

## IN THIS ISSUE

**Workers' Lives Still Imperiled by Dallas Smelter**

Page 2

**Stanford Hospital Nurses Settle After 51-Day Strike**

Page 3

**Editorial—  
'Mr. Clean'**

Page 4

**What's Behind U.S.  
'Reconciliation' With Vietnam?**

Page 8

### \$25,000 GOAL SET

## SLP Confronting Need for Funds

When the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor party met last May, it authorized the party's National Office to launch a "special fund." The fund was authorized in anticipation of some unusual expenses and the dangerous strain they would place on the party's cash reserves.

One of the unusually heavy expenses anticipated was the need to move the party's headquarters from its present location. About the time the NEC met, the landlord of the building where the party's offices (and the editorial offices of *The People*) are located announced his intention to retire and to sell the building. Shortly thereafter the party was hit with a whopping 80 percent increase in rent.

The search for new, adequate and less expensive facilities began in earnest as soon as the party's present landlord placed the building on the market—and, as luck would have it, those new facilities have been found.

The party's new offices will be in San Jose, Calif. They are 35 percent larger than the cramped quarters into which the party's offices have been crammed for the last three years, and they will cost the party 30 percent less in rent.

However, the expense of moving the headquarters will take a substantial bite out of those savings. When the effect of that drain on the party's resources is combined with other rising costs, it becomes painfully clear that to avoid a major financial crisis the SLP needs a substantial infusion of funds to bolster its depleted cash reserves.

In a recent letter to the membership of the SLP, the national secretary wrote:

"There is only one way to confront and overcome the party's present financial problems, and that is for the membership and other supporters of the SLP to increase their contributions to the party's funds. The NEC has authorized the National Office to launch a special fund to bolster the party's cash reserves. That could not be done immediately, but will probably be done sometime within the next month or two, depending on how the headquarters situation unfolds. In the meantime, of course, the Nathan Karp Memorial Fund, particularly the anonymous contribution of \$25,000 that boosted the total to nearly \$35,700, has helped to ease the situation somewhat. However, we cannot afford to be complacent about do-

(Continued on page 7)

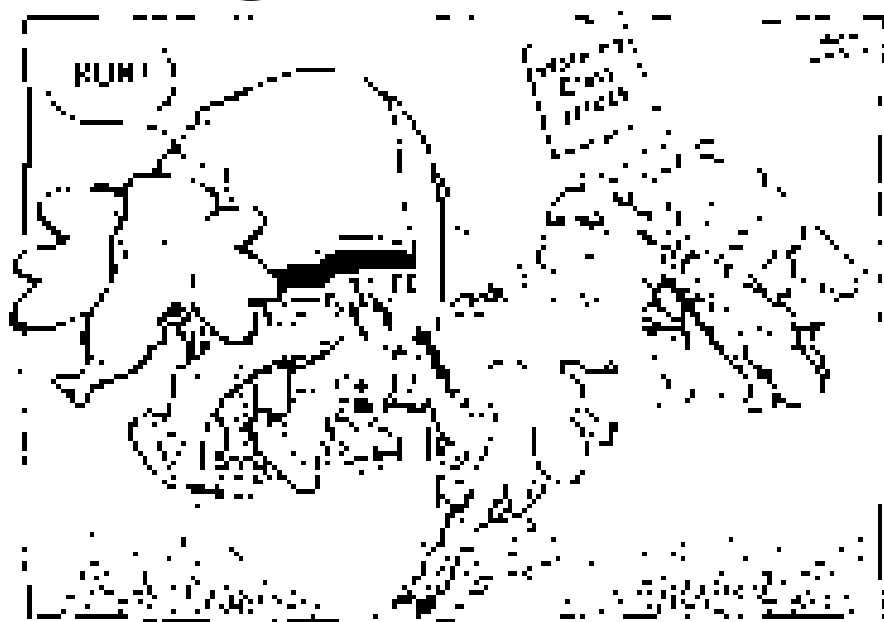
## 'New' Republican Party Offers Nothing for Workers

Republican Party convention planners, with nearly \$70 million at their disposal thanks to the party's corporate sponsors, produced a four-day fete last month that attempted to cast a new image for the Grand Old Party.

The strident tones of the reactionary right, so prevalent in GOP conventions of the past two decades, were hushed in favor of the sights and sounds of "inclusion" and even of "reform." Television cameras sought out every minority face in the hall—a mere 7 percent of delegates by one count. Entertainment before the main speeches included, as one observer wrote, "a rhythm and blues break dance team and a gospel choir." Women and children were everywhere.

The idea, of course, was to smooth the road ahead for the candidates the convention was assembled to rubber stamp. To gain more widespread appeal, an attempt was made to alienate fewer women and minority workers by avoiding the worn-out rhetorical appeals to "family values" and property interests that were so prevalent in past conventions. Those appeals often barely covered a homophobic or xenophobic bigotry and Victorian zeal whose promotion nationwide helped boost a virulent strain of anti-immigrant, anti-abortion and homophobic hooliganism that still contributes to tragic consequences on the U.S. social scene.

The ultimate goal was to pull the wool over more workers' eyes and make more believe that the Republican Party had changed its spots, that it now in some way best represents the in-



Carol\* Simpson

terests of all workers.

But the acceptance speech of George W. Bush Jr., the man convention delegates nominated as the party's presidential candidate, made it clear that, as the Roman poet Horace might have put it, despite laboring mightily the "mountain" of the convention brought forth a mouse. To any clear-thinking worker the party's big bash delivered up *nothing at all* that promoted working-class interests.

Bush spoke of "fixing" the so-called Social Security system. Social Security has never been the boon for the elderly and disabled its defenders often make it out to be. Still, weakening it by encouraging younger workers to opt out of the system and purchase far riskier stocks instead would mere-

ly bring the whole shaky Social Security system closer to collapse. While Social Security always served the interest of the capitalist class by bolstering support for its system of exploitation, bankrupting it would make life more miserable for millions of retired and handicapped workers.

Bush also spoke of promoting vouchers for private schools—something that could bring more chaos to the nation's *public* schools, which would receive correspondingly less federal money. The public schools have also always served the interests of the capitalist class, teaching primarily with capitalist-produced materials in capitalist-approved curricula using capitalist-approved methods. Nevertheless, public

(Continued on page 6)

## Dick Cheney A Perfect V.P. Choice—for Capitalism

By Diane Secor

Why was Dick Cheney selected to be George W. Bush's running mate? He is not just a close, trusted friend of the Bush clan, a loyal Republican or a recycled secretary of defense. Cheney has served a broad cross section of capitalist interests in government and industry.

According to the Center for Public Integrity (CPI), Cheney is on the boards of several major corporations having extensive international business ties. Most significant among these is his position as "CEO of Halliburton Co., a \$9 billion oil services firm based in Dallas," which does "business in at least 100 countries." Most of that business is in oil and construction contracts.

As secretary of defense during the Bush administration, Cheney led the charge in defense of American oil interests in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. However, his service to U.S. capitalism and its political state did not end when he left office in 1992. As CEO of Halliburton since 1995, Cheney has made himself useful to the Democrat-

ic Clinton-Gore administration's war and "peacekeeping" effort in the Balkans. According to the company Web site, for example, its subsidiary Brown & Root Services has had major Pentagon contracts for "base camp construction" and other military projects in "Bosnia, Macedonia, Hungary, Kosovo, Albania, Croatia, Greece and Italy."

Another bipartisan capitalist cause that Cheney has championed is U.S. oil interests in the Caspian Sea region. He has cultivated close relations with governments and investors in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, which are the gatekeepers to many of the multi-billion-dollar Caspian petroleum-related contracts. The CPI reported that "along with the heads of Chevron and Texaco Inc., Cheney sits on Kazakhstan's Oil Advisory Board" to Kazakhstan's president.

In addition, Cheney reportedly "lobbied in favor of a U.S. Export-Import Bank loan to Tyumen Oil," a Russian company that "hired Halliburton to upgrade the giant Samotlor field in the Caspian region."

These international political and economic connections will win the Bush-Cheney ticket support among American capitalists who are concerned about protecting their holdings in Russia and elsewhere.

The Republican Bush-Cheney team has promised a new administration free of scandal. In this regard, Cheney brings some risks to the ticket. Under Cheney's leadership, for example, Halliburton has had commercial dealings with Iraq and Libya designed to circumvent U.S.-imposed embargoes against these two "rogue states" or "states of concern."

According to Colum Lynch, Halliburton had "a major stake in Dresser-Rand and Ingersoll-Dresser Pump Co., two American players in the reconstruction of Iraq's oil industry." (*The Washington Post*, Feb. 20) As the United States and Britain continue their bombing of Iraq's northern and southern "no fly" zones, U.S. firms such as Halliburton continue to profit off Saddam's regime.

