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Profit Motive Created Flu Vaccine Shortage

By Paul D. Lawrence

Although there are some signs that the flu season could be mild this year, no one can be sure and the shortage of flu vaccine could still turn out to be a serious health threat. In a typical year, 36,000 Americans die from the flu and 15,000 more die from flu-related complications. One infectious disease expert has warned that flu deaths could increase by 25 percent this year.

"We're in the middle of a crisis that could have been averted," Dr. Irwin Redlener told *The New York Times*. Dr. Redlener is associate dean of the Mailman School of Public Health at Columbia University and director of Columbia's National Center for Disaster Preparedness.

By now, almost everyone in the United States knows that only two major manufacturers make flu vaccine. Why is that? The answer is that there is not enough profit in it. As the *Times* reported:

"In recent decades, many drug companies in the United States abandoned the manufacture of vaccines, saying they were expensive to make, underpriced and not *sufficiently profitable*. Flu vaccine can be a particular gamble, because the demand for it varies from year to year and companies must throw away what they do not sell because a new vaccine must be made each year to deal with the changing strains of the virus." (Emphasis added.)

That does not mean that producing flu vaccine is not profitable, only that it is not profitable enough to suit most drug companies. Columnist Ellen Goodman put it this way:

"The entire debacle comes from the fact that preventing the flu isn't as profitable as, say, treating erectile dysfunction. The major American drug companies, who continuously tell us that their profits are for our benefit, don't do flu vaccines anymore."

Goodman also made another telling point:

"Maybe it takes the Free Market Flu to remind us that sometimes we need a public health system as much as we need a fire department or a military."

Goodman is not alone in her thinking. As the *Times* reported:

"The heart of the problem, experts say, may be that no one person or agency is truly in charge of making sure that the United States has an adequate vaccine supply. The production, sale and distribution of vaccines, particularly those for flu, are handled almost entirely by pharmaceutical companies."

Those companies produce vaccine for the sake of profit, of course, but capitalists in droves have been abandoning the production of many vaccines. Thirty years ago, 30 U.S. companies made vaccines. Today there are five.

According to the *Times*, regulatory agencies

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New Intelligence Act Threatens Liberties

President George W. Bush signed the new Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act into law during an elaborate ceremony at the Department of Commerce building in Washington, D.C., on Dec. 17.

The new law, which swept over negligible opposition in Congress earlier in the month, ostensibly was designed to overhaul and simplify the U.S.'s elaborate network of overlapping spy agencies. Politicians and the capitalist media claimed the measure was necessary to make everyone in America safer from attacks like those of Sept. 11, 2001.

Although Bush initially opposed the overhaul, he eventually found it expedient to support it.

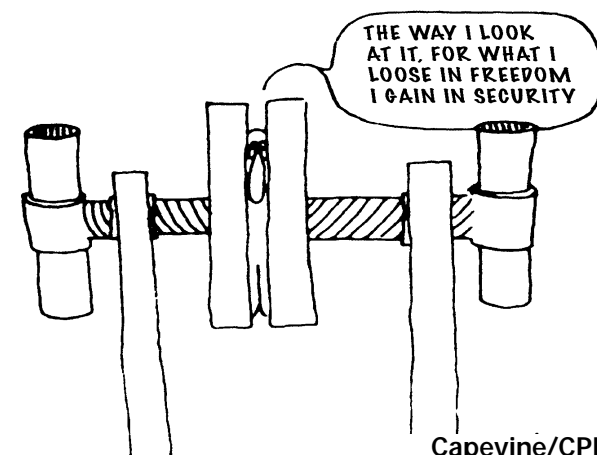
"Instead of massed armies, we face stateless networks," he said at the signing ceremony. "We face killers who hide in our own cities. To inflict great harm on our country, America's enemies need to be only right once. Our intelligence and law enforcement professionals in our government must be right every single time."

Not everyone agreed. After the Senate adopted the legislation on Dec. 9, for example, Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.V.) said: "No legislation alone can forestall a terrorist attack on our nation."

Byrd was only stating the obvious. What he did not say is how the new law makes it easi-

er for the federal government to undermine the liberties guaranteed by the Bills of Rights.

According to a press release from the American Civil Liberties Union before Congress acted, the new law lays the groundwork for a *de facto* national identification card by imposing federal driver's license standards on the states.



"For example," the ACLU observed, "after three years from the date of...passage, the federal government would be unable to accept a state driver's license as proof of identity unless it conformed to certain requirements set by the federal government."

The bill provides for a national database of

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Study Finds One-Third Of New Yorkers Are Poor

By B.G.

Poverty is widespread among workers in New York State. According to a report released late last year by the Center for an Urban Future (CUF), approximately 550,000 families—families that account for 32 percent of all New Yorkers—fall into the category of the working poor.

Last year, the federal government set its definition of poverty at \$18,979 a year for a family of four. Why \$18,979 instead of \$18,980, or a flat \$19,000, only a government bureaucrat would know. According to the CUF report, however, "working poor" status defines a working-class family that earns up to twice the income of the government's stated poverty rate.

Despite its dismal record, New York State ranks 29th among the 50 states in percentage of working poor families. New York's position on that list indicates the extent of poverty and near poverty in the United States as a whole.

The CUF's report also complains that New York has done little economic planning to assist people who have limited education and

limited knowledge of English. The CUF calls for more education programs to help lift workers out of poverty.

Government programs that might provide help to some impoverished workers would be at best the proverbial "drop in the bucket." Massive reform programs, from the New Deal of the 1930s to the War on Poverty in the 1960s, did nothing to solve the problem. They failed even though the country is bursting with the wealth that its working class has produced.

Why did they fail? Was it because they were government programs? That is the preferred explanation, but too many other programs—programs generically known as "corporate welfare" and other subsidies designed to help capitalists who cannot compete—work well enough to prove that government programs can be made to work. Government programs work or do not work depending on which portion of the population the politicians want to help.

Fact is, capitalism requires that a portion of the working class be held down to the lowest

(Continued on page 2)

AT LARGE

'We Are Lincoln Men'

"WE ARE LINCOLN MEN." ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HIS FRIENDS, by David Herbert Donald. Simon & Schuster, publishers, 2003; 269 pages. Please order from bookseller or publisher.

By B.G.

David Herbert Donald in this, his latest book on Abraham Lincoln, has chosen six Lincoln associates whom he has singled out as the closest friends in various phases of Lincoln's career. Donald remarks that it was surprising to him that there were so few really close friends. Of all the many people over the years who knew and admired Lincoln and who helped him in many ways, "the evidence is overwhelming that only a handful of these friends were on intimate terms with Lincoln."

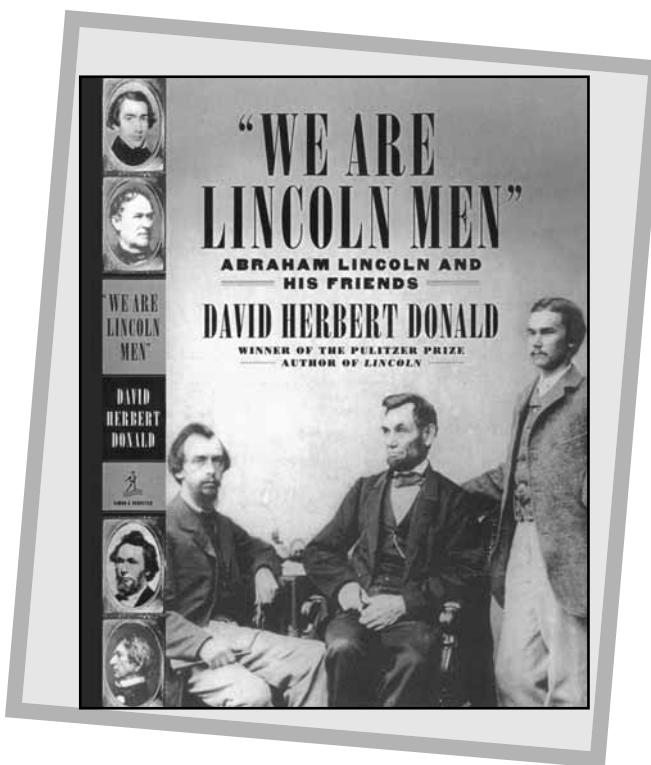
Donald was puzzled by the fewness in number of these friends and concluded that the rather isolated boyhood of the young Lincoln had laid the foundation for his paucity of close, familiar friends in later life. "A boy who has no chums becomes a man who rarely has close friends." Lincoln was also a deeply reserved person despite his noted gift for telling humorous stories. William Herndon, his law partner for 16 years, noted, "He was the most reticent and mostly secretive man that ever existed: he never opened his whole soul to any man: he never touched the history or quality of his own nature in the presence of his friends."

The author lists as Lincoln's first and closest friend Joshua F. Speed, a storekeeper whom he first met upon coming to Springfield, Ill., to be the law partner of John Todd Stuart. Unable to pay the full cost of the goods he had ordered from Speed for his proposed living quarters, he accepted Speed's offer to share his room above the store. The two men lived there together for four years, became the closest of confidants, shared their feelings about courtship and marriage, admired and counseled each other. When Speed later returned to Kentucky, married and became a well-to-do planter owning slaves, the two men kept up a correspondence. They gradually drifted apart on the slavery question but never differed on the issue of preserving the union intact. Speed was Lincoln's valued contact man in Kentucky during the secession crisis and proved to be an essential actor in the effort to keep Kentucky in the union.

William H. Herndon, Lincoln's long-time law partner and later his biographer, looked up to Lincoln who had served both as friend and mentor. Lincoln admired both the younger man's dedication to his work and his studiousness, recognizing that Herndon was often far better informed on many legal subjects than he was. Herndon, a dedicated anti-slavery man, supported Lincoln's political aspirations. Lincoln in turn stood by Herndon in spite of his partner's drinking problem and refused to take the advice of an acquaintance that he fire him on this account, stating that he knew Herndon better than anyone and intended to stick by him. For Lincoln, loyalty worked both ways.

