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A Matter Of Principle

In *The Rights of Man*, Thomas Paine wrote: "When a man in a long cause attempts to steer his course by anything else than some polar truth or principle, he is sure to be lost. It is beyond the compass of his capacity to keep all the parts of an argument together, and make them unite in one issue by any other means than having this guide always in view. Neither memory nor invention will supply the want of it. The former fails him, and the latter betrays him."

Paine, of course, was not the only historic figure to grasp the truth of this. Abraham Lincoln was another. "Important principles may, and must, be inflexible," he said.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were no different in this regard, as shown by the following from a letter Engels once wrote to his friend Fredrick Sorge: "Every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system in view the whole time as its final aim is bound to go astray and fail."

Socialists—at least those guided by the principles established by Marx and Engels—agree. They know that the SLP has stood guard over those principles through thick and thin. No other organization has withstood the onslaughts of historic and other pressures to uphold those principles uncompromised. All other "socialist" groups and parties have caved in to one extent or another with reform measures—compromises that, despite their widespread acceptance by capitalism and contrary to the reform-minded "socialist" claim that they would better prepare the working class to challenge the capitalist system, have had just the opposite effect.

The SLP has stood guard over the basic principles of Marxian socialism for more than a century. It has achieved this success against all efforts to undermine its organization and to characterize it as "dogmatic" and "sectarian" by those who did compromise the Marxist principles to which they supposedly were committed.

The SLP has succeeded in this largely because its members, friends and supporters have never failed to provide it with the financial support it needs to keep hammering away. The SLP needs that kind of support now more than ever before because the need for socialist education has never been so great. That is why we have set up the *SLP Sentinel Fund* and its \$15,000 goal.

Please help the SLP in its effort to hold up the banner of the class struggle and to fight for the abolition of the wages system. Please help us in the fight to spread the socialist education needed to bring that goal closer to realization. If you understand why this must be done, then you also understand why your contribution to the *SLP Sentinel Fund* should be as generous as you can possibly make it. Please use the coupon on page 6.

U.S. Autoworkers Are At Another Crossroads

While the so-called mainstream media have the nation's attention focused on the struggle in Iraq, they ignore the fundamental struggle from which all such foreign adventures stem and which ultimately explain them. That fundamental struggle is the class struggle. Ignoring it is nothing new. Historically, the "mainstream media" and all other institutions of capitalist society not only have ignored it but also denied its existence.

Ignoring the class struggle cannot and will not make it or its consequences go away because, as Daniel De Leon once observed, "It crops up in all manner of ways...that disconcert all the plans and all the schemes of those who would deny or ignore it."

Elsewhere in this issue will be found evidence of just that. Millions of so-called middle-class Americans, meaning millions of *working-class* Americans, fear for their future. "Globalization" and the capitalist demand for cheaper and ever cheaper human labor not only has created widespread uneasiness in the nation, it demonstrates again the merchandise character of human labor within the confines of a profit-driven social system and how competition on an increasingly global labor market is working to drive wages and living standards down.

A major factor in the inability of the American working class to mount an effective resistance to

this inexorable trend is the utter bankruptcy of the so-called labor movement. Indeed, failure to put the union movement on a classconscious basis is ultimately disastrous for workers. It leaves the labor movement adrift, without any clearly defined goal and reason for existence. The plight of U.S. autoworkers provides a grim case in point.

Over the past two decades they have suffered significant wage, pension and benefit concessions, which the procapitalist United Auto Workers union promoted as the best workers could get if they wished to keep their jobs.

Since 2000, however, the UAW has failed to produce even a semblance of "job security." Despite increased foreign investment in the industry boosting U.S. jobs, total employment declined by 16 percent, with a loss of 215,500 jobs through 2005, according to U.S. Department of Commerce figures.

Since 2005 General Motors and Ford have announced plans to collectively cut at least 60,000 more jobs. Moreover, Chrysler was recently purchased by Cerberus, a private equity group known for stripping its possessions of any "fat."

According to industry analysts, the U.S. auto industry is now at a crossroads, and auto capitalists are about to squeeze workers again—per-

(Continued on page 3)

U.S. Military Spending Nearly Half World Total

By Michael James

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute says that U.S. military spending "now accounts for almost half the world total." This can be contrasted with China and India, "the world's two emerging economic superpowers," with military spending "only a fraction of the U.S.A.'s."

The Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation offers the following staggering figures: 1) China is the world's second-largest military spender but the U.S. military budget is still eight times more; 2) the U.S. military budget is 35 times greater than the combined military budgets of our current so-called enemy states: Cuba, Iran, Libya, North Korea, Sudan and Syria; and 3) these six countries, combined with Russia and China, spend only 27 percent of the U.S. military budget.

The dollar amounts for America are hard to grasp. The U.S. military will spend \$626 billion this year alone. Congress approved about \$500 billion more for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. And spending for nuclear weapons

is apparently separate, within the budget of the Department of Energy.

The Center for Defense Information sees that "The lion's share of this money is not spent by the Pentagon on protecting American citizens. It goes to supporting U.S. military activities, including interventions, throughout the world."

In truth, of course, not one dime of the billions spent goes toward "protecting Americans" and every dime of it goes to protecting or pursuing the interests of American capitalism.

The capitalist class has plenty of money for war, yet it is not a warrior class. It is a "business" class that invests in war and the implements of war the same as it invests in agriculture, manufacturing, research or the money market. It wages war when the promise of profit outweighs the risk of loss, or when the stakes are high enough to risk the gamble, as they are in the oil fields of Iraq.

American capitalism is the world's leading capitalist power. No surprise, then, that it is the world's leading investor in war and the implements of war.

Visit our website at www.slp.org

255075100 years ago

HAYWOOD ACQUITTED

Damnably Capitalist Conspiracy Against True Working-Class Unionism and Its Dauntless Exponent, Rolled in the Dust—Foiled Prosecution Wrapped in Deepest Gloom.

(Daily People, July 29, 1907)

(Special to The People)

Boise, Idaho, July 28—After 18 months' unwarranted imprisonment and a trial of over 11 weeks' duration, William D. Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, was this morning acquitted of the charge of murdering ex-governor Steunenberg of Idaho.

It was 7:40 o'clock [a.m.] when the foreman of the jury announced that the talesmen had reached a decision, on the seventh ballot.

There were few spectators in the court at the time. Judge Fremont Wood called the court to order, had the jury brought in, and asked the foreman:

"Have you reached a verdict?"

"We have," was the answer.

"What is it?"

"NOT GUILTY!"

Instantly pandemonium broke loose in the courtroom. Cheers and shouts of congratulations were heard on all sides, and it was some time before order could be restored.

Gov. Gooding alone was mum and gloomy looking.

After hearing the verdict, Judge Wood pronounced Haywood acquitted, and restored him to liberty. Haywood, after fervidly shaking hands with his family, his lawyers and some personal friends, went over to the jurors and congratulated them. They wept as he addressed



William D. "Big Bill" Haywood.

them warmly and thankfully.

Haywood appeared unspeakably happy at the outcome, not because of his own liberty, but because of the magnificent, worldwide vindication of his organization, the Western Federation of Miners, and the principles for which he stands. His first visit was to his mother in the hospital where she was taken after her collapse in court yesterday under the strain, when the jury filed out after Judge Wood's charge.