(Continued on page 3)

# Workers' Lives Still Imperiled by Dallas Smelter

By B.B.

Lead, cadmium and arsenic spewed out of the RSR Corp.'s smelting plant in Dallas for more than 50 years. From its towering smokestack, which could be seen for miles around, the plant's poisonous effluvia was spread far and wide. It fell onto houses and schools, streets and yards, land and water—and onto the people who lived in the neighborhood where the plant still stands. It got into their clothing, their furniture, their carpets and into their hair. Worse, it got into their lungs.

The plant was built in the 1930s, long before the evil effects of lead poisoning were finally acknowledged in the 1970s. It was then that the smelter came under scrutiny by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The plant closed down in 1983. It and the residential neighborhood near to it went onto the Super Fund list of the country's most dangerously polluted industrial sites. During the early 1990s, the neighborhood was detoxified—at least to the satisfaction of the EPA.

The EPA's clean-up effort was conducted between 1991 and 1993. According to the *Dallas Morning News*, the EPA tested, removed and replaced soil from over 7,000 West Dallas yards that could have been polluted by lead particles released through the smokestack and by lead-contaminated battery chips used as fill. Legal actions in 1986 and 1995 awarded \$35 million to 954 children who lived near the smelter during its operation and could have been subjected to lead poisoning. The same newspaper report said that today, five years after the clean-up effort was completed, "agency officials remain convinced that the homes in the neigh-



E. Gentry for The People

borhood are free of dangerous lead levels caused by the RSR smelter...."

Now the smelter is scheduled for demolition and the land on which it stood may be opened to developers.

Residents of the neighborhood aren't so sure that the EPA did an effective job of cleaning up the place, however, and their doubts have found support in a study by Dr. James L. Carter, a professor of geochemistry at the University of Texas.

Last year, Carter submitted the results of his study to the Geological Society of America. What he found, as reported by the *Morning News*, was "levels as high as 1,900 parts per million in areas that appeared to have been cleaned." That level of contamination is nearly four times the 500 parts per million the EPA considers hazardous to the health of children.

Carter's tests "showed contaminated surface soil on top of soil that was not

typical for the area." The new soil had been recontaminated from below, apparently through a process of percolation upward from years of accumulation below.

David Line, an attorney representing 3,000 residents, stated that, "There's considerable environmental risk for the people who live out there." Despite EPA's claim that lead in children had fallen from 10 micrograms per deciliter to 3.3 in 1999 screenings, thousands of residents "blame lead from the smelter for illnesses, including heart disease, learning disabilities, kidney problems and birth defects."

While residents are pushing for additional damages and state Rep. Domingo Garcia of Dallas attests to the need for another health census, the government has allocated \$11.5 million for demolition, cleanup and redevelopment of the six-and-a-half acre site.

Residents find it incomprehensible

that money could be spent on the plant's removal rather than on allocation of funds for health care and relief from diseases likely caused by the smelter. But capitalist property needs always take priority over human needs, and this action typically attests to that fact.

Additionally, Mr. Line's efforts to organize a lawsuit that will fund the complete relocation of thousands of residents has been stymied by another private property consideration. In order to file the suit funds are needed for the further testing of the entire area. Ordinarily these funds might be readily available since they could constitute a substantial source of profits for an investor or financial institution. The \$4 to \$5 million needed cannot be obtained from the impoverished workers of West Dallas, many of whom are on disability.

Nor has any interest been shown by capitalist sources. Not only is the "pay-off" years away, assuming a successful suit, but it is unlikely that potential damages of the magnitude requiring relocation of 3,000 residents can be collected from the RSR Corp. These are some of the "business" considerations that enter into a successful suit, all of which auger ill for the oppressed residents of West Dallas.

Lack of justice for the working class is not the main thing that makes capitalism an antisocial disaster. Injustice is rather a byproduct of the antediluvian system based upon the private ownership of the means of wealth production and the exploitation of labor through the wages system. Advocating removal of *this* injustice is what the Socialist Labor Party is committed to.

## 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!**

# Backlash Over Philadelphia Police Crackdown on Protest

By Linn Washington Jr.\*

©Pacific News Service

PHILADELPHIA—The image-boosting bonanza Philadelphia enjoyed as host of the Republican National Convention has quickly ebbed in a controversy over police abuse of protesters. Some are calling it a civil rights disaster.

Philadelphia officials denied allegations that arrested protesters were beaten, refused medical attention and given excessive bails ranging from \$10,000 to \$1 million, though most were charged with misdemeanors.

However, many of the more than 400 protesters arrested during the convention claimed they endured physical and mental abuse while being held for days inside Philadelphia's central police station before transfers to city prisons.

"I saw officers kick guys in their genitals and I saw one officer twist a guy's penis to force him to take a mug shot," said D., a 22-year-old protester who didn't want his full name used because he fears retaliation during his trial.

"One officer put his foot on my neck when they snatched me out of bed to take my mug shot. The situation was really bad and brutal at the central police station," continued D., who said he was leaving a store and not protesting when po-

lice arrested him for disorderly conduct.

Police arrested one protest leader, John Sellers, while he was walking down the street talking on a cell phone and charged him with possessing a dangerous instrument—his cell phone. Bail was set at \$1 million, later reduced to \$100,000 by a judge who commented that the charged offense is a nonviolent misdemeanor.

"The defense attorneys are very concerned with what we perceive as overcharging," said Andy Erba, a member of the legal team representing the protesters.

Legal team members promised to fight the punitive arrests. They said they have obtained testimony on 59 incidents of excessive force within police custody, 6 incidents of sexual abuse, 22 examples of medical needs denied and 9 incidents of mental abuse.

Attorneys said they had agreements with the city to treat arrests similar to traffic tickets, a claim denied by city officials, including Philadelphia District Attorney Lynne Abraham, who promised vigorous prosecution of all charges against the protesters.

Most of the arrests occurred on the second day of the convention, during often violent demonstrations in downtown Philadelphia. Protesters from various groups tied up evening rush-hour traffic and caused minor property damage.

The controversy comes in the wake of the July 12 beating of a carjacking suspect by Philadelphia police, an incident captured by a TV news helicopter camera, and the July 18 fatal shooting of an unarmed homeless man at Philadel-

phia's main train station by an Amtrak policeman.

Barbara Grant, spokesperson for Philadelphia's Mayor John Street, praised police for their "restraint and professionalism in the face of provocation." Grant dismisses stories of abuse. "They failed to disrupt the convention so they decided to invent these stories. Three groups of lawyers, including the ACLU, had free access to the prisons and they did not see any problems," Grant said.

Protesters said the physical abuse occurred inside the central police station

(Continued on page 3)

Read the Paper That's  
In a Class by Itself.  
The Working Class.

Read the People.

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

\$2 for a 6-month subscription;  \$5 for a 1-year sub  
 \$11 for a 1-year sub by first-class mail

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ APT. \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Make check/money order payable to *The People*. Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.

\*PNS commentator Linn Washington Jr. is an award-winning veteran journalist in Philadelphia who specializes in coverage of race-related issues. Washington is a journalism professor at Temple University in Philadelphia.

**CALIFORNIA**

# Stanford Hospital Nurses Settle After 51-Day Strike

By Bruce Cozzini

**O**n Aug. 2, nurses at Stanford hospitals in Palo Alto, Calif., returned to work after settling a 51-day strike.

Typical of the growing number of nurses' strikes in recent years, the strike was painful and bitter. Nurses saw their jobs taken by professional scabs furnished through a company that provides contract scabs throughout the United States.

Many of the striking workers had to take temporary jobs through nursing agencies, and some, in disgust, left Stanford permanently for jobs elsewhere. The settlement, which provided 10 to 12 percent wage increases over the next two years rather than the 15 percent originally demanded, was a disappointment to many and was narrowly approved.

The strike was typical of trends in the health care industry. As working conditions in hospitals have worsened in recent years and real wages have diminished, nurses have increasingly begun to organize.

Although, according to the American Nurses Association (ANA), only about 10 percent of the nation's 2.2 million registered nurses are currently unionized, the numbers are growing—and the number of strikes is also growing. There were 21 nursing strikes in U.S. hospitals last year, compared to only four in 1995.

In the past, nurses were deterred from joining unions or striking by attitudes of "professionalism" and guilt over "deserting" their patients. Now with the advent of managed care and the privatizing of hospitals, nurses are finding it necessary to unionize to safeguard the quality of care as well as their own well-being. A representative of the nurses union at Stanford, the Committee for the Recognition of Nursing Achievement, described the change succinctly:

"I think we're going to see a revolution among nurses who are just fed up with the downsizing of hospital personnel. With the advent of managed care, we've seen an erosion in our ability to do safe patient care. The consultants came in. They cut staff at the bedside. I could see that patients weren't getting things on time, and mistakes were being made."

