



the People

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We're Back!

We are pleased to resume publication of *The People* with this issue and thereby end a suspension that began last July. We are pleased, not only because that is what we were working toward all these months, but also because at last we are able to respond to all those who shared that hope and encouraged us to start again.

Once the decision to resume publishing was made we had to move quickly. That sense of urgency may reveal itself by the absence of articles on certain recent developments our readers have the right to expect *The People* to comment on. But that will change as we settle into our new routine.

We were forced into suspending publication for two reasons, neither of which was a lack of interest among our readers or a lack of will on our part. We are as determined as ever, and our readers made their own interest and determination clear from long before the suspension began. And they have been making it clear ever since.

Two problems intersected to make the suspension necessary.

One was an uncertain situation regarding the national headquarters of the Socialist Labor Party, which also houses the editorial offices of *The People*. For months it appeared that the headquarters would be forced to move. Fortunately, that proved unnecessary, at least for now, although the problem may come up again within the next seven or eight months.

The second problem was a dangerous drain on the SLP's cash reserves. SLP members and supporters responded to that emergency with great generosity. Their efforts stopped the monthly deficits and prevented the problem from getting worse.

From the moment our July issue went to press, the letters began pouring in by the score. Most were brief, to wish us luck, to say they missed the paper, to praise our work, to encourage us—but above all to urge a resumption of publication at the earliest opportunity. And most underscored their sentiments with contributions to the SLP Emergency Fund.

Suspending *The People* was a painful decision to make, but it was also unavoidable and preferable to the permanent suspension we feared might become necessary. That had to be avoided at all costs.

Bringing back *The People* has been our constant goal. Unfortunately, however, the problems that led into the suspension last July have not been fully resolved. The headquarters lease was extended last September for a 12 month period with no increase in rent. The response to the SLP Emergency Fund allowed us to accept that offer. The suspension itself helped to reduce costs, but contributions to SLP funds have slipped somewhat since it began.

For that reason, we cannot start with the monthly printing schedule as before, primarily because the basic financial problem still exists. To fight that problem we have established the Daniel De Leon Sesquicentennial Fund in honor of the 150th anniversary of the birth of the great American Socialist on Dec. 14, 1852. You can help by using the coupon on page 6.

Speedups Are Pushing Many Workers to the Breaking Point

American workers are the most productive in the world, which is just another way of saying they are the most thoroughly exploited workers in the world. They are worked harder to produce more in less time than workers anywhere else. "In small but growing numbers," however, "many workers are taking a stand and saying 'no more.'"

That is part of what Nancy Cleland wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* of last June 19. Boiled-down versions of her article on "Need for speed has workers seething" also found their way into *The Seattle Times*, *The Dallas Morning News* and, we suppose, other newspapers around the country.

"A decade-long obsession with productivity has been healthy for the corporate bottom line," she added, "but workers say they are paying for it with exhaustion and pain."

Apparently more workers are starting to grumble, not only among themselves and not only because they are tiring at the pace, but also because their health and safety are at stake.

"Job speedup is emerging as the top complaint for low-wage employees in sectors as diverse as food processing and tourism," Cleland wrote. "It has become a pivotal bargaining issue in some union contracts. And increasingly, health and safety experts consider it a source of injury and illness."

Cleland cited some examples to illustrate the growing discontent:

• "In a Los Angeles pork-processing plant, workers once limited by union contract to boning 60 hams an hour are up to 70 an hour.

• "Maids at a Las Vegas Strip resort have in five years

gone from cleaning 14 rooms to 17 rooms per shift.

• "A frozen-food plant in Marshall, Mo., runs 1,200 chicken pot pies an hour, compared with 1,100 two years ago and 800 in 1980."

Cleland said there is anger, resentment, fear and rage among workers, particularly those engaged in low-wage sectors of the economy.



Carol Simpson

They are fed up with the exhaustion, mental and physical stress the current speedups are generating. Aging workers fear that they will be unable to keep up the pace and will lose their jobs.

Tom Snyder of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union said: "In our industry, wages and benefits are perennially the No. 1 and No. 2 issue. For workload to jump to the top of the table is something new. That tells me that companies are trying to squeeze every last bit of energy out of the workforce."

Health and safety experts view the speedups as hazardous. "Many...suspect that fast work pace is at the root of an epidemic of musculoskeletal injuries, such as tendinitis."

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Poor, Vulnerable Day Laborers Exploited By N.Y. Contractors

By B.G.

Exploitation of immigrant day laborers by their employers is rampant in New York State. Refusal to pay wages after the workers have finished the job is one popular tactic used by the employers, who rely on the trust and innocence of these workers, many of whom speak little or no English and who know nothing of American laws. Also, many day laborers are undocumented, subject to arrest and deportation if found out by the police and immigration authorities. Unscrupulous employers thus take advantage of the situation.

One organization that tries to help these workers left in the lurch by their employers is Workplace Project in Hempstead, N.Y., run by Nadia Marin-Molini. One tactic that Ms. Marin-Molini's group uses, but with only minimal effect, is protest demon-

strations held outside contractors' homes. Sometimes the contractors thus picketed threaten violence against the aggrieved workers, like the boss who came out of his front door angrily waving a pistol and another who menaced the group with a baseball bat.

The New York State attorney general's office, which had previously been cracking down on sweatshop employers exploiting immigrant labor, now has targeted contractors.

One such exploiter is construction contractor Richard Holowchak of Locust Valley, N.Y. Holowchak had hired four Central American immigrants last year to work on various jobs building and repairing houses. Last December and in January, he ceased paying them, offering only promises. Last

(Continued on page 6)



United Airlines Bankruptcy A Tool to Bust Airline Unions

UAL's bankruptcy filing last December gives the airline a powerful tool to wield against the unions that represent its 83,000 workers—even though those workers ostensibly own 55 percent of the company.

As a *Dow Jones Newswires* report put it last month, "The bankruptcy code has a provision that would allow United to ask the judge to abrogate existing labor contracts so it could impose terms on workers—a step that would allow United to sharply reduce labor costs and trim losses."

United's bankruptcy forces its "owners" to preside over an acceleration of their own exploitation as workers. The employee stock "ownership" plan the pro-capitalist unions negotiated in 1994 exchanged wage and benefit cuts of over \$5 billion for meaningless "ownership" without achieving any real control. Besides billions in new cuts, the bankruptcy will likely wipe out this "ownership."

Industry analysts say it isn't likely the company will immediately ask the bankruptcy court to nullify existing labor contracts. Bankruptcy law requires that an attempt be made to negotiate reductions in wages and benefits. If the unions reject the "offer" the court can then go to work cutting wages and benefits to the bone.

Cuts for United's workers would pressure other airlines to push for their own cuts and put all airline workers on the forefront of the class struggle.

New York City Transit Workers Threatened into Submission

New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 struck a last minute deal with the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) on Dec. 16, which apparently averted a strike that appeared imminent. The settlement provides for a one-time cash payment of \$1,000 to each member of the union and annual pay hikes of 3 percent over the three-year life of the agreement. The union entered negotiations demanding annual wage increases of 8 percent.

