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SLP FINANCIAL CRISIS

Monthly Deficits Must Be Checked

Last month we reported that the Socialist Labor Party is confronted by a financial crisis as severe as any in its history. Since then members and other friends have responded to our appeal with the same generosity that has characterized their response to similar appeals in the past. More than \$9,000 in contributions have been received for the Genevieve Gunderson Memorial (Thanksgiving) Fund and the SLP Sustainer Fund since our initial appeal in the October issue.

That amount was almost, but not quite, enough to wipe out one month's deficit. In September, for example, receipts (contributions, sales, interest posted, etc.) came to \$3,746, but expenses were \$10,218. Consequently, it was necessary to withdraw \$6,472 from the bank to meet the payroll and pay the bills.

The result is that the SLP's cash reserves were down to \$96,564 by the end of September. If the party's income for September had been \$9,000 instead of \$3,746 the deficit for the month would have been \$1,000. What is needed, however, is not smaller deficits. What is needed is surpluses.

Last month a friend who identified himself as a reader of *The People* and a former fundraiser for nonprofit organizations called and left a message on our answering machine. He suggested that perhaps we were making a mistake by not specifying what financial contributions to the SLP are used for. We think what he meant is that our appeal should say something about what the SLP stands for and why its work is important. We think he meant that we must touch the readership of *The People* emotionally.

We appreciate the advice and would act on it if we believed that the success of our appeal depended on the response of people who are not acquainted with what the SLP stands for and why its survival is essential. However, the hard reality is that the crisis is too immediate and too severe to direct the main thrust of our appeal anywhere but in the direction of those who are already well informed on that score.

The problem the party faces is not to raise funds for some special project. It is not to print leaflets or pamphlets that might be just beyond the reach of the budget. It is not to pay for adver-

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ATTACK ON THE CONSTITUTION

U.S. Congress Approves More Police-State Powers

In the name of fighting terrorism, the U.S. House and Senate are at this writing speeding toward final enactment of legislation that will expand previous federal encroachments on civil rights and liberties and further grease the skids toward a police state in the United States.

Both houses of Congress have approved separate but similar versions of this "antiterrorism legislation." By the time this issue of *The People* is in the hands of readers, a final combined version may already be signed into law by President Bush.

An Oct. 12 press release issued by the American Civil Liberties Union warned that "Congress has just passed a bill [S. 1510, HR 2975] that would give the government expanded power to invade our privacy, imprison people without due process and punish dissent." That's putting it mildly—as a look at the most egregious provisions of the legislation attests. Among other things, an ACLU report noted, the legislation:

- "Allows information obtained during criminal investigations to be distributed to the CIA, NSA, INS, Secret Service and military, without judicial review, and with no limits as to how these agencies can use the information once they have it."

- "Authorizes expanded use of covert searches for any criminal investigation, thus allowing the government to enter your home, office or other private place and conduct a search, take photographs, and download your computer files without notifying you until later."

- "Allows...law enforcement [to] apply for warrants in any court in any jurisdiction where it is conducting an investigation for a search anywhere in the country. This would make it very

Genevieve Gunderson



Genevieve Gunderson, vice presidential candidate of the Socialist Labor Party in 1972, and for 26 years a member of the party's national headquarters staff, died on Sept. 25.

A memorial meeting has been scheduled for Nov. 10 (see page 8), and *The People* will pay its final tribute in our next issue. In the meantime, we wish to announce that this year's Thanksgiving Fund will act as the Genevieve Gunderson Memorial Fund. We sincerely hope that every friend and supporter of the SLP will be moved to contribute as generously to that fund as Genevieve contributed so generously of herself to the SLP.

difficult for individuals subjected to searches to challenge the warrant."

- "Creates [the] new crime of domestic terrorism...an entirely new type of crime, which is unnecessary for the prosecution of the 'War on Terrorism.' By expanding the definition of terrorism in such a way, the bill could potentially allow the government to levy heavy penalties for relatively minor offenses, including [constitutionally protected] political protests."

- "Gives the director of Central Intelligence the power to manage the gathering of intelligence in America and mandate[s] the disclosure of information obtained by the FBI about terrorism in general—even if it is about law-abiding

American citizens—to the CIA."

- "Permits authorities to indefinitely detain noncitizens, without meaningful judicial review."

- "Allows law enforcement to access, use and disseminate highly personal information [from educational institutions] about American and foreign students."

- "Minimizes judicial supervision of law enforcement wiretap authority in several ways, including: permitting law enforcement to obtain the equivalent of 'blank' warrants in the physical world; authorizing intelligence wiretaps that need not specify the phone to be tapped or require that only the target's con-

(Continued on page 3)

Finding a Job After Sept. 11 Harder Than Ever for Many

By Carl Miller Jr.

Workers who were "downsized" before Sept. 11 are learning that finding a new job now is even more difficult than it was before.

"For those already out of work, the employment outlook is rapidly going from bad to worse," *USA Today* reported on Oct. 8. "More than 70 percent of companies plan to maintain or reduce workforces, according to a survey by Manpower. A hiring outlook survey by the Bureau of National Affairs found production and service workers will likely face sharp employment declines."

Not good news for those searching for means to support themselves and their families, especially those who have already been unemployed for some time.

Naturally, because of the scarcity of available jobs, the time needed to find a job has increased as well. According to the article in *USA Today*, job searches that would normally take three months are probably going to take

twice as long given the present situation. One job hunter had this to say about her efforts, "I will have to work harder. I just don't know how long it will take." Unfortunately, it seems this woman will work harder to find a job that probably is not going to be there in spite of her extra efforts.

Not only are unemployed workers finding it difficult to locate jobs in their chosen fields, but part-time and last-resort jobs are becoming scarce. Positions in the retail, clerical and temporary sectors are seeing their share of cuts as well. That these last-resort options are disappearing only adds to the anxiety felt by the unemployed because they feel there is nothing to fall back on if their primary job search fails to yield results within a reasonable time.

Unemployment, anxiety, worries about what tomorrow will bring, all these things are the result of a system that has long outlived its usefulness to society. Capitalism, with its recurring crises and conflicts, is at the root

of these troubles. It is up to the working class to make the decision that it is time for a new system, one that will provide peace of mind and material security for all.

That new system is socialism and it will not come about overnight. It will only happen once the working class realizes that its interests are no longer served by the present state of affairs, and organizes its strength politically and economically to rid itself of this blight on humanity. Needless suffering as a result of economic downturns, wars and abject poverty in the face of plenty will all become bad memories as we build a society that will finally work in the interests of everyone.

Is this a pipe dream or is it possible? It is possible and, in fact, recent tragic events demonstrate clearly that there is no better time than now to make it happen. Join with us in our struggle for that new society. Join the SLP and its fight for socialist freedom.

New Orleans a Disaster Waiting to Happen

By B.B.

Development is a term that has come to signify progress under the capitalist system. In reality, it has become synonymous with despoiling "Mother Earth" and threatening the very existence of life on the planet, thanks to the overweening compulsions of the profit system and the accompanying anarchy of production. A case in point is New Orleans.

"Drowning New Orleans," a feature article by Mark Fischetti appearing in the October issue of *Scientific American*, presents a sobering picture of "a disaster waiting to happen" to the city, and indeed the nation. It seems "natural processes that have been artificially accelerated by human tinkering—levying rivers, draining wetlands, dredging channels and cutting canals through marshes" have and are destroying the elements of the Mississippi Delta that have historically protected the city from the tidal flooding that can occur as the result of a major hurricane, such as gigantic Hurricane Andrew that missed the city by 100 miles or, more recently, Hurricane Georges that veered east just in time.

The magnitude of potential destruction is alarming. Computer simulation can gauge the effects of a Category 4 hurricane advancing from the southwest. The entire city of New Orleans and its environs would be inundated under 20 feet of water, while the delta itself would be covered from 10 to 20 feet.

At risk are the lives of millions who live in and around the city, one-third of the country's seafood production, a fifth of the nation's oil and a quarter of its natural gas deposits, and 40 percent of its national coastal wetlands where 70 percent of migratory waterfowl periodically take refuge. Louisiana State University scientists predict that, unless remedial measures are implemented by 2090, New Orleans, lying below sea level, will be "at best a troubled Venice, at worst a modern-day Atlantis."