In a number of states, nurses are splitting away from traditional nursing asso-



LNS/Bulletin Populaire

ciations like the ANA, which nurses feel are not sufficiently aggressive in representing their concerns. In response the ANA has formed a new organizing arm, United American Nurses, that now represents about 120,000 nurses.

Similarly, the California Nurses Association (CNA) is planning a "boot camp" for nurses' union leaders in September, which so far has attracted about 300 potential leaders.

As nurses begin to show increased militancy, the capitalists that run the hospitals have developed sophisticated strike-breaking capabilities. A number of companies have been organized solely for the

purpose of providing scab labor to replace striking nurses.

One of the largest is Denver-based U.S. Nursing, which last year furnished more than 1,500 scab nurses to hospitals around the country. The company, whose operations were described by the *San Jose Mercury News* on June 19, handles everything from flying the nurses in to verifying their credentials and locating housing for them. The lure for the strikebreaking nurses was salaries up to \$4,000, about four times what many Stanford nurses earn.

When the 1,730 Stanford nurses went on strike, Stanford imported about 500 scabs, most of them through U.S. Nurs-

ing. Striking nurses were concerned about reports of medication errors and problems with equipment that the scabs did not know how to run.

Past performance leads to questions about U.S. Nursing's ability to screen nurses and check credentials. Also, for the replacements to cover for the nurses on strike required a great deal of overtime in an environment already understaffed, according to the Stanford nurses.

For the scab nurses to earn their \$4,000 per week, they had to put in 60 to 80 hours a week. Stanford nurses were concerned that the scabs, working long hours with few breaks, would endanger patients. The work schedule also apparently endangers the workers. One 45-year-old replacement nurse died unexpectedly in her hotel room on July 6 after working 20 days in a row.

The presence of the scab workers allowed the Stanford hospitals to operate for the extended period of the strike, while the striking nurses had to fend for themselves. Most stayed with the strike; only 60 to 100 crossed picket lines.

When the striking nurses returned to work on August 2, they were escorted to their stations to avoid contact with the scabs leaving their shift. The returning workers had mixed feelings about the return. As an unidentified nurse told *Mercury News* reporters, "Let's just say my feelings for my employer have changed." Another commented, "I'm relieved to be back, but there are a lot of people here who are very angry."

Patients, on the other hand, were particularly glad to have their regular nurses back.

That the strikers were not entirely satisfied with the settlement is indicated by reports that the agreement was only narrowly approved, even after 51 days. Details of the settlement were not made available, so its limitations are not known.

However, the settlement is clearly limited in one regard: it covered only nurses. Other workers are involved in the running of a hospital: vocational nurses, lab technicians, therapists, clerks and housekeepers, to name a few. They too are subjected to the same problems facing the nurses.

In fact, at eight other hospitals in the San Francisco Bay area, some 3,800 non-nursing hospital workers represented by the Service Employees International (SEIU) staged a two-day strike just as the nurses were returning to work at Stanford. They were making many of the same demands as the Stanford nurses.

However effective the Stanford nurses were in their strike, the limited scope of their success is a measure of the fragmented nature of organization in the health care industry. Although organizing is on the rise, nurses are represented by a number of nursing organizations, the largest of which, the ANA, is more of a professional organization than a union.

Within nursing, solidarity is limited and is limited to the profession. Other health workers are represented by other unions, such as the SEIU. Until all workers in the health care industry join forces, they will have only limited victories in their labor struggles. Until they organize on a classconscious basis, rather than a professional basis, they will be unable to attain lasting success.

Stanford nurses may have slowed the erosion of patient care at Stanford hospitals through this contract, but they still do not have the control that would allow them to provide the level of care that most nurses would like. Only in a socialist society, in which workers democratically manage industries for the benefit of society rather than for profit, will health care workers both be fully rewarded for their efforts and have the control over their jobs that ensures the quality of health care that they want to provide.

## ... Backlash on Police Crackdown

(Continued from page 2)

where authorities denied access to lawyers. Conditions were better inside the city's prisons, although some guards were verbally abusive.

"The (police station) was a more brutal place. I saw people dragged, kicked and hog-tied. Police denied us phone calls, food and showers," said Aslyn Colgan, a college student from New York.

Colgan said police arrested her during a raid on a puppet-making warehouse three miles from the downtown protests. "I find it amazing that they charged me with resisting arrest when I voluntarily walked onto the police bus. We went to the puppet warehouse because we didn't want to get arrested in Center City," said Colgan.

Gwen Frisbie-Fulton said officers dragged and kicked her inside the police station. "I was hog-tied for six hours. It makes it complicated to use the bathroom and drink water," she said. "Police

kept saying, 'Have you learned your lesson?' We weren't intimidated."

Many protesters called Mayor Street hypocritical for supporting stiff prosecutions, pointing out that Street began his political career as a housing activist staging demonstrations on the streets and inside City Hall.

"Street's position irks me to my core. I got brutally beaten by police in 1979 for participating in a John Street demonstration where he occupied vacant public housing units," said Pam Africa, a key supporter of death-row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Spokeswoman Grant acknowledged that Street disrupted traffic and City Council meetings but said Street did not engage in illegal conduct like the GOP convention protesters. Grant conceded that Street often broke into vacant city-owned properties but justified that illegal conduct as providing housing for the homeless.

## ... Perfect Choice—for Capitalism

(Continued from page 1)

In Libya, Halliburton has managed to get around a U.S. embargo on exports to that North African country by using its British subsidiary, Brown & Root North Africa. According to Tom Buerkle of the *International Herald Tribune*, this company, other contractors and the Libyan government claim that one project they are involved in is just a water pipeline. The pipeline runs 1,800 miles "from deep in the Sahara Desert to Libyan cities along the Mediterranean." However, "some Western security analysts" claim that this vast pipeline complex could "hold vehicles" and "several underground caverns" for clandestine Libyan military operations. The contractors have also attempted to account for the American construction equipment in use on the project by saying that it was

purchased before 1986 when the embargo banning U.S. exports to Libya took effect.

Cheney has called for an end to sanctions against Libya, Iran and Nigeria that try to limit U.S. petroleum and construction investments in those countries.

The direct link of Cheney as vice president to shady deals with "rogue regimes" would make "plausible deniability" nearly impossible. Whether his Iraqi and Libyan connections are swept under the rug as minor infractions or erupt into an Iran-Contra-type scandal remains to be seen.

In any event, the promise of a new "ethical" administration is a joke. The name of the game is to uphold U.S. capitalist interests by hook or by crook. For this task, Cheney is more than qualified to be vice president of U.S. capitalism's political state.

### the People

Founded April 5, 1891

The People (ISSN-0199-350X), continuing the *Weekly People*, is published monthly by the Socialist Labor Party of America, 156 E. Dana St., Mountain View, CA 94041-1508.

Periodicals postage paid at Mtn. View, CA 94042. Postmaster: Send all address changes to The People, P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218. Communications: Business and editorial matters should be addressed to The People, P.O. Box 218, Mountain View, CA 94042-0218. Phone: (650) 938-8359. Fax: (650) 938-8392.

Production Staff: Donna Bills, Ken Boettcher, Genevieve Gunderson, Robert Bills, acting editor.

Access The People online by using our gopher on the Internet at [gopher.slp.org:7019](http://gopher.slp.org:7019) or set your browser to <http://www.slp.org>. Send e-mail to: [thepeople@igc.apc.org](mailto:thepeople@igc.apc.org).

Rates: (domestic and foreign): Single copy, 50 cents. Subscriptions: \$5 for one year; \$8 for two years; \$10 for three years. By first-class mail, add \$6 per year. Bundle orders: 5-100 copies, \$8 per 100; 101-500 copies, \$7 per 100; 501-1,000 copies, \$6 per 100; 1,001 or more copies, \$5 per 100. Foreign subscriptions: Payment by international money order in U.S. dollars.

# the People

Published by the Socialist Labor Party

Established in 1891

National Secretary: Robert Bills

VOL. 110 NO. 6

SEPTEMBER 2000

## 'Mr. Clean'

Capitalism creates a warped sense of morality among those in positions of power. Or perhaps it is better said that capitalism is a system under which those with a warped sense of morality naturally rise to the top.

Take the case of U.S. Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, the man hand picked by Vice President Albert Gore to be his running mate on the Democratic party's presidential ticket.

Lieberman has been described by many in capitalist politics and the media as a man of integrity.

Naturally they apply their own standards.

Naturally their standards stem from and reflect their own view of the world.

Naturally they ignore that they have applied these standards before and that many annointed by them in the past have fallen short—even by their own standards.