When Lincoln was elected president in 1860, he went to Washington early the following year without any intimate friends to accompany him. He had offered Joshua Speed a place in his Cabinet, but Speed declined. In July 1861, however, Orville H. Browning arrived in Washington, appointed by the governor of Illinois to serve as senator, replacing Sen. Stephen A. Douglas who had died in June. Lincoln and Browning had

known each other in Illinois, were politically close and liked each other. Lincoln trusted Browning's advice and made the new senator a confidant whose wisdom he often sought. Eventually, however, Lincoln began to consider some of Browning's views and actions rather erratic and the two men began drifting apart. By mid-1862, Lincoln had concluded that moderate measures in the war



were failing and that he must take a firm stand on the slavery issue. After the Battle of Antietam on Sept. 17, 1862, when the southern invasion of Maryland was checked and the Confederate army withdrew to Virginia, Lincoln, on Sept. 22, issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation and on Sept. 24 announced his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in the North. Browning was both shocked and disappointed and their confidential relationship ended.

With William H. Seward, his secretary of state, Lincoln was ultimately more fortunate in finding a trusted adviser. It was not easy. Seward, who had had deeply wanted to be president and who had a small opinion of Lincoln, came to Washington with a "take charge" philosophy, aiming to "manage" the president, whom he considered his intellectual inferior. In short order, Seward discovered that he had misjudged Lincoln. The new president not only could not be managed but also was his own man with good political instincts and sound managerial abilities. The two soon became good friends and confidants and worked closely together.

The two other close friends chosen by Prof. Donald are Lincoln's two private secretaries—John G. Nicolay and John Hay—both young men in their twenties. They managed Lincoln's office, took care of his correspon-

dence and interceded with the numerous visitors who were constantly coming to opportunity the president. They were loyal and defensive of Lincoln. In turn, Lincoln trusted them completely and treated these young men with great respect. They never betrayed his trust but kept his conversations about generals and politicians strictly confidential. It was almost a familial relationship, for Lincoln enjoyed being a mentor to young people and his own eldest son, Robert Todd Lincoln, was often distant from his father.

Prof. Donald's scholarship, as usual, is careful and profound, and his insights concerning Lincoln and his associates are based on new psychological and historical research. This study presents a valuable assessment not only of Lincoln himself, but also of the serious political and civil liberties problems he faced as president during a period of deep crisis in the nation's history. Donald's skillful literary style also makes the book a pleasure to read.

...N.Y. Poor

(Continued from page 1)

levels possible, not to support an upper class in comfort and luxury, but to act as a brake on the wage and other demands of the working class as a whole. "If you don't like it here, there are plenty to take your place." Every worker has heard that threat and many—too many—have been intimidated by it.

Workers do not need more government programs that deliver next to nothing in way of relief. Such programs not only fail to deliver much relief, they help to distract the working class from the source of poverty and economic insecurity. By distracting workers from the capitalist source of the problem—and thereby the solution—they deliver relief to the capitalist class by keeping the working class disoriented and disorganized.

Terms such as "working poor" also serve capitalist purposes by driving a psychological wedge between different fractions of the working class. Such terms are the invention of capitalist "intellectuals" and university think-tankers who spend their time wondering how many workers can live on a penny, just as some theologians wonder how many angels can dance on the head of a pin.

What our society needs is an entire restructuring. Only a rational social system, democratically organized and administered, can overcome poverty. Socialist production for use would wipe out involuntary poverty overnight. Before that can happen, however, workers must start to think and act as a class. The capitalists do, and that is why they grow wealthier and more powerful while workers continue to struggle just to get by. The only program that workers need is the Socialist Industrial Union program of the Socialist Labor Party. The SIU will draw workers together and organize them to defend and advance their interests as a social class.

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Capitalists Pay AFL-CIO To Support Imperialism

By Diane Secor

One of the mottos of protesters of U.S. imperialism and the war in Iraq is “Not In Our Name,” as Americans. What the “Solidarity Center” has done to workers of the world “in our name,” as American workers, is even more abominable.

The AFL-CIO established the Solidarity Center in 1997. According to its website (solidaritycenter.org), the Solidarity Center—which is short for American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS)—is a “nonprofit organization that assists workers around the world who are struggling to build democratic and independent trade unions.”

The implication is that ACILS carries the banner of the American “labor movement” in “solidarity” with workers in other countries. Truth is, however, that there is no labor movement in America. Although the AFL-CIO claims to “represent” 13 million workers in this country, it is, to paraphrase Daniel De Leon, no more a workers’ organization because its rank and file is composed of workers than the U.S. Army is.

Indeed, the AFL-CIO is largely responsible for the fact that no labor movement worthy of the name exists in the country. It is, lock, stock and barrel, an instrument of the capitalist class wholly committed to a system based on the exploitation of labor by capital. No wonder, then, that it works hand-in-glove with the federal government to further U.S. imperialist interests abroad and readily accepts financial support from other capitalist institutions to perform its bellwether services wherever U.S. corporations sniff out opportunities to plunder foreign lands and labor.

The Solidarity Center’s website frankly states that much of its funding comes from “the U.S. Agency for International Development, the

National Endowment for Democracy, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Department of Labor, the AFL-CIO, private foundations, and national and international labor organizations.” The government agencies on the list are familiar to the informed, but what is the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and who is behind it?

In *Rogue State: A Guide to the World’s Only Superpower*, William Blum provides some answers to this question—answers that raise some other disturbing questions about this Solidarity Center.

eign institutions that the NED specifically targets for funding and logistical aid. As Blum put it: “NED programs generally impart the basic philosophy that working people and other citizens are best served under a system of free enterprise [and] class cooperation....”

This amounts to a systematic attempt to create foreign workers’ organizations that serve the same general purposes that the AFL-CIO serves in the United States. Thus, the general objective is to channel foreign labor movements into directions that uphold capitalist rule and which gut workers’ organizations that are based on an awareness of the class struggle.

The more specific aims of this NED-Solidarity Center program are to serve particular U.S. capitalist interests in seizing and defending world markets, access to raw materials and pools of cheap labor. When regimes become an obstacle to these ends, the Solidarity Center has played an important role in “regime change” operations in those countries.

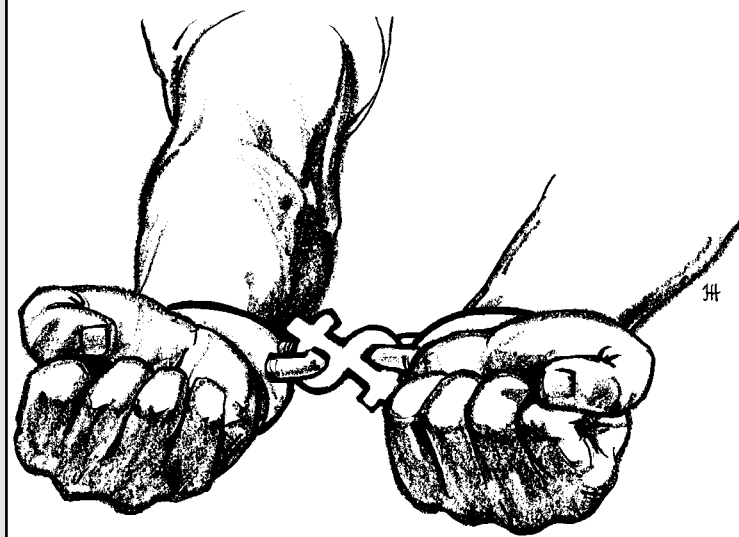
In “Activities in Venezuela of the National Endowment for Democracy: The Evidence Speaks for Itself” (May 23), Eva Golinger reported that the “NED’s own documents” show that NED-funded groups were involved in the unsuccessful attempt at deposing Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez in 2002.

Golinger is a Venezuelan-American attorney who lives in Brooklyn and operates the venezuelafoia.info website. Her articles on the U.S.’s role in efforts to topple the Chavez regime in Venezuela, many

of them based on information obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, are widely available on the Internet.

The ACILS, according to her, received NED grants to work “intimately with the Confederación de Trabajadores (CTV), the Venezuelan labor union that was notoriously involved in the preparations and execution of the April 2002 *coup d’etat* and subsequent destabilization campaign....The ACILS continues to receive grants in excess of \$100,000 annually for its work with the CTV.”

The AFL-CIO’s Solidarity Center collaborates with U.S. capitalist interests, yet claims to represent American labor. A genuine labor movement, based on the class struggle and committed to lighting the spark of classconsciousness in the minds of workers everywhere, would have no part of such collaboration.



AB CAP for The People

“Allen Weinstein, who helped draft the legislation establishing NED, was quite candid when he said in 1991: ‘A lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA.’ In effect, the CIA has been laundering money through NED. The endowment has four principal initial recipients of funds: the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO (such as the American Center for International Labor Solidarity), and an affiliate of the Chamber of Commerce (such as the Center for International Private Enterprise). These institutions then disburse funds to other institutions in the U.S. and all over the world, which then often disburse funds to yet other organizations.”

Foreign “labor unions” acceptable to capitalists and the AFL-CIO alike are among the for-

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hammer blows

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International Outlaw

The U.S. ruling class has been railing against Iran and North Korea over their alleged plans to develop nuclear weapons. Their regimes could be doing that. Yet, the Bush regime would like us to forget about the nonexistent nukes in Iraq and its hypocritical silence about those that Israel, a U.S. ally and surrogate in the oil-rich Middle East, probably has.

The U.S. ruling class, however, is an international outlaw itself.

- It has not ratified the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty signed by 172 countries and ratified by 115.

- With Russia’s ratification, the Kyoto Protocol on global warming will soon take effect. That has been ratified by 128 nations. U.S. capitalists who make obscene profits from fossil fuels won’t let the U.S.

ratify the protocol despite the risk of ecocide and perhaps mass homicide.

- The United States and with it Russia and China haven’t ratified the (Land) Mine Ban Treaty that took effect in 1999.

In sum, the U.S. ruling class, being the only remaining superpower, believes it can do anything it pleases to advance its material interests. American workers need to—indeed, have a duty to—stop such plutocratic arrogance.

Fighting Terrorism?

A terrorism task force in Seattle arrested five suspects on immigration fraud charges, three for defrauding banks and two other for weapons offenses. The Associated Press reported that “a federal law enforcement official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said

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Pablo Paredes

Petty Officer 3rd Class Pablo Paredes is a 23-year-old sailor in the U.S. Navy who refused to board his Navy ship when it left Dec. 6 to deliver fresh troops to Iraq.