Haywood then rushed to the home where wife and family have been staying during the trial. There he was visited by hundreds of friends, all

anxious to grasp his big manly hand in congratulation of his safe delivery from the jaws of a damnable capitalist conspiracy. Congratulatory telegrams are pouring in by the hundreds, from every quarter of the United States.

Haywood publicly expressed his gratitude and appreciation to all socialist and labor paper representatives attending the trial. In conversation with me at his temporary home here, when I questioned him about his now past trials, he would only say: "Forget it!" He presented me as a souvenir his cell card.

"The 18 months of imprisonment," said Haywood, "have been most profitable to me. I have been able to study and read books, which I never before knew existed, and I have been able to commence a course in law. This I find interesting and broadening, and will be valuable in the years to come."

Haywood expects to make a speaking tour of the eastern states soon, as soon as he straightens out his affairs, and has a rest from the great strain he has been under.

The prosecution is whisperingly consulting with Gov. Gooding as to its next moves. The defense will demand an immediate trial for [WFM president Charles H.] Moyer and [former WFM official George A.] Pettibone. The prosecution, however, is expected to nolle prosequere the cases, thus dropping like a hot potato their now exploded conspiracy. The influential Republicans here declare they will secure an injunction against the issuance of any further deficiency warrants to finance the further persecution of the innocent men.

Attorney Richardson has issued a statement charging the whole case with being a Pinkerton conspiracy, and advising the mine owners to look into the workings of the Pinkerton detective agency for the real "Inner Circle."

Thus has ended the greatest labor case ever fought out on this continent, and ended with complete rout of the capitalist class and its henchmen.

—Wade R. Parks

255075100 years ago

Aga Khan Epitomized the Rulers' 'Spirituality'

(Weekly People, July 27, 1957)

The contrast between class-ruled society's spiritual pretenses and its sordid materialism could hardly have been shown more clearly than in the July 13 statement of the director of the late Aga Khan's stables.

Explaining why Prince Karim, a grandson, rather than a son, had succeeded to the Aga Khan's role as a religious leader, the stable director—a very important person in the upper reaches of class society—told the press that the Aga Khan "had asked Aly Khan [his eldest son] to sacrifice the spiritual leadership of the Ismaili Moslem sect to keep his stables running." (The importance of the latter role may be judged by the fact that the Aga Khan won the English Derby five times.)

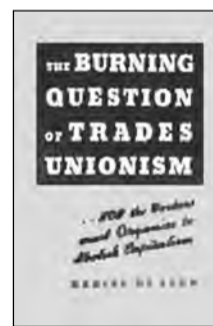
It may, of course, be said that Moslems are different from Christians and that such a choice as that reportedly forced upon Aly Khan could not happen in Christian society, where spiritual leaders are that because they have a "call" from God. But those familiar with "Christian" history will remember that the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, and the papacy itself, was staffed by the younger (and sometimes the illegitimate) sons of the great feudal lords. In this way the Christian feudal lords passed on undivided lands to their oldest sons (as the Aga Khan passed on his personal capital to his two sons and his racing stables to one), and the younger sons (a la the Aga Khan's grandson) were materially provided for from the cash treasures of the spiritual kingdom. These cash treasures are raised, in both Christian and Moslem jurisdictions, from the donations of the faithful to "charity." The church hierarchs and popes luxuriated in the income produced from the sale of indulgences for

sins. Because of his lighter weight, the new Aga Khan will probably find a way of getting at least as much cash as his grandfather received when the latter's huge sensuous bulk was weighed against such spiritual things as silver, gold, diamonds and platinum. And, though the present stress is that the new Aga Khan will not turn out to be a playboy, he is the product of family that can well appreciate the cry of a pope: "God has given us the papacy. Now it is up to us to enjoy it!" [Attributed to Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici (1475–1521) upon his accession to the papal throne as Pope Leo X in 1513.]

The cry, as applied to the Aga Khan if not to the popes, is also appreciated by the "democratic," "republican" upholders of class rule and its pretensions. Thus, on July 10, *The New York Times* used its editorial voice to express the thoughts of those who ignore the contrast between class-ruled society's spiritual pretenses and its sordid materialism by implying that the greed, gluttony and venery of the late Aga Khan, though supported by religious, feudal and capitalist exploitation,

were the mere outward appearances that failed to hide the culture, kindness, charity, intelligence and progressiveness within. Such rationalizations in defense of an exotic survival in the commonplace society of Western capitalism are needed as means of avoiding basic criticism of the "spiritual" pretenses of sordid class rule.

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



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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS

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Condition of Workers Uneasy Even in 'Healthy' Economy

American capitalism is such a profound ideological and economic assault upon the working class that even its paid spokespersons are sometimes uneasy about its prospects for survival. Consider the way that Mortimer B. Zuckerman, editor-in-chief of *U.S. News & World Report*, recently expressed his concern for the future of U.S. capitalism.

Zuckerman wrote about the concerns of what he called "middle-class workers" and described them as having "long been the foundation of American society" in an editorial published in the June 11 issue of the magazine. They are "worried—and with reason," he wrote.

"In recent decades," Zuckerman claimed, "they have seemed more prosperously buoyant than ever, living in bigger houses with a panoply of utilities, gadgets and entertainment systems. So why the angst?"

However, as one reads on it becomes clear that the "angst" really on Zuckerman's mind is his own. He understands that workers' concerns are legitimate, that they "have great and growing fear about losing their jobs, and that different from their parents of a generation ago, have "have stopped dreaming of a better life for their children." These days, Zuckerman confessed, "prosperous" workers do not have a positive outlook, but live "with the same uncertainties that dog the poor. So close do many feel to the economic margin that they fear they're one illness or one job loss away from catastrophe."

Citing information he retrieved from the Pew Research Center, Zuckerman went on to say that nearly "two-thirds of workers believe that it is harder to earn a decent living now than it was 20 or 30 years ago..."

"The economy as a whole is performing well," he added, "but most people are not sharing in it." (Emphasis added.) How the economy is "performing well" when "most people are not sharing

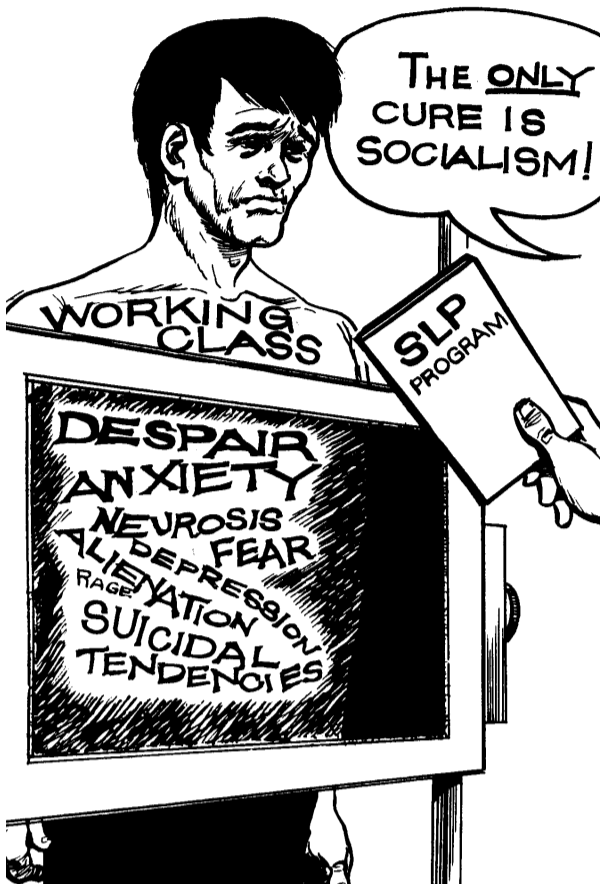
in it" is a puzzle that Zuckerman makes no effort to solve. He merely observes that "at the top end of the economic spectrum, the gains have been

If that is Zuckerman's idea of an economy that is "performing well" the performance clearly has nothing to do with the interests of the working-class "foundation of American society." Zuckerman confesses "obvious injustice" in that. He acknowledges "increasing tensions" and finds the wealth gap to be "dangerous as well as inequitable." That danger is the source of Zuckerman's dread. "The longer this goes on," as he expressed it, "the more our social fabric is at risk."