Naturally they have their own reasons for ignoring the worthlessness of their past recommendations and for volunteering their opinion again as each presidential cycle runs its course and new men rise to prominence among them.

Lieberman's "impeccable character" impresses the Rev. Jerry Falwell, for example, whose Brooks Brothers suits are probably not exactly what most people think of when one is described as a "man of the cloth"—at least not of common cloth.

The archconservative warmonger Arlen Specter has noted Lieberman's "integrity."

William Bennett, education department head during the Reagan administration and so-called "drug czar" under the Bush administration, said of Lieberman, "He's a great guy. I'm going to offer to do a nominating speech."

But those who can utter the name "Lieberman" and the word "integrity" in the same breath clearly share a warped, if nonetheless prevalent, sense of morality.

Lieberman's primary claim to fame as a "man of integrity" comes from his being the first Democrat to denounce President Clinton's sexual antics with Monica Lewinsky after Clinton publicly confessed to them. "Such behavior is not just inappropriate," said Lieberman, "it is immoral. And it is harmful, for it sends a message of what is acceptable behavior to the larger American family, particularly to our children."

Lieberman has another standard when it comes to accepting campaign contributions from capitalists and their corporations and advancing legislation that serves their interests. As David Corn, Washington editor of

*The Nation*, reports, Lieberman "is a leading recipient of funds from Big Insurance—over \$197,000 so far in this campaign cycle. And—coincidence or not—he has pressed for health care measures the industry desires and that consumer advocates criticize. He has opposed permitting patients to sue negligent HMOs for punitive damages. He supported product liability reform, which would make it difficult for consumers to sue businesses that manufacture and sell defective and dangerous products."

Corn also notes that Lieberman failed to criticize Clinton for bombing a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan in 1998, even after evidence turned up showing that the plant's supposed links to Osama bin Laden's terrorists were dubious. And, Corn observed, Lieberman supported the use of U.S. bombers in Bosnia against Serb genocide but did not support U.S. intervention in the Rwandan genocide. His rationale was that "we have strong historic, strategic and cultural ties to Europe." Meaning, of course, that "we" (the ruling capitalist class that pulls war clouds on and off the world stage) had no material interests in Rwanda worth the expense of getting involved.

Corn writes that, "In the land of Clinton, it doesn't take much to be a saint." A truly objective observer of capitalist society would go further than that.

Karl Marx, after refuting a fallacy advanced by John Stuart Mill, paused to observe that "on the level plain, simple mounds look like hills; and the imbecile flatness of the present bourgeoisie is to be measured by the altitude of its great intellects." Applied to the field of morality, that would go something like "under capitalism, a Lieberman looks like a saint—and the amorality of the capitalist class and its political defenders is to be measured by the saintliness of such great moralists."

In short, it is no surprise that "Mr. Clean" is really about as suspect as any other capitalist politician.

After all, he supports and defends the capitalist system under which the overwhelming majority—the great working class—is daily robbed of the lion's share of the product of its labor.

This is the greatest robbery in history, and the likes of Lieberman not only fail to point it out to the workers whose votes help put them into their positions of privilege and power. They deny the very existence of that robbery, even while they grow fat off the booty shoved their way by their capitalist sponsors.

—K.B.

## A De Leon Editorial

# Goals Determine Methods

Goals must take precedence over all parties; but unity can be achieved only on a genuine revolutionary base.

### The Hamilton Manifesto

(Daily People, Feb. 8, 1910)

Goals determine methods. According as a goal is clear the methods to reach it will be correct. The goal of unity among the forces that make for the Socialist Republic is a goal that can meet with approval only. If such a goal is clear, the methods will adjust themselves accordingly. It should seem from these premises that nothing could be easier than the adoption of the correct methods towards a goal such as "unity"—a goal the mentioning of which should suffice to appeal to all right-minded men, and exclude all others. Unfortunately, the poverty of language overthrows such a fascinating theory. "Unity" means different thing to different minds. To different minds a number of things are implied by the word "unity"; from different minds the same things are excluded; and this happens from the circumstance that the Socialist Republic does not mean the same thing to all minds.

It may be objected, that although the concept of the Socialist Republic may be different to different minds, according as these understand the law of social evolution, nevertheless all these minds are at one, absolutely at one, in one thing, to wit, the abominableness of the capitalist regime. Could not unity be effected on such a plank? It cannot. Take an illustration from history.

The scores of evangelical movements were all agreed, absolutely agreed upon the intolerableness of the Roman Catholic regime. Yet "unity" among them was ever found impossible—that is to say, it was found impossible so long as there was any vitality in them. Actual or practical unity among them was not effected until they had become what Edmund Burke correctly called them, "volcanoes burnt out." In other words, they united

when there was nothing left that was worth uniting on. Why? The so-called evangelical movements were essentially political revolts of capitalism against feudalism; revolts of a system of freedom against the feudal system of blind submission. An economic order in formation has many aspects. The multiple aspects of the bourgeois uprising manifested themselves in multiple creeds. The competitive spirit of capitalism was reflected in a multiplicity of "religions." When capitalism had sufficiently crystallized into a social system the bottom dropped from the dissimilarity of the creeds that it gave birth to. Then, and not before, did they stop quarreling. In short, all attempts at unity between the evangelical creeds, before capitalism had reached a minimum of solidity, resulted in intensified disunity. To sum up that experience, unity is out of question on a negative.

Experience also teaches a positive lesson. The test of the ripeness of men to unite for a revolutionary purpose is the sense that their parties, or organizations, are nothing more nor less than vehicles of conveyance. So long as men are as "identified" with an "organization" as an oyster is to its shell, their intellects, governed by their private interests, are not above the oyster. Ripeness for unity proclaims itself in man when his readiness to unite never will stop to consider what bearing the unity will have upon his own organization. The labor or socialist movement of the United States has recently furnished a striking, and, therefore, instructive lesson on this head. When the IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] was organized the posture of the SP [Socialist Party] was: "What will become of our organization?" This was an illustration of how instinct rises above actual knowledge. The average SP man is unconscious of the fact that the SP goal is purely political—an ex-

(Continued on page 7)

## what is socialism?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Building a Socialist Society

The word *socialism* is one of the most lied about and misunderstood words in common usage today. One seldom meets a person who can correctly define it or who has any conception of what a socialist society would really be like.

For example, socialism has been described as “evil.” It has been accused of being “opposed to freedom” and is said to be synonymous with bureaucratic state control of business.

No wonder so many people, reading or hearing these tall tales (told as gospel truth) say, “That’s not for me. Let China or Cuba or Vietnam or North Korea have it, but don’t give us socialism, if that’s what it is!”

The Socialist Labor Party heartily agrees! If socialism is what China or Cuba has today, or what the former Soviet Union had, we don’t want it either. But it isn’t and wasn’t! Socialism does not exist anywhere in the world today, and it never has.

## Socialism Means Higher Living Standards

America is the logical country for the initiation of socialism because it has the industrial capacity to produce an abundance. This is important. Indeed, it is essential. Without that ability to produce an abundance socialism is an impossibility. That’s why socialism does not, did not and could not exist in any of the countries mentioned.

Even those who know virtually nothing else about socialism that is true have heard the slogan “Workers of the World, Unite!” Karl Marx, the founder of modern socialism and the author of that line, did not call upon the peasants and subsistence farmers of nonindustrial, agricultural countries to unite, but upon the wage workers of the industrialized countries—the countries where capitalism is dominant. It’s a simple thing to remember. So, the next time the evening news or the morning newspaper talks about the “Marxist guerrillas” lurking in some far-off jungle you will recognize it for what it is—unadulterated propaganda manufactured for mass consumption by those who uncritically accept anything the mass media seeks to impose on them.

Socialism, to repeat, presupposes a highly developed economy in which an abundance of the good things of life can be readily produced. Furthermore, socialism does not mean a lowering of our standard of living to one common level. Socialism means the social ownership and democratic management of all the machinery of production and distribution, as well as of the natural resources and the land.

The working class today creates all wealth for the benefit of private owners of the means of production, and receives in return only a fraction of that wealth in the form of wages. Under socialism, the same producers will create the wealth for all of society to enjoy. When those now unemployed or occupied in useless or antisocial lines are put to useful endeavor, and when the ingenious labor-saving inventions already in existence are put into general use, the working day will be shortened tremendously. How would you like to work 20 hours or less per week, and receive in return a standard of living equal to what a \$100,000 yearly income provides today? Socialism would turn this from a dream or remote possibility into an actual fact.

## Socialism Means Industrial Democracy

Socialism is not a paternalistic society in which the good things of life are hand-



ed down from above. It is a society of equal economic opportunity for all.