Paredes did not refuse further service in the Navy because of concern for his own personal safety, as contended by many in the capitalist media who charge him with cowardice. He was an electronics technician who would have spent his on-duty hours in a climate-controlled control room and his off-duty hours surfing the Internet in a vessel completely unthreatened by an Iraqi insurgency that is without either a navy or an air force.

Paredes explained himself clearly when he publicly announced his intention to refuse any further military service. As he put it to NBC San Diego, "I don't want to be a part of a ship that's taking 3,000 Marines over there, knowing a hundred or more of them won't come back. I can't sleep at night knowing that's what I do for a living." As the NBC report put it, Paredes "said he was young and naive when he joined the Navy and 'never imagined, in a million years, we would go to war with somebody who had done nothing to us.'" "I'd rather do a year in prison in the military than do six months of dirty work for a war I don't believe in," he said.

Paredes will almost certainly receive prison time for standing up and being counted against the war. He won't be alone. Several hundred members of the U.S. military have reportedly filed for conscientious objector status since the beginning of 2003, when the Bush administration began making war preparations vis-à-vis Iraq. If the record of the U.S. military in the Persian Gulf War is any indication, the vast majority of them will go to prison. The army granted only 111 CO status requests in that war, and sent 2,500 soldiers to prison, according to a *Boston Globe* report.

The overwhelming majority of CO applicants are recruits from impoverished families of the working class for whom the capitalist class has limited use. The military, which recruits disproportionately in poor neighborhoods, promises them funds for college and health care and home loan assistance in the future. This "poverty draft" assures plenty of cannon fodder for capitalism. But many are shocked by the uses to which the military puts their lives.

Young people of conscience like Pablo Paredes give us hope that not all will be led down the primrose path to sacrifice on the altar of profit. Those who stand up and say "No!" to the capitalist war machine are in many ways not unlike a Russian officer Daniel De Leon wrote of in 1903 who, when ordered to command his troops to fire upon striking workers in Kiev, refused—and was immediately arrested, court martialed and sentenced to death.

"For generations," De Leon observed, "people have been singing the psalms of the psalmists and doing the acts of fiends; preaching the admonitions of the prophets and indulging in the ways of the wicked; professing Christianity and practicing devilry." A new generation of those like the Russian martyr, however, "promise to end the hypocrisy."

Let us hope that Pablo Paredes is a sign of our times.

—K.B.

An Unintelligent Act

The National Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act that sailed through Congress in December, and that President Bush signed into law faster than Kris Kringle could cross the Canadian border on Christmas Eve, is supposed to make America safe from another 9/11-style attack. That's how the capitalist media portrayed and promoted it, and that's what the politicians who enacted it said it would do. U.S. Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) put it this way:

"Just as the National Security Act of 1947 was passed to prevent another Pearl Harbor, the Intelligence Reform Act will help us prevent another 9/11."

What Sen. Collins failed to mention, what must have slipped her mind, is how often 9/11 has been compared to Pearl Harbor. Indeed, it was precisely the failure of the National Security Act of 1947 to prevent the 9/11 "Pearl Harbor" that led Congress to give it another try. If at first you don't succeed, etc.

Another thing that Sen. Collins failed to mention is what the old security law did accomplish. It shook up the old Washington bureaucracy and created the National Security Council, complete with a security "czar" at the top. The "czar" on top is the president of the United States, and on Sept., 11, 2001, the president of the United States was none other than—George W. Bush.

That may explain why Mr. Bush flip-flopped on the 9/11 Commission recommendations that led to the new Intelligence Reform Act. When the commission issued its report, he flipped. He was against the "reforms." Then he remembered how much "hard work...incredibly hard" work, intelligence involves. Then he flopped over in favor of it.

Last April, before the 9/11 Commission's report—that didn't come along until July—or Bush's waffling, which came even later, former U.S. Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III wrote an op-ed piece for *The New York Times*, in which he came close to pinpointing the real problem U.S. capitalism is having with its foreign policy and its spy agencies. "Foreign intelligence supports foreign policy," he wrote. "Its priorities are determined by policy makers." To which he added:

"The failures of the Bush administration are not those of foreign intelligence but of a cerebral sort of intelligence."

The difference between the Stevensons, Kerrys and other Democrats, on the one hand, and the Republicans now in charge at Washington, comes down to this: The Democrats believe government should show a bit of finesse and exercise statesmanship to cajole Iraq and other countries into accepting American imperialism, whereas the Republicans in charge appear intent on jamming U.S. imperialist ambitions down the throats of the reluctant.

It's a difference, to be sure, but only of technique. Either way, American imperialism courts disaster by fueling the flames of resentment. There is no safety for bullies, no matter how strong they are, when their victims outnumber them by the billions.

A De Leon Editorial

Imperialism's Tune

Presidents come and presidents go, but when it comes to using the country's military power to protect capitalism's imperialist interests abroad all presidents are pretty much the same.



The President's Message

(Daily People, Dec. 4, 1900)

Never yet has the annual performance, known as the "President's Message," reached the depth or the height of hypocrisy that did McKinley's message, read yesterday before Congress. One is accustomed to hear rehearsed in these performances the trite phrases about the country's grandeur, the liberty of our people, the happiness of our working class, the industry of our idle or Capitalist Class;—to all this one has grown accustomed, attaching no more importance to it than to the commonplaces of civility that are uttered even among people on unfriendly terms. But yesterday's performance outdoes all that has hitherto been done of late upon this line.

The President's message rightly gives the right of way to operations in China and the Philippine Islands. And yet, after opening with two such points, that mark a complete subversion of the country's policy, the message brazenly closes with this passage:

"Our growing power brings with it temptations and perils requiring constant vigilance to avoid. It must not be used to invite conflicts nor for oppression, but for the more effective maintenance of those principles of equality and justice upon which our institutions and happiness depend. Let us keep always in mind that the foundation of our government is liberty; its superstructure peace."

The serving of the devil in God's livery has many exemplifications; never yet, however, was the vile performance exhibited in such unblushing style, upon such an elevated stage, or by so exalted an actor.

To the tune of pretending to warn against the "abuse of power," the national invasion of two distant and weak peoples is commended; to the tune of avoiding deeds of oppression, military operations are favored, intended only to subjugate unwilling nations; to the tune of peace, the war-drum is beaten; to the tune of liberty the chains of vassalage are forged! Nor is this all. To the tune of "justice," our products are to be rammed down the throats of unwilling purchasers; to the tune of "our happiness," broad fields are to be opened, whence the already over-stocked Labor Market at home will be swollen by millions of "equality," the foundation is laid to intensify the economic inequality that already plagues us at home!

The "President's Message" having reached this notch, what dizzy height of perfidy can be henceforth expected from that quarter?

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.

The Chicago Manifesto

The document that led to formation of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905

In January 1905, a group of 26 men and one woman met "secretly" at the American Labor Union's headquarters in Chicago to draw up a manifesto and issue a call inviting trade unionists from across the country to gather at a larger meeting to be held in the same city the following June.

The stated aim of those who attended the Chicago Conference was to reorganize the American labor movement on industrial and revolutionary lines and to challenge the reactionary "pure and simple" trades unionism of the American Federation of Labor.

The Chicago, or Industrial Union, Manifesto that came out of the January conference led to the first, or constitutional, convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, held in Chicago from June 27 to July 8, 1905.

The January meeting that produced the Chicago Manifesto followed an earlier but smaller gathering held late in 1904 in the same location. It was that earlier meeting that issued the invitation to the January conference. Among other things, that invitation, dated Nov. 29, 1904, expressed the belief that "the working class political expression, through the Socialist ballot, in order to be sound, must have its economic counterpart in a

labor organization builded as the structure of Socialist society, embracing within itself the working class in approximately the same groups and departments and industries that the workers would assume in the working class administration of the Co-Operative Commonwealth...."

This principle eventually would be embodied in the Preamble to the IWW's Constitution, which declared that the class struggle would continue "until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field...."

It is not our purpose here to review the controversy and struggle that grew out this provision of the IWW's original Constitution. We intend to return to that controversy, along with other questions pertinent to the class struggle and the state of the "labor movement" today, in future issues.

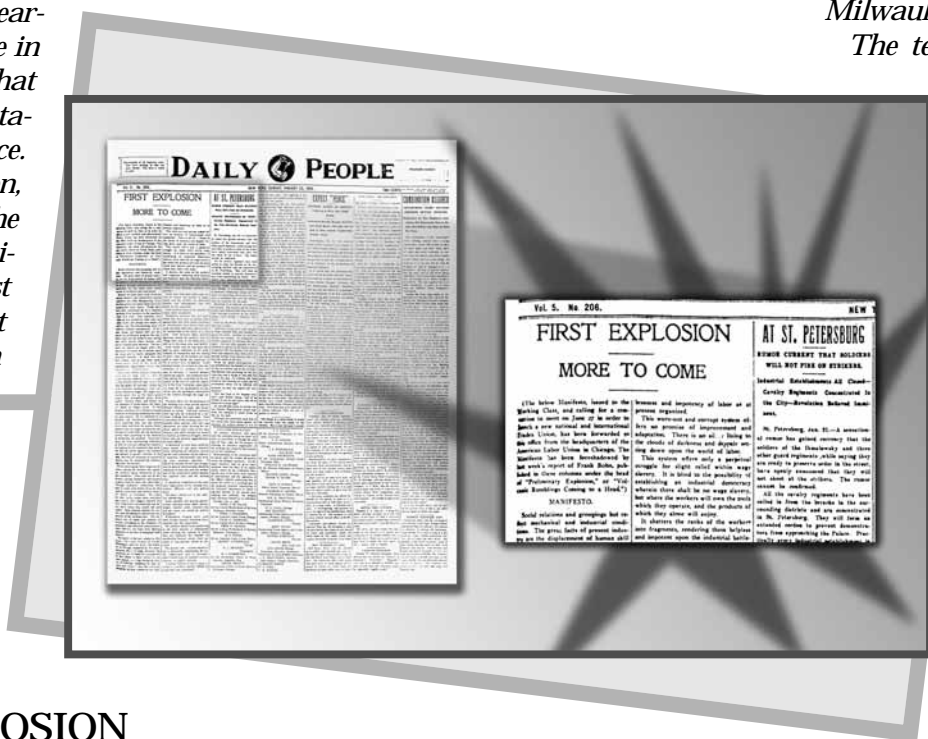
For now, however, our purpose simply is to

mark the 100th anniversary of the Chicago Manifesto by reprinting it, together with the report that Frank Bohn, the Socialist Labor Party's representative at the January 1905 conference, sent to the DAILY PEOPLE.

