

The Socialist

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Executive Editor

Mary Nickum

Editorial Board

Matei Alexandru

Eric Chester

Michael Hughes

Ren Walstrom

The Socialist is the official magazine of the Socialist Party USA. It is published twice per year. The magazine discusses Socialism and the Socialist Party in the everyday lives of working-class readers, whether it be labor, civil rights, health care, or environmental movements.

The magazine seeks to be a forum for discussion of essential questions of Party-building, movement-building, economic theory, and revolutionary praxis by both Party members and the general public. We are committed to stimulating the intellectual and ideological vibrancy of SP-USA and the US socialist movement with provocative essays, articles, fiction, and even poetry. We produce *The Socialist* to promulgate socialist ideas and because we seek to develop ourselves and our movement through intellectual labor.

Submission guidelines can be found at the end of each magazine issue.

Correspondence should be directed to the Executive Editor, Mary Nickum editor@thesocialist.online

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website: **thesocialist.online**



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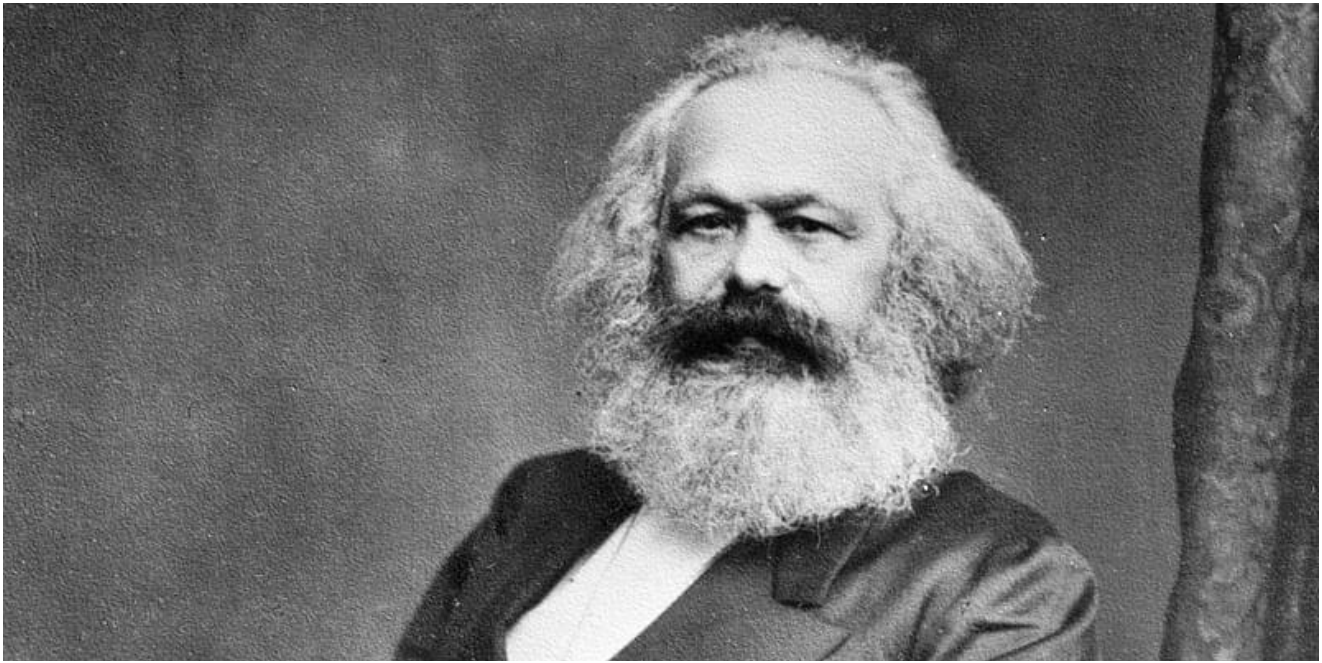
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Karl Marx (5 May 1818 – 14 March 1883)

“What the working man sells is not directly his Labor, but his Laboring Power, the temporary disposal of which he makes over to the capitalist. This is so much the case that I do not know whether by the English Law, but certainly by some Continental Laws, the maximum time is fixed for which a man is allowed to sell his laboring power. If allowed to do so for any indefinite period whatever, slavery would be immediately restored. Such a sale, if it comprised his lifetime, for example, would make him at once the lifelong slave of his employer.”

“To say that ‘the worker has an interest in the rapid growth of capital’, means only this: that the more speedily the worker augments the wealth of the capitalist, the larger will be the crumbs which fall to him, the greater will be the number of workers than can be called into existence, the more can the mass of slaves dependent upon capital be increased.”

— Karl Marx

ARTICLES



MAY DAY:

A BRIEF HISTORY

ERIC CHESTER

May Day is celebrated around the world as a day to advance the international solidarity of the working class and to support all of those who resist oppression and seek a new society based on cooperation and equality. Although it has become a global holiday, it has its roots in events that took place in Chicago more than one hundred and thirty-five years ago.

The Haymarket Confrontation

In October 1884 the federation of craft unions that would become the American Federation of Labor approved a resolution at its national convention held in Chicago declaring that an eight hour day would become the standard as of May 1, 1886. The delegates agreed that mass rallies and strikes would be organized to enforce this decision.

Needless to say, employers refused to concede this demand. On May 1, 1886, a Saturday, large rallies were held in cities around the country. In Chicago, then a major industrial center, forty thousand marched peacefully through the streets of the downtown Loop.

On the following Monday, May 3, a violent clash took place at the McCormack plant which produced tractors and agricultural implements. The corporation had cut wages, triggering a long and bitter strike. Early Monday morning, a large crowd tried to block strikebreakers from entering the plant. Stones were thrown and a large contingent of mounted police charged the crowd and started beating them. Some of the strikers threw stones at the

cops, who then opened fire. Two of those in the crowd supporting the strike were killed and several others were severely injured.

The events at the McCormack plant were basically a spontaneous outburst. Still, as word spread there was talk of retaliation. August Spies, a leading Chicago anarchist, wrote a flyer following the clash at the McCormack plant urging workers to “rise in your might” to “destroy the hideous monster” of capitalism. The flyer ended with: “To arms we call you.”

The flyer reflected the general viewpoint of a small group of militants who had broken with the predominant trend on the Left which relied on electoral activity as the primary means toward a socialist future. This anarchist grouping rejected electoral politics, convinced that only direct action could overturn the capitalist system. Furthermore, they believed that the revolution would require a military confrontation with the army and the police. Finally, Chicago’s anarchist network was certain that the revolution was imminent and that militants should arm themselves in preparation for the coming clash.

The anarchist network made no secret of these beliefs. Newspapers aligned with this tendency printed articles providing a detailed explanation of how to make bombs. It is not surprising given this context that some of Chicago’s anarchists began to take action. Paramilitary militia units were formed and began drilling with weapons. The most

determined activists took a further step and started to build a cache of bombs in preparation for the imminent uprising.

On Tuesday, May 4, 1886, the day after the clash at the McCormack plant, the anarchist grouping called for an evening rally at Haymarket Square, a large square on the near west side of Chicago. The organizers were hoping for a mass rally of twenty thousand, but only two thousand actually attended. The crowd remained calm and orderly. The first two speakers denounced the police and the corporation, but generally avoided making provocative statements. By the time Samuel Fielden, the third and final speaker, began the crowd had dwindled to three hundred with the threat of a storm. As Fielden came to an end of his speech, he declared that workers had to “throttle” and “stab” the law.

These remarks provided the authorities with an excuse to quash the rally. Two detectives monitoring the rally rushed back to a nearby police station where dozens of mounted police were being held in reserve. Hearing that Fielden had threatened the use of force against the law, the inspector in charge ordered the police to disperse the crowd. The mounted police unit then rode into the crowd and began to randomly club protesters. At this critical moment, someone threw a bomb into the ranks of the charging police. Several police officers responded by shooting wildly and indiscriminately. A few of those attending the rally had come armed and they began to fire back at the police.

In a few moments, a small rally had turned into a major disaster. Seven police officers were killed and sixty suffered serious injuries. Many of them were shot by other police officers. There is no definitive count of the casualties suffered by those in the crowd as many of those wounded refused to go to a

hospital for fear of arrest. A careful count estimated seven protesters killed and thirty injured.

For months after the confrontation at the Haymarket Square, Chicago was under virtual martial law. Police arbitrarily arrested suspected troublemakers and harshly interrogated them. Strikes were crushed and rallies were dispersed.

In the end, eight of the most well known anarchists in Chicago were arrested and tried on the charge of participating in a conspiracy that had led an unknown person to hurl a bomb into the ranks of the mounted police. Several of the defendants had not attended the rally. The most prominent of them, Albert Parsons, had been one of the speakers, but had left the scene before the police charged. Only one of those indicted, Louis Lingg, was directly involved in the production of bombs and no evidence was presented that linked him to the bomb that was actually used at Haymarket.

The trial was held in the midst of a media circus. Evidence to support the charge of conspiracy to commit murder was lacking. The three speakers at exercised their First Amendment rights to criticize the police and the McCormack corporation. Their speeches that evening did not constitute an incitement to violence. Lingg was the only defendant guilty of a felony, possession of explosives, but he too was not guilty of the charge before the jury.

In spite of this, all eight of the defendants were convicted and seven of them were sentenced to die. Throughout the country mass rallies were held to protest these draconian sentences. At the last moment, the governor of Illinois, Richard Oglesby, commuted the death penalty for Fielden and one of the other prisoners, both of whom had submitted a plea for a reprieve. Lingg committed suicide in his jail cell on the day before his execution using a dynamite pill that had been smuggled into the

prison. On November 11, 1887, four of the defendants, including Albert Parsons, were hanged.

For the next six years, a massive protest movement was organized to demand the release of the three Haymarket defendants who remained in a maximum security prison outside of Chicago. Finally, in June 1893 Governor John Peter Altgeld pardoned Fielden and the two other prisoners and the Haymarket incident had come to an end.

The confrontation at the Haymarket Square was a tragedy that should have never happened. As with most historical events, assessing the ultimate responsibility is a difficult task. There can be no doubt that the police were the primary offenders. They had no valid reason to charge a crowd that was already dispersing without incident. Furthermore, the Chicago police were too ready to use lethal force, as had already been demonstrated when they opened fire on unarmed strikers on the previous day.

Still, the unknown person who hurled the bomb, in all likelihood an anarchist militant, must also bear much of the responsibility. Obviously, he had come to the rally with a bomb because he expected the authorities to act and he was ready to put the lives of those attending a peaceful rally at a far greater risk than that posed by the police.

This leaves the question of the responsibility to be assigned to the Haymarket defendants and their supporters. Legally they were exercising their free speech rights. Nevertheless, the defendants and Chicago anarchist group they represented do bear a moral responsibility for the tragic events at the Haymarket. There can be little doubt that the talk of imminent violent revolution encouraged the bomber to hurl his explosive at the police. In his plea to the governor, Fielden admitted that his remarks were intemperate. While “aroused

to a pitch of excitement,” he had spoken phrases that were “in a sense irresponsible”. Fielden’s admission could be extended to several of the other defendants as well.

More importantly, the political perspective held by the Chicago anarchists was fundamentally mistaken. Wishful thinking is not an effective basis for a socialist strategy. Chicago was nowhere near a revolutionary moment in 1886. Furthermore, a socialist revolution will not come to power through an armed victory over the military forces of the state. Revolutions succeed when the system is in crisis and when a social movement demanding fundamental change undermines the morale of the army and the police. Finally, it was naive to believe that a few rifles and homemade bombs could defeat the repressive forces of the state.

The perspective advanced by the Chicago anarchists represents only one strand of anarchist thought. Other strands, such as anarcho-syndicalism, have made important contributions to the strategic and theoretical thought of the radical Left. On the other hand, over the century and more since Haymarket, there have been several efforts to revive the Chicago tradition. These ventures have been organized by groups espousing a variety of ideologies and yet the core beliefs of these groups have been very similar to those held by the Chicago anarchists in the 1880s. The outcome of these ventures has almost always led to the same disastrous results as those that followed from the events at the Haymarket Square.

The Second International

News of the mass rallies for an eight hour day and of the clash at the Haymarket Square reverberated around the world. These events in the United States sparked the

establishment of May Day as an international holiday for the working class.

In December 1888 the American Federation of Labor held its convention in St. Louis. The delegates decided to again push forward the demand for an eight hour day. May 1, 1890, a Thursday, was fixed as the day for rallies and strikes to pressure employers to implement the eight hour day.

News of this decision spread rapidly overseas. In July 1889, delegates from socialist parties and radical trade unions gathered in Paris to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution and to revive the international. (The First International had dissolved in April 1876.) The AFL was not represented at Paris conference, but delegates knew of the decision to establish the next May Day as another day of protests. Furthermore, the movement to free the three remaining Haymarket prisoners continued to gain momentum.

On the last day of the conference, Raymond Lavigne, a delegate from the French syndicalist union, proposed that May 1, 1890, be set as an international working class holiday. His resolution did not specify what form the protests should take. The May Day proposal was approved with little debate and without dissent.