You, the workers, the producers, will have full voice and vote in the Industrial Republic of Socialism. You know more than anyone else about the details of your job. You are fully capable of choosing whatever superintendents or management committees are needed to direct production in your workplace, whether it’s a factory, a mine, a mill, an office, a school or a hospital.

The representatives you elect to higher councils will meet with representatives from other plants in the same industry. These national industrial union bodies will discuss new methods of gaining efficiency, and will organize information on the total production of that industry.

From each basic industry representatives will be sent to a Socialist Industrial Congress that will replace the corrupt political state, the government of and by politicians, and for capitalists, that we have today. The duties of this central body will be to correlate production with the needs and desires of society as a whole so that an abundance will be assured to everyone. Computer technology will be put to excellent use in compiling these data.

Here is another aspect of socialist democracy that deserves emphasis. In the Industrial Republic of Labor your representatives will be removable from office as easily as they are elected because of your on-the-job voice and vote in running your industry. Economic as well as governmental freedom will at last be yours! Both the fear of unemployment that capitalism brings in bad times and the imposition of forced overtime it brings in so-called good times, in short, all the insecurity and strain that now accompany the sale of your labor power will be banished with the abolition of capitalism and its wage-slave system.

## Socialism Means Cultural Freedom

Under socialism you will enjoy a freedom of thought that capitalism cannot and will not give you. Neither the media, the schools, the churches or your own self-government will be beholden to private capitalist interests for funds and subsidies. Workers in the publishing industry, for example, will be under no compulsion to slant their writing in favor of advertisers, as happens today. Their minds will not be controlled by private owners. They will be free to devote themselves to the printing of the truth as they see it, and the reporting of facts.

Teachers, under socialism, can help develop our children’s minds free from the dictation of selfish influences. Every pos-

sible facility to aid in the educational processes will be made freely available. And, as with every other industry, whether it produces goods or services, the “education industry” will be governed by the equal voice and vote of the workers who run it.

## Socialism Means Better Health

The “social health industry” will concern itself purely with the prevention and cure of disease. There will be no profit motive to corrupt the practice of doctors, nurses, technicians and others charged with the maintenance of the peoples’ health. Sickness and unhealthy conditions of mind and body that are due to unfavorable environment and unwholesome social conditions will disappear under conditions of peace and security.

The elimination of private profit will insure that only healthful foods are produced. The finest of clinics, furnished with the newest in scientific equipment, will assist the doctors of the future to correct physical and mental ills and prolong the life of unnumbered thousands of workers.

When the economic insecurity of the present day is replaced by the freedom and democracy of socialism; when the crime-ridden environment of dog-eat-dog capitalism is replaced by one in which every man and woman has an equal opportunity to make a place for themselves as useful producers; when the fear of wars to control some natural resource, market or strategic location is removed so that people can use their combined energies and talents for construction instead of destruction—when all these things have come to pass, the main causes of mental ills and disorders will have disappeared and these neuroses will be things of the past.

What a far cry this conception of health-maintaining services is from the profit-seeking HMOs and miserly state Medicare system of today! The HMOs and the American Medical Association are correct in pointing out that nationalized health insurance would be a form of government-subsidized medicine. However, their motive in fighting it is the desire to keep their lucrative field to themselves and not share it with a state bureau. It has nothing whatever to do with health maintenance, and everything to do with profit maintenance.

## Socialism Means Security and Leisure

Under socialism, the old and infirm will receive all necessary medical attention, besides their full share from the abundant social store—not in the form of miserly pensions, meager “social security”

payments or degrading charity, as today, but as befits the dignity of useful producers who have met their obligations to society and deserve to retire and enjoy the vast benefits that society can offer them.

The enhanced leisure afforded by shorter hours of work will mean a great enrichment of our lives. Travel, the development of cultural interests, the best in entertainment—all these will be ours.

## Capitalism, Not Socialism, Destroys the Family

Best of all, we shall know the full pleasure of family life without the nagging cares that frustrate our hopes of happiness today. It used to be said that socialism would break up the home. It must be obvious to all now that it is capitalism that is the home breaker. With fathers and mothers both forced to work to make ends meet, children are often left without proper family guidance or are farmed out to day-care centers. Adolescents left without parental companionship and guidance turn with distressing frequency to unhealthful pursuits, antisocial activities and even self-destructive behavior. Teenage suicides—one of the most damning counts in the indictment against capitalism—have reached epidemic proportions.

In a sane social order, marriage would cease to be a property relationship. Mutual love and understanding will be the sole foundation on which the family of the future will build. Those who prate the loudest about “family values” today are also among the loudest in upholding the very system that is destroying the family, denouncing socialism as an evil and blocking the path to saner social and personal relations.

Perhaps at this point you are shaking your head and saying, “Much of what you say about capitalism is true; but socialism sounds too much like heaven on earth to be plausible. Socialism can’t happen. We’ll still have to contend with human nature, you know.”

Let’s reason this out. Would you be opposed to helping create a veritable “heaven on earth” if you knew it was possible? Do you really prefer voting for politicians who are pledged to maintain the present social system, which is the exact opposite of that “heaven on earth”?

Socialism is not only a possibility, but the only practical solution to the problems of our age. Now let us consider this “human nature” that must be taken into account.

Is it your nature to desire peace or war? Are other human beings different from you in this? Is it your nature to prefer the insecurity of capitalist wage slavery, or do you yearn for real security for yourself and your family? The Socialist Labor Party maintains that the best in human nature can only be brought out by the best in social and economic conditions.

## Only the Workers Can Establish Socialism

You, the workers, have built the modern industrial machinery. You have contributed the technical skill, the brains and the strength, and have created an abundance that the capitalist class does not know how to cope with. Artificial scarcity through the destruction of surpluses, wars and recurring economic crises have been capitalism’s answer to your prolific production.

The Socialist Labor Party urges the workers to realize their own capabilities. You have the brains and skill to operate industry now, as a class, for the benefit of the parasitic owners; you certainly have the brains and skill to govern industry collectively for the benefit of all of society. The establishment of the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor depends upon the growing understanding of socialism among the workers. Study the program of the Socialist Labor Party, spread its message and join its ranks.

# ... Republican Party

(Continued from page 1)

schools still represent a social gain—*education for most, if not all*—over no schools or private schools that are free to exclude on whatever basis they wish. Vouchers risk that social gain.

Bush proclaimed the need—and his intent to pursue funding—for a national missile defense system, a system costing tens if not hundreds of billions that will not only spur the waste of vast resources on militaristic ends, but could dangerously escalate the now smoldering arms race.

The GOP presidential hopeful proclaimed the need for tax relief and then pointed a finger at the inheritance tax as the first instance of the tax laws he would work to end. Yet workers seldom have anything left to pass on to their children except good advice. The capitalist class will exclusively benefit from the abolition of this tax.

In fact, the capitalist class benefits foremost from any tax reduction. Workers can only benefit temporarily from such reductions, since their wages are roughly equivalent to the cost of production of labor power—including food, shelter, clothing, education and the like, *and any taxes workers must pay*—moderated by supply and demand. Reduce the taxes “paid” by workers, and wages will eventually drop to account for the changed cost of production.

Bush said he would work to reduce taxes on the poorest workers. This would be just wonderful—if wage reductions didn’t eventually follow such tax reductions. The most workers could hope for is a few months of “tax re-

lief” before wage reductions equalize changed costs of production.

Bush’s “compassionate conservatism” includes, according to his acceptance speech, tax credits to ostensibly help low-income workers purchase homes. It includes tax credits for workers to support their favorite “antipoverty” charity’s inadequate efforts to help the millions tossed off the welfare rolls by capitalism’s compassionate “welfare reform.” But, again, these tax credits, like all other tax credits and reductions, will eventually accrue to the benefit of the capitalist class via pay reductions for the workers they exploit. “Compassionate conservatism” apparently has much more to do with compassion for capitalists than for workers.

Of course, Bush would have American workers believe otherwise. “Now is the time to give American workers security and independence that no politician can ever take away,” said Bush in his speech—three times.

But even if the Republican Party had anything meaningful to “give” to workers, *anything politicians give they can just as easily take away*. American workers cannot have “security and independence” given to them. Capitalism, the system under which we presently live, is built on private ownership of the means of life and production for the private profit of the tiny minority class that does the owning. It is therefore built on the exploitation and impoverishment of the working class.

Under this system, competing companies must increasingly automate and throw more labor out of the productive process. They win their competitive battles by

squeezing workers for less pay and more work in a thousand and one ways, aimed at underpricing their competitors in the marketplace and realizing profit by selling the goods their workers produce. The richer the capitalists get, the poorer must the working class collectively become.

Workers have but one hope for real economic security and independence. They must organize in the industries and services to take, hold and operate those means of life, built by their collective labor and that of their forebears, collectively and democratically in the interest of all society.