Both documents appear here exactly as originally printed, with only the most obvious typographical errors corrected. The "volcanic rumblings" mentioned by Bohn refers to several articles, some reprinted from other publications, reporting on the growing discontent among rank-and-file workers with the AFL's brand of "unionism" and on some of the early forebodings within the AFL bureaucracy, and among its Socialist Party friends, that a revolt was brewing. Two SP men who Bohn mentioned as being invited but refusing to attend the Chicago Conference were Max Hayes, editor of the CLEVELAND CITIZEN, and Victor Berger, editor of the Milwaukee-based SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

The text of the manifesto as printed in the

DAILY PEOPLE differs slightly from the text printed in the published proceedings of the first IWW convention. The differences are incidental, however, and it appears here just as it appeared in the DAILY PEOPLE on "Bloody Sunday," Jan. 22, 1905.



Facsimile of the *Daily People* for Jan. 22, 1905, featuring the Chicago Manifesto (First Explosion) and news of Russia.

PRELIMINARY EXPLOSION OR VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS COMING TO A HEAD

(Daily People, Jan. 17, 1905)

(Special to the *Daily* and *Weekly People* from Frank Bohn, National Organizer of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.)

St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 13.—All readers of *The People* have, for some time, had their ears attuned to the music of "Volcanic Rumbings." They have been aware that a storm of opposition to pure and simpledom in general and to the A.F. of L. in particular, has been gathering in the West. The utterly contemptible attitude assumed by the leaders of that once powerful body in these days of its hopeless degeneracy; the paralyzing effects of defeat after defeat sustained by it during the past few years; and the degradation of those "Socialists" whose A.F. of L. positions act as bribes, have called forth a vigorous protest from that portion of the S.P. who refuse to be longer unequally yoked together with criminals. The time being fully ripe for action, a conference of industrial unionists was lately called by a group of men prominently connected with the American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and revolutionary elements in the American Federation of Labor, notably the Brewery Workmen. While passing through Chicago I was invited to meet with this group and discuss the situation. This, after learning that the group were to meet as individuals, and not as delegates, I agreed to do. The conference took place during the first week in January. Among the twenty-five present were Haywood and Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners, Clarence Smith, Haggerty and Estes of the American Labor Union, Trautmann, Editor of the *Brauer Zeitung*. This conference issued the Manifesto to American Workingmen, which calls

for a convention of all industrial, class conscious unionists, to be held in June. To this convention the S.T. & L.A. is expected to send delegates. Some knowledge of the character of this conference and its attitude on "The Burning Question," may be helpful to members of the S.T. & L.A. in coming to a conclusion on the attitude to be taken by their organization with regard to the proposed convention.

Trautmann, in stating the general purpose of the conference on behalf of the Committee of Seven, proclaimed clearly and firmly the old, old truths which we, of the S.L.P., have never ceased to emphasize during all these years of fighting. After proving the capitalist character of the A.F. of L. and showing its open follies and its hidden rottenness, he added:

"It will be said that we are practically accepting the principles of the S.T. & L.A. Yes, we are. We must come to that. They are the right principles."

The fiercest attacks on pure and simpledom and on "boring from within" the A.F. of L. were made by those who have been the last to turn against that organization, such as Sherman of Texas, and other Western men whose names I have forgotten. The members of the conference were practically unanimous in unqualified ratification of class conscious, industrial unionism, as advocated by the S.T. & L.A. As a leading member of the A.L.U. stated to me in private conversation: "It is plain that the fight which De Leon and the S.L.P. have been making all these years is the right fight to make."

Some members of the conference objected to the call for a convention and advocated the re-organization of all class conscious industrial unionists about an existing organization as a nucleus. But it was quickly pointed out that such action would have little influence further than to secure the adhesion of some members of the conference as individuals. The desired result

could only be obtained through the action of a convention really representing organized bodies of workingmen.

Careful perusal of the contents of the Manifesto will make clear, better than anything else which might be said, what is working in the minds of these men. That the new organization IS TO BE AFFILIATED WITH NO POLITICAL PARTY, is a feature of the Manifesto most interesting to members of both the S.T. & L.A. and the S.L.P. With reference to this matter the S.T. & L.A. delegates, if any are sent, should have very definite opinions. This attitude on the political character of the proposed organization, prevailed with a majority of the members of the conference, because it was thought that attention should just now be riveted upon the subject of re-organization upon the industrial field. "Socialists" not interested in the subject of industrial unionism are supposed to remain away from the June convention. It is to be hoped that the convention may accept all those principles which have made the S.T. & L.A. heretofore the only real Socialist labor union; and make provision for a clear-cut organization along the lines marked out by those principles. This will mean at once a powerful attack upon the A.F. of L. and all its defenders, including "Socialists" like Max Hayes, Berger and the *Volkszeitung* crew, as well as Gompers and Mitchell.

One more incident—it will be seen at once that the list of signatures to the Manifesto contains the names of some men who have been most bitter opponents of both the S.T. & L.A. and the S.L.P. Furthermore the names of some appear who were not present at the conference, notably those of Debs and Untermann, the latter of whom has been in the past a most strenuous advocate of "boring from within." In all the discussion which is now to come, may principles and not individuals be considered as really important.

(Continued on page 8)

Bloody Sunday

A massacre outside the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg on Jan. 22, 1905, sparked the first Russian Revolution against Czarist Oppression

A series of strikes that swept through czarist Russia in the winter of 1904–1905 culminated in massive demonstrations at the imperial capital at St. Petersburg on Sunday, Jan. 22, 1905. The most important of these demonstrations gathered in the plaza outside the Winter Palace of Czar Nicholas II.

Thousands of workers and their families were led onto the square outside the palace by Father Georgi Gapon, a Russian Orthodox priest and Christian Socialist. Gapon and his followers were intent on presenting a petition of grievances to the czar in the naive hope that the monarch would intervene on their behalf to improve working conditions and establish a democratically elected national assembly that would give workers' representatives a voice in national affairs.

Demonstrations throughout the city were met by mounted Cossacks, Uhlans and imperial troops. Some of the regular soldiers refused orders to disperse the crowds and laid down their arms rather than shoot into the mass of defenseless demonstrators, but in the square outside the Winter Palace Cossacks and soldiers massacred hundreds of unarmed men, women and children.

The incident, known to history as "Bloody Sunday," triggered the Russian Revolution of 1905. It precipitated more demonstrations, strikes, factory occupations and other events (notably the formation of the first soviets) that led the czarist regime to agree to a national assembly, or Duma, by August 1905. The Duma, composed of political puppets of the monarchy and capitalists, proved to be a farce.

Some Russian revolutionaries who wanted to see the monarchy overthrown believed that Father Gapon was a police spy in service to the czarist regime. Lenin may not have shared that view, but it seemed obvious to him that the government was prepared to meet the demonstrations of Jan. 22 and that exposing workers to violence in that way was a stupid act. Lenin wrote:

"That Father Gapon is an AGENT-PROVOCATEUR is a surmise that would seem to be borne out by the fact that...the police deliberately allowed the strike movement to spread as widely and freely as possible, and that the government...WANTED to provoke bloody reprisals under conditions most favorable to itself....

"But the existence of such a plan by no means rules out the possibility that Father Gapon was an UNCONSCIOUS instrument of this plan. That there is a liberal, reformative movement among certain sections of the young Russian clergy cannot be doubted; this movement...has even been given a name of its own—the 'New-Orthodox' movement. We cannot, therefore, flatly dismiss the idea that Father Gapon may be a sincere Christian Socialist and that it was Bloody Sunday which converted him to the truly revolutionary path. We are inclined to support this idea, especially since Gapon's letters written after the massacre...declaring that 'we have no tsar', his call to fight for freedom, etc., are facts that speak for his honesty and sincerity; for it could not possibly be part of the duties of an agent-provocateur to agitate so powerfully for the continuation of the uprising."

Gapon's innocence also was confirmed by the tragic end he met. He fled from Russia to escape arrest after the massacre outside the Winter Palace, but a czarist police spy embedded in the Social Revolutionary Party assassinated him after he returned to the country in 1906.

In America, the Socialist Labor Party also had suspicions about Gapon's role, but they were of a different sort. While the SLP did not believe the priest was a police spy, neither did it believe that

Bloody Sunday had turned him onto a "truly revolutionary path." The SLP and Daniel De Leon knew that Gapon's ideas on how unions should organize and conduct themselves came from the procapitalist American Federation of Labor and its president, Samuel Gompers, and not from the socialist movement. "Gapon and Gaponism is Gompersism," De Leon wrote. "Gapon said himself that he got his ideas of how 'unions' should be from the A.F. of L." DAILY PEOPLE, June 17, 1906)

The SLP and De Leon were concerned that "Gompersism" in America could mislead American workers into catastrophes similar to Bloody Sunday. The AFL's strategy of seeking "safe relations" with the capitalist class, and its participation with Mark Hanna and other capitalists in the Civic Federation, underscored these concerns. The Battle of Homestead (1892) and the Lattimer massacre (1897) at Hazelton, Pa., were ominous signs of impending disaster.

The plight of Russia's exploited workers and peasants had won the sympathy of millions of

Czarism, and which stands upon the principle that there is nothing to 'arbitrate' between the Oppressors and the Oppressed, a principle long ago embodied in the celebrated maxim of William Liebknecht: 'to parliamentarize is to compromise'—a principle that no bona fide revolutionary movement can abandon for a moment without abandoning its cause.

"We cheer the Russian Working Class for the high pinnacle of humanity and morality to which it raised itself by extending the hand of brotherhood to its brothers of Japan, thereby tearing itself loose from the hypocritical 'humanity' and actual immorality of the ruling class that, while preaching 'brotherhood' finds its account in tearing the peoples of the earth into opposing packs of mutually devouring hyenas.