Zuckerman is right to worry that the capitalist house of cards may simply collapse. That is precisely what will happen if the working class can be bribed and sedated with "gadgets and entertainment systems" that keep them distracted and ignorant of the source of their growing discontent. The more capitalism succeeds at keeping the working class "content" and oblivious to its own interests, the more likely capitalism will end in such a social collapse and chaos.

What Zuckerman said at the outset, that the working class is "the foundation of American society," is correct. Being correct, it follows that the capitalist class is nothing more than a leech on the back of the working class and that the capitalist system of exploitation explains why "our social fabric is at risk." To avert the collapse implicit in that "risk," something more will be needed than the worn-out nostrums that Zuckerman recommends—more job training, more spending on education and higher taxes on the rich to pay for it all. What is needed is a revolutionary transformation of our social system from one based on private ownership of an economy that requires the collective labor of millions to one based on the collective ownership and democratic administration consistent with the interests of those working-class millions, "the foundation of society."

Michael James contributed to this article.



E. Gentry for *The People*

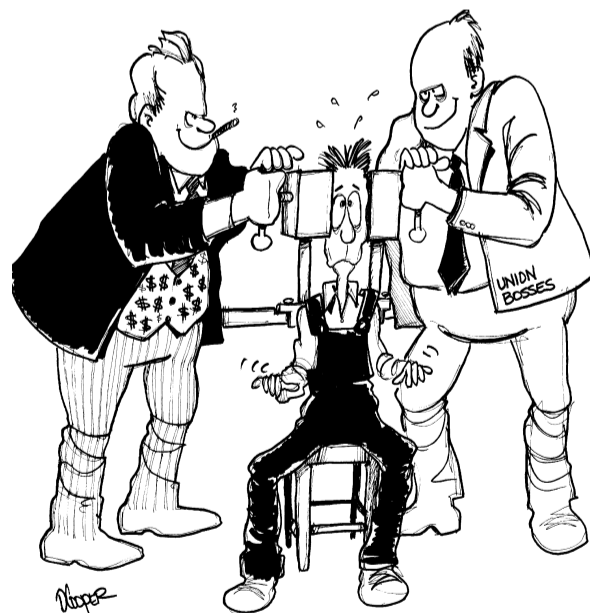
spectacular. Just look at CEO pay, for example, which has risen in the past decade at triple the rate of median worker's pay." He continues his recitation by stating the obvious, "that our richest 10 percent have gained the most....The richest 1 percent has done even better....Another way to look at it is that the richest 1 percent of Americans took in 21.8 percent of all recorded income in 2005—double their share in 1980."

...Another Crossroads

(Continued from page 1)

haps to the most extreme extent ever. Officials at GM, Ford and Chrysler have already publicly announced that they will make unprecedented demands in contract talks with the UAW that begin in July. Officials from all three companies said reducing labor costs to the level paid by their main Japanese competitors, Toyota and Honda, would be their top priority.

According to an Associated Press report that would mean wage, pension and health care cuts totaling 30 percent. The companies are reportedly "resolved to move jobs overseas if they cannot reduce their U.S. labor costs."



D. Cooper for *The People*

The UAW has managed to continue to "lead" autoworkers through a long string of retreats and retrenchments by convincing workers that they can do no better. Whether autoworkers will continue down that path in the face of these demands that they accept concessions amounting to almost a third of their total pay in wages and benefits remains to be seen. The UAW can offer little more than posturing given its acceptance of capitalism.

Many workers will no doubt realize that beyond the severe cuts demanded by auto capitalists this year, other demands will surely follow—demands to match the wage and benefit levels paid by South Korean capital, Indian cap-

ital and Chinese capital, each beginning to make inroads on the Japanese manufacturers. Each such step would in turn represent a deeper slash for the standard of living of U.S. autoworkers.

How much better off might autoworkers be today if they were part of a union that accepted the class struggle instead of the right of capitalists to make a profit? They would certainly be better prepared to wage a struggle ultimately aimed at ending exploitation and class rule by building an economic democracy that they themselves collectively own and democratically administer. In such a socialist society all would be guaranteed health care, education, housing and meaningful and useful employment.

Events are confirming with a vengeance that a union movement based on anything less than the ultimate call for this socialist transformation of society must prove increasingly incapable of promoting or defending the interests of workers.

A union movement based on the socialist goal would be more effective even in its immediate struggles against a still dominant capitalist class. By fully basing its actions on an understanding of the class struggle, a Socialist Industrial Union movement could bring the broadest economic power of the working class to bear on any assault by capitalists against any segment of the working class.

Building working-class power into one class-conscious union organization across all industries is the antidote workers need for the poison in store for them at this crossroads in the auto industry. At the same time, it is the organization workers need to build a socialist society in which such grim industrial "crossroads" can never again occur.

—Ken Boettcher

the People

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Food Safety—Again

What began as the largest pet food recall in history has turned into another indictment of food safety under profit-motivated capitalism—for people as much as for pets.

In mid-March, nearly three weeks after Menu Foods of Canada admitted it began receiving complaints from pet owners that the company's pet food was making their pets sick, the company finally notified the public about the problem and issued a recall of nearly 100 brands of wet cat and dog food in 60 million containers.

By May, the Food and Drug Administration reported receiving 17,000 complaints from pet owners who believed contaminated food had sickened or killed their pets. Its efforts to track the contamination identified more than a dozen manufacturers of not only wheat gluten, but also rice protein concentrate in wet and dry pet foods, treats and human foods.

Melamine, used to create plastics and fertilizer, contaminated the pet foods. Its nitrogen-rich chemical properties make it look like protein in tests for protein content. Animal feed manufacturers in China's capitalist economy have for years reportedly mixed melamine into feed and sold it to unsuspecting farmers as protein-rich pig, poultry and fish feed. Melamine, not known to be heavily toxic in lower concentrations, can cause kidney failure in combination with certain other substances.

Menu Foods imported wheat gluten from China, clearly without adequate testing for contaminants like melamine. It sold the contaminated pet food in the United States without adequate testing by the FDA. Millions of chickens and an as-yet unknown number of hogs in the United States also were fed the contaminated pet food, again without adequate testing. The majority of those chickens and pigs made it into the human food supply before the contamination began to be reported by distraught pet owners.