The 34,000 member local had voted to fight the MTA's initial demands for a wage freeze and for increased worker payments into health care and pension plans. A strike was authorized despite the state's infamous 1967 "Taylor Law," which unconstitutionally makes it illegal for public employees to strike.

Before the negotiators reached their agreement, Brooklyn Supreme Court Justice Jules Spodek issued an injunction citing the law. The injunction barred a strike and threatened fines against workers that could have amounted to as much as two days' pay for each day on strike, and the union could have lost the state's permission to collect dues from workers' paychecks. The court could also have jailed any worker declared to be in contempt of court.

Earlier, Governor George Pataki threatened use of state troopers and the National Guard to back up city police, while Mayor Michael Bloomberg warned of "drastic repercussions" for any striking transit workers.

On Dec. 17, the *New York Post* reported that the local's executive board voted 3-1 for the deal and that union president Roger Toussaint was confident it would be "easily ratified."

Dockworkers Under Taft-Hartley Injunction to Vote on Contract

The Bush administration's invoking of the repressive Taft-Hartley Act and its threat to operate West Coast ports with Navy personnel last fall made it clear that the federal government was backing the demands of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) against the struggle of port workers "organized" by the International Warehouse and Longshore Union (ILWU).

The injunction forced an 80-day "cooling off" period and banned the ILWU's 10,500 members from working at anything less than a "reasonable" pace. Union members had been accented safety over productivity in an attempt to fight the demand of the PMA that, in any new labor contract, it could outsource jobs however it saw fit. It was a demand that would have evolved the union out of the picture as new technology was implemented.

At press time, union negotiators claimed they had negotiated a "win-win" agreement with the PMA. Details of the contract were not yet available at press time, but union spokespersons beat their chests about small increases in wages, health care and pensions for present workers. Conspicuously absent, however, was any chest-beating about retaining any say in new jobs. ILWU members will have their say in a January vote.

—K.B.

Tainted Meat Threatens Health Of Working-Class Consumers

By B.G.

How safe is the food that you eat? Reports of tainted meat and poultry that cause illness or death have become increasingly frequent in recent years. The increase of such incidents has caused fears that safety procedures at slaughterhouses are woefully inadequate, and justly so.

Indeed, slaughterhouses rank among the dirtiest and most dangerous places to work, and wages are often lower than in other industries where the risk of job-caused illness and injury runs high. Although meat and poultry products rarely get to the supermarket without the government's stamp of approval, federal regulation of the industry is inadequate at best. However, that is not the primary reason why tainted meat and poultry are causing more illnesses and deaths. More important by far are the ordinary compulsions of the profit system to minimize costs and maximize profits. Those compulsions comprise a formula that all but guarantees the inhumane treatment of animals raised for food and the dangerous and unsanitary working conditions that exist in the industry.

Compelled to work quickly, workers slaughter, skin and gut animals at a brutal pace and with methods that can lead to contamination of the meat when the *E. coli* pathogen escapes from intestines or fecal matter attached to animal hair and hides. The *E. coli* then can easily enter the muscle meat destined to become hamburger.

One of the most devastating outbreaks of *E. coli* contamination occurred in 1993 when the Jack in the Box restaurant chain sold hamburger meat tainted with *E. coli* O157:H7. The infected meat caused the deaths of four children and hundreds of illnesses.

The largest recall of beef was in 1997 when 25 million pounds produced by Hudson Foods was contaminated. Representatives in Congress then introduced legislation to increase the number of inspections and improve safety standards in meat-packing plants, but the meat industry successfully blocked it.

Last July, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) announced a recall of 19 million pounds of ground beef probably contaminated by *E. coli*. The beef came from ConAgra Beef Co. plant in Greeley, Colo. It caused illness in 19 people in California, Colorado, Michigan, South Dakota, Washington and Wyoming. Several people were hospitalized.

This particular plant has been no stranger to trouble. It has been cited nearly 10 times in the past three years for violating safety codes meant for worker protection in dangerous conditions, according to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Labor officials have frequently complained about poor training for workers who are doing this dangerous work in the Greeley slaughterhouse.

Other ConAgra plants have also been cited for sloppy and dangerous work procedures. The USDA last year briefly stopped work in two ConAgra plants because of health violations. At another ConAgra

plant, inspectors found the highest salmonella rate among all turkey processors tested by the USDA. Inspectors found contamination in nearly half the birds in the plant.

A large part of the problem comes from the feed lots outside the slaughterhouses, where tens of thousands of cattle fatten while waiting for slaughter. Not all cattle today come off range land, feeding on grass and tended by cowboys. The more modern method favored by the giant agri-capitalists is the pen, or feed lot, into which they cram huge numbers of cattle. A plant, such as the ConAgra operation in Greeley, has many feed lots close together on the grounds, often stretching off as far as the eye can see.

No grass for the cattle to eat grows in these huge pens, although it is their natural food. Today's meat providers—whether chickens, pigs or cattle—feed off corn mash poured into troughs at feeding time. The corn mash fattens cattle quicker than grass, even though it causes havoc with their digestive system. As a result, corn-fed cows also receive antibiotics to guard against sickness and infection. Another major drawback of corn-fed beef as food for people, even if it is free of infection, is that it is higher in saturated fat than grass-fed beef.

Cattle penned up in feed lots move about very little and fatten faster. They are constantly stepping in and lying down in vast amounts of dung, and feces still cling to their hides when the time comes to herd them into the slaughterhouse.

The methods used to raise and slaughter animals today give a wide opening to *E. coli* pathogens to enter the animals' system. However, sanitation and the health of cattle and humans are not nearly as important in a capitalist system as are greed and profits. First things first!

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.

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SLP Organizer Delivers Antiwar Message at Houston Rally

Carl C. Miller Jr., organizer of Section Houston, SLP, delivered the following address before an antiwar rally in Houston, Tex., on Saturday, Nov. 9. Miller reported that his address "received a very good response," that one of the rally organizers "heard several compliments about the speech, and several people came up to me personally to tell me the same." Miller also reported "that the rally received some local TV coverage." "The footage was taken during my speech," he said, "though none of the actual speech was aired." Section Houston is one of several groups that organized the rally, which attracted about 200 people.

Last Tuesday was Election Day. Last Tuesday voters turned the Democrats out and turned Congress over to the Republicans. Now Republicans control the White House and both Houses of Congress. Now it seems inevitable that President Bush will have his way and our country will soon be waging war on Iraq.

That is how it looks to many people. In their minds, the Democratic setbacks on Nov. 5 removed the last real barrier to a second war on Iraq. All the pollsters were wrong about how the elections would turn out. All the pundits feign surprise. The election results supposedly show something no one suspected. They supposedly show that the people of the country are in back of the Bush administration's threats against Iraq and the dictatorial regime that has that country in its grip.