Characteristically, the author refers

to "human intervention" as the cause. However, humans are not free agents. They function through the socioeconomic system that imparts their motives, actions and conduct. They are caught in the matrix of capitalist production, a human-made system blindly driven by anarchistic market forces, segments of which are at war with one another.

Commercial fishing battles the petroleum interests that have cut navigation channels and pipe canals through the delta. Politicians, representing material interests among Louisiana's 20 coastal parishes, opposed remedial action until "engineers and politicians who had been squabbling realized how close the entire delta had come to disaster" after Hurricane Georges.

For decades, capitalist interests upriver have built commercial and suburban properties bordering the river and demanded flood protection for their capital investments. Dredging and levee construction have caused the river to elongate into the Gulf of Mexico, preventing upriver silt from replenishing the disappearing barrier islands that used to keep the sea at bay. It has also prevented the river from replenishing marsh lands with fresh water and silt that sustained the mangrove trees and grasses that averted encroachment of the saline ocean water and land erosion. As a result, the delta is losing 60 acres of land a day, while the silt is carried to the continental shelf where it drops into the deep ocean. From 1932 to 1990 over 1,000 square miles of land have disappeared!

Moreover, New Orleans and its suburban parishes are sinking as a result of indiscriminately draining marshes for industrial "development" and building levees for flood control. As a result, thick layers of peat several hundred feet deep below the city have gone dry, which lowered the water table and caused the city to sink below sea level. The "solution" to stave off flooding are sump pumps that are perpetually pumping water into nearby Lake Pontchartrain.

Even a tardily agreed-on plan to avert

disaster may never be effectively implemented. That plan embodies a series of measures brought together and published in something called *Coast 2050*. These measures, which could cost \$14 billion, are designed to elevate the Louisiana coast in time to fend off the impending disaster. However, they are nonbinding on the various constituencies that presumably are to coordinate the effort, and if those feuding entities continue to conduct themselves as they have until now it is problematical what will be the result.

Apparently this quarreling has gone on for some time and has involved politicians, capitalist interests, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Louisiana State University (LSU). As Fischetti noted:

"Since the 1980s Louisiana's senators have made various pleas to Congress to fund massive remedial work. But they were not backed by a unified voice. LSU had its surge models, and the Corps had others. Despite agreement on general solutions, competition abounded as to whose specific project would be most effective. The Corps sometimes painted academics' cries about disaster as veiled pitches for research money. Academia occasionally retorted that the Corps' solution to everything was to bulldoze more dirt and pour more concrete, without scientific rationale. Meanwhile oystermen and shrimpers complained that the proposals from both the scientists and the engineers would ruin their fishing grounds."

What a dreadful mess! It is a real microcosm of the capitalist system. What should be a matter of cooperative, social policy has deteriorated into a mare's nest of competition. If all the elements needed to mount an effective effort to salvage the situation do manage to set their differences aside long enough to accomplish the task, it will be in spite of, and not because of, the way in which those elements are organized and utilized under the capitalist system.

No such problem would or could crop up if all those elements were organized into noncompeting industrial entities whose only purpose was to concentrate their expertise on problems such as that confronting New Orleans today. That is precisely what the Socialist Industrial Union program of the Socialist Labor Party would accomplish. Quarrels over "turf" and scientific judgments colored by funding needs, etc., would be impossible. Time and talent would not be squandered, and those who at bottom undoubtedly would prefer to devote their energies to solving such problems would be free to do so.

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years ago

The Roman Hierarchy as Foreign Agent

(*Weekly People*, Nov. 3, 1951)

Dr. Glenn L. Archer, spokesman for a group "united for separation of church and state," has put his finger on what may prove to be a ticklish point resulting from the diplomatic recognition of Vatican City. The United States, said Dr. Archer, has a law requiring all agents of foreign powers in America to register as such with the State Department. The members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America are agents of the Roman Church, owing allegiance to the ruler of the Vatican. That this allegiance, and the obedience it implies, extend to political matters is shown in a long list of instances in which American priests have been disciplined and punished by the pope for departing from the church's political line.

"If we are going to recognize the Vatican as a foreign power for the purpose of sending an ambassador," said Dr. Archer, "we should recognize it as a foreign power in all ways. It can't be a church one minute and a state the next."

We don't for a minute believe that the registration requirement will be enforced, but it will be interesting to see how it is gotten around.

Do You Belong?

Do you know what the SLP stands for? Do you understand the class struggle and why the SLP calls for an end of capitalism and of its system of wage labor? Do you



understand why the SLP does not advocate reforms of capitalism, and why it calls upon workers to organize Socialist Industrial Unions?

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

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

Get Subs!

at large

THE CREATION OF AMERICA: THROUGH REVOLUTION TO EMPIRE, by Francis Jennings. New York: Cambridge University Press, publisher; 2000; 340 pages. Please order from bookseller or publisher.

By B.G.

Revisionist historian Francis Jennings has now completed his innovative study of the founding of America with this final contribution, *The Creation of America*. His first book in the series, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (1975), created quite a stir in scholarly circles, counteracting the standard worshipful type of history that characterized the earliest European immigrants as intrepid pioneers building a civilization on an empty continent, peopled only by wild animals and wild men who must be eliminated to make way for the super race. To Jennings, they were invaders and exploiters who entered into friendly relations with the Amerindians only to replace and destroy them and their already existing civilizations. His second book, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (1984), examined the important diplomacy of the confederated Iroquois tribes and their colonial European neighbors. The third book, *Empire of Fortune* (1988), took the story through the Seven Years War to 1763 and the

beginning of the end of English colonial power in what would soon become the United States.

The present book, *The Creation of America*, continues the story through the revolution, the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the beginnings of the new government under Presidents George Washington and John Adams. It reveals a history that would make most professional patriots uncomfortable and tells us what flag-wavers least want to hear. The Founding Fathers were not saints but human beings with human motives—not all of them admirable.

Patriot John Hancock was the biggest smuggler in Boston, had grown rich by avoiding import taxes, and would have seen himself in jail and his fortune undermined if he had been impelled by British officials to pay up—a good reason for defying British authority and becoming a patriot.

Patriot George Washington was one of the largest land speculators in the Ohio lands that the British government had made off limits to American colonials and that had been reserved for Indians. He even finagled to avoid the law in order to register "an illicitly large tract of land in small parcels," which was done with the connivance of a friend

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Media Outlets Comply With Bush Administration's Wishes

By Ken Boettcher

Five major U.S. television networks have voluntarily complied with the October admonition by President Bush's White House press secretary Ari Fleischer to "Report the news to the American people, but if you report it in its entirety that could raise concerns."

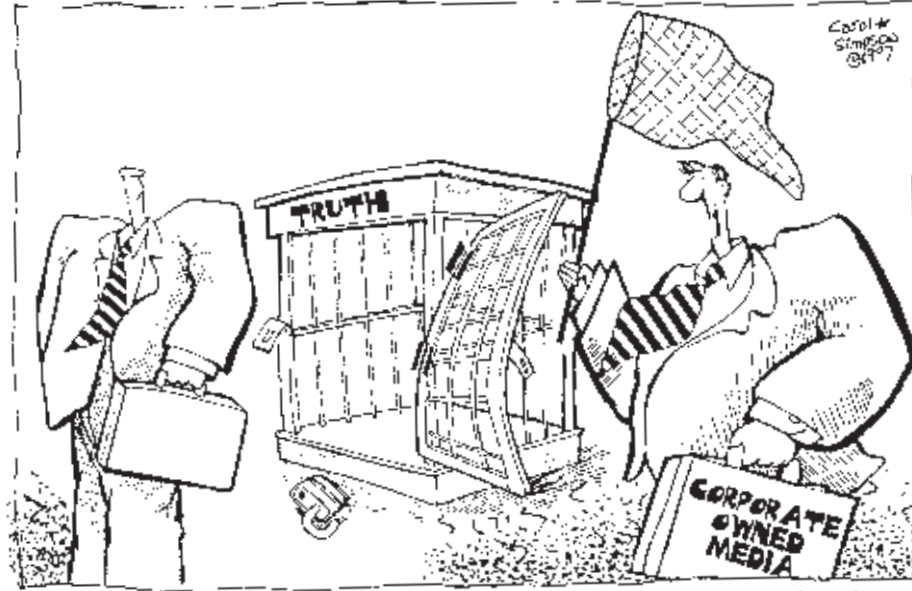
Fleischer issued the warning, which implied some sort of official government response if not heeded, in an attempt to restrict network coverage of statements from terrorist chieftain Osama bin Laden. The pretext for the warning was, according to the Bush administration, that bin Laden's communications could contain coded messages for terrorists already in the United States.