The decision to make May Day an international holiday would prove to be a momentous one. From the start, May Day would be a controversial issue which sharpened the divisions within the Second International. The more militant sections of the International organized events on May 1. These events took the form of rallies and, where possible, one day general strikes.

The more moderate, social democratic sections of the International adopted a more cautious approach. The German Social

Democratic Party (SPD) was the largest and most influential member of the Second International. Its leaders were anxious to avoid any conflict with the autocratic regime of the Prussian Kaiser. For 1890, the SPD therefore opted to celebrate May Day on the Sunday after May 1 by holding a rally. This would set the pattern for future years. German social democrats downplayed the importance of May Day and held its rally on the Sunday after May 1 to avoid any call for a one day strike.

In Czarist Russia and Russian occupied Poland the situation was very different. Socialist organizations were illegal and operated underground. Beginning in 1890, May Day was celebrated on May 1 with rallies and strikes. Indeed, May Day became the most important event on the socialist calendar.

Antagonisms within the International between social democratic reformists and revolutionary socialists were sharpened to the point of a split during the First World War. As a young socialist activist in Czarist Poland, Rosa Luxemburg had written her first published articles in support of May Day. In May 1898, she moved to Germany and became the most prominent exponent of a radical alternative to the cautious pragmatism of the SPD's leadership. When the social democrats decided to support the German war effort, Luxemburg joined Karl Liebknecht and a few other stalwart socialists in forming the Spartakus Bund.

In April 1915, Spartakus circulated a flyer in Berlin calling for a mass rally on May 1, a Saturday. Any form of opposition to the war was illegal in wartime Germany so May Day protests were banned. Nevertheless, several hundred militants joined the rally which was quickly and forcibly dispersed. Liebknecht was arrested and sentenced to four years in prison. He was only free in October 1917, in an amnesty granted a few weeks before the revolution that

overthrew the Kaiser and brought an end to the war.

May Day has always been a key moment for the radical Left. It is a special day to celebrate the international solidarity of the working class and to support all who struggle to overcome oppression.

This May Day we are especially aware of insurgent movements in Argentina, Iran and Myanmar, as well as here in the United States. In Argentina, mass strikes and demonstrations are contesting the draconian measures proposed by a right-wing government intent on destroying social services and entrenching the power of the wealthy elite. In Iran, women are leading the way in an effort to overthrow the reactionary regime of the Islamic fundamentalists. Their continued determination in the face of cruel repression has been exemplary. In Myanmar, the entire populace is united in a determined effort to overthrow a military junta and restore democracy, FOR A SOCIALIST FUTURE

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CLIMATE CHANGE AND LABOR

MARY NICKUM

Has climate change affected labor? The answer is, unequivocally, yes. From temperature to storms and weather, in general, labor is affected. In this article, I will explore the various aspects of weather and its ramifications on labor.

In 2020, 55 fatal work injuries occurred where the primary or secondary source was weather and atmospheric conditions. Most of these deaths have weather and atmospheric conditions as the secondary source. Primary source refers to the object, substance, exposure, or bodily motion responsible for a death. The secondary source refers to the object, substance, or person (if any) that generated the primary source or contributed to the event. Weather, at this point, is considered a secondary source. The primary source will be the employer who requires the employee to work to the point of heat exhaustion then heat stroke (3 ways...Oct 19, 2023).

Temperature

Some occupations pose more climate-related health risks for workers than others. Millions of U.S. workers are exposed to heat in their workplaces. Although illness from exposure to heat is preventable, every year, thousands become sick from occupational heat exposure, and some cases are fatal. For example, outdoor workers and indoor workers who engage in heavy physical labor and are exposed to high temperatures are more likely to suffer from heat-related illnesses and deaths. Some research studies have found agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, and construction

workers experience the highest rates of heat-related mortality.

Heat-related Illness

In a warm environment, especially when physically active, the human body relies on its ability to get rid of excess heat, known as heat dissipation, to maintain a healthy internal body temperature. Heat dissipation happens naturally through sweating and increased blood flow to the skin. Workers cool down more rapidly if the external, environmental, heat and physical activity, metabolic heat are reduced. If heat dissipation does not happen fast enough, the internal body temperature keeps rising and the worker may experience symptoms that include thirst, irritability, a rash, cramping, heat exhaustion, or heat stroke.

During extremely hot and humid weather, the body's ability to cool itself is challenged. When the body heats too rapidly and is unable to cool itself properly, or when too much fluid or salt is lost through dehydration or sweating, body temperature rises and one may experience a heat-related illness. It is important to know the symptoms of excessive heat exposure and the appropriate responses. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) provides a list of warning signs and symptoms of heat illness, and recommended first aid steps.

Heat exhaustion and heatstroke are both types of hyperthermia (What is heatstroke? 2024). Heat exhaustion can develop into heatstroke if left untreated; but heat exhaustion is not as severe as heatstroke, doesn't cause neurological problems and usually isn't life-threatening.

Heat stroke is the most severe heat-related illness. Heatstroke occurs when the body can't cool itself. The hypothalamus (a part of the brain that controls many bodily functions) sets the core body temperature. It typically sets the

normal temperature at about 98.6° F (37° C); but if one's body takes in more heat than it releases, the internal temperature rises above this set-point.

Cold

Not only heat is dangerous to outdoor workers, cold can be too. Cold temperatures and increased wind speed (wind chill) cause heat to leave the body more quickly, putting workers at risk of cold stress. Anyone working in the cold may be at risk, including workers in freezers, construction, outdoor agriculture and forestry (Table 1; Keeping Outdoor Workers Safe... 2024; Winter weather safety 2023).

Hypothermia <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Normal body temperature (98.6°F) drops to 95°F or less.• Mild Symptoms: alert but shivering.• Moderate to Severe Symptoms: shivering stops; confusion; slurred speech; heart rate/breathing slow; loss of consciousness; death.
Frostbite <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Body tissues freeze, such as hands and feet, which can occur at temperatures above freezing, related to wind chill. This may result in amputation.• Symptoms: numbness, reddened skin develops gray/white patches, feels firm/hard, and may blister.
Trench Foot (also known as Immersion Foot) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Non-freezing injury to the foot, caused by lengthy exposure to wet and cold environment. This can occur at air temperature as high as 60°F, if feet are wet constantly.• Symptoms: redness, swelling, numbness, and blisters.

(Protecting Workers...2023)

Statistics

Since 2011, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports 436 people have died as a result of workplace heat exposure, with an annual average of 38 deaths between 2011 and 2019. In addition, an average of 2,700 cases involving heat illnesses lead to days lost at work, putting an additional economic burden on workers and employers. Statistics show people who work in conditions without adequate climate-control face higher risks of hazardous heat exposure and these situations disproportionately expose people of color to hazardous heat (Workplace deaths June 03, 2022).

“The three-year average of workplace deaths caused by heat has doubled since the early 1990s. These extreme heat hazards are not limited to outdoor occupations, the seasons or geography. From farm workers in California to construction workers in Texas and warehouse workers in Pennsylvania, heat illness, exacerbated by the rising temperatures of our climate presents a growing hazard for millions of workers,” reported Secretary of Labor, Marty Walsh.

Productivity

When it is too hot, people work less effectively out-of-doors, in factories, the office or on the move because of a diminished ability for physical exertion and for completing of mental tasks. There is a statistically significant negative relationship between temperature and labor productivity (Yildirim *et al.* 2009). Heat extremes also increase accident risk and expose people to serious heat-related health risks including heat stroke, severe dehydration and exhaustion, while a body temperature above 105° F (40.6° C) is life-threatening.

Most national climate or employment policies do not address the impact of climate change on health and productivity in the workplace. Workers and employers need protection now and measures to manage risks to health, income and output do exist, but often entail costs and may compound challenges as in the case of air conditioning, a costly and energy and emissions intensive response. Risks become increasingly less manageable and costly to deal with at higher levels of warming, as even 34.7° F (1.5 ° C) of warming entails substantial increased heat and workplace impacts that should be a strong incentive for ambitious action to reduce emissions and limit warming.

From this information sketch, we can see, temperature is a key element in the Global Climate Change growing disaster. The temperature increase limit of 1.5° C was agreed upon by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The IPCC prepares comprehensive Assessment Reports about the state of scientific, technical and socio-economic knowledge on climate change, its impacts and future risks, and options for reducing the rate at which climate change is taking place. This panel has an important task but they are not a regulatory group. Governments accept this information and “suggested” alterations to their submissions voluntarily. The US Department of Labor tracks the problems associated with this element. The Environmental Protection Agency tracks this element and has enforcement capability but is hampered by the capitalist administrations.

Storms and Other Adverse Weather Conditions

Outdoor workers have learned over many generations how to accommodate the weather in their daily working lives. Farmers have it down to an art. They read the clouds and other signs for plowing, planting and harvesting. With experience, reading the signs of weather, clouds, sun-dogs, changes in wind direction, humidity give the farmer much information; even the over-head migration of flocks of birds are a sure sign of impending season and, thus, weather changes.

Now, it is different. Many of the signs are still there but harder to read and much less dependable. The changes that used to signal the coming of a thunderstorm now may bring damaging winds, tornadoes and heavy rains. Rains have been measured in 4-6 inches in an hour. Tornadoes appear in areas such as northern Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and

Minnesota. They're even happening in Great Britain and northern Europe.

Storms

Storms are natural weather events that have become larger, heavier and more violent. Whether they are wind events such as tornadoes, blizzards or heavy rains, they have become harder for outdoor laborers with which to contend.

High winds, freezing rain or sleet, heavy snowfall, and dangerously cold temperatures are the main hazards associated with winter storms. Impassable snow drifts often maroon people at home without utilities or other services for days after an event. Heavy snowfall and blizzards easily trap motorists in their vehicles and make walking to find help a deadly effort. Severely cold temperatures and wind chills during and after a winter storm can lead to hypothermia and kill anyone caught outside for too long. The aftermath of a winter storm can impact a community or region for days, weeks or even months, incurring steep economic costs.

Icy and wet surfaces make even the most cautious worker vulnerable to falls. Injuries, such as sprained joints, broken bones and strained backs can create challenging emergency situations for workers and emergency responders. Frostbite can cause serious and permanent damage to skin, tissue and nerves. Extremities, face and ears are the most vulnerable areas of the body for frostbite injury and additional precautions must be taken to guard against damage.

As during any season, sudden weather disturbances and dangerous conditions can happen throughout winter. Snow and ice storms not only endanger outdoor workers, they can create driving hazards, property damage and hurdles for emergency responders.

Statistics

Increasing extreme weather events or natural disasters include floods, landslides, storms, lightning, droughts, and wildfires. These events contribute to occupational deaths, injuries, diseases, and stress. Workers involved in rescue, cleanup, and restoration are exposed to hazardous conditions both during and after extreme weather events.

In today's age of increased intensity, duration, and sheer quantity of tropical storms, several measures of historical Atlantic hurricane activity, including annual numbers of tropical storms, hurricanes, and major

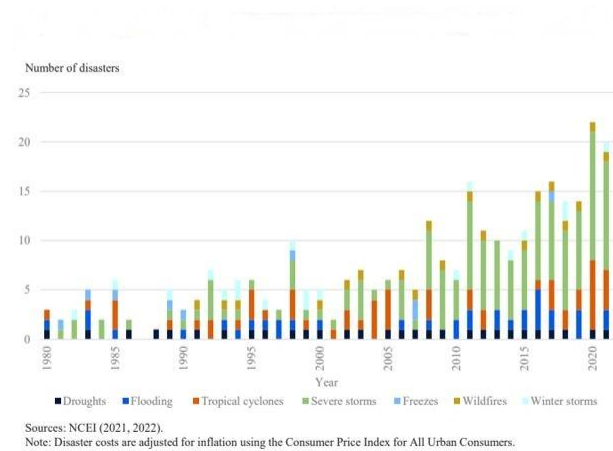


Fig. 1 Billion-Dollar Natural Disasters Are Increasingly Common in the United States

The history of billion-dollar disasters in the United States each year from 1980 to 2022, showing event type (colors), frequency (left-hand vertical axis), and cost (right-hand vertical axis.) The number and cost of weather and climate disasters is rising related to a combination of population growth and development along with the influence of human-caused climate change on some type of extreme events that lead to billion-dollar disasters. NOAA NCEI (Increasing trend of high-cost disasters 2022).

hurricanes, as well as hurricane intensities, power dissipation index (PDI), and rapid intensification occurrence, all show pronounced increases since around 1980. Going further back, since the 1940s and 50s, major hurricane annual counts and related measures have shown pronounced variations over several decades.

The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) found trends since 1980 appear to show the latest upswing in a series of multi-decadal variations (Fig.1),

leaving open the question of what caused these multiple decade swings. They posit two leading candidates for causing this pronounced multi-decadal variability in Atlantic basin-wide hurricane activity and related measures since about 1950 are temporary changes in human aerosols and internal climate variability associated with Atlantic Ocean circulation changes.

