland's south side).

Discussion Meetings—Section Cleveland has scheduled the following discussion meetings. For more information please call 440-237-7933.

Columbus: Sunday, July 18, and Sunday, Aug. 15, 1–3 p.m., Columbus Public Library, Conference Room #3, 96 S. Grant (at Oak Street).

North Royalton: Sunday, June 27; Sunday, July 25; and Sunday, Aug. 22, 1–3 p.m., at the home of R. Burns, 9626 York Rd.

OREGON

Portland: **Discussion Meetings**—Section Portland holds discussion meetings every second Saturday of the month. Meetings are usually held at the Central Library, but the exact time varies. For more information please call Sid at 503-226-2881 or visit our Web site at <http://slp.pdx.home.mindspring.com>.

Funds

(April 10–June 11, 2004)
Press Security Fund

\$300 each Irene Schelin, Section Cleveland (In memory of Joseph Pirincin); Anonymous \$294.15; Chris Dobreff \$275; Roy K. Nelson \$200; Gerald M. Lucas \$190; \$100 each Anthony Econom, Irene Louik, Linda Minkes, T. Klepper, Walter Vojnov; Phillip Colligan \$95; \$90 each Gene Borelli, S.J. Banilower; Section Cook County, Ill. \$87.64; Robert Ormsby \$75; Tony Marsella \$70; \$50 each Dmitre Eloff, Frank Kennedy, Harvey Fuller, Jack Blessington, Jerome D. Toporek; \$45 each Donna Meyer, Jane Christian, William H. Nace; Anonymous \$41; \$40 each Gene Simon, Jay R. Aiken, Tillie A. Wizek; Timothy Sweeney \$30; \$28 each Lawrence Hackett, William Rickman; George E. Gray \$26.

\$25 each Anonymous, John S. & Rosemary Gale, Margaret & Frank Roemhild, Matthew Rinaldi, Randolph Petsche; \$20 each Donald L.H. Scott, Edward J. Madejczyk, George Lovrich, Joe Randell, Joseph Jurich, June Svoboda, Matt Casick, Mrs. Kay Premo, Paul L. Wolf, Raymond H. Simmons, Roger Caron, Ronald V. Bettig, Rubinoff Brunson, Sophie Carevich, Valery Zaytsev; Bill Kuhn \$16; \$15 each Albert Bikar, Guy Anderson, Marshall G. Soura, Olaf Mend, Otis Daniels, Patrick Burkett, Peter A. Teeuwissen, Steve Druk, Teri Butler; Joseph T. Longo \$12; Rob Faivre \$10.20.

\$10 each Arthur T. Fitz-Gerald, Bill Conklin, Brett McCabe, Clara Brodsky, Curtis Raisig, Dagfinn Sjoen, Daniel Brian Lazarus, Daniel Goodsaid, Daniel Harrington, Dora Ruggiero, Eileen Burns, F.L. Kowalski, Gerald Gunderson, Henry Coretz, James G. McHugh, James J. Brennan, Jeffrey Heuser, Joe Groelke, Joseph Viditch, Lloyd H. Davis, Mark R. McGrath, Mr. & Mrs. R.M. Teunion, Orville Rutschman, Randy Shields, Russell Holder, Stephen Williams; A. Power \$8; Thomas C. McEvoy \$7; \$5 each C. James Matuschka, David E. Casey, Harry Buskirk, Harry E. Gibson, Maurice Greb, William Prinz; Anonymous \$2.

Total: \$4,129.99

Death of a Salesman

By Ken Boettcher

The death of former President Ronald Reagan provided a prime opportunity for the capitalist-owned media to again polish the propaganda skills they so skillfully used during his two terms in office to create and boost support among the working-class majority for Reagan—a debased and craven salesman for the material interests of the tiny minority capitalist class.

The media circus surrounding his death and funeral could not surprise those familiar with the relationship Reagan enjoyed with the capitalist media during his lifetime. It was precisely the fawning attitude of the capitalist media that produced Reagan's moniker—the "Teflon President." No scandal seemed to touch him—not surprising since the media industry was unwilling to dig too deeply while the man was serving capitalist-class interests so well.