The real reason is, of course, the propaganda war the administration is waging for the hearts and minds of American and other workers around the world against the theocratic rantings of bin Laden, who seeks the same hearts and minds.

Even some U.S. intelligence officials "who insisted on anonymity," as a report in the *San Jose Mercury News* put it, disputed the notion of coded messages. "All the messages that are in [bin Laden's statements] are clear as can be. You don't need a secret decoder ring."

The cooperation of the major networks was hardly a surprise.

After all, these are the same networks who voluntarily leave out of their



"Don't worry. It won't get far."

Carol Simpson

coverage the horrific results of current or past U.S. support for dictators or right-wing client states in Turkey, Indonesia, the Philippines, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Morocco, South Vietnam, Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, Cuba, Nicaragua, Colombia, Panama, the Congo, and on and on ad nauseam.

These are the same networks who year after year all but ignore the murderous effects of capitalist control of industry, which yearly injures more than 10 million workers, kills several thousand in traumatic injuries and more than 50,000 due to occupational disease, and sickens more than 800,000. The same networks who show us grizzly murder after grizzly murder and titillate us

with stories of sexy Hollywood idols and athletes and music stars while ignoring the plight of the tens of millions in our own country who suffer from hunger, lack of health care and education, homelessness and poverty.

No, the networks' kowtowing to Fleischer's warning was not surprising at all.

What was at first glance a surprise was the response of some of the representatives of U.S. print media, who were also urged by Fleischer to fall into line with the voluntary actions of the five major television networks. The president of the Society of Professional Journalists, Al Cross, for example, retorted that, "The White House should

run the war and leave the reporting of news to reporters and editors."

That would probably serve the needs of U.S. capitalism better. After all, the preponderance of these reporters and editors routinely self-censor their own work very effectively. And the absence of formal censorship structures enables them to cloak that censorship in the veneer of "objectivity."

Like their cohorts in radio, television and Hollywood, reporters and editors in the print media suffer from the same bourgeois ideological dominance that permeates our whole culture, and they routinely censor themselves quite efficiently without needing any supervision from the likes of Fleischer. The interests of capitalism are generally maintained automatically, with the self-interest of each cog in the media machinery determining its own direction.

As the Republican politician and newspaper editor William Allen White put it in the last century, "The owners of newspaper investments, whether they be bankers, stockholders of a corporation, or individuals, feel a rather keen sense of financial responsibility, and they pass their anxiety along to newspaper operatives whether these operatives be superintendents known as managing editors, foremen known as city editors, or mere wage earners known as editorial writers, copydesk men, reporters, or what not."

"The sense of property goes thrilling down the line. It produces a slant and a bias that in time becomes—unconsciously and probably in all honesty—a prejudice against any man or any thing or any cause that seriously affects the right, title, or interest of all other capital, however invested."

... More Police-State Powers

(Continued from page 1)

versations be eavesdropped upon; and allowing the FBI to use its 'intelligence' authority to circumvent the judicial review of the probable cause requirement of the Fourth Amendment."

Even the terrorist strikes of Sept. 11 do not justify jettisoning our constitutionally guaranteed rights and liberties.

Any "justification" for such measures overlooks the federal government's long record of tolerance for and even occasional collaboration with terrorist groups of the right-wing variety like the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacists, neo-Nazis and other ultrarightists. The public record includes the FBI's infiltration and use of the Ku Klux Klan to disrupt the civil rights movement in the 1960s

and '70s; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms' infiltration of Nazis in North Carolina, and its plotting with them of the armed assault that led to the deaths of five antiracist demonstrators in Greensboro in 1979; links between military officials and right-wing groups; plus decades of unpunished lynchings, murders and other racist acts of violence perpetrated by such groups.

Any "justification" offered for more repressive investigative powers also overlooks decades of involvement by the FBI, the CIA and other police agencies of government at all levels in the surveillance, infiltration, harassment and suppression of peaceful antiracist, antiwar and civil rights groups that would almost certainly suffer from a renewal or increase in such abuses as a result of the widening of the government's investigative powers.

Such "solutions" to the menace of terrorism attest to the growing prevalence of a social atmosphere favorable for the U.S. capitalist class to shed its facade of bourgeois democracy and reveal its true despotic nature.

As *The People* has noted before, "During such periods especially, the capitalist-controlled state, in the name of democracy and fighting terrorism, has time and again trampled upon basic civil rights and liberties in an effort to keep restive elements of the working class down."

"For example, World War I brought with it the Sedition Act and the imprisonment of opponents of war for using 'disloyal language.' The social atmosphere of World War II fostered the Smith Act, suppression of strikes, threats of labor conscription and the internment of Japanese-Americans. The Korean War and early Cold War climate contributed to the passage of the McCarran Act, which empowered

the president to suspend the Bill of Rights and impose wholesale detentions of persons who 'probably will engage in espionage or sabotage.'

The government repression and practically universal surveillance mandated by this new "antiterrorist" legislation cannot prevent terrorism. Moreover, neither the terrorist threat nor the social climate favoring a repressive response would exist if the capitalist system wasn't continually driving this nation to war to protect capitalist-class material and strategic interests abroad.

Even if the combined "antiterrorist" legislation that will soon find its way to President Bush's desk contains a "sunset" clause—as the House version does—which would drop some provisions after a few years, the real danger will not be over. On the contrary, the economic decline of the capitalist system portends a future of growing social turmoil, more militarism and war, and a general trend favoring terrorism, repression and autocracy.

These threats will persist so long as the capitalist system exists. Through its economic power and wealth, the capitalist class controls the U.S. government. While that class generally prefers peace and a democratic political state, so long as these are compatible with its economic interests, its overriding concern is that it remain in power. History has demonstrated time and again that, to guard against challenges to its rule or to its most vital economic and strategic interests, the capitalist class will not hesitate to commit the ultimate act of state terror—to go to war—or to trample upon democratic rights or even jettison democracy altogether in favor of autocracy.

The only solution to the threats of war, terrorism and totalitarianism is to

get rid of their cause. Workers can secure their rights and liberties once and for all only by organizing to abolish capitalism and replace it with a social system in which they will exercise democratic control over the entire economy—the industrial democracy of socialism. In a worker-owned and -controlled economy, a helping hand could be extended to the impoverished masses worldwide who have suffered under the often ruthless dominance of U.S. capitalism and its despotic local proxies.

A political party of the working class is needed to work for a democratic mandate at the ballot box and help recruit workers for the needed economic force. That civilized force must be provided by Socialist Industrial Unions that will work for that mandate and organize on a classwide, industrywide basis to back up that mandate. This is the force needed to take, hold and operate the means of life and establish a socialist society collectively owned and democratically controlled by the working-class majority—a society in which the class divisions and economic conditions that cause war, strife and anarchy, terrorism and totalitarianism exist no more.

—K.B.

the People

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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS
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Marx on Muslims,

President Bush made a remarkable confession at his press conference of Oct. 11 when, in response to a reporter's question, he said he did not understand why anyone would attack the United States as it was attacked on Sept. 11.

"How do I respond when I see that in some Islamic countries there is vitriolic hatred for America? I'll tell you how I respond: I'm amazed.

"I'm amazed that there's such misunderstanding of what our country is about that people would hate us. I am—like most Americans, I just can't believe it because I know how good we are.

"And we've got to do a better job of making our case. We've got to do a better job of explaining to the people in the Middle East, for example, that we don't fight a war against Islam or Muslims. We don't hold any religion accountable. We're fighting evil."