How convenient it is that the pollsters were wrong. What a fine impression it creates when all the pundits seem to be scrambling to explain their mistake. What a great show they are putting on. But don't be fooled by it, because that's all it is—a show. It is nothing but theatrics. It is meant to deceive and discourage people like you, and millions more like you—decent people, honest people, working people who no more want their country to make war and bring death to other decent and honest people in Iraq than they want to see a repetition of what happened on Sept. 11, 2001.

What the pollsters and pundits have done is spice up a ho-hum election between the two branches of the one political party that monopolizes the political process and has a strangle hold on access to the ballot. The soft-cop Democrats and the hard-nosed Republicans may pretend that they are different, and they still have a lot of people fooled. But not all of the people are fooled—not even a majority of them. The most important result of the elections on Nov. 5 was that the majority of people stayed home. They did not vote because they knew that the contest for office was a farce, no contest at all, but a

sham duel between two indistinguishable sets of politicians.

President Bush says he is a man of peace! He says he has no real wish to wage war on Iraq. He says that the unspeakable dictator who oppresses that country poses a threat to our interests and to his own people. It's the dictator he's after. It's those weapons of mass destruction we hear so much about, but always in such vague and generalized terms that it's impossible to know what Iraq's military abilities really add up to. They certainly didn't add up to much during the Gulf War 11 years ago, and it's unlikely that they add up to that much

Denis Halliday and Hans von Sponeck, who have done the most to break through the propaganda. No one knows the potential human cost better than they. As assistant secretary general of the U.N., Halliday started the oil-for-food program in Iraq. Von Sponeck was his successor. Eminent in their field of caring for other human beings, they resigned their long U.N. careers, calling the embargo 'genocide.'

"Their last appearance in the press was in the *Guardian* last November, when they wrote: 'The most recent report of the U.N. secretary general, in October 2001, says that the U.S. and U.K. governments' blocking of \$4 billion of humanitarian supplies is by far the greatest constraint on the implementation of the oil-for-food program. The report says that, in contrast, the Iraqi government's distribution of humanitarian supplies is fully satisfactory...The

death of some 5-6,000 children a month is mostly due to contaminated water, lack of medicines and malnutrition. The U.S. and U.K. governments' delayed clearance of equipment and materials is responsible for this tragedy, not Baghdad."

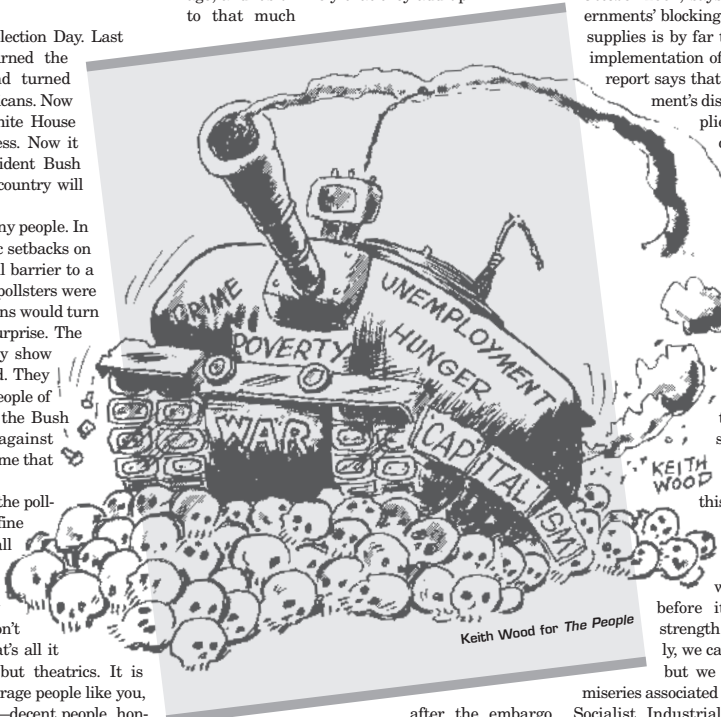
That's what Pilger wrote. That's what two high officials of the United Nations found. That is why they quit. And they are not alone. Indeed, some have estimated that more than a million Iraqi children have died as a direct result of this embargo.

The Socialist Labor Party condemns this human tragedy and calls upon the American working class to stop this war before it starts. By organizing its strength both politically and industrially, we can not only end all future wars, but we can also end all of the other

miseries associated with the capitalist system. The Socialist Industrial Union program offers the means by which we can peacefully and resolutely rid ourselves of the class-divided, profit-oriented capitalist system and replace it with a socialist system which will guarantee peace and prosperity for all people.

If you are interested in the SLP's program and you would like more information, come talk to us or visit our Web site at www.slp.org. You are needed in this struggle for human emancipation. Join us and help us build a brighter future for all of humankind.

Thank you.



after the embargo that has been in place ever since the war.

Saddam Hussein is a tyrant. No informed person would deny it. His regime oppresses the people of Iraq. That's as plain as day. It's a fact, and Mr. Bush and his administration are milking that fact for all it's worth. But that's only half the truth, and like most half-truths it is meant to cover up a greater lie.

The greater truth, the full truth, is that American capitalism wants to control Iraq's oil. Yes, I know, there are those who deny it. We are told that the United States can't be after Iraq's oil because the world is awash in oil. There's no shortage of it, at least not yet. There are other supplies easier to get at in places ruled by governments that are easier to deal with. It all sounds very plausible, but it's false.

Why do we oppose this plan to wage war on Iraq? Obviously because it will bring suffering and death to thousands of innocent Iraqi men, women and children. They have already suffered enough—and not all their suffering has been at the hands of Saddam Hussein. Indeed, the United Nations that now is lining up behind our government's war plans is on record as blaming the United States for thousands upon thousands of deaths in Iraq.

John Pilger, the Australian journalist and filmmaker, summed it up in an article he wrote last March. What he wrote may not be news to some of you, unless you rely on the TV or your local newspaper for your information. Let me read two brief paragraphs to you—200 words. This is what Pilger wrote:

"Among those now debating whether the Iraqi people should be cluster-bombed or not, incinerated or not, you are unlikely to find the names of

the People

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Fight Back!

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

—Abraham Lincoln

Unemployment went up for the third consecutive month in November, and that is likely to be the way of it for sometime to come. The Department of Labor reported 8.5 million people were unemployed and an unemployment rate of 6.0 percent. The rate was much higher for some workers than for others. For Hispanic workers it was 7.8 percent, and for African-American workers it was 11 percent.

These figures shamelessly understate the true state of affairs. Even so, they are enough to refute the capitalist claim that we live in the land of equal opportunity for all, without regard to race, creed or color. Minority workers did not fare well by what capitalism considers acceptable standards for workers even during the "prosperous years" that closed out the 20th century, but now things are getting downright grisly.

Capitalism makes it so every worker needs a boss to exploit his or her labor in exchange for a wage they hope will cover the bills and pay for the groceries. Capitalism makes it so every worker needs to be exploited because capitalism has stripped the working class of the tools, machines and resources needed to feed, clothe and shelter themselves.