There were plenty of actions and policies during Reagan's two administrations that should have attracted the attention and criticism of any morally responsible media. They all received some attention, to be sure, but always as "controversial," or as incidental asides in a larger picture.

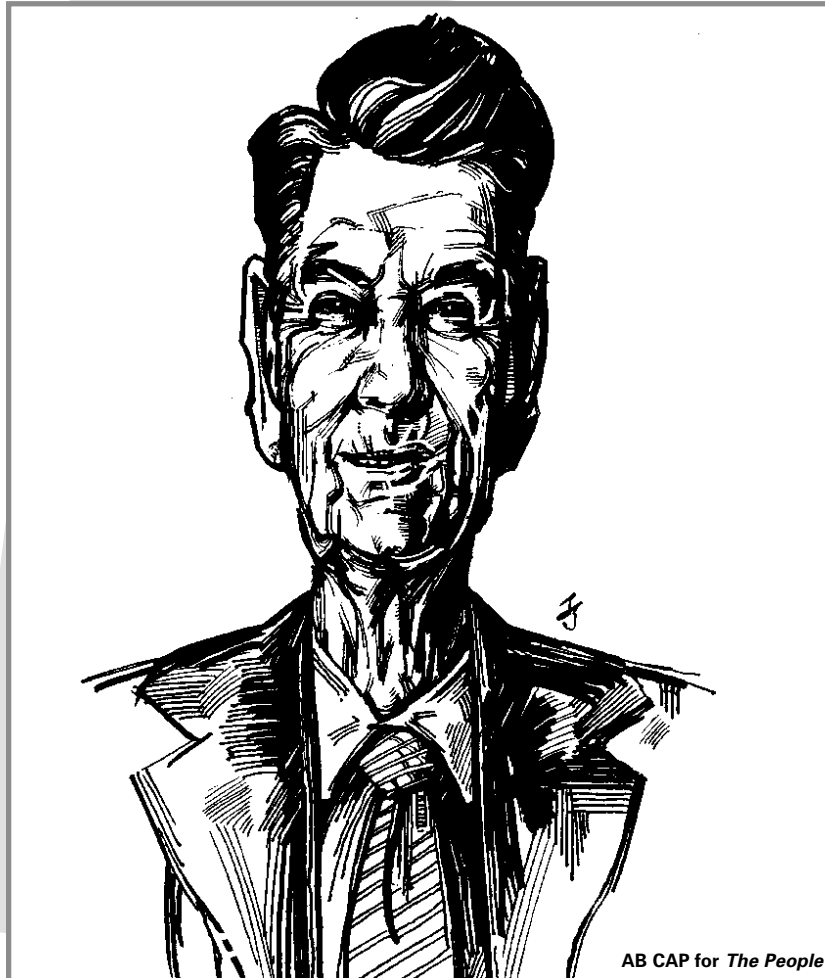
- He extended military and financial support for dictators and death squads in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala even as he lamented "foreign support for terrorists" in Central America.

- He ordered the illegal imperialist invasion and occupation of Grenada at the behest of a regime long noted for its human rights abuses.

- He increased military aid for the brutal Haitian thug Papa Doc Duvalier, and refused political asylum to thousands of Haitian refugees fleeing Duvalier's repression.

- He violated his oath of office and made a mockery of the separation of powers clauses of the Constitution in the Iran-Contra affair by lawlessly ignoring a congressional ban on support for the murderous Contras in Nicaragua.

- He gave military aid and other assistance to other dictatorships in Chile, the Philippines, Argentina, Indonesia, Turkey and elsewhere. He supported the apartheid regime of South Africa, the reactionary Taliban in Afghanistan, and Saddam Hussein in the Iraq-Iran war.



AB CAP for The People

- His administration formulated a plan for imposing martial law in the United States in the event of a "severe crisis" under the Federal Emergency Management Agency, or FEMA. It successfully lobbied many states to set up voluntary State Defense Forces to spy on dissidents and political opponents and to participate in the implementation and enforcement of FEMA's plans, which called for suspending the Constitution, turning the government over to FEMA, and appointing military commanders,

conscripting labor, and outlawing strikes and even the advocacy of the right to strike.