While professing a need to make a better propaganda case for U.S. policy pursuits in the Middle East, President Bush gave no indication of trying to improve his own understanding of that area of the world, much less why the roles of "good versus evil" are just the reverse in the minds of millions of Muslim believers. Americans, particularly working-class Americans, who prefer light over darkness, should follow a different example. One of the best places to begin would be the *Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, followed by any major collection of their works on the non-European world and the impact capitalism has on it. One such collection, edited by Shlomo Avineri, is called *Karl Marx on Colonialism & Modernization*. In his Introduction to that collection, Avineri made the following observations about the effect of capitalism on the non-European world from Marx's point of view:

"The general tone of Marx's views on the non-European world is set in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848);...the discussion centers round the impact of European capitalist expansion on non-European civilizations...when its structure is already heavily undermined by expanding European, bourgeois civilization.

"The capitalist mode of production is, for Marx, the first historical mode of production that is carried by its own momentum toward embracing the whole world within its net of productive relations. The need for expanding into the non-European world is thus an immanent feature of bourgeois society....'The bourgeoisie,' Marx writes, 'cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production....The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases [it] over the whole surface of the globe....[It] has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country.'"

In short, capitalism is compelled by its own inner dynamics to seek markets abroad and, in addition to markets, sources of raw materials to feed the industries out of which these commodities come. These pursuits have their effect on the Middle East and everywhere that capitalism is compelled to go. The effect is not limited to the physical. As Marx put it:

"And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there

arises a world literature."

It is not only Western literature, of course, but the whole of bourgeois culture that capitalism exports with its restless search for markets and raw materials, not to mention nailing them down and tying them up through the historic stages of colonialism and imperialism. None of this has anything to do with "good versus evil," as seen through the mind's eye of President Bush and similar tiny portals, but with a clash of historic forces and the impact the collision has on the lives and minds of the people affected by them—particularly those on the receiving end.

Reproduced on this page is the larger part of an article that Marx wrote on this aspect of the subject for the *New York Daily Tribune* at the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854. Two supplementary pieces by Engels also serve to

put the questions of Islamic theocracy and historic progress into perspective. Though written over a century ago, these excerpts from the writings of Marx and Engels on the clash of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Middle East are valuable aids in trying to grasp the significance and the motives behind the tragic events of Sept. 11.

—Editor

On the History of the Eastern Question

(*New York Daily Tribune*, April 15, 1854)

By Karl Marx

In order to understand both the nature of the relations between the Turkish Government and the spiritual authorities of Turkey, and the

difficulties in which the former is at present involved, with respect to the question of a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte, that question which ostensibly lies at the bottom of all the actual complications in the East, it is necessary to cast a retrospective glance at its past history and development.

The Koran and the Mussulman legislation emanating from it reduce the geography and ethnography of the various people to the simple and convenient distinction of two nations and of two countries; those of the Faithful and of the Infidels. The Infidel is "harby," i.e., the enemy. Islamism proscribes the nation of the Infidels, constituting a state of permanent hostility between the Mussulman and the unbeliever. In that sense the corsair ships of the Berber States were the holy fleet of Islam. How, then, is the existence of Christian subjects of the Porte to be reconciled with the Koran?

"If a town," says the Mussulman legislation, "surrenders by capitulation, and its habitants consent to become *rayahs*, that is, subjects of a Mussulman prince without abandoning their creed, they have to pay the *kharatch* (capitation tax), when they obtain a truce with the faithful, and it is not permitted anymore to confiscate their estates than to take away their houses....In this case their old churches form part of their property, with permission to worship therein. But they are not allowed to erect new ones. They have only authority for repairing them, and to reconstruct their decayed portions. At certain epochs commissaries delegated by the provisional governors are to visit the churches and sanctuaries of the Christians, in order to ascertain that no new buildings have been added under pretext of repairs. If a town is conquered by force, the inhabitants retain their churches, but only as places of abode or refuge, without permission to worship."

Constantinople having surrendered by capitulation, as in like manner the greater portion of European Turkey, the Christians there enjoy the privilege of living as *rayahs*, under the Turkish Government. This privilege they have exclusively by virtue of their agreeing to accept the Mussulman protection. It is, therefore, owing to this circumstance alone, that the Christians submit to be governed by the Mussulmans according to Mussulman law, that the patriarch of Constantinople, their spiritual chief, is at the same time their political representative and their Chief Justice. Wherever, in the Ottoman Empire, we find an agglomeration of Greek *rayahs*, the Archbishops and Bishops are by law members of the Municipal Councils, and, under the direction of the patriarch, rule over the repartition of the taxes imposed upon the Greeks. The patriarch is responsible to the Porte as to the conduct of his co-religionists. Invested with the right of judging the *rayahs* of his Church, he delegates this right to the metropolitans and bishops, in the limits of their dioceses, their sentences being obligatory for the executive officers, *kadis*, etc., of the Porte to carry out. The punishments which they have the right to pronounce are fines, imprisonment, bastinado, and exile. Besides, their own church gives them the power of excommunication. Independent of the produce of the fines, they receive variable taxes on the civil and

Early Christianity

By Frederick Engels

(From "Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity")

It was in the midst of this general economic, political, intellectual and moral decay [of the Roman Empire] that Christianity appeared. It was decisively at odds with all previous religions.

In all previous religions ritual had been the main thing. Only by taking part in the sacrifices and processions, and in the Orient by observing the most cumbersome diet and cleanliness regulations, could one show to what religion one belonged. While Rome and Greece were tolerant in the latter respect, there was in the Orient an obsession with religious prohibitions that contributed no little to the final collapse. People of two different religions (Egyptians, Persians, Jews, Chaldeans) could not eat or drink together, perform any everyday act together, or hardly speak to each other. It was largely due to this segregation of man from man that the Orient met its demise. Christianity knows no distinctive rituals, not even the sacrifices and processions of the classical world. By thus rejecting all national religions and their common ritual and addressing itself to all peoples without distinction, it becomes the *first potential world religion*. Judaism, too, with its new universal god, had made a start towards becoming a world religion; but the children of Israel always remained an aristocracy among the believers and the circumcised, and Christianity itself had to get rid of the notion of the superiority of the Jewish Christians (still dominant in the so-called Revelation of John) before it could really become a world religion. Islam itself, on the other hand, by preserving its specifically Oriental ritual, limited the area of its propagation to the Orient and the North Africa conquered and populated anew by Arab Bedouins; here it could become the dominant religion, but not in the West.

Secondly, Christianity struck a chord that was bound to echo in countless hearts. To all complaints about the wickedness of the times and the general material and moral misery, Christian consciousness of sin answered: It is so and it cannot be otherwise; thou art to blame, ye are all to blame for the corruption of the world, thine and your own internal corruption! And where was the man who could deny it? *Mea culpa!* The admission of each one's share in the responsibility for the general misfortune was irrefutable and was made now the precondition for the spiritual salvation which Christianity at the same time announced. And this spiritual salvation was so instituted that it could be easily understood by members of every old religious community. The idea of atonement to placate the offended deity was current in all the old religions; how could the idea of the self-sacrifice of the mediator atoning once and for all for the sins of humanity not easily find ground there? Christianity, therefore, clearly expressed the universal feeling that men themselves are guilty of the general decay as the consciousness of sin of each one; at the same time it provided, in the sacrificial death of its founder, a form easily understood everywhere of the universally longed-for internal salvation from the decadent world, the consolation of consciousness; it thus again proved its capacity to become a world religion and, indeed, a religion which suited the world as it then was.

So it happened that among the thousands of prophets and preachers in the desert that filled that period with their countless religious renovations the founders of Christianity alone met with success. Not only Palestine, but the entire Orient, swarmed with such founders of religions, and between them there raged what can be called a Darwinist struggle for ideological existence. Thanks mainly to the elements mentioned above, Christianity won the day. How it gradually developed its character of a world religion by natural selection in the struggle of sects amongst themselves and against the pagan world is taught in detail by the history of the Church in the first three centuries.