In short, capitalism has stripped the working class of economic independence and of all chance to obtain it, and thereby of all chance for genuine freedom and equality. The result is that the working-class majority—those who produced it all—are dependent on those who own it all.

Worse, the working class that produced the things needed to provide food, clothing and shelter must sell their ability to perform useful labor to the small class of capitalist owners who contribute absolutely nothing to the common welfare.

Worse yet, this capitalist system of piracy and theft is so riddled with contradictions, so corrupting in its influence, and so badly managed by corporate and government bunglers, that the economically dependent working class really cannot depend on it even to provide the jobs where they are "privileged" to produce billions for the corrupt and useless class of owners and crumbs for themselves.

Looking for work can be a difficult and humiliating experience even when jobs appear to be plentiful and the competition for them is relatively mild. During difficult times, when jobs are scarce and workers find themselves forced into a fierce competition for them, what was "merely" difficult and degrading also becomes a frantic, even desperate, experience that must inevitably leave some workers out in the cold.

These days, when companies are folding faster than newspapers on a press and job openings rival hens' teeth in point of scarcity, finding work can be even more of a difficult, stressful and humiliating proposition than capitalism ordinarily makes it. Throw anything resembling a swarthy complexion into the mix and your appreciation of what "from bad to worse" can really mean will rapidly improve. The job situation for workers whose ancestors came from places south of the Mediterranean and west of the Golden Gate is terrible.

Competition for scarce jobs pits worker against worker in a desperate struggle that is bad enough under the best conditions capitalism ever has to offer, but when that struggle also slices and dices the working class along racial and ethnic lines in times of economic crisis, feelings of despair, helplessness and even hopelessness will reach epidemic proportions within the working class.

Minorities face a much tougher challenge than whites getting a decent job to support themselves and their families. Some claim it's because African American and Hispanic workers don't have the same chance at education and skills training as other workers.

Truth is that jobs do not appear and disappear in response to workers' qualifications to hold them. Job numbers increase and decrease in direct proportion to capitalists' needs for labor to exploit, not in response to the number of workers available.

Capitalism has its reasons for spreading the insecurity and misery it creates with an uneven hand. It has its reasons for driving artificial wedges into the working class. It aims to prevent the bond that should bind every worker together in a common cause, regardless of race, color or national background, from taking hold.

Fight back by circulating *The People* and supporting the SLP.

A De Leon Editorial

Trent Lott and the GOP



When Republican Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi made his now infamous remarks in tribute to Strom Thurmond he was not speaking in the back banquet room of some small South Carolina restaurant, and his audience was not composed of aged and unreconstructed "Dixiecrats" left over from the "Jim Crow" days of segregation, lynchings and worse. No, the birthday bash held to salute the ancient racist on his 100th birthday was held on public property, at the Dirksen Senate Office Building, in Washington, D.C., and the large audience that jammed into the hall to hear Lott pay his respects to the old reprobate was composed of government officials, U.S. Senators and the "cream" of the Republican Party. They were male and they were female, they were northerners and southerners, they were white—and they were African American.

And they all clapped.

They did not clap when Lott uttered the remarks that got him into hot water; perhaps their instincts took over and they sensed there might be trouble. But they clapped at most of what he had to say. And they clapped when Bob Dole, the Republican Party's presidential candidate in 1996, stood up and said he was "very honored to be here," and that it was "an honor to all of us because we're here with a friend."

They clapped and smiled and laughed enough to make it clear that they were all glad to be there to honor their old friend.

They were glad to clap and smile and laugh in tribute to the man who, perhaps more than any single individual, did more to re-drape the old Democratic "Solid South" in its "New South" Republican garb.

In short, they clapped, smiled, laughed and paid tribute to Strom Thurmond because they are indebted to him. It was a grand old party, and it underscored the point that Daniel De Leon made about the corrupt and unprincipled political parties of capitalism in the following editorial written not many years before Strom Thurmond was born.

The Philosophy of the History of Political Parties

(*The People*, April 21, 1895)

Our brother, the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, launches forth a theory on political parties that, if correct, should cause history to be forthwith recast.

It says:

"Political parties, no matter what their name—whether Republican, Democratic, People's, Socialist or Prohibition—are short-lived, vacillating, changeable things that invariably become corrupt before they become of age."

As far as we know anything about the history of political parties, in this and all other countries, the facts deny the theory of the *Journal's* philosopher, that political parties are vacillating, etc., and that they invariably

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what is socialism?

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

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

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

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

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

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.

Drug Industry Manipulates Science in Pursuit of Profits

By Bruce Cozzini

Pharmaceuticals topped the *Fortune* 500 list of most profitable industries in 2001. In its rush to profit from new drugs, however, the industry is subverting science and risking the safety of those who look to those drugs for health and life itself.

While profiting from the manufacture and sale of drugs generally, the industry reaps superprofits from new drugs under copyright. Without a steady flow of new drugs, however, all drugs would eventually lose patent protection and become available as generics and prices—followed by profits—would drop.

Before any new drug can be sold it must be tested in the laboratory and on human subjects for effectiveness and safety. In recent years, however, incidents have been reported of suppression of negative tests, and unsafe drugs have been pulled from the market only after they have caused injury and death to patients.

Pressure from AIDS activists for approval of new drugs in 1988 offered a pretext for pharmaceutical manufacturers to push Congress and the FDA to accelerate approval for drugs intended to treat "serious" disorders. FDA regulations and congressional actions in 1992 provided fees and goals for such acceleration, and as noted by David Willman in a *Los Angeles Times* article in December 2000, "President Clinton urged FDA leaders to trust industry as 'partners, not adversaries.'"

As a result, the FDA approved what the *Times* referred to as the "seven deadly drugs" between 1993 and 1999. The FDA sanctioned them "while disregarding danger signs or blunt warnings from its own specialists" and then dragged its feet after learning of significant harm to patients.

In all, 1,002 deaths were attributed to these drugs in "adverse event" reports reported to the FDA. Because reports by doctors and hospitals are voluntary, however, some epidemiologists suggest that the true number could be far greater.

Ironically and tragically, none of these "seven deadly drugs" had major life-saving potential. They included an antibiotic, a diet drug, a pain killer, and treatments for diabetes, blood pressure and intestinal problems. And this is only the tip of the iceberg.

The *Washington Post* reported last May that statistics from the *Journal of the American Medical Association* showed that 56 of the 548 new drugs approved by the FDA from 1975 to 1999 were either withdrawn or required new safety warnings. Because many of the 548 drugs were approved recently, it has been estimated that 20 percent (110) would be taken off the market or require new warning labels within 25 years.

Workers at the FDA did their jobs under major time constraints and pressure to get the "right" results. Willman noted instances of reviewers having negative reviews overturned by management. The question was not, as one reviewer said, "Should we approve this drug?" but, "Hey, how can we get this drug approved?"