Natural disasters are expected to increase reported direct losses from the current \$195 billion a year to \$234 billion a year by 2040. This increase of \$39 billion could reach up to \$100 billion per year if indirect costs from supply chain disruptions and other knock-on economic consequences are taken into account (Barattieri *et al.* 2023). In responding to the growing number of wildfires associated with climate change, firefighters, health care workers, and other emergency responders are exposed to air pollutants, disproportionately, which are connected to allergies, respiratory illnesses, heart diseases, and other chronic and acute illnesses. Extreme weather events pose health and safety risks to rescue and recovery workers and may increase exposure to environmental contaminants and water-borne and food-borne diseases. People who work outdoors, in water and sanitation-related occupations, agriculture, with animals, or in the natural environment are particularly susceptible to the infection, transmission of, and spread of vector-borne diseases, such as Lyme disease. Agricultural workers are especially susceptible to exposure and absorption of toxic chemicals, including pesticides, which have been associated with adverse health outcomes, including death.

The World Economic Forum sums it and adds these predictions. Extreme weather events such as floods, droughts, wildfires and hurricanes will damage business assets,

transport routes and industrial and agricultural infrastructure leading to job losses. Climate change-related events cost the global economy \$313 billion in 2022, which is 4 percent above the 21st-century average.

The US Bureau of Labor Statistics provides a bleak projection if we don't take action. Without global mitigation, an increase in extreme heat is projected to have a large negative impact on U.S. labor hours, especially for outdoor labor industries. In 2100, over 1.8 billion labor hours across the workforce are projected to be lost related to unsuitable working conditions (95 percent confidence interval of 1.2-2.4 billion). These lost hours would be costly, totaling over \$170 billion in lost wages in 2100 (95 percent confidence interval of \$110-\$220 billion). The majority of the country is projected to experience decreases in labor hours resulting from extreme temperature effects. In 2100, parts of the Southwest and Florida are estimated to experience a decrease in hours worked for high-risk industries ranging from -5 percent to -7 percent. Although the impacts vary by region, only a limited number of counties are projected to experience increases in labor hours.

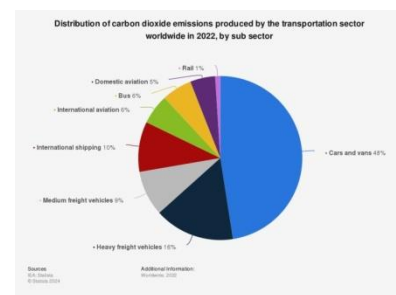


Fig. 2. Distribution of carbon dioxide emissions produced by the transportation sector worldwide in 2022, by sub sector (Distribution of carbon dioxide emissions produced by the transportation sector worldwide in 2022)

Air Pollution and Emissions

Climate change is, in a large part, the effect of emissions of carbon into the atmosphere by petroleum based vehicles. Let's take a look at emissions from automobiles,

planes and trains (Fig.2). We've long understood mass transportation is our savior. The emission statistics show us an interesting reality to that understanding (Air pollution 2024).

Trains are particularly low-carbon ways to travel. Taking a train instead of a car for medium-length distances would cut your emissions by around 80%. Using a train instead of a domestic flight would reduce your emissions by around 86%.

The Environmental Protection Agency states the largest source of greenhouse gas emissions by economic sector in the United States is Transportation (28% of 2021 greenhouse gas emissions) – The transportation sector generates the largest share of greenhouse gas emissions. Greenhouse gas emissions from transportation come primarily from burning fossil fuel for our cars, trucks, ships, trains, and planes. Over 94% of the fuel used for transportation is petroleum based, which includes mostly gasoline and diesel.

The largest sources of transportation greenhouse gas emissions in 2021 were light-duty trucks, which include sport utility vehicles, pickup trucks, and minivans (37%); medium- and heavy-duty trucks (23%); passenger cars (21%); commercial aircraft (7%); other aircraft (2%); pipelines (4%); ships and boats (3%); and rail (2%) (Fast Facts : U.S. Transportation Sector Greenhouse Gas Emissions 1990–2021). According to all the above numbers, rail is by far the most efficient in emissions, so what are we waiting for?

What Is Being Done?

Almost nothing. There are localities who are concerned, student groups who are alarmed, religious groups, who want to help, all of which mean well and can be of help; but we need an overall plan to mitigate climate change. The Socialist Party USA is concerned on several

fronts, especially Ecosocialism and labor. Something that could be done is non-essential outdoor work, which is much of it, be sharply curtailed when these indicators move into the danger zone. Now, much of the highway work is done at night to accommodate daytime commuters, inadvertently aiding the outdoor workers, as well.

Changes to the world use of fossil fuels must be decided upon by countries around the world and there must be incentives to help hold them to the agreements. We've had agreements before and seen the targets fall away and be disregarded. The US is one of those countries. I pose, in our case, it is capitalism at work. There is no immediate money to be made in providing all workers with new, sub-freezing weather gear; building ever larger and more sophisticated vehicles and machines to clear highways, erecting walls to prevent flooding, and more needing to be done to help populations in the near future.

Capitalism, by its materialistic nature forbids consideration of the necessary move away from fossil fuels in favor of the use of renewable resources. Big money is invested and much more gained from continuing to pump and/or mine the fossil fuels. We all can see this but how many are willing to do without our gas-fueled cars, furnaces, cooking stoves and everything we have that are fossil fuel dependent? Capitalism feeds on denial. As a nation, we are deniers. Of course, not all of us; but how can we, the minority, make a difference? That is the hard part.

How did gasoline and countless other petroleum products become so central to our notions of the American way of life? Huber (2013) traces the answer from the 1930s through the oil shocks of the 1970s to our present predicament, revealing that the role of oil in defining popular culture extends far beyond material connections between oil, suburbia, and

the automobile. He shows how oil powered a cultural politics of entrepreneurial life—the very American idea that life itself is a product of individual entrepreneurial capacities. In so doing, he uses oil to retell American political history from the triumph of New Deal liberalism to the rise of the New Right, from celebration of oil as the lifeblood of postwar capitalism to increasing anxieties over oil addiction.

In a 2022 book by the same author, he states the climate crisis is not primarily a problem of ‘believing science’ or individual ‘carbon footprints’—it is a class problem rooted in who owns, controls and profits from material production. As such, it will take a class struggle to solve. In this ground breaking class analysis, Huber argues the carbon-intensive capitalist class must be confronted for producing climate change; yet, the narrow and unpopular roots of climate politics in the professional class are not capable of building a movement up to this challenge. For an alternative strategy, he proposes climate politics that appeals to the vast majority of society: the working class. Huber evaluates the Green New Deal as a first attempt to channel working class material and ecological interests and advocates building union power in the very energy system we need to dramatically transform. In the end, as in classical socialist movements of the early 20th Century, winning the climate struggle will need to be internationalist based on a form of planetary working class solidarity.

The list of book titles regarding climate change and what we must do about it abounds. The questions are: Are these books being read? If so, are they having an impact on the readers? If so, what are the readers doing about it? I see that Huber’s books in Best Sellers Rank: #357,639 in Books and #363,731, nowhere near, the top 100 books on Amazon. The books are being read by a reasonable number of people

but whether or not they or many more books on the same general topics will spur the populace to elect legislators willing to buck Big Business (capitalism) is the question of the time. The Socialist Party USA has selected candidates for President and Vice President. These candidates have put forward their agenda for the administration they will hold if elected. This is a start.

According to scientists, agencies’ statistics and other environmental organizations, we don’t have the time to watch. “Wait and see” is not an option. We must act now. We can begin by electing responsible legislators on the State and Federal level who are willing to act on behalf of the climate and the people who depend on it. It is absolutely imperative.

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There are only two known photos in existence that show the US Supreme Court in session. Cameras have long been banned inside the courtroom, so the only two photos were captured many decades ago by people who snuck cameras in.

THE SUPREME COURT IS AN EMBLEM OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE CRISIS OF STATE; WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR SOCIALISTS?

MATEI ALEXANDRU

As the Supreme Court has become more ideologically conservative, we have seen them make decisions on questions that go highly contrary to public opinion. We have also seen a surge in scrutiny surrounding the ethical standards the Court is made to live up to. Much of the criticism has come from liberal and progressive voices calling attention to the disregard for previous court precedents, public opinion, and balance of power. There is validity in these arguments if your political goals do not require you to extend beyond the liberal republic as the form of government. But we are socialists.

We are witnessing an institutional reaction to a political crisis. Specifically, the issue of the Court being in a position where political gridlock has made it one of the only avenues for policy decisions to be made. Congress has been in a stalemate preventing

much policy making at all, and presidents on both sides of the aisle find it difficult to use executive authority to push policies without Congressional votes. So in this situation, policy questions can only go to the Judicial branch to be dealt with more or less definitively (in that the question becomes legal precedent that still lacks the legal strength of an actual law).

As socialists, we have to ask how this crisis serves the socialist political goal of the seizure of state power for the working class. Liberals and progressives have so far focused on what the liberal republic must do to reify the system of checks and balances and win back public trust. Conservatives see the recent decisions as placing powers in Congress's hands when specific designations of governing authorities aren't named in law, and therefore consistent with the foundational

logic of the Constitution in their eyes.

Liberals and conservatives are disagreeing with themselves about the role of government, but we should be making the argument to the people about the legitimacy of this government rather than fighting over it and draining ourselves in its internal philosophical, legal, and bureaucratic battles. We are the only ones capable of communicating that while the liberals and conservatives fight over their interpretation of liberal democracy, we can make the argument that the liberal republic is not any democracy in the first place! And the decisions of the unelected court against public opinion have only provided socialists with fuel to make that argument!

As socialists, we must ask another question. We must ask: how we can use the crisis to demonstrate to the bulk of workers who are not yet class conscious the inability of the liberal republic to function and live up to its promise to provide general welfare and safeguard political rights? That is what we need to accomplish. We must use the current crisis to more clearly demonstrate the need for the as-yet unradicalized public to recognize that 1) The liberal republic is dead, 2) It was never the means of implementing a democracy we have been told and, 3) We must build a workers republic.

What has brought us to the point of widespread public dissatisfaction, and near loss of public faith in the Supreme Court? Media coverage of the Supreme Court has been exhaustive, so let's simply revisit some of the instances that have eroded public opinion in the Court since the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*. Leaving the liberal and progressive arguments aside, let's see what the actions of the Court mean about the institution itself and what it says about the liberal republic more broadly.

Overturning *Roe v. Wade* was inflammatory for many reasons. It undid a long-standing and very popular opinion that covered a set of rights that had no other legal protection (ie, a law or constitutional amendment). In addition to that, it directly named other things such as gay marriage and access to contraceptives as decisions to reconsider. Being that these are also strongly supported rights among the public, having them come under threat set people against the Court further.

Additionally, the Court has decided to hear several cases that have widespread implications on the executive branch's regulatory power. Those concerns have been amplified by the conservative tilt on the bench. These include *West Virginia v. Environmental Protection Agency* (6-3 ruling which ruled that large-scale clean energy transitions fell outside of the regulatory bounds of the EPA and could only be regulated by Congress), *Snyder v. United States* (not yet heard, pertains to corporations ability to financially reward public officials in exchange for government contracts and favors) (Schwenk 2024) and two other impending cases which impact the Department of Commerce, *Loper Bright Enterprises v. Raimondo* and *Relentless Inc. v. Department of Commerce*. These deal with the Supreme Court precedent known as "Chevron deference" where the Court decided in a 1984 case that if there is no law dealing with a specific regulatory issue, that the Court will "defer" to federal regulators considered experts in the field. Those regulators were authorized to regulate according to a "reasonable interpretation of the law" (Kundis Craig 2024).

In addition, more attention has swirled around the Court's ethical standards and measures of accountability. Reporting revealed large scale financial rewards or

material compensation going to Supreme Court justices which went unreported. Furthermore, justices were revealed to be weighing in on decisions in which there were clear or apparent conflicts of interest, some making decisions in favor of the donors of various financial and material compensations.

Reporting by ProPublica revealed extensive unreported gifts going to Samuel Alito and Clarence Thomas. Conservatives called out similar instances of undisclosed “reimbursements” from Justices Stephen Breyer and Ruth Bader Ginsberg (Raymond 2024). The only self-imposed regulations from the Supreme Court made in response to months of public pressure were “neither binding nor enforceable” (Becker 2024).

Most recently, the Supreme Court decided to hear a case challenging Donald Trump’s removal from the Colorado state ballot. Colorado’s argument was that Trump was in violation of insurrection law and prohibited from office by way of the 14th Amendment. The Court struck this down unanimously. They stated that while the state government was free to bar violators from state and local elections, barring presidential candidates was not within their legal authority.