—Collected Works, Vol. 27

Christians and Jews

commercial lawsuits. Every hierarchic scale among the clergy has its moneyed price. The patriarch pays to the Divan a heavy tribute in order to obtain his investiture, but he sells, in his turn, the archbishoprics and bishoprics to the clergy of his worship. The latter indemnify themselves by the sale of subaltern dignities and the tribute exacted from the popes. These, again, sell by retail the power they have bought from their superiors, and traffic in all acts of their ministry, such as baptisms, marriages, divorces, and testaments.

It is evident from this *exposé* that this fabric of theocracy over the Greek Christians of Turkey, and the whole structure of their society, has its keystone in the subjection of the rayah under the Koran, which, in its turn, by treating them as infidels—i.e., as a nation only in a religious sense—sanctioned the combined spiritual and temporal power of their priests. Then, if you abolish their subjection under the Koran by a civil emancipation, you cancel at the same time their subjection to the clergy, and provoke a revolution in their social, political and religious relations, which, in the first instance, must inevitably hand them over to Russia. If you supplant the Koran by a *code civil*, you must occidentalize the entire structure of Byzantine society.

Having described the relations between the Mussulman and his Christian subject, the question arises, what are the relations between the Mussulman and the unbelieving foreigner?

As the Koran treats all foreigners as foes, nobody will dare to present himself in a Mussulman country without having taken his precautions. The first European merchants, therefore, who risked the chances of commerce with such a people, contrived to secure themselves an exceptional treatment and privileges originally personal, but afterward extended to their whole nation. Hence the origin of capitulations. Capitulations are imperial diplomas, letters of privilege, octroyed by the Porte to different European nations, and authorizing their subjects to freely enter Mohammedan countries, and there to pursue in tranquillity their affairs, and to practice their worship. They differ from treaties in this essential point that they are not reciprocal acts contradictorily debated between the contracting parties, and accepted by them on the condition of mutual advantages and concessions. On the contrary, the capitulations are one-sided concessions on the part of the Government granting them, in consequence of which they may be revoked at its pleasure. The Porte has, indeed, at several times nullified the privileges granted to one nation, by extending them to others; or repealed them altogether by refusing to continue their application. This precarious character of the capitulations made them an eternal source of disputes, of complaints on the part of Embassadors, and of a prodigious exchange of contradictory notes and firmans revived at the commencement of every new reign.

It was from these capitulations that arose the right of a *protectorate* of foreign powers, not over the Christian subjects of the Porte—the rayahs—but over their co-religionists visiting Turkey or residing there as foreigners. The first power that obtained such a protectorate was France. The capitulations

between France and the Ottoman Porte made in 1535 under Soliman the Great and Francis I.; in 1604 under Ahmet I. and Henry IV., and in 1673 under Mohammed IV. and Louis XIV., were renewed, confirmed, recapitulated, and augmented in the compilation of 1740, called “ancient and recent capitulations and treaties between the Court of France and the Ottoman Porte renewed and augmented in the year 1740 A.D., and in 1153 of the Hegira, translated (the first official translation sanctioned by the Porte) at Constantinople by M. Deval, Secretary Interpreter of the King, and his first Dragoman at the Ottoman Porte.” Art. 32 of this agreement constitutes the right of France to a protectorate over all monasteries professing the French religion to whatever nation they may belong, and over the Frank visitors of the Holy Places.

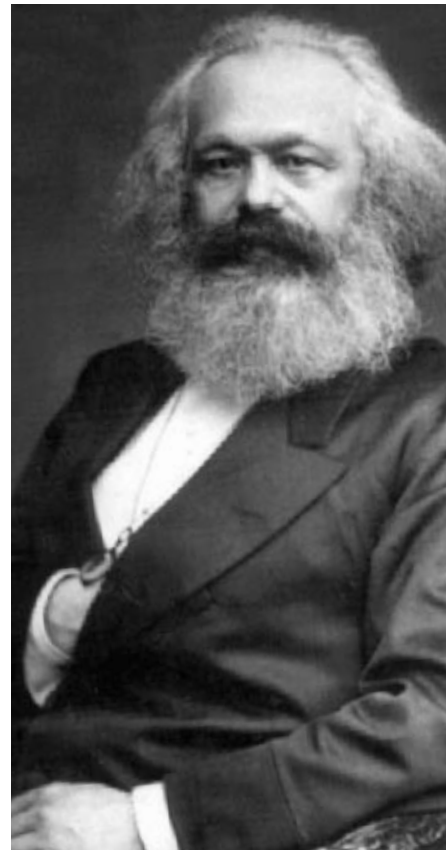
Russia was the first Power that, in 1774, inserted the capitulation, imitated after the example of France, into a *treaty*, the treaty of Kainardji. Thus, in 1802, Napoleon thought fit to make the existence and maintenance of the capitulation the subject of an article of treaty, and to give it the character of synallagmatic contract.

In what relation then does the question of the Holy Places stand with the protectorate?

The question of the Holy Shrines is the question of a protectorate over the religious Greek Christian communities settled at Jerusalem, and over the buildings possessed by them on the holy ground, and especially over the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. It is to be understood that possession here does not mean proprietorship, which is denied to the Christians by the Koran, but only the right of *usufruct*. This right of *usufruct* excludes by no means the other communities from worshipping in the same place; the possessors having no other privilege besides that of keeping the *keys*, of repairing and entering the edifices, of kindling the

holy lamp, of cleaning the rooms with the broom, and of spreading the carpets, which is an Oriental symbol of possession. In the same manner now, in which Christianity culminates at the Holy Place, the question of the protectorate is there found to have its highest ascension.

Parts of the Holy Places and of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher are possessed by the Latins, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Abyssinians, the Syrians, and the Copts. Between all these diverse pretenders there originated a conflict. The sovereigns of Europe who



saw, in this religious quarrel, a question of their respective influences in the Orient, addressed themselves in the first instance to the masters of the soil, to fanatic and greedy Pashas, who abused their position. The Ottoman Porte and its agents adopting a most troublesome *système de bascule* gave judgment in turns favorable to the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, ask-

ing and receiving gold from all hands, and laughing at each of them. Hardly had the Turks granted a firman, acknowledging the right of the Latins to the possession of a contested place, when the Armenians presented themselves with a heavier purse, and instantly obtained a contradictory firman. Same tactics with respect to the Greeks, who knew, besides, as officially recorded in different firmans of the Porte and “*hudjets*” (judgments) of its agents, how to procure false and apocryph titles. On other occasions the decisions of the Sultan’s Government were frustrated by the cupidity and ill-will of the Pashas and subaltern agents in Syria. Then it became necessary to resume negotiations, to appoint fresh commissaries, and to make new sacrifices of money. What the Porte formerly did from pecuniary considerations, in our days it has done from fear, with a view to obtain protection and favor. Having done justice to the reclamations of France and the Latins, it hastened to make the same conditions to Russia and the Greeks, thus attempting to escape from a storm which it felt powerless to encounter. There is no sanctuary, no chapel, no stone of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, that had been left unturned for the purpose of constituting a quarrel between the different Christian communities.

Around the Holy Sepulcher we find an assemblage of all the various sects of Christianity, behind the religious pretensions of whom are concealed as many political and national rivalries.

Jerusalem and the Holy Places are inhabited by nations professing religions: the Latins, the Greeks, the Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, and Syrians. There are 2,000 Greeks, 1,000 Latins, 350 Armenians, 100 Copts, 20 Syrians, and 20 Abyssinians—3,490. In the Ottoman Empire we find 13,730,000 Greeks, 2,400,000 Armenians, and 900,000 Latins. Each of these is again subdivided. The Greek Church, of which I treated above, the one acknowledging the Patriarch of Constantinople, essentially differs from the Greco-Russian, whose chief spiritual authority is the Czar; and from the Hellenic, of whom the King and the Synod of Athens are the chief authorities. Similarly, the Latins are subdivided into the Roman Catholics, United Greeks, and Maronites; and the Armenians into Gregorian and Latin Armenians—the same distinctions holding good with the Copts and Abyssinians. The three prevailing religious nationalities at the Holy Places are the Greeks, the Latins, and the Armenians. The Latin Church may be said to represent principally Latin races, the Greek Church, Slav, Turko-Slav, and Hellenic races; and the other churches, Asiatic and African races.