The pressure on workers was such that the scientific integrity of their work became an issue in union contract negotiations, but Dr. Janet Woodcock, director of the FDA drug-review center, spoke instead of her concern over rejection of a drug that might cost \$150 million or more to develop.

The hiding of negative test results does not start with the FDA. Drug companies routinely hide negative data and forbid academic researchers from disclosing it in publications.

Willman, in another *Los Angeles Times* article last June, reported how Warner-Lambert masked the danger of the diabetes drug Rezulin (one of the seven deadly drugs) to the liver, rebuffing the concern of employees who questioned liver injury data. Between early 1997, when the FDA gave fast-track approval, and March 2000, when it was withdrawn, scores of liver-related deaths were linked to the pill. By then Rezulin had generated \$2.1 billion in sales. More than 2,000 lawsuits have been filed on behalf of 5,100 Rezulin users or their survivors.

Interference with reporting of negative results of drug tests has led medical journals to issue tough statements of ethical standards to academic institutions. According to an Oct. 24 report by Peter Gortner in the *Chicago Tribune*, academic institutions that rely upon money from industry sponsors to fund research are balking at the standards. "Guidelines call for full disclosure of the sponsor's role in the research, as well as assurances that the investigators are truly independent," Gortner wrote.

Gortner, however, cited a Duke University study that observed "that academic institutions rarely ensure that their investigators have full participation in the design of the trials, unimpeded access to trial data and right to publish their findings."



Gortner also noted that "contracts researchers sign with pharmaceutical companies routinely prevent the scientists from disclosing drug risks to patients and the public."

Confronted by challenges to their research "ethics," drug companies are shifting from academic researchers to their own researchers or private firms tied to advertising agencies.

On Nov. 22, Melody Petersen of *The New York Times* reported that while about 75 percent of the drug industry's clinical research money went to universities in the early 1990s, only 34 percent went to academia by 2000. Research is being moved to private companies such as Scirex, a little-known research firm. Scirex is partly owned by Omnicom, one of the world's three largest advertising agencies. All three of the largest advertising agencies have bought or invested in firms that perform clinical research.

One ad executive calls it "getting closer to the tube." But it is not science. As Dr. Arnold S. Relman, a former editor of the *New England Journal of Medicine* observes, "You cannot separate their advertising and marketing from the science any more. Ad agencies are not in the business of doing science."

Petersen cited the case of the pain drug Bextra, whose use for relief of pain following dental surgery had been rejected by federal regulators. After a study conducted by Scirex and published in *The Journal of the American Dental Association* touted Bextra for that very application, sales of the drug soared by 60 percent within three months. In November of this year Pharmacia, one of the drug's marketers, had to send letters to thousands of doctors warning of a possibly fatal side effect of Bextra.

If manipulated research does not do the trick, companies can employ ghostwriters to put the proper marketing spin on papers written under the names of doctors for publication in medical journals. A writer employed by Intramed, a medical "education" company owned by advertising giant WPP, characterized the work as "marketing masquerading as science."

The drug industry and academia employ many skilled scientific workers to research and develop new drugs that could potentially treat and cure a myriad of ills. Their efforts are now not only exploited for the profits of corporate America, but undermined by their employers' rush to profit. In a socialist society, in charge of their own product and freed from the need to produce profits, scientific workers could reach their goals of creating and properly testing medicines that heal and save lives.

...Speedups

(Continued from page 1)

"It seems soft and mushy, but what people are saying is meaningful," said Bill Kojala, an industrial hygienist with the AFL-CIO. "At some point, there's no more to squeeze." "Soft and mushy" indeed! The AFL-CIO has built a reputation helping to explore the limits of squeezing workers.

Nonetheless, workers' complaints about working conditions are not taken at face value. "Experts" are needed to look into things to ensure that the reality is not obscured by a set of dark tales worthy of a Dickensian plot. To ease into that scenario Ms. Cleeland felt called upon to chime in with her opinion that "despite growing interest, evidence of speedup remains largely anecdotal."

One can assume that health and safety "experts" will study the issue to a "fare thee well" before the results finally emerge as some kind of report before a congressional committee, whence it will be watered down, assuming it has some substance initially. Already, equivocation has predictably taken the field on behalf of the capitalist class, as shown by the following observations Ms. Cleeland dug up to supplement her own:

• "Economists note that those [productivity] gains were driven largely by factors such as increased computer use and more efficient work practices that cut idle time."

• "Workers are now being called upon to be very flexible and do whatever the employer wants," said Bill [not Charles] Dickens, an economist at the

Brookings Institution in Washington, "and that can include working harder and faster."

• "Profit margins got killed [!] in the last recession, so corporations are under a lot of pressure to raise profits," said Stan Shiple, a senior economist at Merrill Lynch & Co. "How do you do that? You can't raise prices; nobody has that power anymore. The only way is to make your workers more productive."

The only way is to make workers more productive is, *speedups*. (Go to the head of the class Stan!)

As far as the capitalist class is concerned it's all about increasing profits and the competitive jungle. Health and safety for the working class are marginal concerns. In view of the decades of "restructuring" and "downsizing," it is evident that the corporate gentry have found the limits of human endurance and the researchers may have discovered something beyond their wildest dreams.

Last May, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health released a paper that identified speedup and other changes in work organization as a priority for research.

"To compete more effectively, many companies have restructured themselves and downsized their workforces," the report said. "The revolutionary changes occurring in today's workplace have far outpaced our understanding of their implications for work-life quality and safety, and health on the job."

The "implications" are clear enough. As long as the capitalist system exists workers will bear the brunt of the competitive struggle, with what effect on their health and safety Ms. Cleeland's article at least did something to suggest.

Funds

(June 15–Dec. 6, 2002)

Daniel De Leon Sesquicentennial Fund

\$500 each Section Cleveland, Jack Radov; Roy K. Nelson \$200; Henry Coretz \$102; Glenn Schelin \$100; Richard Wilson \$12; \$10 each Daniel Brian Lazarus, Jay Martin; Harvey Kravitz \$5; Paul D. Lawrence \$5.

Total: \$1,456.00

SLP Emergency Fund

Harold Brack \$5,000; Joan M. Davis \$2,800; Marie & Ray Simmons (In memory of all the comrades who lived in the past that kept the SLP alive) \$2,000; Joseph B. McCabe \$1,100; Irene Schelin \$1,000; Joseph L. Bregni \$600; Anonymous \$545; \$500 each Angelina Kleist, Anonymous, Jack Radov (In memory of my dear brother and comrade, Chris Radov), Section Cleveland.

Daniel Deneff \$480; \$300 each Glenn Schelin, Mr. & Mrs. Glenn Schelin (In memory of Rudy Gustafson); \$250 each Marty Radov (In memory of Elizabeth Stanich), Marty Radov; \$200 each Chris Dobreff, John O'Neill; Walter J. Leibfritz \$191; Donald Rogers \$175; Section Cook County, Ill., \$170.48; Joe Groelke \$170; \$150 each Dimitre Eloff, Frederick Vogelgesang, Robert Ormsby; Donna Meyer \$128; Daniel Worcester \$107; \$100 each Aune Gustafson (In memory of Rudy Gustafson), Dr. L. Miles Raisig, George S. Taylor, Gerald M. Lucas, Jack Blessington, Jennie Seekford (In loving memory of Louis Lipcon), Keith Wood, Marijo Lewandowski & Thomas Maurer, Michael J. Rooney, Mrs. G.J. Olman, Robert Kelly, S.W. Andrick.