This is but the latest outrage of food contamination in the world's foremost capitalist economy. The federal Centers for Disease Control "estimates that contaminated food causes 76 million illnesses, 325,000 hospitalizations and 5,000 deaths in the United States" every year, according to a 2004 report from the U.S. General Accounting Office.

Those figures and the unending parade of outrages that cause them demonstrate that capitalism is literally a risk to public health and that the federal and state regulations that ostensibly protect the public from the profit-motivated bastardization of our food supply are a joke. Further, they attest to the truth of the socialist contention that workers can never be assured of safe products, produced under safe conditions, until they themselves collectively own and democratically control the economy.

—K.B.

'Ethics' of Torture

S. Ward Casscells, assistant secretary of defense for health affairs, feigned surprise in May upon the release of a Department of Defense Mental Health Advisory Team study of the attitudes of U.S. Marines and Army troops in Iraq. Casscells said Army researchers "looked under every rock, and what they found was not always easy to look at."

What did the report find that was so disappointing?

It found, among other things, that more than a third of U.S. soldiers surveyed in Iraq "believe torture should be allowed if it helps gather important information about insurgents," according to *The Washington Post*. Forty percent of troops "said they approve of such illegal abuse if it would save the life of a fellow soldier." "Two-thirds of Marines and half the Army troops surveyed," the *Post* observed, "said they would not report a team member for mistreating a civilian or for destroying civilian property unnecessarily." "Less than half of soldiers and Marines believed that noncombatants should be treated with dignity and respect."

The results of the study are indeed disappointing to all who value humanity's highest ethical standards. Given the brutal environment into which the war has thrust these mostly young people, the attitudes of the military and civilian officials in charge and the history of U.S. capitalism's imperialist interventions over the last century, however, they hardly are surprising.

Casscells almost certainly must condone, if not specifically approve of, the attitudes revealed by the study. He is, after all, an official of the Department of Defense under an administration that sought to redefine torture and to assert that President Bush had constitutional authority to ignore the Geneva Conventions and other international treaties on torture and human rights. He is an official of an administration that, international human rights organizations charge, has illegally shuttled prisoners to secret prisons in countries around the world with no legal prohibitions against torture.

U.S. military forces have repeatedly violated the provisions of the Geneva Conventions' Article 3—in Korea, in Vietnam, in U.S. interventions in Central and South America, and at the infamous School of the Americas (now the Western Hemisphere Institute of Security Cooperation), where military forces for practically every dictator of the past few decades have been trained in torture techniques.

The Department of Defense has announced plans for more training that will supposedly ameliorate the widespread acceptance of brutality evidenced in the May report. Given the history of U.S. capitalism's use and promotion of torture, however, that training can be counted on to include a wink that communicates approval of the use of such methods.

As the SLP declared in its 2004 denunciation of the use of torture:

"In the cause of capitalist wars, our youth are being trained not only as killers but now torturers as well. If the working class does not act to end capitalism, capitalism will destroy us, both physically and morally."

—K.B.

A De Leon Editorial

The Imperialist Ploy

From the "birth of imperialism" in the Spanish-American War down to the current wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, the Democratic and Republican parties have played the game of "saint and sinner" to mask their repeated deceptions upon the people.



Is the Democratic Party Against Expansion?

(Daily People, July 5, 1900)

Among the papers that shouted for war with Spain in '98 was the *Washington Times*. Then, as now, it was a rabid Democratic paper; and being published at the seat of government, it was, and is, in a sense, the national organ of the Democratic Party. Therefore, its utterances are representative of its party.

The war with Spain was the opportunity waited for by the larger capitalists to enter upon an era of conquest which they term expansion. During the outburst of "patriotism" occasioned thereby, an increase in the army could be made, and the navy made a more effective weapon for purposes of conquest and spoliation, with large drippings incidentally.

The Democrats were used as the cat's paw to drag the chestnut of imperialism out of the fire of sentimentalism engendered by the sensational press. Since then these same Democrats have been objecting strenuously to the use the Republicans made of their attempt to make capital for themselves.

Now with the traitor Republican Party entering into an alliance with the capitalists of England and Japan for the further conquest of China, we find this same Republican Party, itching as it is, to begin operations in behalf of the labor-skinning and strike-murdering imperialists, being taunted with indecision and neglect of a sacred duty by the self-same *Washington Times*, which in '98 so kindly assisted at the birth of imperialism. That paper in its issue of June 30 utters editorially the following:

"If it be true that the ministers have been peremptorily ordered to leave the Chinese capital that action is absolutely tantamount to a declaration of war and destroys the LAST EXCUSE the administration could have for delaying action."

Here is vividly proved that Democrat spells Republican, that they are one and the same.

There is an old story of the man who was so well known as a thief and all 'round scoundrel that no one trusted him; and fearing his being so well known would prevent his getting others off their guard sufficiently to allow him to deprive them of their valuables, he entered into partnership with a supposedly virtuous individual. This man would get so wrought up denouncing him that a crowd would gather and cheer themselves hoarse over his utterances. All the while he was holding forth, thus distracting

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what is socialism?

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

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

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

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

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

Socialism does not mean government or state ownership. It does not mean a closed party-run system without democratic rights. Those things are the very opposite of socialism.

"Socialism," as the American Socialist Daniel De Leon defined it, "is that social system under which the necessities of production are owned, controlled and administered by the people, for the people, and under which, accordingly, the cause of political and economic despotism having been abolished, class rule is at end. That is socialism, nothing short of that." And we might add, nothing more than that! Remember: If it does not fit this description, it is not socialism—no matter who says different. Those who claim that socialism existed and failed in places like Russia and China simply do not know the facts.

Socialism will be a society in which the things we need to live, work and control our own lives—the industries, services and natural resources—are collectively owned by all the people, and in which the democratic organization of the people within the industries and services is the government. Socialism means that government of the people, for the people and by the people will become a reality for the first time.

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, to end poverty, racism, sexism, environmental disaster and to avert the still potent threat of a catastrophic nuclear war. 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 Story of Sacco and Vanzetti

Most Americans would be shocked and repulsed by the idea that two innocent men could be sent to the electric chair for a "thought crime." Most believe that such things do not and could not happen in the United States, where the First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees the freedom of speech to all. First Amendment or not, however, that is precisely what did happen to two innocent Italian immigrant workingmen 80 years ago, in August 1927. The two men were Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who were railroaded on trumped-up charges of committing murder in the course of a bank robbery in which they had no part and of which they had no knowledge. More to the point, however, is that those who prosecuted and condemned them knew full well that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent men.

In 1977, 50 years after their state-sanctioned murder in a Massachusetts prison, the governor of that state issued a proclamation acknowledging the injustice done and establishing Aug. 27 as Sacco and Vanzetti Memorial Day. In his proclamation, then-governor Michael Dukakis declared that "any stigma and disgrace forever be removed from the names of their families and descendants, and so, from the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." In truth, of course, such flaccid and self-serving pronouncements could not absolve the state criminal of its crime, much less erect a barrier against its repetition whenever the capitalist state decides that some new "thought criminal" deserves a similar fate.

What follows is an article from the WEEKLY PEOPLE of Aug. 24, 1957, marking the 30th anniversary of the murders of Sacco and Vanzetti. It provides an excellent review of the case, the conduct of the trial and the social atmosphere in which it took place. We reprint it, not only as a tribute to the memory of two innocent victims of state-sponsored terrorism, but as a poignant reminder that capitalism is a lawless and criminal system under which our constitutional liberties are and will remain in constant jeopardy while that system is permitted to survive.