Imagine all these conflicting peoples beleaguering the Holy Sepulcher, the battle conducted by the monks, and the ostensible object of their rivalry being a star from the grotto of Bethlehem, a tapestry, a key of a sanctuary, an altar, a shrine, a chair, a cushion—any ridiculous precedence!

In order to understand such a monastical crusade it is indispensable to consider firstly the manner of their living, and secondly, the mode of their habitation. Says a recent traveller:

“All the religious rubbish of the
(Continued on page 6)

Engels on Islam

By Frederick Engels

(Footnote from “On the History of Early Christianity”)

A peculiar counterpart to this was the religious risings in the Mohammedan world, particularly in Africa. Islam is a religion adapted to Orientals, especially Arabs, i.e., on the one hand to townsmen engaged in trade and industry, on the other to nomadic Bedouins. Therein lies, however, the embryo of a periodically recurring collision. The townspeople grow rich, luxurious and lax in observing the “law.” The Bedouins, poor and hence of strict morals, contemplate with envy and covetousness these riches and pleasures. Then they unite under a prophet, a Mahdi, to chastise the apostates and restore the observation of the ritual and the true faith and to appropriate in recompense the treasures of the renegades. In a hundred years they are naturally in the same position as the renegades were: a new purge of the faith is required, a new Mahdi arises and the game starts again from the beginning. That is what happened from the campaigns of conquest by the African Almoravids and Almohads in Spain to the last Mahdi of Khartoum who so successfully thwarted the English. It happened in the same way or similarly with the risings in Persia and other Mohammedan countries. All these movements are couched in religion but they have their source in economic causes; and yet, even when they are victorious, they allow the old economic conditions to persist untouched. So the old situation remains unchanged and the collision recurs periodically. In the popular risings of the Christian West, on the contrary, the religious disguise is only a flag and a mask for attacks on an economic order which is becoming antiquated. This is finally overthrown, a new one arises and the world progresses.

—Collected Works, Vol. 27

... Marx on Muslims ...

(Continued from page 5)

different nations live at Jerusalem separated from each other, hostile and jealous, a nomade population, incessantly recruited by pilgrimage or decimated by the plague and oppressions. The European dies or returns to Europe after some years; the pashas and their guards go to Damascus or Constantinople; and the Arabs fly to the desert. Jerusalem is but a place where every one arrives to pitch his tent and where nobody remains. Everybody in the holy city gets his livelihood from his religion—the Greeks or Armenians from the 12,000 or 13,000 pilgrims who yearly visit Jerusalem, and the Latins from the subsidies and alms of their co-religionists of France, Italy, etc.”

Besides their monasteries and sanctuaries, the Christian nations possess at Jerusalem small habitations or cells, annexed to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and occupied by the monks, who have to watch day and night that holy abode. At certain periods these monks are relieved in their duty by their brethren. These cells have but one door, opening into the interior of the Temple, while the monk guardians receive their food from without, through some wicket. The doors of the Church are closed, and guarded by Turks, who do not open them except for money, and close them according to their caprice or cupidity.

The quarrels between church-

men are the most venomous, said Mazarin. Now fancy these churchmen, who not only have to live upon, but live in, these sanctuaries together!

To finish the picture, be it remembered that the fathers of the Latin Church, almost exclusively composed of Romans, Sardinians, Neapolitans, Spaniards, and Austrians, are all of them jealous of the French Protectorate, and would like to substitute that of Austria, Sardinia or Naples, the Kings of the two latter countries both assuming the title of King of Jerusalem; and that the sedentary population of Jerusalem numbers about 15,500 souls, of whom 4,000 are Mussulmans and 8,000 Jews. The Mussulmans, forming about a fourth part of the whole, and consisting of Turks, Arabs and Moors, are, of course, the masters in every respect, as they are in no way affected with the weakness of their Government at Constantinople. Nothing equals the misery and the sufferings of the Jews at Jerusalem, inhabiting the most filthy quarter of the town, called *hareth-el-yahoud*, in the quarter of dirt, between the Zion and the Moriah, where their synagogues are situated—the constant objects of Mussulman oppression and intolerance, insulted by the Greeks, persecuted by the Latins, and living only upon the scanty alms transmitted by their European brethren. The Jews, however, are not natives, but from dif-

ferent and distant countries, and are only attracted to Jerusalem by the desire of inhabiting the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and to die in the very places where the redemption is to be expected.

“Attending their death,” says a French author, “they suffer and pray. Their regards turned to that mountain of Moriah, where once rose the temple of Solomon, and which they dare not approach, they shed tears on the misfortunes of Zion, and their dispersion over the world.”

To make these Jews more miserable, England and Prussia appointed, in 1840, an Anglican bishop at Jerusalem, whose avowed object is their conversion. He was dreadfully thrashed in 1845, and sneered at alike by Jews, Christians and Turks. He may, in fact, be stated to have been the first and only cause of a union between all the religions at Jerusalem.

It will now be understood why the common worship of the Christians at the Holy Places resolves itself into a continuance of desperate Irish rows between the diverse sections of the faithful; but that, on the other hand, these sacred rows merely conceal a profane battle, not only of nations but of races; and that the Protectorate of the Holy Places which appears ridiculous to the Occident but all important to the Orientals is one of the phases of the Oriental question incessantly reproduced, constantly stifled, but never solved.

at large

(Continued from page 2)

of Washington's in the land office and to obtain as much as possible for himself a portion of land that had been set aside to reward enlisted men (not officers) in the Seven Years War.

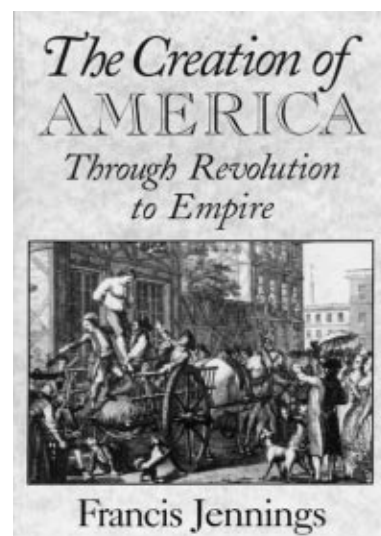
Patriot Benjamin Franklin, the most democratically oriented of the revolutionaries, was also enormously interested in land grabs in the off-limits areas in the West.

Patriotic South Carolinians, who had a far larger slave population than a free white population, never tired of proclaiming that they would not be slaves to the king of England but would be free men. Their own black slaves languished in bondage.

“For modern romanticists who envision revolution as the common people rising in outrage,” says Jennings, “it is scandalous that colonial resistance to Britain's re-repression started among merchants and lawyers and the owners of great slave plantations.”

Once the revolution was won by Americans, they turned their attention to consolidating their gains, strengthening their government and creating an empire of their own—pushing westward across North America, destroying Indian communities, confiscating their lands and expanding into the islands of the Pacific Ocean. “Not since the ancient Roman empire had anything of the sort been tried,” notes the author.

Francis Jennings has given us a volume that will be disturbing to many conservatives in revealing the cracks and crevices in our



Cambridge University Press

own history. But, as he says early on, his book “is an effort to tell the revolution for adults.”

It is a challenging book, but is not all negative. Jennings has admiration for those who wanted liberty for all and not just for themselves, and for those who held to their convictions while being suppressed and deprived of their civil liberties by superpatriotic revolutionaries, for Quakers and German Pietists in Pennsylvania who were jailed or denied their right to vote for refusing to violate their principles against oath taking and the loyalty oaths that the Patriots required, for those who saw the contradiction between a struggle for American liberty and a perpetuation of slaveholding.

As the author tells us, his is a book that makes an “effort to include all the people involved in the revolution.” It is highly recommended reading.

... Deficits

(Continued from page 1)

tisements or to promote the circulation of *The People* in any way.

The problem the party faces is one of financial survival. It is a matter of having the funds needed to pay the rent, meet the payroll and continue publication of *The People*.

The present crisis is one which the SLP—and by the SLP here we mean to include its informed sympathizers as much as its formal membership—must pull itself up by its own bootstraps. Wiping out the monthly deficits is only the first step on the road to replenishing the party's cash reserves. The response to our initial appeal has been encouraging, but we still have a long and difficult way to go. Please use the coupon on this page.