The Biden campaign said they were planning on beating Trump at the ballot box and “didn’t care” about the Colorado ruling. Meanwhile, liberals and progressives argued that the Court had failed to properly interpret the 14th Amendment (Osgood and Stepansky 2024). It remains to be seen if Trump will be convicted for his role in the January 6 protest. Liberals will undoubtedly hope for a conviction to take Trump off the ballot and shy of that, hope they can get out voters in large enough numbers to stave off Trump’s reelection. But with a great majority of the country wanting to see Trump convicted for

January 6, whether or not the Court’s decision is constitutionally sound means nothing. The public, especially the majority that does not identify with either party, is highly unfriendly to a second Trump term. So the public sees through the constitutionality and only sees the Court playing into the Democratic and Republican effort to force a Biden-Trump rematch on an unwilling electorate.

Obviously, this has isolated the Court even more and further inflamed the electoral crisis that is likely to emerge in November.

The clear tendency toward deregulation, dismantling women’s rights, dismantling corruption law, constantly working to be subject to the least amount of accountability or oversight, and the appearance of not applying the law to Donald Trump has made the Supreme Court hemorrhage public support. Support among Democrats is the lowest of any political group historically, and support among Independents the lowest for that group historically (Jones 2022). Their decision with Trump has compounded that.

Criticism of the Court has been deep in the general public, but it is embedded more and more within professional and academic circles as well. We can see many opinion columns and interviews with legal professionals and scholars where the call for Congress to act on important legislative questions is raised. Even some instances where executive action can directly address an issue otherwise being deliberated before the Court. In an opinion piece from William Becker (2024) implores Congress to allow Biden to add more justices to the Court, to establish rules of ideological balance, to establish enforceable ethics policies, to strengthen the Voting Rights Act, and to codify abortion rights into law for Biden to sign, etc.

Regarding the Trump decision, liberals and progressives have criticized it as “dangerous” and a “missed opportunity” to set the message on the country’s “values”. Even the liberal justices had disagreements within the unanimous decision. Justices Sotomayor, Brown Jackson, and Kagan called the opinion “overreaching” saying it threatened the Court’s ability to opine on similar matters and gave too much discretion to Congress (Osgood and Stepansky 2024).

From the conservative perspective, the Court has been putting legislative power back in the hands of Congress taking it away from regulatory agencies, and respected the fact that Trump, despite being in many trials at the time of writing, has not yet been convicted of insurrection by anybody. From the liberal perspective, the Court is legislating from the bench and interfering in the election on behalf of Trump, wittingly or otherwise. From the socialist perspective, we have to recognize that the capitalist class only cares that its class interest can be imposed over society. It doesn’t care if that imposition is accomplished democratically or not.

Here we can see another instance of how liberals, in times of crisis, turn to the state for a solution. In this instance, the crisis lurks within that very state they hope to solve it, which further compounds the crisis. In one instance, they turn to the Court. In another they turn to the legislature. In another they turn to the ballot. In every instance, it is an appeal to state power.

Consequently, we see that the Court’s behavior is a reaction to the fact that Congress has been and remains in gridlock, and executive authority is difficult to use in the existing political climate without some kind of Congressional consensus, which for the reason stated, is rarely achievable.

As socialists, we do not see the liberal

republic as the protector from whom the great and needed fixes derive. We turn to the masses and organization to resolve crises.

How do we approach the cratering public support and increasingly brazen willingness of the Court to become the center of contemporary policy making? We recognize that the political crisis has forced the Court to take up a policy making role and it is doing so explicitly in favor of capitalists.

Each decision so far has favored their ability to escape the reach of environmental protections, of corruption law, and allowed conservatives to mount a serious effort at peeling back women’s rights with Joan Biskupic’s (2024) anticipation of a large increase in abortion related cases in the future. According to *Gallup*, a leaked majority opinion in the *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization* suggests that the Court will allow Mississippi to ban abortions after 15 weeks, and is also likely to overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

Jones (2022) wrote “Americans oppose overturning *Roe* by a nearly 2-1 margin”.

The Supreme Court represents one of several crises playing out in the liberal republic. From a mechanical perspective, the Court is one of the last ways that policy-making can happen with any level of efficiency. It is, for now, the place where the capitalists can take their political questions and get what will serve as a definite answer. We also have the looming election legitimacy questions this November, the decisions on Trump’s role in January 6, the military recruitment crisis, the repeated use of short-term budget agreements and increase in government shutdowns in the past decade, and more. All of these are working together conspiring against the once-famed stability of the United States government. From the socialist perspective we should understand

that these crises will build up until the ability of the liberal republic to operate as a state comes into fundamental question.

How can socialists turn to mass organization to address this crisis?

We must acknowledge that the liberal republic is on its deathbed. With a severe enough downturn in functionality, a similar January 6-style protest may just have the backing of capitalists seeing that the liberal republic no longer secures its ability to project power across society. It was precisely because at the time the liberal republic was still capable of serving that purpose that many capitalists distanced themselves from Trump and his supporters. Some even joined in calls for his criminal prosecution.

Because the liberal republic cannot be saved by socialists from its crises, and we cannot use the liberal republic to accomplish the working class's political goals anyway, we must turn to the first question of all social movements: building dual power and building the means through which seizure of state power can be accomplished. There are some socialists who confuse seizing state power with being elected into executive positions within the liberal republic. This is mistaken. The seizure of state power is a battle between two parallel institutions in a state of dual power attempting to maneuver into a position where one can overthrow the other.

Building dual power today means not only building up the Socialist Party with locals and state branches. It does not only mean extending ourselves into our local activist environments and labor unions. It means building relations with other socialist political parties as well. It means orienting a greater and greater mass of working class parties and non-party organizations into a single forum that pools collective strength and puts the many

smaller elements within the socialist and working class movements into a space where they can cooperate instead of compete, where they can build up shared projects into genuine institutions that can impact people's daily lives, and where they can build networks of dual power that more and more make the argument that an alternative the liberal republic can exist, is being built, and is worth turning toward as an institution that can govern seriously and with regard towards the working class's demands and priorities.

This is not a daydream idea. It is what we must be doing—building cross-party relationships, building relations with non-party organizations, and bringing them all into a forum where they can put their forces into shared projects aimed at building dual power and entering the competition against the liberal republic for the right of the working class to govern itself. In New Hampshire, where I organize with the Socialist Party of Southern New Hampshire, we are working on this, and have been active on the question for nearly two years.

The New Hampshire Congress of Workers' Organizations may be one of the only projects of its kind in this country. It consists of our Party's local branch as well as those of DSA, Communist Party, a local labor organizing group called Workers' Democracy, and we have an Unaffiliated Caucus through which comrades who are not in a particular organization can participate. The Workers' Congress is also set to expand to include a New England sex workers' advocacy group, Erotic Labor Alliance, and a local radical publishing group. It has been active in the local Palestinian Ceasefire struggle as part of a large coalition of organizers and community members that has been working to pass Ceasefire resolutions at the town and city level.

It is collaboratively planning public services such as education and tutoring, legal consulting, and a Rate-Your-Landlord database to help inform tenants during their housing negotiations, all being organised to be free to the public and organized by all the constituents within the New Hampshire Congress of Workers' Organizations. The Workers Congress has established rules of admission, administrative structure, balance of powers between its leadership and membership, and methods of collecting resources to carry out public services and resources. By starting with small projects and branching out into a wider array of more impactful services, we are actively building the dual power that will put life into the question of seizing state power. But we are only in one state, and the United States government will have to be fought everywhere it holds power. We as yet are not serving anyone and still need to roll out even a first service but we have assembled a large and strong group that has stayed together now for nearly two years and we are close to a model of organizing that can be shared and easily replicated as a national form of organization.

None of it was possible with the Socialist Party working alone. We had to learn how to work with all the other parties here. We had to engage non-party groups and earn their trust. We had to persuade them to take up the idea of a Workers' Congress and dual power. The progress we've made represents an incredibly encouraging development of the socialist struggle in this country.

As we continue to build and the crisis of American politics continues to deepen, we hope that the New Hampshire Congress of Workers' Organizations will be the first of similar Workers' Congresses that represent a national movement towards a workers' republic.

Let the liberals work themselves to sleep on what reforms they hope will undue to rot that has set into the liberal republic. Let us turn to the masses! Let us turn to organization! Let us put our forces together and step in unison towards the truly socialist solution to the crisis—dual power and building the workers' republic!

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WHAT CAN SOCIALISTS LEARN FROM THE LAW OF DIMINISHING MARGINAL UTILITY?

THOMAS URECH

Reducing inequality unites leftists of all stripes around the world. If not in practice, then at least by definition. Socialists in particular focus on combatting wealth inequality. This raises an obvious question: why should socialists reduce wealth inequality? While many reasons exist, I want to focus on one in particular. The law of diminishing marginal utility does not get much attention in leftist circles, yet it offers a strong theoretical foundation within utilitarianism for why reducing wealth inequality helps society as a whole.

What is the law of diminishing marginal utility? Utility is a measure of happiness, contentment, or satisfaction generated by consuming or using a good or service. Diminishing marginal utility means that the more units of something you consume, the less happiness, contentment, or satisfaction the next unit creates (Kenton 2022). To simplify, consider pizza. You are very hungry, so you go to a pizza party. The first one or two slices you eat curb your hunger pangs. Not only is the pizza tasty, but very satisfying because you haven't eaten all day. The third and fourth slices fill you up. They taste good and satisfy you, but not quite as much as that first slice. This is diminishing marginal utility. The more pizza you eat, the less valuable each successive piece of pizza gets. What if you keep eating? You are already full, so your fifth slice may feel like a bit of a chore to get down. You like the taste but receive no more satisfaction. If you soldier on to ten pieces, you

will feel very sick. Instead of making you happier, eating pizza has made you miserable. This is negative marginal utility: too much of a good thing is a bad thing.

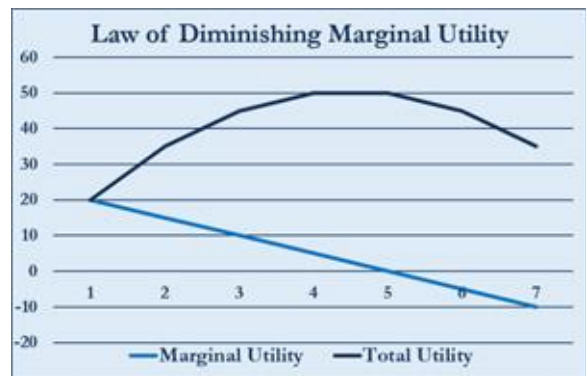


Figure 1 Visual of diminishing marginal utility

This definition, and the ubiquitous pizza example, is courtesy of Investopedia, a fine source on what capitalists think about economics. Well, as fine a source on economics as capitalists can be. Investopedia lists exceptions to the law of diminishing marginal utility. It does not apply if the consumer is acting irrationally, like an addict. It may not apply if units are rare or part of a collection. Additionally, Investopedia claims the law of diminishing marginal utility does not apply to money (Kenton 2022).

Doesn't apply to money? Oh no! There goes my entire article! I was going to make an argument about how, because of the law of diminishing marginal utility, rich people's money creates much less utility for them than it would if it were distributed among many poor people. Therefore, under utilitarianism, it makes sense to redistribute money from the rich to the

poor. Unfortunately, Investopedia says the law does not apply to money, so my argument is moot. I am being facetious, of course. Investopedia cites an The Economic Times article titled “What is the law of diminishing marginal utility?” for its claim that money does not follow the law of diminishing marginal utility (The Economic Times n.d.). In a very neatly titled section “Not applicable to money”, the author concisely explains:

“Money is a commodity which is appreciated greatly by rich and poor. There is a saying that the more money a person has the want he wants of it [sic], hence the law cannot operate in the case of money.”

OK...I would not exactly call that citation... “rigorous”. I will counter with an equally valid saying by the Notorious B.I.G.

“Mo’ money, mo’ problems”

Which suggests the opposite. Jokes aside, perhaps a stronger citation could provide better insight. Most basic finance articles do not reference the law applying to money or not (Borad (2022), for example). Thankfully, Dr. of Economics Thorsten Polleit wrote an article for the Mises Institute titled “What can the law of diminishing marginal utility teach us?” (Polleit 2020), Dr Polleit actually has the opposite conclusion about the diminishing marginal utility of money.

“A rise in the money stock must, for logical reasons, reduce the exchange value of a money unit. This is because the additional money unit can be used to satisfy an additional end that is necessarily less urgent than the satisfaction of the preceding end. A rise in the money stock will thus necessarily lead to a decrease in the marginal utility of the money unit (compared to the situation in which the

money stock has remained unchanged).”

To translate the jargon, adding more money to the system means people can spend money on less valuable things, giving money diminishing marginal utility. This is perfect! When people have more money, they spend it on relatively less valuable things, thus we should redistribute money from the rich to the poor. There is a catch though. For those unfamiliar, Ludwig Von Mises pioneered a practice known as Praxeology, discovering “truths” about economics without evidence (Polleit 2020) (H Smith 2008). His Austrian School Economics promotes extreme laissez-faire economic policies with zero government intervention. In other words, the Mises Institute are capitalist extremists. The quote actually violates a previous assertion in the article that the law of diminishing marginal utility only applies to individuals and cannot be scaled up to society, so I call it a wash.