—Editor

*

In the early morning hours of Aug. 23, 1927, just 30 years ago, the state of Massachusetts officially murdered a good shoemaker, Nicola Sacco, and a poor fish peddler, Bartolomeo Vanzetti. The double execution, which was performed with all the moral pretense an immoral system is capable of mustering, was what Prof. Walter B. Rideout, in the book reviewed in our last issue, called an official "ritual killing" when the state of Illinois enacted a similar crime in 1886.¹

The Sacco-Vanzetti killing was an official one, but it had roots in capitalist society. The two men were the victims of New England's State Street, of the purse-proud and ancestor-worshipping Back Bay Brahmins, of the financiers and industrialists, of the president and overseers of Harvard University—in short, of the beneficiaries of New England's smug, but nonetheless fear-ridden, capitalism, of the actual descendants of the wealthy Boston aristocrats who in 1835 turned themselves into a mob seeking the blood of William Lloyd Garrison because he challenged the right to hold property in human flesh.

The Criminals Were the Cream of Society

The crime for which Sacco and Vanzetti were allegedly executed was a sordid killing committed by professional gangsters in the process of a payroll holdup in Braintree, Mass., on April 15, 1920. But the "crime" for which they were actually executed was the "crime" of challenging the capitalist social order and of advocating a new social order.

No less a legal authority than Felix Frankfurter, now an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, has shown the injustice of the cold-blooded killing of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In his analysis of the trial and evidence, Mr. Frankfurter demonstrated that Sacco and Vanzetti had perfectly good alibis for the time of the payroll robbery and murder, that the alibis were ignored by judge and jury, that the witnesses used by the prosecution were hand-picked, and that witnesses who said that Sacco and Vanzetti were *not* participants in the holdup were not called. And the verdict of history was given in the following statement made editorially by the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* on Aug. 15, 1947: "In the 20 years since the electric chair officially closed the Sacco-Vanzetti case, it has become part of American history. According to Arthur M. Schlesinger [Sr.], professor of history at Harvard University, not an American history book has since been written that fails to mention the case and uphold the tenet that Sacco and Vanzetti, philosophical anarchists, were convicted for their political beliefs, not for a crime—a payroll murder—they didn't commit."

Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists. And, as such, and at a time when the post-World War I "red hunt" of U.S. Attorney General Mitchell Palmer (and J. Edgar Hoover) was at its height, they were picked as easily derided sacrificial victims of capitalism, as supposed archetypes of the Russian Bolsheviks of the time and of the various real and phony Socialists whose existence aroused concern in the capitalist camp. The State Street-Back Bay reaction of the Massachusetts propertied class, especially when the case became a *cause célèbre*, was that the destruction of Sacco and Vanzetti was necessary as a reply to criticism of capitalism and that any leniency, hesitation to murder or show of mercy would be a sign of capitalist weakness. This reaction was maintained despite the enlistment of decent-minded Americans of all shades of political opinion in defense of the doomed men, despite the proof the ruling-class conspiracy offered of capitalism's ruthlessness, and despite the arousal of worldwide protests against American capitalism whose effects still plague the American plutocracy. One result of the shock given to consciences by the planned murder of Sacco and Vanzetti was the turning of many liberals to what they thought was communism and socialism.

Anarchistic Capitalism Produced the Violence

Sacco and Vanzetti *were* anarchists, but all the available evidence agrees, they were peaceful men who—however politically mistaken—never committed a crime or harmed a human being. As anarchists, they paid lip service to the "propaganda of the deed," but in practice Vanzetti recorded himself as being opposed to violence. The violence that impinged upon their lives was the violence unleashed by capitalism—war, the egging on by top capitalist officials of lynch mobs against political dissenters, the use of terror by "law enforcement" officers, the killings and robberies of men who selected unlawful criminal activities as their means of becoming capitalists, the cold utilization of the law as a murder weapon, etc.

Indeed, an important element in the Sacco-Vanzetti case was the killing of a New York anarchist, one Salsedo, whose body had been found on the sidewalk of Park Row below the 14th floor offices of the Department of Justice. The government, of course, claimed that Salsedo, who had been illegally held incommunicado, committed suicide. But it was widely believed that he had been pushed from a window by a Department of Justice agent, a predecessor of the present FBI men. In any event, the illegal holding of the man, combined with the reign of terror against political dissenters, was responsible for his death. The news of the killing, on May 4, 1920, a few weeks after the payroll robbery and murder, caused Sacco and Vanzetti

(like many other anarchists) to establish what the trial judge, Webster Thayer, called a "consciousness of guilt." Actually, the two men's "suspicious" moves *after the Salsedo killing*, and their first resort to lies when arrested, were prompted by their attempt to hide their sentimental and innocuous literature for fear of being caught with it and sharing Salsedo's fate.

The Trial Was a Vicious Farce

After the verdict of guilty, Judge Thayer stated that the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti did not depend upon their identification by eyewitnesses to the holdup killing. "The evidence that convicted these defendants," he said at the trial proceedings, "was...consciousness of guilt." This fantastic rationalization of the deadly framing of the two men may be compared to the court's serious acceptance of the testimony of a newsboy, who, from behind a telegraph pole to which he had run for refuge during the shooting, had caught a glimpse of the criminal and, he testified, "knew by the way he ran he was a foreigner." Vanzetti was a foreigner. So the criminal was Vanzetti, who was known to judge and jury to be an immigrant from Italy! Felix Frankfurter, then professor of law at Harvard, has analyzed the testimony as well as the general conduct of the trial. He has shown how the prosecution warped a statement linking a bullet with a gun owned by Vanzetti (who had been a night watchman), how the judge misinterpreted that statement in his charge to the jury, and the fact that the witness, the chief of the state police, later denied that the bullet came from Vanzetti's gun. Mr. Frankfurter (the nation's greatest stickler for the letter of the law), has also shown that Sacco and Vanzetti were easily led to make contradictory statements through trick questions in a language they understood none too well. And, all the evidence proves that the trial was held in a witch-hunt atmosphere of hatred against all political dissenters.

A Confession Failed to Clear the Innocent Men

The fact is that a convicted murderer, Celestino F. Madeiros, confessed that the payroll killing for which Sacco and Vanzetti were tried, convicted and executed was committed by gang of which he was a part. The confessed killer sought to protect his fellow criminals, but the evidence given by him pointed to the Morrelli gang, which in fact had been the first suspects of the police. Other evidence confirmed the Madeiros confession, but the Massachusetts prosecutor and police never took steps to investigate the truth or falsity of the confession.

Judge Thayer's conduct as trial judge may be displayed best through the Aug. 17, 1947, remarks of the very conservative New York *Herald Tribune*: "It was to Judge Thayer that, for seven years, all motions for new trials had to be brought, including the one on the ground that Judge Thayer was prejudiced. To this appeal as to all others, he answered, 'Motion denied.' His conduct alienated even those who hated anarchists or thought Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty. A bitter old man, he waited in vain for six years for appointment to the state Supreme Court....An affidavit by the late Robert Benchley related that Mr. Benchley had been told by a friend in Worcester that he heard Judge Thayer say to a group at the Worcester Golf Club that Sacco and Vanzetti were Bolsheviks, that he would 'get them good and proper...get those guys hanged.'"