Bush claimed that the Clinton “administration had its chance. They have not led. We will.” He was right about the Democrats. But the Republican Party has *nothing* to offer workers either. Both parties have had their chance at addressing the concerns of workers—falling real wages, economic insecurity, unemployment, poverty, racism, sexism, social violence, militarism, the worsening environment and a plethora of other unsolved problems brought on by the capitalist system to which both parties are totally committed. Reform after reform ostensibly intended to solve these problems has led instead to their continued and worsening existence.

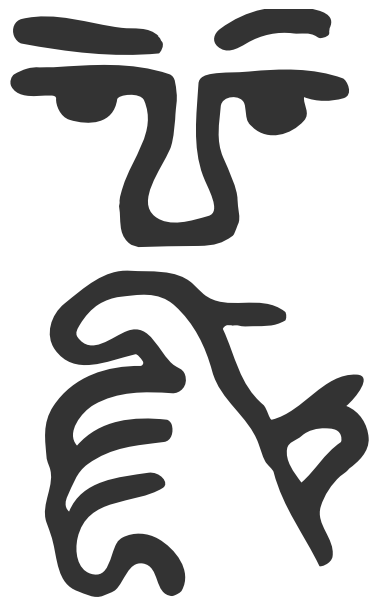
To paraphrase the lackluster Mr. Bush with the proper spin, *the capitalist parties have had their chance to solve these problems*. They have failed. Workers themselves must now act, in their own collective interest, to fundamentally reconstruct society along the socialist lines of economic democracy, the only road to peace, freedom and abundance. —K.B.

## Question Period

**Why doesn't *The People* ever discuss things from the standpoint of the consumer?**

First, who is “the consumer?” Is it the worker? The capitalist would certainly like workers to think of themselves as being representative of that category. That is the reason the capitalist media always depict “the consumer” as being the “average” person. If there is a strike on, for example, and the strike interferes with the flow of ordinary articles of consumption, the striker is depicted as the enemy of “the consumer.” Or, if the particular TV station or newspaper happens to be “liberal” and its job is to turn out something hostile to the power interests, it is the “fat cat” who is depicted as the enemy of “the consumer.” Or, again, if it is a “conservative” TV station or newspaper that is up in arms against high taxes, the newscaster or commentator reveals “the consumer” as the victim of the bureaucrat.

The reason for these appeals is obvious. *Everyone is a consumer—including the striker, the “fat cat,” the bureaucrat and the media itself*. If there is any difference between the worker consumers and the bureaucrat and



capitalist consumers, it is that the latter consume disproportionately more than the former.

Now, *The People* is not interested in the standpoint of either the capitalist or the bureaucrat; *The People* is interested only in the standpoint of the workers. Moreover—and this is of primary importance—*The People* considers it its duty to demonstrate repeatedly that the workers are not robbed as consumers, superficial evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. The workers are robbed as the sole producers of social wealth.

Everyone is a consumer, but only the workers are producers, and the workers are robbed by the capitalists who buy their labor power for wages and who ap-

propriate the product of their labor. Wages are determined by the price that labor power fetches as a commodity in the market, and this price fluctuates according to supply and demand. In the long run, however, the price of labor power (wages) coincides with its value—and its value is equal to the amount of labor (measured in labor hours and minutes) that is embodied in what workers consume to keep themselves in working condition. In everyday language the worker normally gets a *living wage*.

This is the key to the robbery that goes on under capitalism. And it is precisely for this reason that *The People* focuses attention on the worker’s wage-slave status and the need to alter this status. When, under socialism, the workers cease to be robbed of the major portion of their product they will be enabled to consume in proportion to what they produce, but not until then.

### Capital And Labor

By Arnold Petersen

A series of essays that discuss and define such terms as capital, profit, labor power, price controls, etc., and explain the underlying causes of class conflict.

(80 pages)  
\$1.25 postpaid

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

## activities

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

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**Discussion Meeting**—Section San Francisco Bay Area will hold a discussion meeting on Saturday, Sept. 30, 1–4 p.m., at the Rockridge Public Library, 5366 College Ave., Oakland. Moderator: Frank Prince. For more information please call 650-938-8370.

### San Jose

**Discussion Meeting**—Section San Francisco Bay Area will hold a discussion meeting on Saturday, Sept. 16, 1:30–4 p.m., at the Empire Branch Library, 491 E. Empire St., San Jose. Moderator: Bruce Cozzini. For more information please call 650-938-8370.

### OHIO

#### North Royalton

**Social**—Sections Akron and Cleveland will hold a social on Sunday, Aug. 27, beginning at 1 p.m., at the Burns’ residence, 9626 York Rd., North Royalton. Refreshments will be served. For more information 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**—Section Philadelphia will hold a lawn party on Sunday, Sept. 17, from 1–5 p.m., at 15024 Liberty Lane, Philadelphia. For directions call 215-673-1170.

### 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 time of the meetings varies. Those interested please call 713-721-9296, e-mail [reds-1964@netzero.net](mailto:reds-1964@netzero.net) or visit the group’s Web site at <http://home.beseen.com/politics/houstonslp>.

## ... Need for Funds

(Continued from page 1)

ing everything possible to increase the party’s cash reserves before the boost that special contribution gave the party is used up and we fall back toward a potentially dangerous situation.

“Accordingly, I urge every member to do everything within their power to come to the party’s assistance at this critical juncture....

“For our part, we are looking into new ways to reduce expenses even further than they have been reduced in recent years. Our efforts in that direction were extremely successful, as you know. But the recent increase in rent...threatens to wipe out much of the progress made on that front.

“The main thing on the National Office agenda, apart from continuing uninterrupted publication of *The People*, is to find a new and less expensive location for National Headquarters....We may end up in a warehouse, or in cramped offices much smaller than we occupy today. However, as long as you stick with us and feed the party’s war chest we will continue to publish *The People* and do everything else possible to spread the party’s message. We are determined to do our part, but our ability to do it depends entirely on you.”

As indicated, it will not be necessary for the SLP to jam its offices into even smaller quarters than they occupy at present. But it is necessary to shore up the party’s cash reserves.

Rather than establish a special fund, however, it has been decided to combine that need with the annual Thanksgiving Fund, which ordinarily is specifically dedicated to the financial support of *The People*. It has also been decided to set the goal for the fund at \$25,000. Reaching that goal will ease the party’s immediate financial problems and help to ensure uninterrupted publication of *The People*.

Please use the Thanksgiving Fund coupon in this issue to help us stop the drain on the SLP’s cash reserves and to keep *The People* in print.

Contribute to the SLP’s

**\$25,000  
Thanksgiving  
FUND**



SLP • P.O. BOX 218  
MTN. VIEW, CA 94042-0218

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ APT. \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Send a receipt. (Political contributions are not tax deductible.) Please do not mail cash. Make check/money order payable to the Socialist Labor Party.

# directory

## USA NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

NATIONAL OFFICE, SLP, P.O. Box 218, Mtn. View, CA 94042-0218; (650) 938-8359; fax (650) 938-8392; e-mail: socialists@slp.org; Web site: www.slp.org

## AKRON, OHIO

Call (330) 864-9212.

## ALBANY, N.Y.

SLP, P.O. Box 105, Sloansville, NY 12160-0105.

## CHICAGO

SLP, P.O. Box 642, Skokie, IL 60076-0642.

## CLEVELAND

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

## CORPUS CHRISTI, TEX.

Call (512) 991-0287.

## DALLAS

Call Bernie at (972) 458-2253.

## DENVER

Call (303) 426-5108.

## DULUTH

For information, call Rudy Gustafson at (218) 728-3110.

## EASTERN MASS.

Call (781) 444-3576.

## HOUSTON

Call (713) 721-9296. Web site: <http://home.beseen.com/politics/houstonslp> E-mail: reds1964@netzero.net

## HUNTER COLLEGE, NYC

HunterSLP@aol.com

## LARAMIE, WYO.

E-mail: portage@uwyo.edu

## LONG ISLAND, N.Y.

LongIslandSLP@aol.com

## MIAMI

Call (305) 892-2424. E-mail: redflag@bellsouth.net

## MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

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

## MILWAUKEE

SLP, 1563 W. Rogers St., Milwaukee, WI 53204-3721. Call (414) 672-2185. E-mail: milwaukee@webtv.net

## NEW LONDON, CONN.

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

## NEW YORK CITY

Call (516) 829-5325.

## OCEANSIDE, CALIF.

Call (760) 721-8124.

## PALMDALE, CALIF.

E-mail: med@ptw.com

## PHILADELPHIA

SLP, P.O. Box 28732, Philadelphia, PA 19151. Call (215) 234-4724. E-mail: slpphilly@aol.com

## PITTSBURGH

Call (412) 751-2613.