"With our brothers in Russia we say:

"Down with Absolutism!

"Down with Class Rule!

"Down with the White Terror and all other terrors that keep Humanity in subjection.

"Down with the barriers that separate nation from nation, and with the chains that fetter together unwilling peoples into artificial nationalities.

"With the Poles in Russian Poland, as well

as those in the Prussian and Austrian fractions of the dismembered Polish nation, we join in the hearty cry: 'Long live Poland!'

"To the Russian Working Class in particular we cry out enthusiastically: 'Three cheers for the Russian Revolution!' Three cheers for its dauntless Apostles!

"Resolved, That these resolutions be forwarded by the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party to George Plechanoff, Paul Axelrode, N. Uteroff, Vera Zassulitch and Leo Deutsch; the Geneva, Switzerland, General Council of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party."

The SLP lent its support to the unfolding Russian Revolution of 1905 in other ways. The party's official newspaper, the DAILY PEOPLE, carried many articles on developing events before and after Bloody Sunday. Many of those articles were based on dispatches from the socialist press in France and other sources. The following appeared on the front page on Monday, Jan. 23, 1905, one day after the massacre outside the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg.

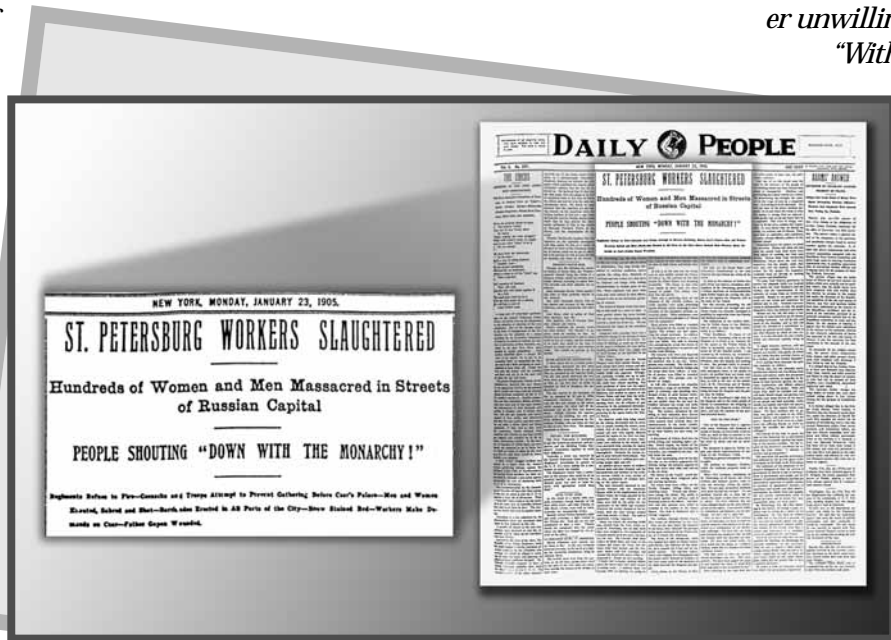
ST. PETERSBURG WORKERS SLAUGHTERED

Hundreds of Women and Men
Massacred in Streets of Russian Capital

PEOPLE SHOUTING "DOWN WITH
THE MONARCHY"

Regiments Refuse to Fire—Cossacks and Troops Attempt to Prevent Gathering Before Czar's Palace—Men and Women Knouted, Sabred and Shot—Barricades Erected in All Parts of the City—Snow Stained Red—Workers Make Demands on Czar—Father Gapon Wounded.

St. Petersburg, Jan. 22.—The streets of this city to-day ran red with the blood of proletarians, who, long having submitted to wretched conditions, uprose against the ruling class. Hundreds of unarmed men and women were shot down by Cossacks and troops while holding demonstrations in various parts of the city.



Facsimile of the *Daily People* for Monday, Jan. 23, 1905, the day after "Bloody Sunday."

workers around the world long before the winter of 1904–1905. Bloody Sunday deepened that sympathy and led to massive demonstrations in Western Europe. In the United States, the SLP sponsored and participated in a number of such demonstrations and "indignation rallies," particularly in New York City. On Feb. 6, 1905, for example, the SLP held a rally with speeches by G. Urieff of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and SLP members James Connolly (the "Irish agitator"), Joseph Schlossberg (of the Garment Workers' Union), Boris Reinstein and De Leon.

While the SLP made plain its sympathy and support for the Russian workers at this and other gatherings, it also deplored "Gaponism" and the vain attempt to win justice from the brutal monsters that ruled Russia with an iron fist, as shown by the following resolution adopted at the Feb. 6 rally in Grand American Hall:

"The toiling masses of Greater New York and vicinity in mass meeting assembled on this 6th day of February, 1905, at Grand American Hall, under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party of America, do hereby send greetings to the Russian Working Class for its intrepidity in ringing the signal for revolt against the barbarism of Czarism and the minor barbarisms that shelter themselves under its obscene wings.

"We applaud the intelligence of the Russian Working Class in detecting the fraud attempted upon them by the comedy of the 'workingmen's delegation to the Czar'; we applaud their clearness of sight in recognizing in the said delegation nothing but 'Government overseers', or what we here in America call the 'labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class'; we applaud their attitude, which is ours in America towards Capitalist

Some regiments laid down their arms and, when ordered by their officers, refused to fire on the defenceless gathering of workers.

The capital of Russia awoke this morning to find itself in a state of siege. A more perfect winter day never dawned. The air was crisp and invigorating, and scarcely a cloud was in the sky. The sun illuminated the domes of the cathedrals and churches.

Compared with yesterday there was a noticeable change in the bearing of those who were early astir in the streets. Instead of flocking as usual up the steps of St. Isaac's Cathedral, all were slowly, silently wending their way, singly and in small groups, in the direction of the Winter Palace.

The Grand Morski and Nevski Prospect wore their normal Sunday aspect, except that fewer women and children were abroad and considerably less vehicle traffic was apparent. Throughout yesterday evening and up to midnight the wildest rumors filled the air. One could hear almost anything. The most persistent of these was the report that the Emperor against the advice of his ministers, had decided to appear at the Winter Palace and hear from the strikers themselves their position. But this morning there was no evidence of any relaxation in the pronounced determination of the authorities not to allow any gathering in the square before the Winter Palace.

No observer could help being struck by the solemn, determined look on every face as people, turning the corners, came within view of the palace. Necks were craned and eyes were eagerly directed toward the square to see what was happening. Already crowds of many thousands were collected in the vicinity, but were prevented from entering the square by mounted troops drawn up across each thoroughfare. Presently the masses began to press forward threateningly. The cavalry advanced at a walking pace, scattering people right and left.

As minutes passed reports of conflicts became more and more frequent and the determination and numbers of the strikers became evident in every section of the city, particularly all avenues leading to the palace square.

The mob constantly increased in the Nevski Prospect and the Admiralty Square, while in the neighborhood of the Winter Palace the troops guarded all its approaches. Cabs and vehicles of all kinds were held by the police for the conveyance of the killed and wounded. Wherever the cavalry charged or the infantry fired the snow became stained with long streaks of blood. The mob is infuriated, vowing vengeance.

About ten o'clock this morning 15,000 men started from the Neva works toward St. Petersburg, but an hour later they were stopped by two companies of Cossacks drawn up in five rows, who barred the way. The Cossacks, fired three volleys of blank shots, and some of the strikers fled across the Neva; but the others held their ground, and the Cossacks loaded with ball cartridges and charged the crowd with heavy whips and dispersed it. Troops are now massing.

Uhlans and Cossacks, obeying orders, drove the crowd back with their swords, wounding many. A military band was playing while the fighting was going on. The Emperor remained at Tsarskoe Selo. The Cossacks at first used knouts, then the flats of their sabres, and finally they fired.

At 2.22 p.m. the mob and the troops were in open conflict around the Palace. At 2.55 p.m., the pressure of the mob around the Palace Square was becoming irresistible. The troops at that time were unable to drive back the dense masses of people. Two volleys were fired into the crowd.

There was a gathering later of ten thousand of the Putiloff strikers, at which speeches were made protesting against dilatory action, declaring it characteristic of the Emperor's

attitude toward the people. These sentiments were received with cheers and shouts of "Down with the monarchy!"

Many persons were killed or wounded in the dispersal of the crowds in Palace Square. The strikers are now organizing for armed resistance. In addition to the Superintendent of Police, a Cossack was killed. The mob is erecting wire entanglements across the streets in the Vassiliostroff districts to prevent the cavalry from charging.

The Cossacks rode down and dispersed a gathering on the Schlüsselberg road, on the northeast side of the city. Thirty persons were wounded. The strikers endeavored to force the Troitsky bridge and the troops fired three volleys. A number of persons were killed or wounded at this point. Five persons were removed on sledges.

At 3.30 this afternoon the situation had reached a stage of revolution. The quiet



Father Gapon, who led thousands of Russian workers to slaughter on "Bloody Sunday," 1905.

of yesterday and preceding days changed today to most intense excitement. Blood is already flowing and no one can predict what the end may be. Conflicts between the troops and mobs of strikers are occurring in every direction. The strikers, infuriated by the killing of their comrades, have thrown aside all semblance of the quiet insistence that marked their attitude since the commencement of the strike trouble, turned into frenzied commune, and urged on by their leaders, are now ready for anything.

A detachment of Uhlans fired into the crowd, killing and wounding eighty persons. Father Gapon, the leader of the strikers, while marching and wearing full vestments, was wounded in the arm. He still heads his men.

The most encouraging event of the day was that as the strikers approached the Nicholas bridge the infantry opposed to them laid down their rifles and refused to fire on them.

The rioters in the Vassili Ostroff district are tearing down telegraph poles and erecting barricades.

The troops fired three volleys on the Nevski Prospect, killing thirty and wounding many. Women and children were among the killed. The public is infuriated against the military and is throwing stones at the officers. One hundred and fifty persons were killed or wounded in the conflict in the Palace Square. The mob is infuriated and is vowing vengeance.

The strikers, through Father Gapon, have issued an ultimatum to the Czar.