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activities

Activities notices must be received by the Friday preceding the third Wednesday of the month.

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White Bear Lake

Memorial Meeting—The Minneapolis SLP Group will hold a memorial meeting for Genevieve Gunderson on Saturday, Oct. 27, 2 p.m., at the home of K. Heck, 5414 Williams Ave., White Bear Lake. A light luncheon will be served.

OHIO

North Royalton

Social & Discussion — Section Cleveland will hold a social and open discussion on Sunday, Oct. 28, at 9626 York Rd., North Royalton. Begins at 1:30 p.m. Refreshments served. For more information please call 440-237-7933.

OREGON

Portland

Discussion Meetings — Section Portland holds discussion meetings every second Saturday of the month.

Meetings are usually held at the Central Library, but the exact time varies. For more information please call Sid at 503-226-2881 or visit our Web site at <http://slp.pdx.home.mindspring.com>. The general public is invited.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Discussion Meeting—Section Philadelphia will hold a discussion meeting on Sunday, Nov. 25, from 2–5 p.m., at the home of G. Taylor, 7567 Rhoads St., Philadelphia. Refreshments will be served. For more information please call 215-234-4724.

TEXAS

Houston

Discussion Meetings—The SLP group in Houston holds discussion meetings the last Saturday of the month at the Houston Public Library, Franklin Branch, 6440 W. Bellfort, southwest Houston. The meeting time varies. Those interested please call 713-721-9296, e-mail houstonslp@lycos.com or visit the group's Web site at <http://houstonslp.tripod.com>.

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letters to the People

Terrorist Attacks—1

In reading your statement on the recent terrorist attacks in New York: Thank you. I was concerned a less mature posture might have been taken after reading some of the usual knee-jerk reactions of a "leftist coalition." A great crisis may be upon this social system. It is no time to discredit the SIU solution.

Michael Mitchell
via e-mail

Terrorist Attacks—2

I really enjoyed your cover story on the WTC attacks. I wish you had more articles on the history of what's going on there from an SLP point of view. Maybe the next issue?

Woke up to the sound of fighter jets "policing" the air Sunday morning. I was wondering why until I found out the U.S. and Britain were bombing Afghanistan.

Emily Bills
New York City

Terrorist Attacks—3

I have read the article ["Socialists Condemn Terrorist Attacks"] in both your online and my offline paper I received yesterday. It was a great article. Many thanks.

Stephen Isabirye
via e-mail

Terrorist Attacks—4

Thank you for writing "Socialists Condemn Terrorist Attack." This was a very appropriate response to these tragic events and very well stated. The part I think is especially moving is this:

"The SLP and its members salute the heroic workers who risked, and in many cases sacrificed, their own lives in their efforts to pull others from the ruins of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Let those acts of heroism and sacrifice stand as a monument to the virtues of human nature and as an imperishable condemnation of those who have maliciously labeled the American worker as self-indulgent, lazy and of no account. And we salute the thousands of working-class men and women in New York and Washington, D.C., who voluntarily stepped forward to help the firefighters, rescue workers and police as they struggled against time and the treacherous ruins for the sake of others

with whom their only bond was the bond of humanity."

This captures the essence of what we all have been feeling and seeing.

Diane Secor
San Jose, Calif.

Terrorist Attacks—5

We are very worrying for the last information about numerous victims in New York, Washington and Pittsburgh. If everything's okay with our comrades and their relatives? Please confirm if everything is okay as soon as possible.

Sergiy Skubenko
National Secretary
SLP of Ukraine

Although at least one member of Section New York City witnessed the first plane crashing into the World Trade Center, and all that followed, we are informed that no member of the SLP was physically injured during the attacks.

—Editor

Terrorist Attacks—6

I am just writing a short line to say how stunned I was to learn of the obscene terrorist attacks on U.S. targets. Whatever the perceived grievances of those behind these acts they can never justify such barbarism.

I fear that the world will witness many more such actions, maybe in time involving nuclear weapons. This reinforces the need for a socialist reconstruction of society—the only way to end such madness once and for all.

I am fearful that the likely reactionary backlash to these terrible events, with possible restrictions on political dissidence, may make the work of Socialists in the U.S.A. even more difficult. I hope that I am proved wrong in this assessment.

Jim Plant
Sawbridgeworth, England

Dear Jim,

Thank you for your message....
Stunned, awe-stricken, appalled, frightened—there is no end to words or phrases to apply to what happened on Sept. 11, and not one of them, or all of them together, could begin to sum up the rampage of emotions that run through the mind and the heart.

Comparisons to Pearl Harbor are commonplace here, but there is

no comparison. I don't know what to compare it to—the blitz, the raids on Dresden, Hiroshima—nothing quite fits. Surely, however, it is the fruit of decades of imperialism. No hint of that comes through the bourgeois media. The "good vs. evil" scenario sketched by the media, the way in which they are trying to manipulate emotions and set the working class up for whatever the Bush administration eventually decides to do, is also quite disgusting.

Whoever is responsible for the horrible deeds of Sept. 11, they quite possibly have laid the groundwork for a social atmosphere in this country that could easily result in muzzling the SLP and every other "progressive" voice. The "backlash" thus far has been limited to isolated incidents aimed at Arabs and Muslims. But once that ball starts rolling, who knows where it will end?

I hope we are both wrong about that possibility, but it is a possibility.

Fraternally yours,
Robert Bills
National Secretary

SLP Finances—1

Enclosed is my contribution of \$25 for the Thanksgiving Fund. It's more than I usually give but my wife Rosemary and I are both concerned about the future of the Socialist Labor Party...

We have been shocked and dismayed by the events of Sept. 11 as you have been. The extreme shows of nationalism have been disturbing and I am worried about an industrial feudal future. However, I also know that the human mind can quickly change with changed material conditions. The best to all of you and keep up the good work!

John Gale
Phoenix, Ariz.

SLP Finances—2

Your devotion in keeping the SLP a viable organization is sincerely appreciated. Best wishes to you.

Angeline Kleist
Milwaukee, Wis.

This letter was accompanied by a generous contribution in response to the appeal printed in our last issue. See "Funds" elsewhere in this issue showing how others have responded to that appeal. —Editor

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Robert Bills
Acting Editor

... Political Islam

(Continued from page 8)

mother: 'You are not my father, or my mother,' his tongue shall be cut off.

"193. If the son of a paramour or a prostitute desire his father's house, and desert his adoptive father and adoptive mother, and goes to his father's house, then shall his eye be put out.

"194. If a man give his child to a nurse and the child die in her hands, but the nurse unbeknown to the father and mother nurse another child, then they shall convict her of having nursed another child without the knowledge of the father and mother and her breasts shall be cut off.

"195. If a son strike his father, his hands shall be hewn off.

"196. If a man put out the eye of another man, his eye shall be put out.

"197. If he break another man's bone, his bone shall be broken.

* * * * *

"200. If a man knock out the teeth of his equal, his teeth shall be knocked out.

"205. If the slave of a freed man strike the body of a freed man, his ear shall be cut off."

Similarly, the Koran, which dates from the sixth century CE, contains these passages in its fifth chapter, the first of which may be of special interest to President Bush and those involved in conducting the present war on Afghanistan:

"[5.33] The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and

His apostle and strive to make mischief in the land is only this, that they should be murdered or crucified or their hands and their feet should be cut off on opposite sides or they should be imprisoned; this shall be as a disgrace for them in this world, and in the hereafter they shall have a grievous chastisement."

"[5.38] And the man who steals and the woman who steals, cut off their hands as a punishment for what they have earned, an exemplary punishment from Allah; and Allah is Mighty, Wise."

"[5.45] And We prescribed to them in it that life is for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and (that there is) reprisal in wounds; but he who foregoes it, it shall be an expiation for him; and whoever did not judge by what Allah revealed, those are they that are the unjust."

What Are the Real Reasons For the War in Afghanistan?

By Diane Secor

The Bush administration has told the American public to prepare for a long war on terrorism, ostensibly in response to the Sept. 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. There seems to be a general consensus among the administration, most members of Congress and most of the U.S. media that the U.S. role in this war is a clear-cut case of self-defense and that violence is necessary to prevent more terrorist strikes on U.S. soil. For all intents and purposes, however, the "war on terrorism" is a war on Afghanistan, and there is substantial evidence indicating that an Afghan war was planned several months ago and that, in reality, this is another war over oil.