Figure 2 Joke about Austrian economists

Because capitalists cannot agree either way, let me throw in my two cents. A paper in Nature from 2018 titled “Happiness, income satiation and turning points around the world” (Jebb *et al.* 2018) found among 1.7 million worldwide Gallup poll respondents, material

wealth on average stops making people happier (“satiates” them) at about \$95,000 per year. This varies widely by region; it takes closer to \$160,000 per year to satiate a person in North America. Regardless, this suggests an upper limit to how happy money can make you, implying it has diminishing marginal utility at some point.

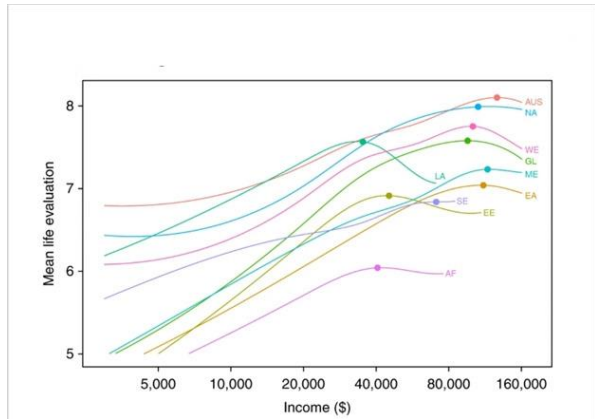


Figure 3 Mean life evaluation by income and region (Jebb *et al.* 2018). Note similarity to “total utility” graph on the diminishing marginal utility example.

Is this money better used to help the poor? Signs point to yes. Giving money to poor people helps them a lot. A 2020 blog by Oxford labor economist Dr. Kate Orkin titled “The evidence for putting money directly in the pockets of the poor” (Orkin 2020) analyzes a World Bank review. She says that direct cash payments to the poor, rather than food, are the best method at alleviating poverty. Not only is cash easier to distribute than food, but the poor also spend their newfound cash quite well. Moreover, in Kenya every \$1 of stimulus given created a ‘fiscal multiplier’ of \$2.60 of economic growth. This is larger than what the USA sees with similar stimulus policies, further bearing out that the poorer the recipient, the greater the benefit.

Stateside, a 2022 paper by the Brookings Institute titled “The impacts of the 2021 child tax credit on family employment, nutrition, and financial well-being” (Maag *et al.* 2022) found

that giving families an additional \$3000 per child in the form of a tax credit during the coronavirus pandemic pulled 3.7 million children out of poverty.

“Eligible families experienced improved nutrition, decreased reliance on credit cards and other high-risk financial services, and also made long term educational investments for both parents and children.”

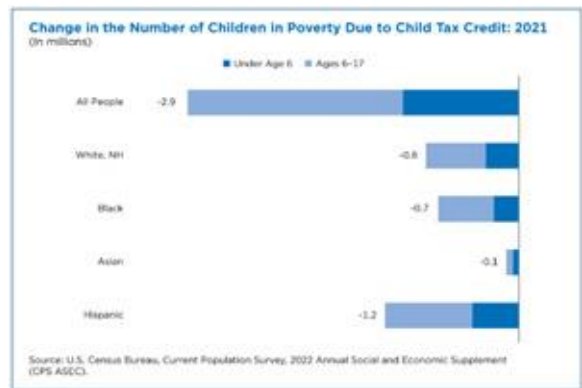


Figure 4 Reduction in child poverty with the child tax credit

Unfortunately, neither the tax credit nor the benefits lasted. According to a 2023 article by NPR (Ludden 2023)

“Just a year ago, child poverty hit a historic low of 5.2%. The latest figures put it at 12.4%, the same as the overall poverty rate. The surge happened as record inflation was rising and a lot of pandemic relief was running out, but Census officials and other experts say a key was the child tax credit.”

Poverty bounced back as soon as the money dried up: be it through inflation, ending the child tax credit, or the general end to pandemic relief policies. Poor people having money, above all else, was what reduced poverty. When poor people went back to their original wealth, the benefits disappeared. This

shows quite clearly that giving money to the poor, rather than letting the rich keep it, has the extreme utility of pulling millions of people out of poverty, so long as we don't pull the plug.

A 2024 report by Oxfam international titled "Inequality Inc" (Riddell *et al.* 2024) suggests money has diminishing marginal utility on a macro scale.

"Since 2020, the richest five men in the world have doubled their fortunes. During the same period, almost five billion people globally have become poorer."

Despite a rapidly growing global money supply (M2 2024), utility has gone down the drain. It seems Dr. Polleit was right: increasing the money supply does create diminishing marginal utility. He's right for the wrong reason, though. The increased money supply indeed correlated to negative marginal utility, but not because everyone was spending their newfound money on slightly less valuable things. We saw negative utility because rich people got all the money at the expense of the poor. Had that money instead gone to the poor, our previous citations suggest it would have drastically cut poverty instead (Orkin 2020; Maag *et al.* 2022), boosting utility. Thanks to the law of diminishing marginal utility, exorbitantly wealthy people are wasting trillions of dollars simply by virtue of having it. They have too much of a good thing. While the poor still experience diminishing marginal utility, their money's marginal utility has not been nearly as diminished as rich people's, so the average utility per dollar (and thus total utility) skyrockets.

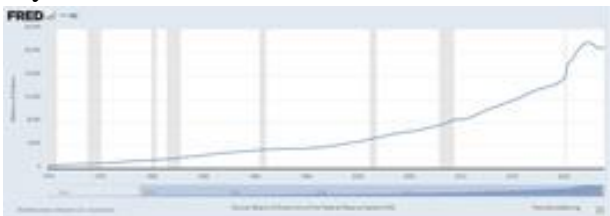


Figure 5 Change in the USA's M2 Money supply. Half of it has been created in just the past 10 years (M2 2024).

Dr. Polleit, as Mises before him, would likely come to a different conclusion. His article states that "violations of property rights" and "socialist interventionism", his way of saying taxes and redistributive programs, in other words, the government intervening in the economy, create diminishing and even negative marginal utility by incentivizing the rich to spend money now instead of later, a phenomenon known as time preference (Polleit 2020). This reduces capital accumulation, which reduces economic growth, which impoverishes a society over time. I think Margaret Thatcher was a bit more concise.

"The trouble with Socialism is that eventually you run out of other people's money."

This makes for a nice coffee mug, but evidence neither suggests capital accumulation relieves poverty nor government intervention increases it. The past 45 years have seen record capital accumulation (Macrotrends 2024), yet nearly half the world still lives in poverty (Schoch *et al.* 2024). Capital has had no trouble accumulating, yet it has done little to nothing to alleviate poverty.

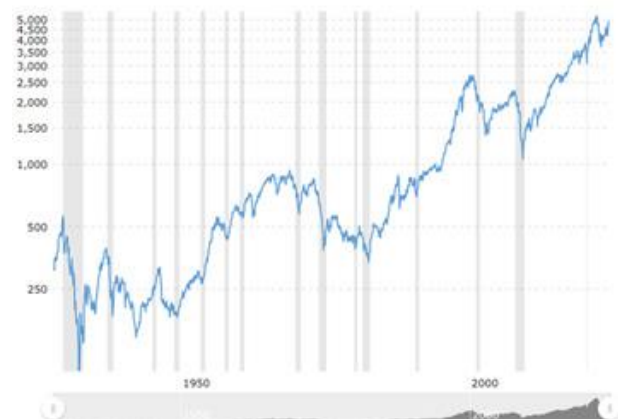


Figure 6 S&P 500 index 90-year historical graph. The S&P 500 measures the market value of the 500 largest publicly traded corporations on the New York Stock Exchange, a good approximation for capital accumulation. The index has increased in value 10-fold in the past 45 years, compared to just 1.5 times from the 45 years prior. (Macrotrends 2024)

By contrast, countries with substantial government intervention can reduce poverty. In an article titled “What changes after China defeats poverty?” (Trankmann 2019), a United Nations Development Programme representative said:

“Since 1978, China has lifted more than 750 million people out of poverty, accounting for four-fifths of all people lifted out of extreme poverty globally over the last four decades. The share of its population living in absolute poverty has dropped from 97.5 percent in 1978, to just 1.7 percent today, according to the national poverty line, while per capita income has increased 20-fold. China is also the only country to have progressed from the low to high category on the United Nations Development Programme’s human development index since its introduction in 1990.”

Love China or hate it, you cannot deny China intervenes in its economy. Socialism intervenes, given its government. China therefore demonstrates a massive negative correlation between government intervention and poverty. China would have to be doing something so spectacularly unique and beneficial to reduce poverty to undermine this correlation, that it scarcely bears consideration. (At least not from the types of people who prefer capitalism). Meanwhile, countries such as the United States have also seen massive capital accumulation in the past 45 years (Macrotrends 2024) yet its relative poverty rate has stubbornly

fluctuated between 10% and 16% in that same time period (UC Davis 2022).

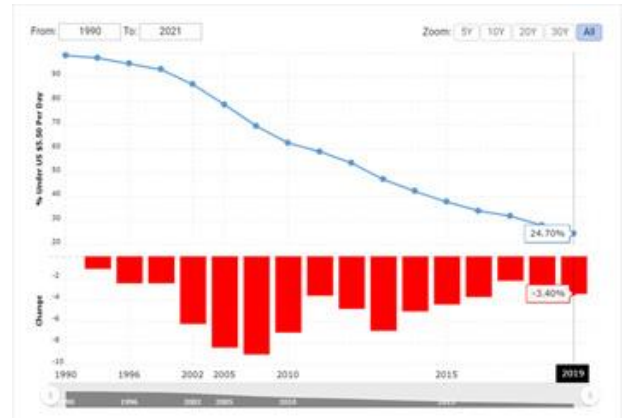


Figure 7 Percentage and change of people living under \$5.50 per day in China, 1990 to 2021 (Macrotrends 2021). Absolute poverty is a different metric than under \$5.50, but it’s the same trend



Figure 8 USA relative poverty rate (UC Davis 2022). Not directly comparable to under \$5.50 poverty but shows how the USA has not managed to consistently reduce poverty for 50 years.

Despite what Dr. Polleit and capitalists of his ilk claim, neither does capital accumulation necessarily increase utility nor government intervention necessarily reduce it. In fact, government stimulus and redistribution programs such as the child tax credit substantially increase utility. Which is probably why capitalist extremists, including Mises reject evidence.

Thatcher’s quote seems to stand, however. The child tax credit ran out; poverty went right back up. The program only worked

so long as the money flowed. Welfare and bottom-up stimulus programs reduce poverty, but only temporarily. Capitalists may swoop in here to claim only capitalism can permanently reduce poverty. Unfortunately for them, the aforementioned Oxfam report states it will take 230 years to eliminate poverty with current capitalist methods (Riddell *et al.* 2024). As if 230 years weren't long enough, climate change turns an uphill climb into the Battle of the Somme.

The welfare problem remains. Luckily Margaret Thatcher does not understand socialism. Socialists like the Liberal welfare programs Thatcher refers to, but that does not make the programs socialist. How do socialists promise to do better?

This brings us to an elephant in the room: if rich people do not gain any more life satisfaction from their riches, why do they cling to them so aggressively? Sure, they all go to Davos and beg us to tax them more (Johnson 2024), but they fly home and promote politicians, media outlets, and Mises Institutes that say and do the exact opposite (Chaidez 2024). Why go through all the trouble for ostensibly nothing? Posh luxury goods only get you so far. The answer is simple: power. Rich people spend large swaths of their income on investments: owning businesses. Or, in many cases, their income is simply a business passively producing dividends and capital gains (Mancini 2024). The rich's riches allow them to promote public policy that furthers their own interests (Gilens and Page 2014), creating a nasty feedback loop. Welfare programs cannot last because capitalists either regain control of the government to quash them or leverage their vast economic power to twist them to their own purposes.

Socialists may approve of welfare, but we plan to do more than "tax and spend". Socialism calls for the full expropriation of

capitalist enterprise into the hands of the workers and/or the public at large. While being a massive redistribution program unto itself, this also reorganizes the axes of power in society. Rather than a few people having all the wealth and power and rigging the economy to give themselves more wealth and power, resources would be shared collaboratively and democratically for the good of everyone. This allows economic resources to be distributed to those who needs them most, rather than wasting away in a stock portfolio suffering from ungodly diminishing marginal utility.

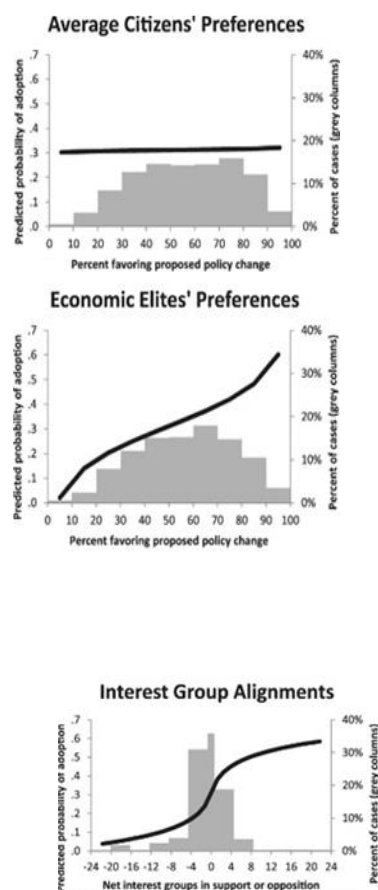


Figure 9 Chances of a policy becoming law based on its approval rating among certain groups (Gilens and Page 2014) A major issue with capitalism is that the owner class can leverage government to gain even more wealth and power.