## PONTIAC, MICH.

Call (810) 731-6756.

## PORTLAND, ORE.

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

## SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

SLP, P.O. Box 2973, Sacramento, CA 95812.

## SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

SLP, P.O. Box 70034, Sunnyvale, CA 94086-0034. (650) 938-8370. E-mail: slpsfba@netscape.net

## SEABROOK, N.H.

Call (603) 770-4695.

## ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

Call (727) 321-0999.

## SOUTH BEND, IND.

Jerry Maher, 211 S. Michigan St., #505, South Bend, IN 46601; (219) 234-2946.

## S.W. VIRGINIA

Thad Harris, P.O. Box 1068, St. Paul, VA 24283-0997. Call (540) 328-5531. Fax (540) 328-4059.

## WILKES COUNTY, N.C.

E-mail: DarrellHKnight@aol.com

## AUSTRALIA

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

## CANADA NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

SLP, 1550 Laperriere Ave., Ottawa, Ont., K1Z 7T2. Call Doug Irving at (613) 728-5877 (hdqtrs.); (613) 226-6682 (home); or (613) 725-1949 (fax).

## VANCOUVER

SLP, Suite 141, 6200 McKay Ave., Box 824, Burnaby, BC, V5H 4M9. Call J. Minal at (604) 526-3140.

# at large

## The Hunting of the President

*The Hunting of the President: The Ten-Year Campaign to Destroy Bill and Hillary Clinton.* By Joe Conason and Gene Lyons. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000; 432 pages. Please order from bookseller or publisher.

The authors of this book are long-time respected newspaper reporters who have done an enormous amount of research and interviewing to uncover the amazing history of the loose network of determined right-wing devotees bent on destroying Bill Clinton and, for good measure, Hillary Clinton also. It is a story of intrigue, dirty tricks, defeated politicians bent on revenge, ultraconservative pamphleteers, disappointed officeseekers, wealthy benefactors of right-wing causes, religious fanatics, segregationists, confirmed ideological zealots, and profitseekers eager to tell questionable tales of sex and intrigue to supermarket tabloids and to any other news outlet willing to pay for scandal stories.

It was a slime campaign that began in 1989, initiated by Lee Atwater, chairman of the Republican National Committee. In surveying the potential Democratic presidential candidates for 1992, Atwater singled out Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas as the most talented of the lot and the one who must be politically destroyed to protect President George Bush in his run for a second term.

His method was to back a certain Republican gubernatorial candidate against Clinton and use that candidate, in Atwater's words, "to throw everything we can think of at Clinton—drugs, women, whatever works. We may or may not win, but we'll

bust him up so bad he won't be able to run again for years."

Although Atwater's picked candidate lost the Republican primary, and the Republican who defeated him lost to Clinton, the technique of destruction was carried on by other disgruntled anti-Clintonites in Arkansas and elsewhere by Atwater's successors in the national Republican Party, and by a fervent band of ultra social and political conservatives across the country.

Among those loyal anti-Clinton troops was the God Squad, a national collection of far-right evangelical Christians led primarily by such ordained worthies as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, James Dobson and Tim Lahaye. Falwell, Baptist pastor from Lynchburg, Va., did not seem to be at all bothered by either accuracy or Christian truthfulness in promoting his political agenda. He felt that Clinton's election to the presidency was the downfall of America and therefore he helped to distribute a videotape, *Circle of Power*, that attributed "a series of suicides, accidental deaths and unsolved homicides" in Arkansas to the new president. Even more scurrilous was the video *The Clinton Chronicles*, which Conason and Lyons show was financially underwritten by Falwell's Liberty Alliance. It comprised a long string of errors, ignorance and outright falsehoods aimed at Bill Clinton. The video was eagerly promoted and sold by Falwell over his weekly TV program, *The Old-Time Gospel Hour*. Falwell also regularly showed excerpts from the video as part of the regular Sunday worship on his *Gospel Hour* program, evidently to give the Devil equal time with God and to brainwash

his parishioners and TV viewers with his particular brand of political correctness.

The chapters dealing with the investigations by the Office of Independent Counsel and the totalitarian legal tactics used by Kenneth Starr and his associates make fascinating as well as frightening reading.

Bill Clinton's reckless personal behavior with a young aide and his inept attempts to divert attention from his actions only drew him deeper into the trap prepared for him by his political enemies bent on destroying his presidency.

Conason and Lyons note other past presidents who have been subjected to vicious assaults by their political enemies, but conclude that "rarely in this century has the impulse to destroy dominated our national discourse the way it has during the past decade." Their conclusion is: "No president of the United States and no first lady have ever been subject to the corrosive combination of personal scrutiny, published and broadcast vilification, and official investigation and prosecution endured by William Jefferson Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton."

Everyone truly interested in recent American political history and the machinations of those in control of this bourgeois political process should read this book. It reveals the corruption of both the politicians eager to get and keep power by any means, fair or foul, and the heavy-handed and manipulative methods of the practitioners of the legal process, intent not on actual truth or innocence, but on enhancing their own prestige and power by destroying any who stand in the way of their own political agenda. —B.G.



•What Caused the Depression?  
•The Depression's Inflationary Legacy  
•Capitalism's Next Crash: The Socialist Legacy

48 pp. — \$2.25 (Postpaid)

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

25 50 75 100 years ago

## Antistrike Law Defended by CIO Telephone Union

(Weekly People, Sept. 30, 1950)

The Supreme Court of New Jersey, on Sept. 11, was the scene of an openly committed anti-working-class act by the CIO's Communication Workers of America, Division 55. It was also the scene of an apparently pro-working-class act by the New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.

At issue was the telephone company's appeal against a decision of the Appellate Division of the Superior Court upholding the "constitutionality" of New Jersey's utility antistrike law. The law forbids telephone (and other utility) workers to strike, authorizes the governor of the state to seize strike-threatened utilities and to appoint an arbitration board, and gives the board the power to fix wage rates.

The New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. was "seized" by Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll on March 1 when the CIO union threatened a strike of 11,000 operators. The arbitration board appointed by Gov. Driscoll settled the strike issue by granting a pay rise of \$2.50 a week to the operators. The company, which had hailed the antistrike law, and

which participated in the appointment of the board and its hearings, discovered that the antistrike law was unconstitutional when the workers were awarded a wage rise. It argued before the New Jersey Supreme Court, not that the law was unconstitutional because it violated the Constitution's ban on forced labor, but that it was unconstitutional because it permitted the state to invade the field of federal communication regulation and because the Legislature exceeded its authority in conferring broad powers on arbitration boards. It also held that standards set up in the law to guide boards in fixing pay were "vague, insufficient and arbitrary," and that the board did not make use of all the standards in reaching its decision to grant an increase.

In rebuttal, the state argued that it had done nothing more than move to protect services essential to the public and that the law provides standards that protect equally the rights of the union, the company and the public.

The union, in conjunction with the state, upheld the "constitutionality" of the antistrike law. Actual-

ly, its arguments were legal quibbles challenging the company's opposition in view of its previous acceptance of the law. In effect, the union argued that \$2.50 a week for each worker was an adequate price for the surrender of the workers' right to strike.

## ...De Leon Editorial

(Continued from page 4)

ecutive, legislature and judiciary composed of Socialists instead of capitalists. This notwithstanding, instinct quickly told him that the IWW implied a negation of his goal, whereupon he, or his press with his submissive acquiescence,



fought the IWW. Whereas, the SLP man, whose goal is not a political but an industrial government, hailed the IWW, although, as a consequence of the IWW posture, the success of the IWW meant the ultimate disbandment of the SLP into the political reflex of a ripened IWW. The SLP man cared not what became of his conveyance. His eyes were fastened to the ideal for which his party was and is bound to remain a conveyance, until the new political conveyance is ready for him to "change cars" in.

Our Hamilton comrades' unity committee\* is, at this stage, alone equipped with the necessary information to decide whether the material that they represent is ripe for unity. They alone can tell, by the light of the two beacons, named above and taken from history, whether they represent oysters or men. This office will have to abide the event, the result of which will be read in the absence, it is hoped, of the type that rears on its hind legs and refuses "to be bossed"—an unerring sign of the ununitable quality. Only oysters, men never, claim independence from reason; only men, oysters never, recognize with gladness dependence upon logic.

\*The Hamilton, Ont., "unity committee" of the SLP, SP and IWW organizations in that Canadian city sent their manifesto to the *Daily People* for publication and "criticism of the merits or demerits of the policy which we have adopted—likewise the end we have in view."

### A Socialist in Congress:

His Conduct & Responsibilities

By Daniel De Leon

108 pages — \$1.50 postpaid

An insightful series of editorials on Victor L. Berger's performance as "the first Socialist in Congress." This pamphlet answers the question: How should a Socialist act if he or she were elected to Congress or to other high office?