Judge Thayer, like Gov. Alvin T. Fuller (who refused to intercede) and President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University (who headed a whitewash commission), did suffer disrepute even in the State Street and Back Bay circles that had whipped up collective capitalist hatred of Sacco and Vanzetti. But the disrepute was

(Continued on page 6)

...Sacco & Vanzetti

(Continued from page 5)

that of a lackey who had performed his master's bidding and who is subsequently disowned.

If Thayer's rise in the judiciary was barred by the need for the Republican Party of the state to "bury" the case; if Fuller, an automobile agency capitalist, lost his chance to be the Republican vice president of the United States; if President Lowell is now remembered as a blind and unjust man rather than as the head of a great university; it was nevertheless Sacco and Vanzetti who were led to their deaths in the electric chair, the innocent victims of a ruling-class frame-up.

Vanzetti's Farewell

But Bartolomeo Vanzetti claimed the final victory. In a statement made on April 9, 1927, after all recourse to capitalist law had been exhausted and Judge Thayer pronounced the sentence of death, Vanzetti said:

"If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scolding men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pain—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

The case was one that aroused great emotion—feelings of hate and rage on the capitalist side and feelings of compassion and shock on the human side. But emotion passes, as many of the defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti found when they finally conformed to capitalism. The ability to react emotionally to the injustice of the Sacco-Vanzetti case is certainly a very important human function. That ability will be lost at the

¹ The review of Walter B. Rideout's *The Radical Novel in the United States: 1900-1954* appeared in the *Weekly People* of Aug. 10, 1957. The "ritual murder" referred to was the 1886 execution of the Haymarket anarchists.—*Editor*

...De Leon

(Continued from page 4)


the attention of the multitude away from their property, his partner would be engaged in robbing their houses.

At other times the noble and upright person would so work upon his neighbors as to cause them actually to leave their goods and chattels in the street where it was very easy for the thief to purloin them. If there was any poor unfortunate suffering from a complication of wrongs, then would this good man grow eloquent in his or her behalf, and if the case was afar off, as it usually was, then would the saint worry himself into convulsions, calling upon the crowd to "come on and help." While they were engaged in the noble work of relieving distress, then would the partner of the saint be hard at work stealing from those who were preoccupied attending to the business of others.

The partnership was a very lucrative one, while it lasted, and both partners grew exceedingly gleeful over the easy way in which they fooled the crowd, until, at last, the fact being discovered that they were partners—owing to certain hard-headed individuals putting two and two together—they were incontinently hung, as dangerous to the peace and welfare of the people.

So let it be with the Republican and Democratic parties. Both are and have been thieves; both are and have been guilty of infamous crimes against the peace and welfare of the people of these United States; and both deserve hanging at the polls on election day.

cost of our humanity. But unless the lesson is understood intellectually, unless it is understood that the case was far more than an "unfortunate incident," unless the lesson is driven home that we must build a society in which there would be no ruling class to profit through exploitation and murder, the emotional lesson will be lost and there will be still more "Sacco-Vanzetti" cases, ranging from the crucifixion of individuals to the blasting of whole populations.



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- **America's Workers Can Build a Better World** (SLP National Platform)
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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS
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...Letters

(Continued from page 7)

eliminate their competition, midwives, who performed abortions as part of their practice. Yet another reason was racial prejudice and a desire to promote higher birthrates among native-born, white women as a counterbalance to immigrants' large families.

The right to choose should not be viewed as an abstract moral question of right or wrong as our reader implies. "As society hitherto has moved in class antagonisms," Frederick Engels wrote, "so has morality always been a class morality." (*Anti-Dühring*) Capitalist class morality is one that disregards the sanctity of life by condemning working people to a life of economic inequality and insecurity, by the industrial accidents and deaths that occur daily, by waging war for markets and spheres of influence, by destroying our life-sustaining environment, etc.

When the Socialist Labor Party recognizes that women have a right to choose a safe and legal abortion, it recognizes that working-class women have to engage with life as they find it. Denying women that right will not eliminate the economic insecurity and poverty that compel women to seek abortions, but it will compel them to bear and rear children they cannot adequately care for or to seek illegal abortions, which killed thousands of working-class women prior to 1973.



Though the SLP supports a woman's right to choose, it also recognizes it is a secondary consideration in the class struggle. The *fundamental* issue for Socialists is the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. That is what must remain our central focus. For only a genuine socialist society can eliminate class exploitation and its repressive state apparatus and provide the social conditions that will truly allow for the sanctity of life in all its aspects. That is what the SLP strives for. —*Donna Bills*

directory

UNITED STATES

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SLP SENTINEL FUND



This is my contribution of \$ _____ for the SLP Sentinel 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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Please indicate if a receipt is desired: Yes No

letters to the People

More on Sept. 11

The March-April issue reference to the second truth on page 6 ["Fear of Defeat Pushes Bush to Prolong the War"], "the ruling class is capable of committing any crime in the name of profit [power, full spectrum dominance, etc., my add]," was brought out with the 9/11 event. Rather than go into a lengthy explanation, I encourage you to look at the documentaries www.loosechange911.com and www.911Mysteries.com. There are several others that are listed in both that are also worth viewing. For those who think that it couldn't get worse—it already has, and will continue until sanity prevails. If that does not occur, we are merely rearranging the deck chairs.

J.A. Dingman
Greensboro, N.C.

Sacco and Vanzetti's Lawyer

Your articles on Sacco and Vanzetti [March-April issue] were most informative. One of the many people who worked to save them was lawyer Michael A. Musmanno. He subsequently became a judge. He wrote the book *Black Fury*, which was adapted to the screen. It was about the murder of workers by the coal and iron (private) police.

At one point Sacco and Vanzetti tried to give him a volume of *The Rise of American Civilization* by Charles and Mary Beard. Musmanno told them that he would be very glad to accept the gift when they were free men. After their execution he found that they left him that volume with an inscription to him.

Musmanno was also a judge at the Nuremberg trials. He was a witness against Eichmann at Eichmann's trial in Israel. The evidence he gave was about Eichmann's key role in the *Einsatzgruppen*—the mobile killing units following the *Wehrmacht*—who committed mass shootings of Jews and Communists after Nazi Germany invaded Soviet Russia. This testimony was based upon information from the Nuremberg trials.

Raymond Solomon
Rego Park, N.Y.

Virginia Tech

The May-June 2007 issue of *The People* was, as usual, superb. Of special note was Ken Boettcher's sensitive and insightful treatment of "The Virginia Tech Tragedy," which presented a socialist perspective on the shocking deadly spree of an angry young

college student. Michael James' article, "Individualism on the Rise Among Students," extended the Marxian analysis and explanation for such violent acts of desperation carried out by lone perpetrators. As both articles point out, these individual manifestations of rage and isolation will increase in frequency and magnitude so long as the "dog eat dog" social structure of capitalism holds sway in the world. Conversely, the "self-actualization" of *each* human being that psychologist Abraham Maslow conceived of can only happen in a society of equals who can afford to care about and encourage each other to experience a fulfilling life of community, maturity and creativity. It starts with universal economic freedom that only genuine Marxian socialism can provide.

Thank you for your fine work.

Jill Campbell
Portland, Ore.