The law of diminishing marginal utility, rather than being a dry economic concept, offers a simple yet profound takedown of capitalism in

favor of socialism. The more of something you have, the less valuable each unit of it is. From a simple law, we can draw massive conclusions. A simple law...with evidence.

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Essay*



Eugene V. Debs
November 5, 1855 – October 20, 1926

*Essays are written from the author's perspective.

SOCIALISTS AND INDEPENDENT LABOR ORGANIZATION

WILLIAM P. STODDEN

As the candidate for President from the Socialist Party USA, I have the opportunity to write an essay on issues relating to working people in this country. My task here is not to provide a complete and systematic program for working people to follow—As a working person myself, I can say I am tired of hearing demagogues pontificate about things they think will solve my problems, things which I personally know I don't want, only to see them pander to wealthy donors then when they are elected, turn around and vote to cut my throat. I've seen that re-run my entire life, during every election. I am also not writing to tell socialists how to "talk to workers" or "organize workers" or get workers to support socialism—Despite the fact that no socialist has ever cracked the code and come up with a way to get workers en mass to support socialism, nonetheless the Left has no shortage of "theorists" who will happily write that essay for me. Socialists can choose to continue to lecture the working class about what they are doing wrong, or inform them that they all have false consciousness, or we can try to meet working people where they are, to find out what they want, and take them seriously when working people tell us what they want. Then we should orient our movement to trying to help them get what they say they want, even if it doesn't conform to what our own personal ideology says they *should* want.

No: the goal of this essay is more to outline a set of ideas, which we working people can accomplish right now to teach ourselves

about power, to take an affirmative, albeit preliminary step toward class consciousness.

Workers can take a step on their own path toward liberation if they learn how to unite, fight together and discover what it feels like to have power that they have captured for themselves. This is what I want to talk about in this essay. It's not a scientific analysis, and it is certainly not heavy on theory. This essay is, instead, focused on praxis: There is power in labor organizing, independent of the two major Parties, and we socialists can play a meaningful role in that action.

On May Day, long celebrated around the world as International Labor Day, we remember nothing workers have today has been granted by our rulers out of good will. Every gain the worker has ever made has been won by collective action on the part of the Working Class for their interests, after a long, organized, and bitter (often violent) conflict with the ruling class that has cost workers their lives. Nothing changes without struggle, and waiting for things to change or naturally evolve is a sure recipe for a life of drudgery and toil, and nothing more. On May Day, we, as working people, remember those in charge of our work and benefits in our world are not our friends, and do not ever have our interests in their minds. We, therefore, also often focus on the path ahead: the things we have much yet to do if our goals look anything like workers'- and workplace democracy and socialism.

Part of this evaluation is to consider roadblocks in the path of the working class. A

sober analysis of these roadblocks can allow us to develop new strategies and tactics to address the things that prevent the forward movement of workers toward class consciousness, class action and revolution. Most of these roadblocks were put in our way by our socio-economic system. Capitalism requires the worker to be frustrated at every turn and kept in place—only through the exploitation of the labor of the working class in this country can capitalism continue to skim massive profits for the capitalist system. The state exists as a tool of capitalism—it serves to defuse worker discontent, or to crush it, depending on which tactic can be used most efficiently, and it protects the structure that serves the interests of the capitalist. The state prevents any meaningful efforts from the working class to achieve power, or to even see themselves as having more in common with one another than any of us do with our masters; while it, in turn empowers owners and managers to reverse many of the gains workers fought for generations to obtain.

Some of those roadblocks are maintained by us, the Working Class, however. One particularly odious roadblock in the path of the advancement of the development of socialism is a bizarre stated preference by many workers for the Democratic or Republican Party in political contests. While acknowledging this, I must qualify it by saying the majority of workers do not vote. Whether it be from dissatisfaction with the choices, or disillusionment with the system, or outright disenfranchisement by the State, the majority of working people are either unable or unwilling to cast votes in the elections. Of the ones who do though, the vast majority of them express support and pull the lever for one of the two major parties. This vote is cast honestly and conscientiously, even to the point where voters will adopt the defensive talking points of the two major parties against both their political opponents and anyone who seeks to change the system itself.

Pointing out this fact about some working people is not an indictment of the working class, unless one happens to adopt the rather fascistic viewpoint class is a monolith, and a critique of one part is necessarily a critique of the whole. It is merely a statement of fact, and should instead be viewed as an indictment of a political and socio-economic system that is maintained in its place by and for the wealthy. That system distorts almost everything that is a part of it, and perpetuates itself by replicating its structures in all social institutions.0 In every level and corner of our society, we can easily see the hierarchical structure that maintains those with power and privilege on top, and the vast majority of individuals involved in that structure below, lacking power over the conditions of their own existence, over any direction of the institution, and over any real mechanism for change within the institution. We see it in our government, in our schools, in our families, in our workplaces, in relations with the police, in our religious institutions, and even in our acquaintances and friendships! The system expresses itself in the way we see the world, and it is so hegemonic and overwhelming that most of us do not have the energy during the day to seriously question it, let alone find means to push back and fight for change.

So, when we point out the simple fact that workers (who participate, anyway) still overwhelmingly support the two major parties, and look for an explanation for that seemingly paradoxical preference, we need look no further than the structure of the system itself. The system is designed primarily to limit choice among those who would prefer something different. It is not as if working people have never heard of socialism. It is more that socialism is not seen as a viable alternative in this country, because it has never had a serious opportunity to even compete. Every institution in this country prevents us from winning even a modicum of power to

demonstrate what socialism could possibly do if we had a serious chance.

We socialists also have to acknowledge that we bear some of the blame for this—one of the biggest self-inflicted wounds we have experienced over the last 125 years is the failure to meet working people where they are, to learn from workers what they want, and figure out a way to help them get what they want and need. We are certainly willing to lecture them about what they *should* want, but never bother to listen to them when they tell us what they *do* want. We often dismiss those wants that do not conform to our ideological prescriptions, patronizingly telling working people they are confused about what they want. So yes, we bear some of the fault for there being only two major parties, both aligned with capitalism. But, how often do we hear, seriously spoken, “We all know that in the United States, there are only really two actual choices, and my (red or blue) team is better than the other side?” Regardless of what the socialists do or do not do, this mindset is firmly established in the worldview of those who conscientiously support parties that, as a matter of public policy, stab workers in the back every opportunity they get, even if they know there could be an alternative.

This is how President Joe Biden is able to get away with claiming [he is the most “pro-Union President in American History”](#) (Remarks 2023) at a speech for Labor Day, and the [AFL uncritically excerpted the speech](#) (Statement 2023). *The Nation* evaluated this wild claim with the simple statement [“By any measure, Biden’s labor record at this point is better than that of any recent Democratic or Republican presidents”](#) (Nichols 2023). But this isn’t saying much, because recent Democratic and Republican presidents have spent their respective administrations undermining even modest demands by workers, and empowering the current socio-economic system. In fact, President Biden, when he was Senator Biden, helped those

presidents wipe out workers’ power by supporting such gross anti-worker policies as NAFTA and TPP, neoliberal outsourcing, and deregulation of financial institutions which opened the door to predatory lending practices that made his home state of Delaware the most credit institution-friendly state in the Union. [Despite his historically poor ratings from the AFL-CIO, \(which rated him as one of the most anti-labor Democrats\) in the 1980s](#), (Wilpert 2020) he has consistently paid lip-service to, and has consistently won the support of national labor unions, who drive millions of workers into the waiting arms of the Democratic Party.

But what choice do workers have if not Biden? Many workers, especially blue collar workers, have moved right, in search of someone who will not actively destroy what little they have left. A not-insignificant portion of the working class in the US have decided that the *faux*-populism and actual demagoguery of oligarch Donald Trump and the Republican Party is more persuasive than the halfhearted and mostly facetious dissimulation to workers offered by Democrats. Working people are tired of being lied to by Democrats, and in fact, often align their views with the views they think the GOP holds. [A recent PPI/YouGov poll reported](#) (Progressive Policy Institute. 2023) that among 860 respondents, 44 percent of them believe Donald Trump has done more than any other recent President for working families, and 37 percent of those surveyed believe the GOP puts the interests of working people first (compared to a nearly statistically identical 38 percent for Democrats). While these types of numbers do not suggest that majorities of workers support the GOP and Donald Trump, the portion of the working class who admit to supporting the Republican Party is roughly equivalent to the portion supporting the nominally pro-worker Democratic Party, who have been actively alienating working people for decades.

We know reported sentiment among survey respondents doesn’t always translate into

voting behavior. We do know, though, there is a correlation between income and voter turnout, and we also know voter turnout among the poor and working segments of the population are far lower, for a number of reasons than it is for the wealthy. All that being the case, and putting aside ideological objection to survey methodology, the PPI survey cited above nonetheless demonstrates that three out of four workers still believe one or the other of the two major Parties will fight for them. This despite that people also report some support for socialist policies ([About 36 percent of Americans reported at least some support for socialism as of 2022 which is down from 42 percent in 2019](#). Seitz-Wald 2024) It is a fact when workers are asked who they support, the vast majority respond they support one or the other of the two major parties, and that continued support for Parties that just use workers to justify maintenance of the capitalist system is one of the major roadblocks to liberation.^

This year, both Parties are expected to spend more than 1 billion dollars to convince Americans they are the “only” games in town. They will vastly outspend all other contenders combined on mass media, direct mailing, travel, and campaign events combined, to make it clear to all workers there is no alternative to the two-party system. Part of the money is aimed at keeping the system locked against smaller parties. [Both the DNC, and aligned superPACs](#) (Davis O’Brien 2024) intend to spend millions launching court challenges and employing other legal mechanisms to keep voters from even having an opportunity to consider alternative candidates, such as Robert Kennedy Jr., Jill Stein, Dr. Cornel West or to be honest, myself. They are honest about what they are doing, and are incredibly transparent about their cynicism during the 2024 Election. In an election supposedly about the “precipice” that our democracy stands on, Democrats especially have been noticeably open about their contempt for democracy in the ballot box. “The Biden

campaign is going to have to spend a boatload of money educating people about the danger of a third-party vote. Biden will have to spend money explaining there’s no vote for anyone else that’s not a vote for Trump,” [said former blue dog Senator Claire McCaskill, who is an outspoken supporter of the DNC and the Biden Administration](#) (Seitz-Wald 2024).

With such institutional and systemic roadblocks, ranging from the highest level of government, to active endorsement within their national unions that exist anymore as surrogates for the Democratic Party, arrayed against the working class, there is no wonder workers themselves not only (often reluctantly) align with one of the two major Parties, and more importantly, do not actively endorse workers’ democracy, socialization of the means of production, or an abolition of the system that exploits their labor and turns hours of their lives into consumable commodities. How difficult would it be to see beyond the horizon of the world such as the one we live in now? Seriously, can workers be blamed for not embracing alternatives, when they have spent their entire working lives being lied to, used and ignored by the only politicians and economic actors they have been allowed to know?

It is hard to say, in this situation, “what workers should do about it.” I can say, as a Socialist and as a candidate for President that workers should rebel. The working class should adopt the program of socialism. Socialism offers not only economic power for working people, where they can own, operate, and reap the benefits of the means of production in our economy, but it also offers a social organization where the institutions of society exist to serve the needs and goals of the whole society, not just a portion of it. Socialism is the radical reorientation of the entire society, and all of its institutions, to the service of the society. It is one characterized by actual democracy, in its truest meaning. People govern and people will govern in their

own names and in their own interests, not in the service of any class or segment of that society against the interests of the rest of us. That's easy for me to say, as I already have adopted the program of socialism; but asking a worker to do that when they are struggling just to make ends meet, and have kids to feed and clothe, and overwhelming medical, housing, and food bills to pay seems a Herculean task. Why would a worker ever take the gamble on socialism, on something we ourselves admit has never actually been tried, when the system we live in has spent more than a century using every tool and dollar at their disposal to tell everyone how "evil" socialism is? It almost seems to be an impossible task.

Despite this, we do see a rising wave of independent union activism and direct action by and for the interest of working people. These days, workers do not look as they did in the 1950s and 1960s. Now workers are far more likely to be baristas at Starbucks, or do housekeeping in the leisure industry, or toil in an Amazon Warehouse, than they are to be construction workers or steel workers or automakers. We know service sector workers make up as much as 60 percent of all people who do not own the means of production in this society. All of these workers in these new service industry sectors, despite their long hours, terrible pay, and virtually absent legal protection, have accomplished major gains for their class. Their struggles are exemplary of collective workers' power, in spite of major push-back from management, and the general acquiescence to the interests of owners and investors on the part of our State and Federal governments.