Section San Francisco Bay Area "In memory of Louis Lipcon" (\$125): Dale Birum \$50; \$25 each Jennie Seekford, Robert & Donna Bills; William Kelley \$15; \$5 each Frank & Mary Prince, Diane Secor.

Daniel Brian Lazarus \$99; Clifton Field \$75; Lit S. Han \$70; Gretchen Storer \$60; \$50 each Anonymous, Brenda von Wandruszka, Edith Mautner, James G. McHugh, Jennie Seekford, John Sarkisian, Leonard Minkvic, Philip C. Hawkins, Richard Woodward (In memory of Louis Lipcon), Robert Varone, Tony Marsella, William B. Scanlan; Michael A. Wenskunas \$48; \$45 each Jim Plant, Michael Preston; \$40 each Daniel Goodsaid, Earle McGue, Henry Coretz, Joseph T. Longo, Lawrence Hackett, R. Brunson, William Barry; Nikolas Trendowski \$30; George E. Gray \$26.

\$25 each Albert Bikar, Albert Evenich, Archie Sim

(In memory of Art & Georgia Cozzini), Archie Sim, Ben Kraft, Blake Bearden, D.M. Giachino, David Vollmer, Edwin Samples, Emil Bauman, Frank Rudolph, Harley Selkregg, John Hagerty, Juliette Jackson, Lloyd Wright, Madeline Miller, Manuel Vurnakes, Phillip Colligan, Rafael Falcón, Randolph Petsche, Richard Deshaies, Rosemary & John Gale, Rudolph P. Sulenta, William E. Tucker, William H. Kelley; Marshall G. Soura \$24; \$20 each Anne Vukovich, Anonymous, Donald L.H. Scott, Francis L. Playford, Frank Burdua, Gary Dion, Orville Rutschman, Paul L. Wolf, Sarah Haggard, William Heinrich; John & Mary Brlas \$18; David Melamed (In memory of Genevieve Gunderson) \$16.

\$15 each Diane Poole, Lawrence W. Keegan, Richard Callen, Thomas C. McEvoy; Marotte \$14; Richard Wilson \$13.32; Joe H. Allbritten \$11; \$10 each Berenice Perkis, Charles Lundquist, Colleen C. Pedrazzi, Dagfinn Sjoen, Dawn Moore, Dionisio Villarreal, Donald W. Hendrickson, E. Pahas, E.G. Nielsen, Frank B. Evans, Harry Buskirk, Harry C. Segerest, Harry E. Gibson, John E. Kerr, John L. Norris, John M. Lambase, Ken & Lezle McDouall, Kenneth E. McCartney, Lawrance Phillips, Leonard J. Cirino, Michael Stanek, Mike Nardi, Nancy Kniskern, Richard L. Vobornik, Robert K. Giesen, Robert Knutson, Stephen Hauser, Walter K. Bagnick.

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Total: \$22,479.80

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Anonymous \$1,000; Robert P. Burns \$900; Chris Dobreff \$500; Carl C. Miller Jr. \$455; Bernard Bortnick \$300; Lois Kubit \$255; Section Wayne County, Mich., \$130; Clayton Hewitt \$120; \$100 each Donald J. Donaker, Karl Heck, Lois Reynolds, Michael Preston, Roy K. Nelson; Richard Aiken (In memory of John W. Aiken) \$70; \$50 each Frank & Margaret Roemhild, Jill Campbell, Steve Littleton; Section San Francisco Bay Area: William Kelley \$40; \$25 each Section Wayne Co. (In memory of James Buha), Archie Sim; \$20 each Chris Faatz, George E. Gray.

Total: \$4,510.00

SLP Leaflet Fund

Joseph J. Frank \$18; Rafael Falcón \$10; Ramón Andrés \$1.

Total: \$29.00

TEXAS

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Discussion Meetings—Section 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 houston@ev1.net or visit the section's Web site at <http://houston.slp.tripod.com>.

directory

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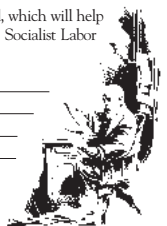
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Oakland

Discussion Meeting—Section San Francisco Bay Area will hold a discussion meeting on Saturday, Jan. 18, beginning at 4 p.m., at the Rockridge Branch Library, Community Room 1, 5366 College Ave. (corner of College & Manilla streets), Oakland. Moderator: Frank Prince.

OHIO

Columbus

Discussion Meeting—Section Cleveland will hold a discussion meeting on Sunday, December 29, from 1-3 p.m., at the Columbus Main Library, Conference Room 1, 96 S. Grant, Columbus. Refreshments served. For more information please call 440-237-7933.

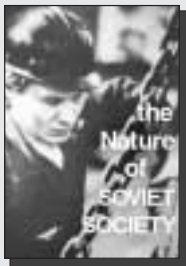
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Discussion Meeting—Section Cleveland will hold a discussion meeting on Sunday, Jan. 5, beginning at 1:30 p.m., at the Days Inn, 555 Brecksville Rd., Independence. Refreshments served. For more information please call 440-237-7933.

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 the section's Web site at <http://slp.pdx.home.mindspring.com>. The general public is invited.



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**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS
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...Parties

(Continued from page 4)

become corrupt before they become of age.

The Republican Party, born of a people's determination to abolish chattel slavery; inspired by Lincoln's great motto: "This country must be either all slaves or all free," and nailing to its masthead the principle set down in its platform: "The normal condition of the territory of the United States is that of freedom"; that party never once vacillated, unless to tack against adverse and fierce winds with the eye steady on the goal to be reached can be styled vacillation. Nor is it true that it became corrupt before it became of age. During its manhood it was pure and unsullied, as a body, and true to its mission, unswerving in its purpose. After it had accomplished its mission, and not until after its old age, did it grow corrupt. With nothing more to do than to hunt for jobs it ran to seed.

The Democratic Party, born by the democratic breath of Jefferson, determined that this should be a democratic country in fact as well as in name, and it set its face against the Hamiltonian design to make us an oligarchy of the "well-born and well-to-do." With this clear object before it, it fought and succeeded in overthrowing almost everywhere the property qualifications that originally hampered our suffrage. It is not true that it vacillated or became corrupt before it became of age. During its manhood it was the inspiration of noble and pure sentiments. After, however, it had in the main and very substantially accomplished its mission, and not until after its old age, did it become corrupt. Like the Republican Party, with nothing more to do than to get offices for its camp followers, it ran into the ground.