Last March, long before Sept. 11, *Jane's International Security News* reported on an agreement that had all the earmarks of a multinational coalition aimed at undermining the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. "India is believed to have joined Russia, the U.S.A. and Iran in a concerted front against Afghanistan's Taliban regime," *Jane's* reported. "India is believed to have supplied the Northern Alliance leader, Ahmed Shah Massoud, with high-altitude warfare equipment. Indian defense advisors, including air force helicopter technicians, are reportedly providing tactical advice in operations against the Taliban....Military sources indicated that Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are being used as bases to launch anti-Taliban operations by India and Russia."

In short, something resembling the multinational coalition so much in the news since Sept. 11 has been in place for at least six months. Furthermore, this pre-September coalition also had a basic strategy in place to throw out the Taliban. This certainly calls into ques-



tion the U.S. media's clear overall implication that it was only after Sept. 11 that a multinational force banded together and concluded that the Taliban had to be replaced.

The following statement from *Jane's* March 15 report is even more revealing: "Several recent meetings between the newly instituted Indo-U.S. and Indo-Russian joint working groups on terrorism led to this effort to tactically and logistically counter the Taliban. Intelligence sources in Delhi said that while India, Russia and Iran were leading the anti-Taliban campaign on the ground, Washington was giving the Northern Alliance information and logistic support."

Why does the United States want to overthrow the Taliban and put another Afghan regime in power? Why is Bush taking the risk of a larger regional war and possibly igniting future terrorist attacks against Americans? Zalmay Khalilzad may hold the key to unraveling this mystery.

According to a May 23 White House press release, Khalilzad was selected for the post of "special assistant to the president and senior director for Gulf, Southwest Asia and Other Regional Issues, National Security Council."

Khalilzad does have the political connections to get the job. Eli J. Lake, United Press International, on Jan. 18 reported that Khalilzad "who served under President Reagan's State Department and President Bush's Pentagon and influenced the last American adventure in [the] region when the CIA helped ship surface-to-air missiles to the *mujaheddin*, the holy warriors who fought against the Soviets. Khalilzad now finds himself in a position to influence the next administration's policy for cleaning up the mess created by the *mujaheddin's* struggle in the 1980s, as the man in charge of staffing the Pentagon for the Bush-Cheney transition team."

Interestingly, according to the Center for Strategic International Studies'

Washington Quarterly, Winter 2000, Khalilzad's Afghan policy seemed to fit right in with the scenario outlined in the *Jane's* report. He "argue[d] in no uncertain terms for supporting the Pashtun majority in Afghanistan to roll back the Taliban government and working 'discreetly' with Iran and Russia to destabilize the government in Kabul."

However, as recently as 1999, Khalilzad favored some degree of "engagement," as opposed to "destabilization" of the Taliban regime. In a white paper for the House International Relations Committee, he said that "U.S. policy toward Afghanistan should follow two parallel and complementary tracks, one of which extends a hand to the Taliban and the other of which prepares for a much tougher policy should the Taliban reject U.S. overtures."

What accounts for Khalilzad's change of heart? UPI also reported that he is "an analyst for the Rand Corp. and before that the chief consultant for Unocal, the oil company that sought to build a pipeline through Afghanistan."

The U.S. Department of Energy's Energy Information Administration (EIA) issued a September document on Afghanistan which noted the stormy relationship between the Taliban and Unocal affecting two pipelines that Unocal had planned to construct through Afghanistan:

A \$2 billion Central Asian Gas Pipeline would have transported natural gas from Turkmenistan to Pakistan, then be "linked with Pakistan's natural gas grid at Sui." In June 1998, the consortium consisted of these firms: "Unocal and Saudi Arabia's Delta Oil held a combined 85 percent stake in Centgas, while Turkmenrusgas owned 5 percent. Other participants in the proposed project besides Delta Oil include the Crescent Group of Pakistan, Gazprom of Russia, Hyundai Engineering & Construction Co. of South Korea, Inpex and Itochu of Japan."

"Besides the gas pipeline," the EIA added, "Unocal also had considered building a 1,000-mile, 1-million barrel-per-day...capacity oil pipeline that would link Chardzou, Turkmenistan to Pakistan's Arabian Sea Coast via Afghanistan. Since the Chardzou refinery is already linked to Russia's Western Siberian oil fields, this line could provide a possible alternative export route for regional oil production from the Caspian Sea. The \$2.5 billion pipeline is known as the Central Asian Oil Pipeline Project. For a variety of reasons, including high political risk and security concerns, however, financing for this project remains highly uncertain."

In January 1998, Unocal and the Taliban hammered out the gas pipeline agreement. But by the end of 1998, both of the pipeline deals collapsed and the Unocal consortium gave up on working with the Taliban regime. It then became increasingly clear that the Taliban were an obstacle to gas and oil flowing through Afghanistan. Not surprisingly, Khalilzad took a more "hard line" position on the Taliban.

If this story of another war over oil and natural gas deposits begins to sound like a "broken record," it is because the history of capitalism is filled with these cases. In the pursuit of new markets and raw materials, the risks of war and terrorist acts are the rule, not the exception. Nationalistic fervor and an understandable tendency to panic when the trauma of terrorism hits so close to home often obscure these basic realities. But workers who are aware of the real causes of this war will not be hoodwinked.

Reactionary Political Islam

By B.B.

The current world crisis triggered by the World Trade Center atrocity brings out the black reactionary character of political Islam in bold relief. The irony and contradiction is that the capitalist powers have for decades turned a blind eye to this menace because of the imperialist benefits, namely, huge profits that could be garnered by supporting, and indeed nurturing, this unique form of capitalist reaction. In this, they share in the reaction and are indeed its mainstay.

An evident case in point is that of Saudi Arabia. This bloody sheikdom sits on top of the largest repository of oil in the world, with current U.S. imports measuring about \$14.8 billion. Despite all of the hypocritical moralizing about democracy and freedom emanating from capitalist media and political sources, this bastion of reaction is run by a bunch of medieval theocratic hoodlums that still follow the Law of Hammurabi, in which torture is rampant, thieves have their hands amputated in public at Riyadh's "chop-chop" square and women live in an atmosphere of seventh-century repression.

The "kingdom," an entity manufactured from tribal warlords by British and American capital, is a regular contributor to the spread of its brand of Islam in nominally secular Muslim countries through its support and spread of reli-

gious schools and charitable organizations. In such schools fanatical Islam is drummed into the heads of impoverished peasants and, in the case of Afghanistan, orphaned boys. The Saudis have long been a major contributor to that country's malaise by funneling money into the war against Soviet imperialism and feeding enormous funds into Afghan and Pakistani religious schools.

The discontent among impoverished Saudis, whose average income has fallen from \$15,000 to \$7,000 annually, has taken on the only form that material and political conditions would allow, fanatical Islam. Far from revolutionary, it seeks a form of capitalist domination with an Islamic medievalist twist.

The dilemma confronting Mr. Bush as the leader of world capitalism is not justice for the victims of the World Trade Center or snuffing out terrorism, but preventing bin Laden and his ilk from gain-

ing control of the riches of Saudi Arabia through a popular insurrection against the monarchy while supporting the medievalists who have and continue to engender the bin Laden phenomenon.

In this, the American working class, no less than the world's working class, stands to gain nothing in the pursuit of bin Laden and al Qaeda.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Although separated by nearly 2,400 years, Hammurabi's Law and the Koran contain remarkably similar passages prescribing various mutilations of the body in retribution for different crimes.

Hammurabi's Law, which dates from the 16th century BCE, prescribed bodily mutilation in retaliation for a wide variety of offenses, among them the following:

"192. If a son of a paramour or a prostitute say to his adoptive father or

(Continued on page 7)

Genevieve Gunderson Memorial Meeting

Saturday, November 10

3-5 p.m.

Community Room—Independence Plaza

703 Atlantic Ave.
Alameda, Calif.

(For more information please call 408-280-7266.)