They do not now "pray" the Emperor to see

them; they "demand" his presence in the great courtyard of the Winter Palace at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

The terms of the ultimatum, which was handed last night to Prince Syiatopolk-Mirsky, the Minister of the Interior, have amazed the Court and its imperial master. The old-time subserviency and cringing have disappeared and the people curtly demand an audience of the Czar under pain of the breaking of the bond between the Emperor and people.

Never before in the history of Russia have the relations between autocrat and subjects been so audaciously overturned.

Not only are the Grand Dukes and bureaucrats thunderstruck at the tone adopted, but the Church has arisen in its wrath.

As soon as the contents of Father Gapon's letter was known, Antonius, Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, pronounced a formal anathema of excommunication upon Father Gapon for causing the people to rise against the Emperor, who is the head of the Church.

For this extreme proceeding the old mediaeval formula was brought out, and Father Gapon was formally consigned to perdition, to separation from the Church, and declared accursed.

The ultimatum of the strikers delivered by Father Gapon to the Minister, and to which no reply has been vouchsafed, is as follows:

"Your Excellency: Workmen of all classes in St. Petersburg wish to see the Emperor at 2 o'clock p.m., January 22, in the square at the Winter Palace, in order to personally express to him the needs of all the Russian people. I am assured by all workmen, my co-laborers and comrades, and even by alleged revolutionists, that His Majesty has nothing to fear. His personal safety is assured.

"Let him come as the true Emperor, with courageous heart, to his people to receive the petition from our hands that is demanded by regard for his own welfare, as well as for that of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg and of Russia. Otherwise the moral bond hitherto existing between the Emperor and the people may be broken.

"It is Your Excellency's high duty to the Emperor and to the entire people of Russia to communicate the foregoing to his Majesty the Emperor to-day without delay, and also the contents of our petition attached hereto.

"SAY TO THE CZAR:

"Say to the Emperor that I, together with many workmen, and thousand[s] of people of Russia, am irrevocably resolved, with my faith in him, to proceed to the Winter Palace in order that he may show his faith by deeds, and not by manifestos."

The document is signed by Father Gapon and eleven representatives of sections of the Workmen's Union.

Fighting is general throughout the city to-night.

The petition to Emperor Nicholas, which the workmen prepared, reads as follows:

"Sire:—We, workmen, inhabitants of St. Petersburg, of all classes, our wives, children and indigent parents, come to you, our sovereign, asking for protection. We are poor, persecuted, burdened with labor beyond our strength. We are insulted, treated not as men, but as slaves who ought to bear their cruel fate in silence. We have suffered, but are being plunged deeper in the mire and deprived of our rights. Unrestricted, stifled by destitution and injustice, we are perishing. We have no strength left.

"Sire, we have arrived at the extreme limits of endurance. We have reached the terrible moment when death is to be preferred to a continuation of our intolerable sufferings. We have left our work and informed our employers that we will not resume until our demands are conceded. We have not asked much; we have asked but for means of livelihood, without which life

(Continued on page 8)

...Bloody Sunday

(Continued from page 7)

is a burden and labor continual torture.

"Our first move is that our masters should investigate our case. They have refused. We have been denied the right to put forward our claim, it being held that such right is not recognized by law."

After referring to the eight-hour day and other points in their case, the petitioners continue:

"Any one of us who dared raise his voice in the interests of the people of the working classes has been thrown into prison or transported. Kindness and good feeling have been treated as a crime. The bureaucracy has brought the country to the verge of ruin by a shameful way. It is luring it to its downfall. We have no voice in the heavy burdens imposed; we do not know for whom or why this money is wrung from an impoverished people, and we do not know how it is expended. This state of things, contrary to divine laws, renders life impossible. It were better that we should all perish, we workers and all Russia. Then, good luck to capitalists, and exploiters, and poor, corrupt officials, robbers of the Russian people.

"Assembled before thy palace, we plead our salvation. Refuse not thine aid and raise thy people from their tomb. Give them means of working out their own destiny. Rescue them from intolerable officialdom. Throw down the wall that separates; free thy people; order that they may rule the country with thee. Create for thy people the happiness wrenched from us, leaving us nothing but sorrow and humiliation.

"We pray Your Majesty graciously to receive our demands which are inspired by a desire for

Your Majesty's and our welfare and the consciousness of the necessity of escape from an intolerable situation. Russia is too great and her needs are too varied and numerous for officials only to rule. National representation is indispensable, as only the people themselves know the country's real needs.

"Refuse not thy aid, but order a convocation of representatives of all classes, including workmen. Let all be free and equal in the elections, and to this end permit the election of a constituent assembly by general secret ballot. That is our chief demand, in which all else centres. It is the sole balm for our wounds, which will otherwise speedily bring us death.

"A single measure, however, will not heal all our wounds. Therefore, we acquaint you frankly and openly on behalf of the whole Russian working classes, as to a father, with our further demands."

After making these demands the petition concludes as follows:

"These, sire, are our principal needs, satisfaction whereof can free Russia from slavery and misery, make her prosperous and enable workmen to organize in defense of their interests against the capitalist exploitation and official robbery which are stifling the people. Order and swear they shall be satisfied and you will make Russia happy and glorious and inscribe your name forever in the hearts of our people and their posterity, while, should you repulse and reject our prayer, we will die in this square before your palace. We have nowhere else to go. Only two paths are open to us, either toward liberty and happiness or to the grave. Should our lives serve as a holocaust for suffering

Russia we shall not regret the sacrifice, but shall bear it willingly."

The refusal of the Czar to grant the plea of the Zemstvos for a constitution and national assembly marked the beginning of the present troubles. On the request of the Zemstvos' presidents for reform the Czar wrote: "I consider it tactless and presumptuous."

The movement for popular government was followed by the present great strike of artisans of all kinds in St. Petersburg.

The substance of the proposals of the zemstvo delegates is that the system of government in Russia is due to estrangement of government and people and the absence of mutual confidence, and that the unrestricted expression of public opinion is essential in guaranteed freedom of conscience and speech, and that zemstvo institutions, in which local and popular life are mostly concentrated, must be placed in conditions in which they may successfully carry out their duties.

St. Petersburg, Jan. 22.—The following is the history of George Gapon, the priest who is acting as a leader of the workingmen. He was born in Poltava in 1839 and is the son of a peasant. In his boyhood he herded geese and pigs. He showed phenomenal mental ability, and friends of the family sent him to school and afterward to a seminary, where he studied for the priesthood.

When he was in the final class he was expelled for insisting on discussing the material conditions of the peasantry. Then he was a zemstvo clerk until a young woman friend, who was also a Socialist, urged him to seek to enter the priesthood, which he did under limitations which did not permit him to have a general pastorate.

He wrote a book on Christian Socialism which the government suppressed.

...Explosion

(Continued from page 5)

The men made prominent by the Colorado struggle, Moyer and Haywood, Clarence Smith and Haggerty, have been the means of instituting the new movement. Lessons learned by them in the bitter school of experience have prompted this first step on their part. "The miners of Colorado," said Haywood, permanent chairman of the conference, "fought alone the capitalist class of the United States. We don't wish to fight that way again." Never have a group of men more deeply impressed me as possessing those sterling qualities which make men worthy of fighting the great fight of the working class. For S.T. & L.A. delegates to meet such men can result in good alone to all concerned. If less worthy characters find their way to the convention there is all the more need of counteracting influences. Final action, it must not be forgotten by all concerned, rests with the membership of the various bodies represented on the floor of the convention.

FRANK BOHN.

FIRST EXPLOSION

MORE TO COME

(Daily People, Jan. 22, 1905)

(The below Manifesto, issued to the Working Class, and calling for a convention to meet on June 27 in order to launch a new national and international Trades Union, has been forwarded to this office from the headquarters of the American Labor Union in Chicago. The Manifesto has been foreshadowed by last week's report of Frank Bohn, published in these columns under the head of "Preliminary Explosion," or "Volcanic Rumbblings Coming to a Head.")

MANIFESTO.

Social relations and groupings but reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines ever replacing less productive ones wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, across which in this world of monopolized opportunities means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by differences

in trade skill, but the employer assorting them according to the machine to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill, or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial fratricidal distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the judicial injunctions and military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions.

The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow workers, subject to the same masters, the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair setting down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle

(Continued on page 9)

...First Explosion

(Continued from page 8)

for slight relief within wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the products of which they alone will enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent upon the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men, hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered, helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft. Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers. Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action. Universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles, which serve only the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally and working class autonomy generally. It should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmo-

ny with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

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

All power should rest in the collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

Workingmen bringing union cards from foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

All members should hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

The general administration should issue a publication, representing the organization and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry, at regular intervals.

A Central Defense Fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

CALL FOR CONVENTION.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of workers whom the delegate represents. No delegate, however, shall be given representation upon the basis of an organization, unless he has credentials, bearing the seal of his union, local, national or international, and the signatures of the officers thereof, authorizing him to install his union as a working part of the proposed economic organization in the industrial department to which it logically belongs in the general plan. Lacking this authority, the delegate shall represent himself as an individual.

Chicago, Jan. 4, 1905.

THOS. J. DE YOUNG, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, Houston, Texas.

THOS. J. HAGGERTY, of the American Labor Union, Chicago.

CHAS. O. SHERMAN, of the United Metal Workers, Chicago.

FRED D. HENION, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, Minneapolis.

M.E. WHITE, of the American Labor Union, Denver.

ERNEST UNTERMANN, Chicago.

- W.J. BRADLEY, Minneapolis.
 W.J. PINKERTON, of the Switchmens' Union of North America, Argentine, Kan.
 FRANK KRAFFT, International Union of United Brewery Workmen, Chicago.
 A.J. SWING, of the American Federation of Musicians, Cincinnati.
 A.M. SIMONS, Editor *International Socialist Review*, Chicago.
 J.E. FITZGERALD, Fort Worth, Texas.
 WADE SHURTLEFF, of the International Musical Union, Cleveland, Ohio.
 WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, of the Western Federation of Miners, Denver.
 MOTHER JONES, Chicago.
 FRANK M. M[C]CABE, CHICAGO.
 JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor *Miners' Magazine*, Denver.
 CHARLES H. MOYER, Western Federation of Miners, Denver.
 WM. E. TRAUTMANN, International Union Brewery Workmen, Cincinnati.
 W.L. HALL, Chicago.
 JOS. SCHMITT, International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.
 CLARENCE SMITH, Chicago.
 JOHN GUILD, International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.
 DANIEL M'DONALD, Chicago.
 FRANK BOHN, New York City.
 GEO. ESTES, Chicago.
 Permanent Executive Committee:
 WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, Chairman.
 W.E. TRAUTMANN, Secretary, Odd Fellows' Temple, Cincinnati. [?]
 CLARENCE SMITH,
 W.L. HALL,
 A.M. SIMONS.