[But more importantly, the recent waves of collective action in the Working Class are struggles that are accomplished from the ground up,](#) (Cregan 2022) independent of, and often in spite of, the two-party political system that exists to defend the interests of capitalism, by a diverse collection of committed people who defy classification of age, geography, race, gender, or other orientation. They intimate the forward

movement of the Working Class can be both organically generated by the workers themselves [in fact, most shops organize because workers approach unions rather than the other way around](#) (Nolan 2022), outside the grasp of the Democratic Party-dominated AFL, and can be intersectional. Workers underscore this through their solidarity across sectors, as Union locals will often take action to support other union drives.

This is not to say some union organization is better than others. Any union, regardless of where it comes from, is better than no union; but getting out from under the domination of the two major parties should be seen as an important goal for the working class in the US. One small way, a tiny part of the larger goal of breaking the stranglehold the two major parties have on the minds, votes and money of American workers is to support independent collective action among American workers. Workers organizing *independent* of the major unions is one way to sidestep that particular roadblock toward the ultimate goal of worker liberation.

The aim of independent organization is to allow workers to see for themselves they do not need a savior in the Democratic Party, or some demagogue strongman in the Republican Party, neither of whom have any idea of what the worker encounters on a day-to-day basis. Breaking out of that mindset would allow workers to actually see the two major Parties and their candidates were never the friends of working people. It might also give them confidence to begin considering political alternatives, such as the SPUSA. Workers can take power themselves, for themselves. Often winning a union is the first opportunity the worker has to feel any kind of power over their own situations in their workplace. It is incredibly empowering to organize a union drive, to win the drive, then to get a contract from a company that believed previously workers were simply there to make the

company richer. Having been through contract negotiations myself, as one of the members of my union's negotiating team, I can speak to this from personal experience.

It might just be a small step toward socialism; at the very most, union organizing is the preliminary step away from the current system; but this sort of organizing is still important because it teaches us, as workers, we can have power by taking it and we fight until we get it. Doing so dispels the mysticism the two-party system has used for decades to demoralize, intimidate, and dominate the working class in this country. If we learn we can take power in our workplaces, we begin to see the possibility of maybe taking power in our political system and in our society as well. We learn we can reorient that society to serve our interests for once, rather than the interests of the capitalists.

Real power suddenly becomes something we can imagine. We then begin to see the horizon, despite the obstructions our system continues to place in our path. We gain confidence in our abilities. We learn new tactics, and we formulate new strategies. We move forward, toward a better future, where we, as workers, aren't under the thumb of masters, but decide for ourselves how we want to live our lives, raise our children, and contribute to the well-being of our society.

Socialists can lend a hand here. We can begin to network with grassroots, independent organizers who are trying to bring unions to places where nobody ever thought to organize before. While it would be tempting for us to go in and tell workers all about socialism and Karl Marx and workers' revolution, as if they haven't heard it all before, we should resist this impulse. Building class consciousness comes first, and class solidarity is a key component to that

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consciousness. Doing the work means standing shoulder to shoulder with workers to fight in their struggle, not trying to get them to fight in ours. When we do solidarity work, we build trust among people who are taught to, at best, reject what we are saying by our system. Until trust is built, constantly bringing up politics can be seen as hijacking a movement.

As socialists, we must build that trust between us and workers first, and we do that by honestly helping them to move away from the capitalist system by being there when they need bodies, by supporting what they are trying to do, and doing it how they want to do it. When workers see socialists struggling right alongside them, when it's not all about getting them to vote for us, or getting them to convert to our ideology, but when it's about helping them accomplish the goals they set for themselves, workers and socialists will share a common bond over that struggle. Then workers who have been told their whole lives there are only two possible choices in their working lives, might be willing to consider a different option.

This is in the future, however. Helping workers gain power in their workplace, helping them sidestep the roadblocks our system places in their path, and helping them accomplish what they want for themselves is something we can do right now. We can do that independently and from the grass roots, and we can do that year-round, not just on May Day.



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CANDIDATES' STATEMENT

Hello, my name is **William Stodden** and alongside my running mate, **Stephanie Cholensky**, I am standing for election to the office of President of the United States as the candidate from the Socialist Party USA. I wanted to take a few minutes to following the President Biden's 2024 state of the union address to introduce myself and to present a socialist platform for the U S.

In the state of the union, President Biden laid out his vision for the United States. This included policies, which are most certainly inefficient half steps, which can and will be easily rolled back or watered down by those who oppose change. And we should not expect anything more. From the chief architect of mass incarceration and a lifelong Warhawk.

President Biden doesn't seek to take definitive action on behalf of the working and poor families and individuals in this country. He is ideologically committed to the status quo, regardless of the damage done to working families and the working class in America. He has consistently failed to step up and fight for working families and individuals.

Most, especially when doing so might run afoul of the interests of the donor and investor class who funds his political party. The one promise the Biden administration has kept was the promise that he made to a group of wealthy donors in 2019 after admitting that he needed their money. Biden promised that nothing about our class system or standard of living would fundamentally change.

He has ensured that wealth inequality, which reached crisis levels during the pandemic, not only continued during his administration, but got worse. During Joe Biden's tenure in office. The U S government has done nothing to offer any kind of support to consumers who were crushed by record high inflation that entirely reversed the tiny gains that workers made during the pandemic when there was a bottleneck in the labor market that forced employers to pay workers better, the stock market did well under Biden, but consumers have experienced nothing but pain, and just because we're used to it now, doesn't make it any less painful. Let us not forget that the Biden administration promised Americans a 2,000 bribe to vote for Democrats in 2020. Then, as soon as Democrats won, they allow the Republicans to cut that bribe down to 1,400, defending that cut as a necessary measure to force Americans back to work before he allowed the expanded and refundable child tax credit, which lifted millions of American children out of abject poverty to expire, reinstated student loan repayment, and interfered in union negotiations between railroad unions and employers on behalf of investors, Biden's domestic policy has been one disappointment after another; whether it be his choice to means test and therefore doom student loan forgiveness, his refusal to move on critical criminal justice reform, his complete inability to protect reproductive and gender rights, or his unwillingness to work for legislation to help poor and working Americans afford housing his administration

is a string of broken promises, halfhearted performative outrage, and stunning ineptitude. We have ongoing inflation, underemployment, wage stagnation, and the lack of a living wage, growing child labor, an unchecked housing crisis in major cities and small towns, and critically high levels of food insecurity all across this country, including in my own county where 1 in 5 families are food insecure, and 1 in 3 school age children in my town are eligible for free or reduced price lunch.

I live in Iowa where much of that blame for those numbers falls on the Republican Party and our sociopathic governor, Kim Reynolds, but we certainly do not see any help whatsoever coming from the Federal government or any sign of acknowledgement of this problem in rural America from the Biden administration. Biden will not resolve these crises that Americans experience, he cannot, he is tied completely to the Democratic Party who does the bidding of the owning class in this country.

The Democratic Party is a capitalist party. Joe Biden said in August of 2023, that he is “a capitalist”. He has no empathy for the struggles of the working and the poor families in this country. The socioeconomic system he enthusiastically embraces requires a permanent underclass who are kept poor and desperate to serve as cheap labor for those who make their money and their living exploiting the labor skills and time of others.

Even though this administration currently brags about low unemployment, our economic system would collapse if everyone had a good paying safe, dignified job because capitalism requires a portion of

us to always be hungry, homeless and desperate so that we can be used by them to scare those who are lucky enough to have jobs into accepting low wages, no benefits and unsafe working conditions.

Parties that are fully captured by capitalism have made it their one mission in life to pass policy to ensure that nothing about the reality of the American worker will fundamentally change for any of us. As socialists, Stephanie and I have a different set of priorities than the President of the United States.

Our priorities focus on the advancement of the working class. American workers consistently report that they want good jobs with good wages, where they can feel pride in their work, where they can make enough money to pay their rent, feed and clothe their family and also have something left over to either put something toward the extras in life, or maybe to send their kids to school.

No worker wants to work full time and still be able to qualify for SNAP. They want to be able to stand on their own two feet; retirement would be nice, too. Getting rid of the economic system that exists for the benefit of the wealthy and powerful is the first step to addressing the clarion call of workers all across this country.

We support a Federal Jobs Guarantee, which can take many forms, including a national civilian service program that would redirect wealth and political power away from the capitalists and their servants in the political system and into the hands of working Americans. We support stronger grassroots unions that are not captured by the Democratic Party and their capitalist backers.

We support workers owning and managing their own workplaces and using those workplaces to achieve power in society and control over their own living conditions. Workers know their job far better than absentee bosses or investors serving boards of directors. We support the radical position of fully nationalizing and socializing the Fortune 500, turning those enterprises over to workers to own and run for their benefit and for the benefit of the entire society.

In short, we support fundamental changes in a way that can never return to the capitalist mode, in which our economy exists now. Other programs, our campaign supports for Americans are a National Health Service, which would slash healthcare costs and provide universal access to all, and also make a determined effort to finally address the mental health crisis in our country, which includes compassionate care for individuals who are suffering from mental illness.

We also aim to remove the stigma associated with mental illness.

We also support a no compromise 30 day minimum paid national sick leave as well as family leave for all. Such sick leave could have saved hundreds of thousands of lives during the pandemic, and it can be won by an organized labor force during a period where workers can wield unprecedented leverage and power.

We support a socialist reconstruction for the environment, which goes farther than the Green New Deal, creating jobs in the public sector and addresses ecological destruction without subsidizing the private sector or increasing waste, pollution or horrific labor conditions associated with some renewable technologies. Stopping our

ecological death spiral can only be made possible by ending the multi trillion dollar war machine and putting the large Fortune 500 corporations under democratic, socialized, ownership. The billionaire shareholders who profit from death and ecocide will never stop doing what directly benefits them no matter how much money we throw at them to try to get them to do something different. We also call for radical expansion of substantive democracy by eliminating both corruption in public officials through real accountability and by eliminating barriers to full and meaningful participation in local and state government.

We seek to address the historic wrongs of our society for both slavery and genocide through the formal acknowledgement of our debt our society owes to the descendants of chattel slaves and to Native American nations, to work actively with these communities to begin paying reparations and honor treaties made with indigenous populations.

This campaign is committed to the ideals of economic and social equality. Only as equals can we ever overcome the privilege of a few that keeps the rest of us from controlling the conditions of our own lives. Only as equals can we all move forward together. We can build equality in our society, but we cannot do that as long as capitalism still exists.

We cannot fight capitalism without fighting the racism, sexism, exploitation, and classism that goes to support that capitalism. The fight against capitalism and the fight against supremacism are one and the same fight. And we are committed to that fight.

On foreign policy, the Biden administration has been an absolute disaster after being instrumental in foisting a 20 year long conflict and occupation in Afghanistan on the United States, and then completely mismanaging the end of that occupation, Biden has got us into two additional foreign wars. One in Ukraine and one in Palestine. Democratic neoliberalism and complimentary Republican jingoism has allowed two years of war in Ukraine to continue in a way that lets the U.S. pursue its belligerent foreign policy against Russia at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives, the destruction of Ukraine and more than 120 billion dollars.

In Palestine, the U. S. diplomatic support, financial and military aid, and hypocritical performative outrage has permitted the state of Israel to conduct genocide against the Palestinian people and utter and complete destruction of Gaza. The U.S. is directly behind these immediate conflicts, and capitalism and neoliberalism drive U.S. foreign policy. This says nothing about the way the Biden administration ignores conflicts in places like the Democratic Republic of Congo which have displaced more than half a million of its own people, or commits atrocities against the working people of Yemen, who are protesting Israel's genocidal war against the working people of Palestine. The Biden administration does nothing about the problems our economic system, or our appetite for illicit drugs, or our enthusiasm about exporting arms and ammo abroad, creates in Central and South America then it punishes migrants and refugees who flee to the United States to escape the crime and

violence at their home. Our government accepts no responsibility for the problems their uncritical adherence to capitalism creates. A socialist foreign policy aims at peace first and foremost, whatever else is going on in other countries around the world one of the most serious threats to life and peace and prosperity of the people of other countries is imperialism driven by US capitalists and our private military sector. We aim to end that once and for all. I have long sought to end US intervention in foreign affairs at all levels and reduction in us military spending.

Therefore, it is in these policies, not the policy of war and imperialism that will lead to both peace at home and overseas. The Socialist Party and our campaign has called for a permanent ceasefire in Gaza since the beginning of this conflict. We support the efforts of the Palestinians to achieve peace and have long supported a single state solution in Palestine, which is multi-ethnic, secular, democratic, and free of external interference.

We support a complete and immediate end of us foreign military aid to the state of Israel. The U S is a main instigator in the ongoing conflict in that region. Peace is possible if the US stops using Israel to further its own foreign policy aims. We also support a suspension of military aid for Ukraine.