This is the history, not of the leading old political parties of this country alone, it is the history of all political parties born anywhere of a positive movement. From the facts thrown up by them the philosophy of the history of political parties can be determined. It is this:

"A political party with a clear-cut central idea and program soundly planted attracts stalwarts that bring it up to manhood, lead it to victory and put its program through. After its historic mission is fulfilled, it, like the butterfly that has laid its eggs, wilts and decomposes. It may continue to exist for a time, but if it does, it does so only as an historic cripple, ripe for overthrow by the next virile movement that should give birth to another political party possessed of a vigor imparting, and, consequently, victory-assuring program."

Tested by this test one can easily cast the horoscope of any political party that may come up.

The Prohibition Party, for instance, is planted upon a sociologic fallacy. It strives to remove poverty by removing alcohol. History shows that popular

drunkenness falls off like the scab from a wound that is healed just as soon as want and the fear of want are removed. On false foundations no successful political superstructure can be reared. The Prohibition Party will consequently vacillate; and we have seen it recently not only embody questions foreign to its central idea, but one wing leaning toward socialism, while another is reacting backward toward intensified capitalism. It was born a dwarf and never can grow into manhood.

The People's Party, so called, proceeds upon a social and economic contradiction. It carefully and deliberately abstains from denying the right of private ownership in things necessary to produce the necessities of life, and yet it denies or would escape the consequences of its promises. It wants private ownership of land and capital, but rears up against private monopoly, trusts, banks, etc. He who starts from the idea of private ownership subscribes to trusts, Rothschilds, etc. You can't stick your finger in the fire and then kick that you are burned. It follows that the People's Party must vacillate, that corruption must mortify its body, and that it is stillborn. From all parts of the country the evidences throng to the bar to demonstrate the truth of this charge.

Different, altogether, is the case with the Socialist Labor Party. Planted upon a clear-cut central idea and a program that nothing can shake and that will remain unshaken so long as 2 plus 2 equal 4, neither vacillation nor corruption can enter its ranks before it has reached manhood and triumphed. It points to the self-evident fact that production has become collective, and it draws the inevitable conclusion that the system of ownership must likewise be turned from a private into a collective one. It points to the historic fact that this change implies a social revolution; that the class called upon to accomplish it is the proletariat or wage-slave class, because its economic needs dictate the program; that it is the historic mission of that class, by establishing the Cooperative Commonwealth, to abolish all class distinctions, and thereby to redeem mankind; and, lastly and consequently, that the Socialist Labor Party is the party of the people, to whose standard all the intelligence, decency and manhood of the country is bound to flock. Such a party, as the long history behind all the Socialist Labor parties of other countries attests, is built on the Rock of Ages; it cannot be swerved; it cannot be polluted.

Philosophy is a deduction from facts, not from fiction. And such is the philosophy of the history of political parties.

The funny man, Mark Twain, built himself a house near Boston with the back turned to the street. The *Journal of the Knights of Labor* plants itself with its back to history. In a funny man the joke is pardonable; it is not pardonable in the organ of the order founded by the Socialist, Uriah S. Stephens.

...Day Laborers Exploited

(Continued from page 1)

February, the four workers quit, being owed a total of \$8,360 unpaid wages.

Holowchak simply ignored their continued pleas for payment. As a consequence, the four appealed for help to a local pastor, Allan Ramirez, of Brookville Reformed Church. Pastor Ramirez filed a complaint with the state's attorney general's office and got a favorable response from Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, who began proceedings against Holowchak. Perhaps not taking the charge seriously, Holowchak failed to show up for a court appearance in June. A warrant was then issued for his arrest. On June 12, the authorities conducted a 6:30 a.m. raid on Holowchak's home in Locust Valley and led the stunned contractor away in handcuffs. He was arraigned in court and held in the county jail on \$2,500 bond.

Pastor Ramirez, who had been apprised of the forthcoming raid, had gathered three of the workers and took them to Holowchak's house to witness the arrest. Ramirez described these exploited day laborers as "the poorest of the poor, the weak, those who have no privileges."

These day laborers have come to the United States

in search of better paying work that they cannot find in their own countries, and many of them are sending funds back to their families. Cheated out of their wages, they could barely support themselves, much less their absentee wives and children.

In our capitalist system, the owner of a company, great or small, is invariably considered to be a pillar of the community, a person to be admired whose life is a model of achievement. But pull back the curtain and see how many of these "pillars" really operate, how they grind down their workers, cheat their customers and even thumb their noses at the laws that everybody else but the owning class is supposed to obey, and you get an inside look at the operating techniques of the so-called captains of industry. It matters not if they are great capitalists like the Enron executives, the Andersen accounting firm, the WorldCom frauds, the Merrill Lynch brokerage boys, a gigantic national company like Wal-Mart that forces its poorly paid workers to put in additional hours of work without pay, or a petty capitalist who owns a local contracting company. The philosophy that impels them all is identical: Greed is good and disgrace is not a matter of cheating but rather a matter of getting caught.

How Capitalism Came to Russia

Tracing the Career of an Oligarch

By B.B.

GODFATHER OF THE KREMLIN: BORIS BEREZOVSKY AND THE LOOTING OF RUSSIA, by Paul Klebnikov. New York: Harcourt Inc., 2000; 400 pages.

"You have to remember that the president [Yeltsin] was a member of the Central Committee [of the Communist Party]. So was Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and so was [the leader of the opposition] Gen-nady Zyuganov. They're all from the same nest. But some managed to throw away their Party cards in time and take up the democratic banner, while the others were late. You can see that these people always seem to disagree, but under the table they always manage to come to an understanding. They have always regarded ordinary people as garbage: the stones at the foot of the pyramids."

—General Aleksandr Lebed

"The KGB had created the gangsters and the capitalists who went on to destroy the Soviet Union. It was an outcome neither a genuine Communist nor a Russian patriot could have desired."

—Paul Klebnikov

Paul Klebnikov's *Godfather of the Kremlin* is neither the newest nor the most comprehensive book on Russia's transition from "communism" to capitalism. David E. Hoffman's newly released *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia* is broader in scope and has the advantage of being written later. Hoffman attempts to trace the development of an emerging ruling class, whereas Klebnikov's focus, as the subtitle of his book makes clear, is on the role of one man, Boris Berezovsky.

Neither book devotes much space to the Russian working class or the Russian labor movement, as does, for example, Simon Clarke's 1996 *What About the Workers?* Nonetheless, the description of Klebnikov's book as "pioneering" by one reviewer is justified, not only because it came earlier than some others, but also because it was based on Klebnikov's first-hand encounters with Berezovsky and other Russian "oligarchs" and state functionaries, among them agents of the KGB, Russia's iniquitous secret police and one of the overlapping state institutions that survived the collapse of the Soviet Union to render new services to new masters.

"So much of contemporary Russian history is conveyed by word of mouth, asserted by people who 'were there,'" Klebnikov wrote, that *Godfather of the Kremlin* may be better described as exposé than as history.