William E. Trautmann



Thomas J. Haggerty



William D. Haywood



Frank Bohn

...Act Threatens Liberties

(Continued from page 1)

these federally conforming driver's licenses, and hence the basis for a national ID card system. Such databases are the hallmark of a totalitarian state, not of a democracy.

Moreover, the ACLU added, this "national ID system would depend on both the issuance of an ID card and the integration of huge amounts of personal information included in state and federal government databases. One employee mistake, an underlying database error or common fraud could take away an individual's ability to move freely from place to place or even make them unemployable until the government fixed their 'file.'"

The ACLU also noted that the act "punishes benign or even well-intentioned membership in a designated terrorist group." It "amends the crime of providing 'personnel' as a form of support to a designated terrorist group to include providing oneself—in other words, mere association or membership in the group can be a crime, even if no money or other resources are provided. It would apply even to someone who has nothing to do with the group's violent activities or who is trying to persuade the group to give up violence and join the political process."



The new law also provides for "a national database to allow antiterrorism agencies to access commercial and law enforcement records." This new database would allow "collecting information on Americans who have not committed crimes or without probable cause."

What the new law *does not* provide for is any protection for innocent people who may be caught in its meshes. What it does instead, as the ACLU explained, is "create a weakened civil liberties board that risks becoming the proverbial fox guarding the hen house. The board would be appointed by the president, serve at his pleasure, and have no subpoena power."

Creating a new agency to coordinate military and civilian spying will further expand the powers of the U.S. intelligence community—a "community" whose history of defiance of and opposition to constitutional rights and civil liberties is a matter of public record.

What U.S. workers can expect from the above is clear: more of the same kind of unconstitutional, repressive measures Congress brought us in the Patriot Act. What they should *not* expect is any greater safety from terrorism.

Bush and others who backed the Intelligence Reform Act claim that those who committed the crime of Sept. 11, 2001, hate the United States because it represents democracy and freedom. No doubt Osama bin Laden and other theocratic fanatics hate democracy and freedom. They make no secret about their ambition to turn the clock back to a time when caliphs and other monarchs who based their claims to power on the "will of Allah" ruled over much of the "Islamic world."

Nevertheless, repressive measures cannot defend democracy and freedom. The American working class risks losing both, not because of "terrorism," but by idly standing by as our own ruling class acts to destroy our liberties in the name of "security." As Benjamin Franklin expressed it: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

The greatest threat to the liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights does not come from the Osama bin Ladens of this world, but from our own ruling class and its politicians. Eliminating that threat means organizing to overthrow the predatory capitalist system. It means building a new, cooperative, socialist

world order that alone can resolve international strife. Hesitating to start the task of organizing to accomplish this needed social transformation simply gives our ruling class more time to destroy the Bill of Rights with legislation like the Patriot Act and the Intelligence Reform Act.

The capitalist system is unable to solve any of the severe social and economic problems it creates. The only "solution" available to the class that owns and controls the economy is to repress the discontent its system breeds and seek to control more markets and resources

abroad—which will in turn spur more anti-U.S. terrorism.

Organizing to replace capitalism, and not simply to oppose its repressive measures, is the only way to protect civil liberties and ensure peace. To achieve that goal, the working class needs to organize on a classwide basis to accomplish more than mere resistance to repression. That goal must be the establishment of a socialist society in which democracy can flourish on a secure foundation of social ownership and democratic control of the means of life by all the people.

Three About a Revolution

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53 pp.—75¢.

Order all three for \$3.00 (postpaid). Send your order to:

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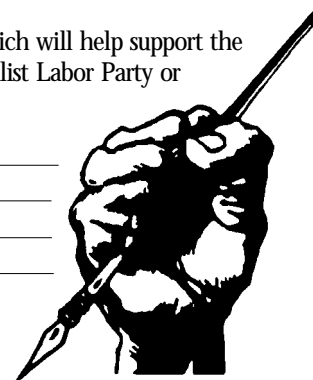
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This is my contribution of \$ _____ for *The People's Press Security Fund*, which will help support the SLP's official journal. (Please make checks/money orders payable to the Socialist Labor Party or *The People* and mail to P.O. Box 218, Mountain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

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letters to the People

SLP'S Prisoners' Fund

Please accept this contribution for the "Prisoners Fund." Thank you for sending *The People*, a breath of fresh air to us. Happy Thanksgiving to all of you at SLP.

Don Cuddihee Sr.
Greer, S.C.

Some 'Criticism'

Hi. All of the Oct. 31 articles from *The People* that flooded into my computer were excellent. My only criticism is that the SLP's existence in capitalist society was described in one of the articles as a "small ray of hope." I believe, rather, that it is a brilliant ray of hope.

If those of us who understand the scientific facts behind capitalist exploitation (and the consequent host of social problems that threaten humanity's future) hold and work together, the evolving and inevitable dissolution of capitalism itself will bring about the conditions for our success.

In all of human history there will be no greater moment than the coming emancipation of our species from class oppression and the establishment of a truly rational society with abundance and freedom for all.

Having a solution in hand is a magnificent first step. Keep marching!

ABCAP
Via email

Holiday Wishes

Please renew my subscription to your great paper, *The People*. I look forward to it as this is one paper that tells the truth. Keep up the good work and have a great holiday season.

Richard L. Vobornik
Superior, Wis.

A Word for the Soldiers

At the time I am writing [Oct. 18] there has been

a lot of news from Iraq about the 18 American soldiers who refused to carry out an order that put them in grave danger—that is driving a very unsafe convoy. Of course, this is a tip of the iceberg of the suffering American military people in Iraq and their families are going through. Why is Commander-in-Chief George W. Bush so indifferent to the suffering of these people? Why is he indifferent to this great loss of American life? Is his loyalty to the New World Order greater? Is the supremacy of the U.S. dollar more important? Is oil more important?

Raymond Solomon
Forest Hills, N.Y.

Freedom of Conscience

Some men and women are being called up for

hammer blows

(Continued from page 3)

investigators have established *no* links to any international terror group, nor have they uncovered *any* plans for *any* attack." (Emphasis added.)

Thus, "the war on terrorism" has provided cover for a broad-based fishing expedition for alleged offenses having absolutely nothing to do with terrorism. Whether suspects are guilty or not matters little, civil liberties are on the endangered species list.

Smelling a Rat

Last year more than 50,000 young American children were sickened by eating rat poison, with several hundreds hospitalized for effects as severe as coma. That's three times as many since 2001 when the EPA changed regulations governing rat poisons. In 1998, the EPA began requiring safety measures to protect children—a bitter taste and a dye making it easier to detect ingestion.

In 2001, however, the EPA said it "came to a mutual agreement with the rodenticide [manufacturers] to rescind the bitter agent and dye indicator requirements."

Like other so-called regulators, the EPA is in bed with those it regulates and protects, above all else, the profit interests of the capitalists from such unnecessary expenses as adding a bittering agent and dye.

Intellectual's Myopia

In November, there was in *The Fresno Bee* an op-ed column by Richard Rothstein, a research associate of the Economic Policy Institute and a visiting lecturer at Teachers College, Columbia University. Rothstein considered "the test-score gap between poor and middle-class [sic] students" that "seems impervious to school reform."

He did a good job of delineating economic factors underlying many probable causes of that gap—different styles of childrearing; the presence or absence of books at home; health differences, including asthma and even tooth decay, with enough poor children with toothaches performing poorly on tests; low-income housing and frequent relocations causing changes in schools; the effect of assets of black and white families with similar incomes on college expectations and hence performance.

He concluded: "...Closing the achievement gap cannot be accomplished by school reform alone. It requires narrowing the social-class differences with which children come to school." He offered no suggestions about how that could be done. Even an academic as seemingly as astute as Rothstein is myopic when it comes to missing the forest (socialism) for the trees (the specifics he detailed).
—P.D.L.

Blizzards?

If you find yourself tramping through rain, sleet and snow to get your copy of *The People*: Wouldn't it be easier to enter a subscription? And one for a friend? Use the subscription coupon on page 2.

their second and third tours of duty in Iraq and they don't like it. There are families to share love and care with and bills are mounting. Some believe it's just not right and they want to make things right.

In actuality these are wage slaves to be used as "cannon fodder" in the interests of U.S. capitalism in the region. They do not know this but hopefully some day they will.

If they say it's not fair to go back to Iraq or Afghanistan they'd be right. If they say it's not morally right to go at all that would also be right.

Each human being has a different level of social consciousness dependent upon their upbringing and experiences in life. The state is never right for it is an organ of coercion and slavery. The sooner the working class realizes this the better off we all will be.

In the meantime any act that strikes the human heart and mind in a negative way is a birth in conscience. It allows us the possibility of a better future and an end to slavery with the growing darkness of fascism.

John S. Gale
Phoenix, Ariz.

Funds

(Oct. 16—Dec. 10)

Christmas Box

Jack Radov \$599; William W. Walbridge \$300; Chris Dobreff \$120; \$100 each Anonymous, Roy K. Nelson, Dr. L. Miles Raisig, Helen Deneff, Robert Hofem, Walter Vojnov "In memory of Marie J. Grove"; Harvey K. Fuller \$55; \$50 each John S. & Rosemary Gale, Kay Lewis "In memory of Marie Grove"; John Hagerty \$30; \$25 each Robert Ormsby, Harley G. Selkregg, Sophia Carevich; \$20 each Lloyd A. Wright, Richard L. Vobornik; \$15 each Marshall G. Soura, Joseph Viditch; \$12 each Richard Wilson, Milton Poulos; Wayne Lovett \$11; Lawrence M. Hackett \$10; D. Geier \$8; Henry Coretz \$4.

Total: \$2,006.00

Thanksgiving Fund

Section Cook County, Ill. \$59.32; Dave D. Cawley \$20.