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

## What's Behind the U.S. 'Reconciliation' With Vietnam?

By Diane Secor

Representatives of the United States and Vietnam signed a new trade agreement in July. Congressional approval is needed before the treaty takes effect. Congress is expected to act on it later this year or early next year.

The Clinton administration, which re-established diplomatic relations with Hanoi several years ago, lauded its new agreement with Vietnam as "an historic reconciliation" between the two former enemies. Expanding its economic interests in Vietnam and its overall strategic interests in Asia explain why the U.S. capitalist state is so eager to bury the hatchet. Hopes for developing its economy and profiting from the exploitation of its natural resources explain Vietnam's motives.

According to the Associated Press, Vietnam agreed to open its markets to American products by reducing tariffs on imports and by breaking down barriers to investments by American companies. The agreement will also lower "U.S. tariffs on Vietnamese products from the current average of about 40 percent to less than 3 percent, the same rate Washington extends to most other nations."

Once in force, the agreement not only will allow American corporations to exploit cheap labor in Vietnam, but to export the products back to the United States without paying higher tariffs on "foreign" manufactured commodities. Other terms of the new trade deal resemble those the U.S. has with China, but on a much smaller scale.

American labor unions have lobbied Congress not to ratify the U.S.-Vietnam pact because it could mean that more American factories would shut down or move to Vietnam. In addition, Vietnamese labor is not only cheaper, but a repressive state apparatus tightly controls the workers. Strikes and attempts to form unions can be quickly and efficiently crushed. Nonetheless, the Clinton administration or its successor may have an easier time getting congressional approval for PNTR (Permanent Normal Trade Relations) for Vietnam than for China.

In the race to provide the cheapest, most docile labor to U.S. and other foreign capitalists, Vietnam does not want to be left behind. "Vietnam fears it could be overshadowed by the larger Chinese economy," as the AP report put it.

Apart from cheap labor, Vietnam is also rich in offshore oil deposits. According to *Offshore*, a trade magazine, Vietnam is "a hot place for international [petroleum] companies." (May 2000) American capitalists are vying with Japanese, Russian and other foreign firms for a piece of the action, while Vietnam tries to play one off against the other.

For example, Conoco recently became "operator" of Block 16-2 in the South China Sea in conjunction "with PetroVietnam and the Korean National Oil Company." The Anglo-American corporation, BP Amoco, is negotiating a gas pipeline agreement with the Vietnamese government worth approximately \$1.5 billion. To gain the competitive edge for U.S. oil and gas firms, Washington must cultivate strong economic ties with Vietnam. Gaining greater access to Vietnam's growing petroleum industry will provide Congress with ample motivation to approve the treaty.

Besides these specific material interests, Vietnam is of strategic value to the United States in the region. According to [www.stratfor.com](http://www.stratfor.com), which describes itself as an "intelligence consulting firm,"

"Vietnam...[has] one priceless asset. Its long coastline provides direct access to the South China Sea, the supply line to Northeast Asia. Vietnam has one of the few major naval bases directly on the sea. For the United States, control of these waters is the key to defending Taiwan, South Korea and Japan." (March 16)

Three major powers are jockeying for military and strategic advantages in the South China Sea region—the United States, China and Russia. Of the three, however, Russia is the only one with a military base on Vietnamese territory. For more than two decades, Russia has had use of the former U.S. base at Cam Ranh Bay, but Secretary of Defense William Cohen hopes that eventually "U.S. warships will call on Vietnamese ports." However, booting the Russians out would not be easy.

Moreover, China and Vietnam have conflicting claims in the reportedly oil-rich Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. Any attempt by the United States to regain a foothold in Vietnam could be viewed by China as moving in on Chinese territory. Seen in this larger context, closer U.S.-Vietnam-ese trade relations risk increased tensions throughout Asia, in particular between the United States and China.

With so many material and strategic interests up for grabs, it is no great mystery why the United States has made "reconciliation" with Vietnam a priority, in spite of the risks involved.

## Chilean Court's Ruling on Pinochet Marks New Era

By Roger Burbach\*

©Pacific News Service

The Chilean Supreme Court's decision, stripping Augusto Pinochet of immunity, reflects a sea change in the treatment of former dictators around the world.

As the Chilean justices were voting 14 to 6 to allow the indictment of Pinochet for human rights violations, Indonesia's former dictator Suharto was indicted for corruption while Haiti's former military rulers are about to be tried for torture and murder.

Such actions were unknown in October 1998 when Scotland Yard detained Pinochet in London in response to an extradition request from Spain. That request came from a judge in response to Chilean exiles and Spanish citizens whose relatives had been tortured and assassinated in Chile under Pinochet.

Before he abandoned power in 1990, Pinochet had issued an amnesty decree and imposed a constitution that limited the courts' ability to prosecute military officers—including Pinochet himself as commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

However, Pinochet's detention in London opened a new chapter in international law.

In England, Pinochet's lawyers initially argued that he enjoyed diplomatic immunity and, as a former head of state, was exempt from prosecution in a foreign country. An opposing team, which included Amnesty International representatives, argued that Pinochet had violated international precedents and laws.

A March 1999 ruling that Pinochet could be extradited to Spain was greeted

with widespread public support—polls in Chile and England showed that between 60 to 80 percent believed Pinochet should stand trial. However, the Chilean government called for Pinochet's release on the grounds that his arrest violated "national sovereignty."

Chilean diplomats—ironically headed by a man once exiled by Pinochet as a Socialist militant—worked to free Pinochet. Worried that a trial in Spain would cut into burgeoning Spanish investments in Chile, they pressured the Spanish courts to abandon the case, but eventually the Spanish judges of the National Court blocked these deals.

In Britain, the Chilean diplomats finally got what they wanted when, in early March, Home Secretary Jack Straw at first failed to win Pinochet's release. Then in early March of this year, Straw (who had participated in demonstrations against Pinochet's military coup in 1973) ruled that Pinochet be released for health reasons.

Once back in Chile, the general's ailments disappeared. Disembarking from the military plane sent to fetch him, he rejected a wheelchair and walked across the tarmac, waving his crutch in the air.

But the situation in Chile had changed dramatically during the general's 16-month absence.

For one thing, Chileans had elected a new Socialist Party president, Ricardo Lagos, who took office a week after Pinochet's return. Even more importantly, Pinochet's arrest in London had unleashed a torrent of memories among Chileans. During his absence, human rights groups and a few judges had moved against high-ranking officers.

Chilean courts found that the amnesty did not apply to the cases of over a thousand "disappeared"—victims whose bodies were never found—on the grounds that these were ongoing crimes not yet resolved.



Former dictator Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

Finally, human rights lawyers opted to challenge Pinochet's special immunity from prosecution with the case of the infamous "Caravan of Death"—a special military expedition that traveled around the country and carried out at least 72 summary executions shortly after Pinochet took power.

This led to the latest ruling lifting Pinochet's immunity.

This is not the last repercussion of Pinochet's detention in London. Belgium, France and Switzerland have all filed charges against him, and the U.S. Department of Justice is also involved in relation to the 1975 Washington, D.C., assassination of an exiled Chilean official and his aide.

All these efforts have put dictators and military officers on notice that they too can be charged for crimes against humanity.

In Spain, Argentine generals have been charged with crimes related to more than 10,000 executions or disappearances.

In Argentina itself, amnesty laws exempted the military from prosecution for most human rights violations, but baby-trafficking—a practice military officials engaged in with the children of parents who were assassinated or disappeared—was not included. Now, nine high-ranking military officers, including Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri, who was president of the military junta in 1981–82, have been jailed on this charge.

Efraim Rios Montt, Guatemala's leader in the early 1980s, does not travel abroad for fear of being arrested.

Even Henry Kissinger has reportedly curtailed his international travel for fear of being prosecuted for his actions.

Similar fears may explain the U.S. government's refusal to sign the treaty establishing an International Criminal Court now being set up in Rome to try human rights violators and war criminals.

In a certain sense, this is the product of globalization, which until now has been largely limited to fostering corporate investments. For the first time, families of victims of repression, along with a growing number of judges, feel they can use international and national laws to prosecute former rulers for their crimes against humanity.

### Early Efforts at Socialist Unity

By Nathan Karp

A brief retracing of the SLP's role in efforts to unify the socialist movement—and why those efforts failed.

16 pages—\$1 postpaid

New York Labor News

P.O. Box 218

Mtn. View, CA 94042-0218

\*PNS commentator Roger Burbach is the director of the Center for the Study of the Americas and author of *Globalization and Postmodern Politics: From Zapatistas to Hightech Robber Barons*. (Pluto Press)