"Whenever I met important Russians over the past decade I always taped our conversations," Klebnikov wrote at the very outset of his Preface, adding that, with certain exceptions, "the assertions made in this book are based on tape-recorded interviews with the businessmen and politicians who ruled Russia in the 1990s."

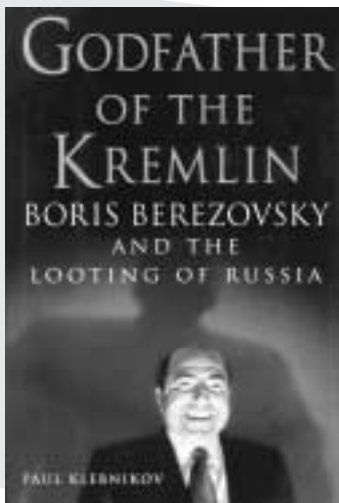
Klebnikov is a senior editor of *Forbes*, and his book grew out of an article he wrote on Berezovsky for the February 1997 issue of the magazine. The article, also called "The Godfather of the Kremlin," led Berezovsky to sue *Forbes* for libel in a British court, with what result we cannot say.

As to the worthiness of Klebnikov's subject, another review described Berezovsky as "the most wealthy and powerful businessman in Russia." During the years immediately after the Soviet implosion in 1991, Berezovsky "seized control of Russia's largest automobile manufacturer, the largest television network, the national airline and one of the world's largest oil companies." Berezovsky also became the "most trusted political adviser" of Boris Yeltsin "and masterminded the financing of his 1996 presidential campaign."

"Name a crisis or scandal," the review continued, "and chances are that Boris Berezovsky is in the thick of it: Election fraud, organized crime, the misuse of IMF funds, money laundering, assassination attempts, extortion plots, international arms smuggling, kid-

nappings in the Chechen war."

Klebnikov's *Godfather of the Kremlin* is a tale of rampant crime, murder, political corruption, conspiracy and gangsterism on an unprecedented scale in which former Soviet state property was converted into capitalist private property. His thesis is that "Western democratic principles: personal liberty, free speech, electoral government, protection of minority rights, market economics, self-reliance and the opportunity to make an honest living" were abused and subverted in the interests of a rapacious minority.



Inasmuch as Berezovsky is the exemplar in his narrative, the book describes how capitalism came to Russia, and therein lies one of its values.

Klebnikov takes us through a dizzying labyrinth of events starting just after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the eclipse of Mikhail Gorbachev and the assumption of power by Boris Yeltsin, and ending with the election of Vladimir Putin to the presidency.

Inasmuch as the author maintains the outlook of a capitalist true believer, and cites Russia's spiraling devolution as "the biggest disaster (economically, socially and demographically), since the Nazi invasion of 1941," he offers incredible insights into the ruthless character of capital formation that parallels the centuries of bloody capital formation in Western history. However, in Russia's case, it is the transformation of state capital into private capital.

Klebnikov introduces this transformation with an account of the ferocious mob wars of the early 1990s, in which Chechen cutthroats, allied with *vorovsky mir* (thieves who were cultivated in the former U.S.S.R.'s prisons and gulags), vied with an alliance of Slavic mobsters, the Solnetsevo Brotherhood. Their ranks were augmented by the roughneck remnants of the Soviet athletic programs, derelict Russian army veterans and unemployed KGB goons. They formed cozy alliances with the emerging capitalist class, former top functionaries and managers in Soviet industrial enterprises, offering them protection and assassination services against competitive rivals.

Klebnikov reveals how the KGB and the Central Committee of the Communist Party working closely in unison, outside the knowledge of Gorbachev, was sponsoring those criminal elements. The KGB's role in "democratization" included such activities as fielding thousands of candidates in elections, creating the xenophobic and pugilistic Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party and the anti-Semitic Pamyat group, entirely as diversionary lightning rods.

During this period the KGB, together with the Central Committee of the Communist Party, engaged in massive money-laundering operations and busied itself with "creating a network of captive banks

and trading companies, both in Russia and abroad, to collect billions of government dollars during the 'period of emergency' and keep them for the Communist nomenklatura until a more propitious time arrived." Such "earnings" were not to be reported in the party financial statements, but were used to "create a stable source of revenue." "Many of Russia's future billionaires obtained their first real capital in this manner."

Supplementing this were policies dreamed up by a pair of Yeltsin's "democratic market reformers," Yegor Gaidar and Anatoly Chubais, with the help and guidance of capitalist economists from Europe and the United States. The principal achievement of the pair was the shares-for-vouchers bonanza that enriched the rich and further impoverished the Russian proletariat. The charlatan Yeltsin trumpeted the 151 million vouchers mailed to all Russians as the "ticket for each of us to a free economy." Yeltsin knew that for him it was a free ticket to the economy.

Incredible poverty drove most to sell their "vouchers on the street for quick cash." Each voucher was worth \$7, coming to about \$5 billion for Russia's immense industrial and mineral wealth—virtually given away—enriching a motley gang of traders and speculators.

In the shadows lurked Berezovsky who "would use the privatization process to accumulate Russia's largest fortune."

Berezovsky was not one of the KGB-CP anointed ones, having risen to a prestigious position in the Soviet Academy of Science as an expert in decision-making theory. Early on he observed that Gorbachev and his reforms were "going down the tubes," and he attached himself to the Russian automaker, Avtovaz, with an automation and modernization proposal. After it was accepted, he established Logovaz, a company exclusively devoted to selling Avtovaz's products while dropping the automation proposal.

This, according to Klebnikov, was the beginning of a career involving conspiracy, murder of rivals, alliances with mobsters, ingratiating stratagems with Chechen insurgents, swindling and mayhem that ultimately led to Berezovsky becoming a confidant and power broker in the Yeltsin government and adviser to building a Yeltsin family fortune, not to mention a government role as deputy secretary of the Security Council and, ultimately, Russia's wealthiest oligarch.

What emerges as Klebnikov presents the Berezovsky story is a bewildering array of personalities, enough to fill several Tolstoy novels. Most apparent are characters drawn from the self-same cradle that nurtured numerous top Communist Party apparatchiks who, opportunists to the core, seized the occasion to become "businessmen."

One gains insight into what was considered socialism in the Soviet Union and why that system of state despotism is universally despised in the commentary from one of its turncoat exponents, Yegor Gaidar. This glib and shallow opportunist declared: "The socialist economic system is a complete system...For it to work you need...an effective Gosplan, a system of orders which are obeyed, the ability to jail the factory head who does not deliver his goods to the place he is supposed to, to fire the head of the local government if he doesn't deliver the grain he's ordered to, the ability to seize the grain from a collective farm that doesn't want to surrender it."

It is such glimpses and detailed accounts of the effluvia that emanated from 70 years of bureaucracy, opportunism and communist masquerading as a working-class movement that gives this book its value as a working-class read. At the end, the author offers us a homily of the virtues of family values, honesty, decency, religion and moralizing *ad nauseam* that makes us wonder under what capitalist system he is living.