Total: \$79.32

Press Security Fund

M. & R. Simmons \$2,000; Anonymous \$500; Chris Dobreff \$150; \$50 each Donald Rogers, Albert Bikar; \$40 each R. Brunson, Brenda Von Wandruszka; \$25 each Robb Angelo, Steve Kellerman; Rosemary Gale \$20; \$15 each John E. Kerr, Marshall G. Soura; Thomas Dooley \$10; Dawn Moore \$6; Paul Sheldon \$5; Donald L. Ward \$2.75.

Total: \$2,953.75

SLP Sustainer Fund

Joan Davis \$400; Bernard Bortnick \$300; Chris Dobreff \$200; \$150 each Robert Burns "In memory of George Norton," Robert P. Burns "In memory of Nathan Karp"; \$100 each Lois Reynolds, Michael Preston; Archie Sim "To commemorate my 70 years of membership in the Socialist Labor Party and present 92 years of age" \$70; Archie Sim "In memory of Marie and Theos Grove" \$60; Margaret & Frank Roemhild \$50; Richard A. Aiken "In memory of John W. Aiken" \$45; \$10 each Jill Campbell, Steve Littleton; George T. Gaylord \$1.

Total: \$1,646.00

SLP Leaflet Fund

Richard Wilson \$9.25; Walter K. Bagnick \$5.

Total: \$14.25

Agitation Fund

Robert A. Bloomer \$5.00 (Total)

Prisoner Subscription Fund

Tony Marsella \$50; Dan Kryk \$25; \$15 each Diane Lorraine Poole, Richard M. Shuldiner; \$10 each Donald Cuddihee, Marshall G. Soura; W. Bain \$5.

Total: \$130.00

Genevieve Gunderson Memorial Fund

Paul D. Lawrence \$10.00 (Total)

Daniel De Leon Sesquicentennial Fund

Richard Mack \$10.00 (Total)

Socialist Labor Party

Financial Summary

Balance (Sept. 30) \$233,650.71
Expenses (Oct.-Nov.) 21,749.44
Income (Oct.-Nov.) 9,753.92
Balance (Nov. 30) \$221,655.19
Deficit for 2004 \$ 59,730.17

ACTIVITIES

CALIFORNIA

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

Oakland: Feb. 12 & March 12, 3–5 p.m., Rockridge Public Library, Community Room, 5366 College St.

Santa Clara: Jan. 22, Feb. 19 & March 19; 1:30–4 p.m.; Santa Clara Public Library, Sycamore Room, 2635 Homestead Rd.

San Francisco: Feb. 26 & March 26, 1:30–4 p.m., San Francisco Public Library, Conference Room, Grove & Larkin streets.

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

ILLINOIS

Rock Island—A series of moderated discussions on socialism will be held on the following Saturdays at the Rock Island Public Library, Community Room, 401 19th St.: Jan. 22, 2–4 p.m., "What Is Socialism?"; Feb. 12, 2–4 p.m., "History of Socialism"; March 5, 2–4 p.m., "Basic Marx."

OHIO

Discussion Meetings—For information about upcoming discussion meetings in the Cleveland or Columbus areas, please call 440-237-7933.

OREGON

Portland: Discussion Meetings—Section Portland will hold the following discussion meetings from 10 a.m.–12 noon at the Portland Main Library, SW Yamhill & 10th: Saturday, Jan. 29, "The Trillion Dollar Social Security Hustle." Saturday, Feb. 12, "Permanent Change in the Economy; Lost Jobs That Won't Come Back." For more information call Sid at 503-226-2881 or visit the section's website at <http://slp.pdx.home.mindspring.com>.

Israeli-Palestinian Dispute

Conflict Enters New Stage With Death of Yasser Arafat

By B.B.

After a prolonged isolation in his headquarters in Ramallah, Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and president of the Palestinian Authority (PA), took ill and was rushed to a French military hospital near Paris, where he died on Nov. 11.

With that, the prospects for a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict seemed to experience a sudden revival. At least that may be what the Bush administration was thinking when it sent outgoing Secretary of State Colin Powell to test the waters in Jerusalem and Jericho on Nov. 21-22.

In Jerusalem, Powell met with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon before crossing the Jordan to confer with Palestinian leaders in Jericho, among whom were the newly elected chairman of the PLO, Mahmoud Abbas, and the interim president of the Palestinian Authority, Rauhi Fattouh.

The timing of Powell's visit underscored the debacle engulfing the Anglo-American military adventure in Iraq, an adventure that, among other things, has stoked the fires of Islamic fanaticism and hostility throughout the world.

The notion afoot in Washington is that a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would palliate the naked imperialist motives behind the Iraq invasion. The ultimate aim is to render the entire Middle East safer for investment and exploitation by removing a major justification for Islamic hostility toward the West and particularly the United States.

Meanwhile, for months past, Israel has been dangling the prospect of a unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and establishing *fait accompli* annexations in the West Bank. Since the 1967 war, successive Israeli governments have sought to establish what they call "facts on the ground" in both Gaza and on the West Bank.

On the West Bank, this policy has meant building permanent Israeli settlements, ostensibly for security but that fragment the land area of any future Palestinian state.

The settlement policy also has produced an entrenched ultranationalistic political base among those who have been enticed to move into

Palestinian areas. The "settlers" have been among the most vociferous supporters of Likud and Sharon until recently, when they began staging protest rallies against a Gaza withdrawal.

Sharon's game is transparent. Having long declared that Yasser Arafat was the primary obstacle to a negotiated settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Israeli leader has sought to impose a "settlement" that placates nationalistic impulses and religious fanaticism. The Bush administration has supported this stance.



B.B. for The People

However, the situation has changed. In November, Mahmoud Abbas succeeded Arafat as chairman of the PLO. He also is Washington's preferred candidate for president of the PA in elections scheduled for Jan. 9. Indeed, one reason for Powell's visit was to impress leaders on both sides with the U.S.'s wish that nothing be allowed to interfere with the elections as scheduled.

Whether Abbas can live up to U.S. expectations is an open question. Abbas is described as a moderate who favors ending the intifada that has raged since 2000, suicide bombings and all armed resistance against the Israeli occupation. His ability to hold together feuding militant groups and their petty chieftains is far from certain. He could not stand up to or outwit Arafat during his brief stint as prime minister a few years ago. He has inherited Arafat's title as chairman of the PLO,

but not Arafat's popularity among Palestinians. At least one poll taken before Arafat's death placed Abbas last among several prospective successors to the old PLO leader.

Nor is the Israeli position any more tenable. Apart from everything else, the Israeli state is caught in an intractable contradiction that is inherent in its very makeup.

Israel was to be a homeland and a refuge for the Jewish people. It was created after German capitalism perpetrated the Nazi Holocaust and in response to anti-Semitism generally. It was meant to be a politically democratic state. The two things—theocracy and democracy—are incompatible. To maintain its Jewish character a political plurality of Jews is assumed. To some extent, theocratic domination, rule of the rabbis, also is assumed. However, the majority of Israelis oppose theocracy and many believe the country will acquire a non-Jewish plurality as time goes on. This ultimately will undermine the premise advanced for the foundation of a Jewish state. Either the Muslim birth rate will eventually overtake that of the Jews at which time the country will acquire a dominantly Arab legislative body if a democratic basis is to be maintained, or widespread suppression to prevent that outcome will ensue.

A resolution to this decades-old conflict cannot be found simply by installing a more moderate spokesperson for the Palestinians or a more compromising Sharon. Such a resolution would be temporary at best. The solution cannot be found within class-divided society or within blinding and narrow political and national conceptualizations.

The only basis for peace between Palestinians and Israelis lies in their working classes. Mutual recognition of their common interests as exploited workers within capitalist society must compel them to end wage slavery and abolish capitalism. They both comprise a part of one true nation, that of the exploited workers of the world. Palestinian and Israeli workers must link arms in a unified organization whose goal can only be putting an end to capitalist exploitation and establishment of a socialist society in which they will both enjoy the full fruits of their labor.

...Flu Vaccine

(Continued from page 1)

may have inadvertently contributed to the problem. In 1999, a new system to regulate the quality and safety of vaccines took effect. Again, drug companies decided they could not make sufficient profits by producing higher quality and safer vaccines.

That "new system" was not particularly effective in preventing the bacterial contamination of vaccine made by Chiron, the company that caused the shortage. Nonfeasance, if not malfeasance, by the Food and Drug Administration played a huge role in that contamination.

Chiron had previously promised to fix similar problems found in 1999, 2001 and 2002. Yet, in June 2003, an FDA team found 20 problems, most dealing with contamination. Even so, the FDA said conditions were improving.

The inspectors had at least recommended citing Chiron with a formal warning. Despite Chiron's

record, the inspectors' bosses asked Chiron to correct the problems voluntarily.

Even after Aug. 25, when Chiron admitted the contamination of several million doses of vaccine, the FDA did not make a new inspection. Apparently, that is how the FDA believes problems are voluntarily fixed.

Making matters worse, according to a Government Accountability Office report issued Sept. 28, "there is no system in place to ensure that seniors and others at high risk for complications receive flu vaccinations first when vaccine is in short supply."

The flu also has an impact on production and, hence, profits. Employers usually buy up 10 million to 20 million flu shots for workplace clinics to keep downtime at a minimum. Another expert said that the average worker loses 1 to 1.5 days of work each year due to flu, but that could double this year.

Looking ahead, matters could get much worse.

The World Health Organization has sounded alarms over the lack of preparedness for when the next pandemic occurs.

When that pandemic comes along, health workers will need to administer billions of doses of vaccine within weeks, compared to the 300 million doses in regular flu seasons. A pandemic could spread worldwide in fewer than six months. It could infect 30 percent of the world's population and cause one percent to die. No one knows for sure what the pandemic virus would be, and drug companies would lose millions of dollars if they produced vaccine for the wrong virus.

To capitalists, property and profit are more important than life itself—more important certainly than the lives of the millions, and possibly billions, of people who are at the mercy of the drug industry. It is almost superfluous to say, but the facts demonstrate that replacing capitalism, worldwide, has become a necessity.

Socialism is the logical replacement. "What is socialism?" outlines how socialism would work and what we must do to establish it. (See page 4.) Allowing capitalism to continue is unthinkable.