Opposes Abortion

About abortion: I don't understand why the left-wing and Socialists are for abortion, which in my opinion is a capitalist act. Women have no right to abortion as we are talking about killing a human, especially partial birth abortion, which is a horrible procedure. Abortion should *only* be an option when a woman's life is at stake....Abortion is plainly one of capitalism's worst. Because they can't afford to give birth and raise a child, women choose abortion.

Milton A. Poulos
McCleary, Wash.

The People replies: Although our reader does not explain what prompted his letter we must assume it was our article on the U.S. Supreme Court's decision upholding the ban on "partial birth abortion" in our May-June issue. However, nothing in that article, or in any SLP statement on abortion rights, justifies the assertion that "Socialists are for abortion."

Socialists are neither for nor against abortion, at

least not in the same sense that they are for socialism and against capitalism. Abortion is not our issue. What Socialists are for in this instance is a woman's right to choose. What Socialists oppose is the right of the state, the church or any other institution to make that choice for her. The difference between being "for" or "against" abortion and being for or against a woman's right to choose is clear. Socialists support a woman's right to choose because we oppose the slavery implied in having that choice made for her.

It seems to us that our reader writes himself into a circle when, on the one hand, he asserts "women have no right to abortion" and, on the other, concedes that many make that decision "because they can't afford to give birth and raise a child." It is the same as saying that a woman has no *right* to do what she is *forced* to do. A woman forced to that decision because capitalism has impoverished her obviously is not exercising a "right" but is deprived of one. She is succumbing to pressures over which she has no control and which take the right to choose, one way or the other, out of her hands. The "crime" is not the decision she makes but the social exigencies that forced her to make it. In that sense, abortion is a "capitalist act" because it is a forced abortion.

Our reader is mistaken when he asserts that abortion is "capitalism's worst," though coercing women to that decision by depriving her of the right to make the opposite decision ranks high on the list of capitalism's crimes against humanity. As a matter of historic fact, however, abortion, coerced or otherwise, predates capitalism by thousands of years. It dates from antiquity, is practiced worldwide and, interestingly, it was not banned in capitalist America until the 19th century.

One reason why the restriction was established then was concern for women's well-being (the procedure was risky as were other medical procedures at the time). Another was part of an effort by doctors to

(Continued on page 6)

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\$100 each Anthony Econom, Donald Rogers, Phillip Colligan, Richard E. Edgar, Roy K. Nelson; Raymond S. Solomon \$90; Dr. L. Miles Raisig \$60; \$50 each John S. & Rosemary Gale, Nick York; Ronald A. Levesque \$40; William Barry \$35; \$25 each Jane Christian, Margaret Kay, Robert Ormsby, Sarah Haggard; \$20 each Dagfinn Sjoen, Michael A. Ogletree; \$15 each Ali Ebrahimi, Edward Jasiewicz, Wendel Wettland; Roger Hudson \$12; \$10 each Dave Bartle, Harold W. Bauer, J. Buffaloe, Marcos Colome, Marshall G. Soura, Michael Brooks, Ronald V. Bettig; Arlene Haber \$5.80; \$5 each Harry Buskirk, Joseph Bellon, Michael James, Richard F. Mack, W.H. McLeod; Maurice Lacroix \$3.
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Total: \$2,325.43

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Total: \$1,655.00

Socialist Labor Party

Financial Summary

Bank balance (March 31)	\$ 73,155.99
Expenses (Apr.-May)	18,965.57
Income (Apr.-May)	7,166.53
Bank balance (May 31)	\$ 61,356.95
Deficit for 2007	\$ 17,431.29

ACTIVITIES

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco: Discussion Meetings—For information call 408-280-7266 or email slpsfba@net-scape.net.

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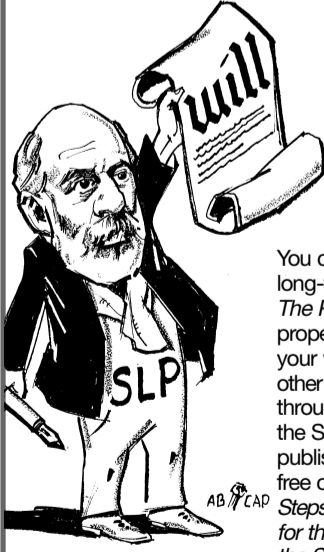
Cleveland: Slavic Village Harvest Festival—Section Cleveland will staff a literature booth from 1–9 p.m. at this year's festival, Aug. 25 & 26. All are welcome to stop by the booth, meet the members and pick up SLP literature.

Columbus: Discussion Meeting—Section Cleveland will hold a discussion meeting on Sunday, July 8, 1–3 p.m., at Carnegie Library, Grant & Oak streets. For information call 440-237-7933.

Independence: Discussion Meetings—Section Cleveland will hold discussion meetings on Sunday, July 29, and on Sunday, Aug. 19, 1–3 p.m., at Days Inn, 5555 Brecksville Rd. (just south of R17-Granger Rd.). For information call 440-237-7933.

OREGON

Portland: Discussion Meeting—Section Portland will hold a discussion meeting on job outsourcing on Saturday, July 14, 10 a.m.–12 noon, at the Portland Main Library, SW Yamhill & 10th. For more information call Sid at 503-226-2881 or visit the section's website at <http://slp.pdx.home.mindspring.com>.



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IRAQ: THE LOGIC OF WITHDRAWAL, by Anthony Arnove. Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Co., publisher, 2007, 208 pages. Please order from bookseller or publisher.

By B.B.

This is the second edition of Anthony Arnove's second book on Iraq. It is distinguished from last year's first edition by being in paperback and by the addition of a postscript incorporating developments through the end of Donald Rumsfeld's tenure as secretary of defense.

Arnove, a historian and member of the editorial board of the *International Socialist Review*, debunks most of the arguments the Bush administration has raised to justify the invasion and occupation of Iraq and offers the antiwar movement his advice on how to organize to effectively demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

In the chapter from which the book takes its title, Arnove constructs his argument for withdrawal by deconstructing the major arguments raised to justify the war and occupation of Iraq. Thus, Arnove deconstructs the assertion that the United States was within its rights to invade Iraq by stating, "1. The U.S. military has no right to be in Iraq in the first place." Similarly, he addresses seven additional arguments, as follows:

"2. The United States is not bringing democracy to Iraq."

"3. The United States is not making the world a safer place by occupying Iraq."

"4. The United States is not preventing civil war in Iraq."

"5. The United States is not confronting terrorism by staying in Iraq."

"6. The United States is not honoring those who died by continuing the conflict."

"7. The United States is not rebuilding Iraq."