- His administration spearheaded an accelerated attack on the wages and working conditions of all workers by crushing an air traffic controllers' strike and other strikes during its tenure. It cut spending on social programs and thereby compounded the misery and despair of the poor and disadvantaged.

It dumped thousands of mental health patients on the streets by closing federally funded mental hospitals—and then cruelly claimed that the homeless were "homeless by choice." It even promoted ketchup as a vegetable that could be used to satisfy federal school lunch standards for our children.

- Reagan engaged in nuclear brinkmanship, saber rattling and massive arms buildup, which his supporters say was responsible for the end of the Cold War. While it risked the safety of all humanity, it hardly brought down what Reagan called the Evil Empire. That was a process which began of its own accord at least a decade before Reagan as a result of the Russian bureaucratic state despotism's own internal economic contradictions—and the efforts of Mikhail Gorbachev to resolve them through reforms that outpaced his ability to throw up defenses against their results. And—it should be added—whatever ended the "Evil Empire," it failed to touch the other ugly head of "communist" totalitarianism, China.

Few of these transgressions against human decency even got a mention in the capitalist media upon Reagan's death. Apparently capitalism's defenders in the media believe by not mentioning them they might successfully bury the transgressions themselves along with the physically and spiritually diseased body of their dead hero. The record shows who Ronald Reagan really was. History will judge him as an enemy of the working class, a true salesman for capitalist interests and a vicious servant of capitalist reaction.

Righteous for a Buck

By Paul D. Lawrence

Sometimes capitalists do the right thing, or seem to, although the pursuit of profit still motivates them.

Consider two recent examples. About 225 power utilities, out of some 2,000 nationwide, have tree-planting programs. They often give away trees to homeowners and renters who plant and maintain them. Second, a company in Hanford, Calif., is recycling garbage bags, plastic food take-out containers and packaging "peanuts." These plastics were not easily recyclable before. The result is a low-sulfur diesel oil, which is less polluting than regular diesel fuel.

Noting these facts, however, is not to praise capitalism. The profit motive usually causes social problems rather than lessening them. The profit motive is at work in both cases.

For utilities, trees mean shade, which in warmer climates such as California's San Joaquin Valley results in lower temperatures and less demand for power. Selling less of their commodities is not paradoxical. The rate of profit depends on the amount of capital invested, not the volume of sales. Reducing, at least some-

what, the demand for power reduces the need for new power-generating plants, which are extremely costly. We can leave the exact calculation of profit, etc., to the utility capitalists. But if they are giving away trees, they at least believe more profits will be generated.

In addition, trees reduce pollution and carbon dioxide, one of the gases responsible for global warming. Generating power is notorious for producing pollution and carbon dioxide. Planting trees could help utilities to escape controlling pollution. Sometimes the Environmental Protection Agency and other regulators do enforce measures against pollution, although often as the result of lawsuits by environmentalists.

Plastic Energy-Hanford obviously is seeking profits. It is the first company in the nation to engage in this sort of recycling. The California Integrated Waste Management Board made a \$2 million loan to the company. Recycling will divert trash from landfills. The company, of course, expects to profit by selling the low-sulfur diesel oil.

The Fresno Bee reports that employees of the Kings Waste & Recycling Authority will pick through trash by hand to recover recyclable mate-

rials. The company apparently gets the waste free.

If capitalists can sometimes do the right thing for the sake of profit, imagine what would be possible under socialism. Let's narrow the focus here simply to pollution. The useful producers in a socialist society will have every incentive to reduce pollution to the barest minimum technologically possible. Their health is what pollution damages; their environment is what landfills tear up to dispose of waste, etc. After thus reducing pollution to the minimum, socialist society will similarly have the same incentives to reduce the impact of that remaining minimum.

Tree planting and recycling of plastics for low-sulfur diesel fuel are only some examples of what a socialist society will do routinely—and for the benefit of all its members.

The Socialist Labor Party is not utopian. It does not presume to draft detailed plans of what socialist society will do. The decisions will be those of a socialist society in which all productive property is collectively owned and democratically controlled and operated by the useful producers. The examples cited here simply give the barest hint of what socialism will be able to do.