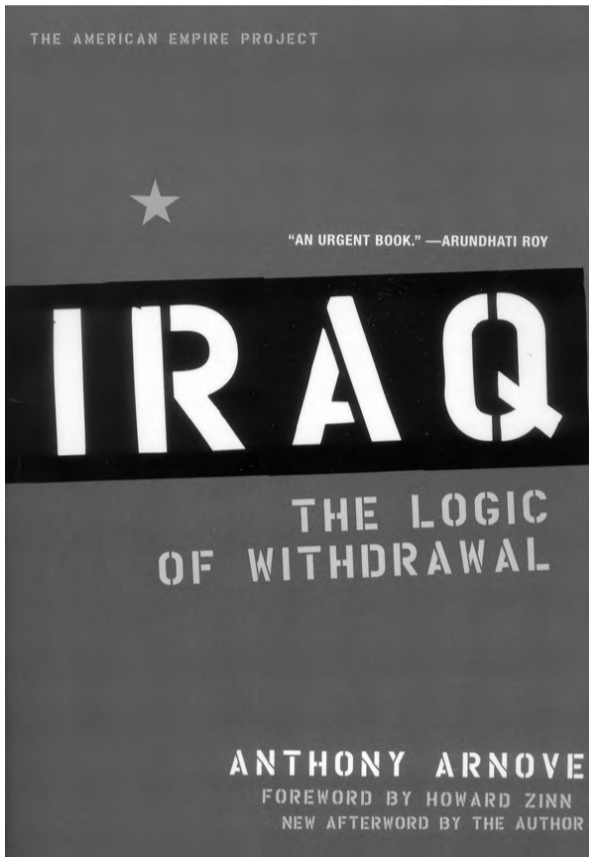
"8. The United States is not fulfilling its obligation to the Iraqi people for the harm and suffering it has caused."

Arnove convincingly argues each of these points from sources that made it into the "mainstream" press, from which he extracted an abundant trove of facts and references. Having rejected all of the usual arguments, Arnove implicitly underlines and condemns the capitalist and ruling-class motivations of the war itself, namely U.S. domination of the oil wealth of the country. For example, he asserts, "Washington wanted a subservient regime in Iraq for a simple reason: Iraq has approximately one hundred and twelve billion barrels of proven oil reserves...and oil of high quality that is relatively easy and cheap to extract" and has "increasingly important natural gas reserves."

Focusing on working-class exploitation, Arnove asserts, "The corporate looting of Iraq is simply an extension of the looting at home, which has seen more and more wealth going from workers to the very rich." This is referred to as a "war on poor and working people," a point that begs for enlargement from a socialist perspective but unfortunately is not forthcoming. Indeed, the system of wage slavery has always been a system of legalized looting and is inherent to capitalism.

A brief historical sketch is contained in Chapter 4 that, among other enlightening points, reminds us that Saddam Hussein and "Chemical Ali" had nothing on Winston Churchill. The latter, posthumously elevated to "sainthood" by the capitalist media for his service to the capitalist system and British imperialism, supported the idea of gassing Iraqis. Thus on June 15, 1920, Churchill asserted, "I am highly in favor of using poisonous gases against uncivilized tribes" to "induce terror."

As this chapter unfolds, one cannot escape the feeling that the disastrous American imperialist quagmire was choreographed by the British imperialists, virtually replicating the proclamation made by Lt. Gen. Sir Stanley Maude who, upon entering Baghdad in March of 1917, announced to assembled tribal chieftains that their mission was not as "conquerors or enemies but as liberators," similar words and phrases again uttered by the dissemblers Jay Garner and L. Paul Bremmer III 86 years later.



One is also reminded that the CIA supported the rise of the Baathist Party in opposition to the all other factions in order to counter the influence of the Communists and the Soviet Union. It supplied lists of Communist dissidents who were subsequently slaughtered in 1963. It was a party whose social base was among the overgrown military, petty bourgeoisie, "the new middle-class [sic] strata totally dependent upon the state" (by which Arnove presumably means the governmental bureaucracy) and "various rural middle classes." Now the Baathists are the insurgency. The parallel to the Reagan administration's support of the *mujaheddin*, the so-called "freedom fighters," later transformed into the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan, now the "enemies," is uncanny. As in George Orwell's *1984*, today's ally is constantly morphing into tomorrow's enemy.

The author asserts that the war seeks "to expand U.S. economic and military power abroad...selling decades of war through racism and the demonization of Arabs and Islam, much as anticommunism was used as an ideological rationale for U.S. aims in Africa, Central Asia, Latin America and the Middle East." He urges the antiwar movement "to assert its independence from the Democrats and challenge the broad consensus that underlies the war on terror," stating we need more politics not less and that "The stronger the consciously anti-imperialist current in the antiwar movement, the stronger the movement to end the war will be, and the greater chance we will have to bring about the fundamental change needed to stop future wars."

There's the rub. While mustering an arsenal of facts that demolish every argument raised in support of the war and occupation, and emphasizing that his argument is for complete and immediate withdrawal from Iraq, Arnove is much more equivocal on the deeper social question that ultimately explains such imperialist adventures and why they are bound to recur.

Informed by the publishers in a sketch "About

the Author" at the end of the book that Arnove is a member of the International Socialist Organization and...is on the editorial board of the *International Socialist Review*," the reader will not be surprised that capitalism is mentioned several times in the text or when the Arnove goes a further step with the following advice to the antiwar movement: "We must also confront a much larger challenge: the need to transform the irrational economic and political system that led to the wars in Vietnam and Iraq and that is today very directly threatening the survival of the human species."

Regrettably, however, that is where Arnove's advice on that most important part of the equation starts and ends. Referring to the large antiwar demonstrations that occurred on an international scale on Feb. 15, 2003, just before the invasion in March of that year, Arnove attempts to explain why nothing on a similar and sustained scale has occurred since and what he believes the antiwar movement must do to end the war and occupation.

Given "the need to transform the irrational economic and political system that led to the wars," etc., one might expect at least an allusion to the idea that the failure of the antiwar movement to adopt a socialist understanding of the war and the need to expand the antiwar movement's perspective in the direction of building a socialist movement to "confront" the "much larger challenge." That would seem to be the logical conclusion, but Arnove never returns to it. Instead, Arnove attributes the failure to match the occurrences of Feb. 15, 2003, to "pessimistic conclusions" drawn from the fact that those demonstrations failed to deter the United States from launching its invasion the following month. "This pessimism was exacerbated by some of the leading spokespeople for the antiwar movement, who misled audiences by suggesting that the demonstrations could stop the war," Arnove wrote. "As inspiring as the demonstrations were, it would have taken a significantly higher degree of protest, organization and disruption of business as usual to do so."

In other words, Arnove's criticism of "the leading spokespeople...who misled audiences by suggesting that the demonstrations could stop the war" is not one of principle but of scale. The implication is that what will end the war is "a significantly higher degree of protest, organization and disruption of business as usual" than occurred in February 2003 or since. Indeed, there is no need to draw the implication because Arnove says it in so many words.

"The lesson of Feb. 15 is not that protest no longer works, but that protest needs to be sustained, coherent, forceful, persistent and bold—rather than episodic and isolated. And it needs to involve large numbers of working-class people, veterans, military families, conscientious objectors, Arabs, Muslims and other people from targeted communities, not just as passive observers but as active participants and leaders."

It is hard to draw any other conclusion from this than that it is Arnove's own pessimism that leads him away from confronting the challenge of building a true antiwar movement—a socialist movement—as distinct from movements to oppose this war, that war and other wars to come. Until that happens, the likelihood is that Arnove's book will not be the last in a long series on *The Logic of Withdrawal*, possibly from Syria, Iran, Venezuela or wherever capitalism's imperialist compulsions may drive it to new and deadly adventures in years to come.

Although Mr. Arnove's book is enlightening in many ways and is worth reading, it founders on the bottom line. Only the organized might of the working class can put an end to the military adventures of the capitalist class. If the antiwar movement embraced that classconscious goal, it will have accomplished a tremendous achievement.