Currently, the Biden administration is keeping just enough aid going to Ukraine to continue to prop up the Zelensky administration, but not actually win the war. Our policymakers brag about the notion that Ukraine is Russia's quagmire, to use that conflict as a tool to weaken and humiliate

Russia. A withdrawal of military support for Ukraine will force the resolution of that conflict and an end to the death and suffering for both Ukrainian citizens and for Russian conscript soldiers who are being forced to fight in the meat grinder of a new cold war. We call for an immediate withdrawal from US bases overseas. We call for the abolition of NATO and other militaristic belligerent alliances. We call for the US to step down from our position in the UN Security Council; a position it uses almost exclusively to resist the efforts for peace around the world and shield war criminals, foreign and domestic from any sort of accountability for their atrocities. We call for unilateral nuclear disarmament and dismantlement of all strategic and tactical nuclear, biological and chemical weaponry in the U.S. arsenal. We support full funding of the veterans administration, including full mental health care, housing, and vocational programs to try to stem the epidemic of suicide and homelessness among American veterans.

The real difference in this election is not between one evil and a supposedly lesser evil, who are both themselves beholden to the same set of donors and who have essentially the same policies, both foreign and domestic. The difference is between the two major parties and the Socialist Party USA.

This campaign is about a movement. It is about building something that will last after we are gone. It is about starting the conversation. It is about figuring out what we have to collectively do to end global exploitation, war, poverty, hunger, and underemployment once and for all. If you like these ideas and would want to look into them further, visit us at www.spusa2024.org

or join the Socialist Party at www.socialistpartyusa.net Read our principles and platform, find a local or start a local in your area, work with other activists, radical unions, peace movements, students and veterans groups, tenant unions and other groups who are fighting for social justice, economic equality, and radical substantive democracy.

The Socialist Party USA is the most democratically run party in the country today. We will not change anything by waiting on elite politicians to change it for us. We will only change things by finding out what people want and need and organizing and fighting for that every day until we get it. The state of the union is one that is controlled by and for capitalism. The thing that gives me hope is that I know it doesn't have to be that way. We don't have to simply accept that "nothing will fundamentally change". If we want change, we can make change. Thank you and good evening.



Interview



INTERVIEW WITH MATT PERZYK

INTERVIEWER: MATEI ALEXANDRU OF
THE SOCIALIST

Matt Perzyk is a labor organizer with Workers Democracy. Workers Democracy focuses on bringing socialists into unions, reintroducing radicalism and class consciousness to rank-and-file workers, and to bring unions to unorganized workplaces in the United States. They place themselves firmly in the camp of militant class-unionism with the mission of bringing organized labor back to its radical socialist roots.

***The Socialist:* You have a long-term, strong relationship with a large industrial union. How should socialists approach large organized labor institutions to build similar relationships?**

Comrade Perzyk: You have to do the work, do it well, and be willing to make sacrifices. If you are already in a union, be involved, go to the union meetings, run for leadership positions, be vocal amongst your fellow union members. If you are not already a union member, organize your workplace, reach out to any and all relevant unions and at least one ought to pick up the call. From there you need to demonstrate your value to the union as well as your co-workers as an organizer. If you fail the campaign, try again, be willing to risk your livelihood. That's what it means to be a professional revolutionary.

***The Socialist:* Why do you see organized labor as centrally important to a revolutionary working class movement?**

Comrade Perzyk: Nearly all the successful historical socialist revolutions were founded upon trade and labor unions. Without institutions of worker-association, there is no means of exercising revolutionary labor power. This is especially true for countries in the first world.

***The Socialist:* As unions have been separated from their revolutionary, socialist, and class-conscious foundations, economism has returned as a dominant school of thought among many labor leaders**

with few exceptions. Can you describe your criticism of economism and the change in strategy unions should embrace?

Comrade Perzyk: The tendencies of economism and business-unionism have been relevant for well over a century now, however they have not always been the predominant tendencies in organized labor, in fact it was only soon after World War II that class-unionism, the predominant tendency in most of organized labor's history, was stamped out in favor of the former, especially in the United States. The reasons for this reformation are relatively obvious. Class-unionism is, after all, an explicitly anti-capitalist tendency, understanding unions to be political-economic formations of the working-class, for the working-class in its struggle against capitalist exploitation. Simultaneously, it was the communists who led the global charge for labor, establishing class-unionism as the defining tendency through immense work and sacrifice, of which could not be ignored by workers broadly. Thus, the Taft-Hartley Act, paired with the McCarthyism of the early cold war, was an explicit effort to tackle this very real threat to the official order of things. The banning of communists from union leadership, in other words, the most dedicated organizers and staff, was precisely what allowed for economism and business-unionism to take hold, especially as the communists were replaced with mobsters, who were, of course, ruthless businessmen through and through, precipitating the decline of organized labor. This is not to say the mob-connected union bosses were completely treacherous or even ineffective, the car-bombings and hits on anti-union bosses are certainly something to admire (in a very limited capacity), but the radical class-

oriented essence was lost and, as such, the strength of solidarity became more and more limited, to the point of total entropy. We no longer live in the era of the "devil's pact" between the mob and the unions; indeed we now live in the era of the modest liberal-democratic unions, which are somehow even more impotent than in the era before, with this dependency on democratic party politics, and NGO-like activity, and above all else, the persistence of the economic attitude. We are now beginning to see a real shift in labor, where union leaders from Shawn Fein to Sean O'Brien (the era of the based Seans) are beginning to bring back the language and attitudes of the class-unionist historical roots, and I believe it is this, still-marginal although rapidly expanding, reconstitution of union ideology and the more radical perception of the younger generations, which has spurred the recent resurgence of real organized labor power. Unions are not businesses, they are legal-political-economic formations of the working-class, for the working-class, and if they are not treated and organized as such, they will inevitably be crushed by the force of capital.

The Socialist: Interaction with the labor aristocracy is inevitable- how do you navigate a productive relationship with those elements within organized labor?

Comrade Perzyk: Ultimately, we must understand that, as radical organizers, dealing with the labor aristocracy can be a very tricky thing. Labor aristocrats generally tend to avoid elements they deem to be too radical, and thus interaction must be considerably sanitized. Meanwhile, getting too close with the labor aristocracy, can jeopardize principled radical activity, I have seen

communists themselves become economists due to their warm relations with union leadership, and for this reason we must always hold firmly in mind that the labor aristocracy is not who we are to appeal to, but rather the rank-and-file membership, who themselves often become disillusioned with their leadership. Our job is to create radical militant formations within the unions from among the actual workers, whether or not the labor aristocracy likes it. Teamsters for a Democratic Union are a relatively good example of this kind of practice (although still leaving much to be desired). This doesn't mean we should be outwardly hostile or antagonistic with the labor aristocracy, but we must remain thoroughly principled, and call out that which needs to be called out, even if it necessitates antagonism with leadership.

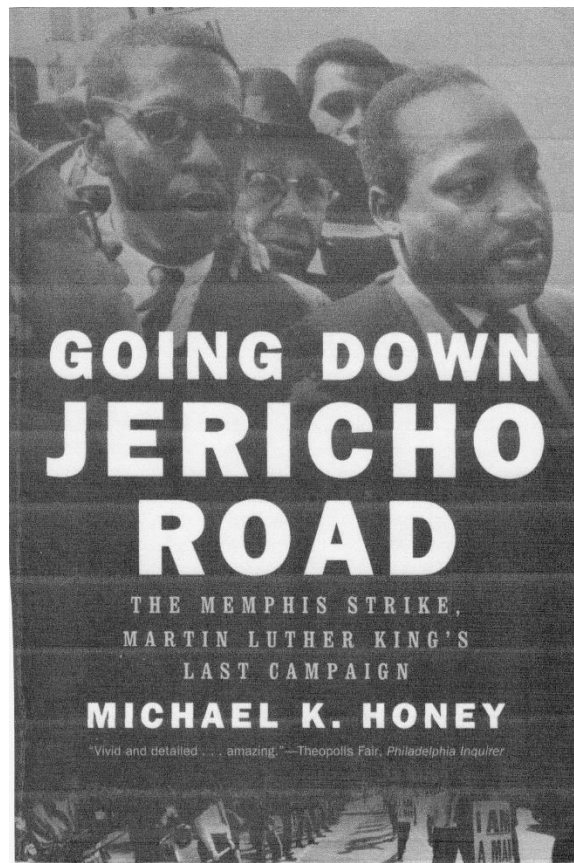
The Socialist: Fear and intimidation can play a decisive role in dismantling union campaigns. How do you encourage your co-workers and keep their spirits up while fighting powerful companies?

Comrade Perzyk: To be frank, most workers today are still incredibly reluctant to engage in the level of struggle necessary to organize into a union, much less build any genuine revolutionary mass movement. Naturally this is heightened by the fact that companies, especially here in New Hampshire, do not give a damn about workers' rights, especially when it comes to a union drive. However, there are means of inspiring courage and dedication among your co-workers. On the one hand, you must build an authentic sense of community, if you're not extroverted, you

will have to force yourself to be; invite your co-workers to the bar after work or organize some likewise event just for the sake of hanging out and bonding. My go-to is to invite co-workers out to pool bars so we can drink and play pool together, as well as days on the shooting range (New Hampshire specific). This will build comradeship in the workplace and with comradeship comes a sense of security and spirit. On the other hand, you must know the law to the best of your ability so that when your co-workers have concerns about risks associated with union campaigns (especially retaliation up to termination) you can effectively reassure them of their rights, making them feel more confident. The National Labor Relations Act is a key resource for understanding workers' rights, especially within the context of organized labor; familiarizing yourself with it will be extremely beneficial to your organizing ability. Also another excellent resource for organizing in general is the Bureau of Labor Statistics website, it has the plain facts about the disparity between union and non-union wages and other good metrics. Which brings me to my final point, you must learn how to communicate things concisely and clearly. Your confidence in what you say is reflected in your co-workers. Now some may feel immediately disqualified from organizing as they may not be the best speakers or the most social people - don't be! Organizing takes practice, the more you put yourself out there and try to inspire people to struggle, the better you will get at it. You have to push past your comfort zone. That's what it takes to be a professional revolutionary.



Book review



Honey, Michael K. 2007. **Going Down Jericho Road: the Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King's Last Campaign.** W. W. Norton & Company, New York, NY. 640p. \$19.95

Memphis in 1968 was ruled by a paternalistic “plantation mentality” embodied in its good-old-boy mayor, Henry Loeb. Wretched conditions, abusive white supervisors, poor education, and low wages locked most black workers into poverty. Then two sanitation workers were chewed up in the back of a faulty truck, igniting a months-long public-employee strike that would shake the nation. With novelistic drama and rich scholarly detail, this “first-rate chronicle” (Seattle Times) relates the riveting story of the 1968 strike that shook Memphis—and claimed Martin Luther King’s life. Read to find out how the lives of the Memphis strikers and Martin Luther King intertwine.

The spring of 1968 was, by all accounts, a chaotic time in the nation and the movement for civil rights and economic justice. King himself was struggling with exhaustion, depression, and a constant sore throat from his non-stop schedule of speaking engagements. At one time the darling of mass media, King was now excoriated in the press for his stance against the Vietnam War. A rising generation of Black and student leaders did not heed the missive of non-violence as a strategy for social change, given the intractable violence of the forces against Black Americans and their demands for justice. While King never wavered in his commitment to non-violence, he was often accused of inciting violence wherever he went. His inner circle of leaders was at odds with each other and with him. Moreover, the

director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, was on a personal mission not only to discredit King, but to destroy him and all he stood for.

What was striking about this crucible time was King’s humanity and the toll of all the pressures he had to endure. He often faltered. Yet at critical moments, he drew from the depths of his own conviction, sense of destiny and solidarity with his faith to speak to those looking to him for hope.

The night before his death, King, citing illness and fatigue, initially chose not to attend the mass meeting to rally those planning to march through the city of Memphis the next day. But when his colleague Ralph Abernathy saw the crowd’s disappointment, he summoned King from his hotel room. Arriving after 9 o’clock that evening, King rose to address several thousand people who had come out in a driving rainstorm. He spoke for nearly an hour, without notes, of what he knew to be true for him and for our nation.

Late at night on April 3, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee, Martin Luther King Jr, interpreted the parable of the Good Samaritan, describing him as the member of a scorned caste who had risked his life to save a person of the dominant race who had been beaten and robbed and left to perish on the dangerous road from Jerusalem to Jericho. King told this story at Mason Temple to people who had risked a dreadful storm to support 1,300 black sanitation workers, part of the city’s working poor, who were

engaged in a desperate months-long strike against the City of Memphis.

The workers and King himself were at a breaking point. A few days earlier at a demonstration, non-strikers had broken windows, setting off a riot by vengeful white police who sent hundreds of demonstrators to the hospital and killed sixteen-year-old, unarmed Larry Payne. King's nonviolent leadership and the strike's success now hung in the balance.

King had been under unendurable stress for months. He encouraged his audience to have hope, but he also told strike supporters of his own terrors going down the Jericho Road, as people had stabbed, jailed, beaten, and repeatedly tried to kill him. At the end of his talk, he declared, "I really don't know what will happen to me now" and virtually predicted his own death. Instead of fearfully standing aside, he told his audience to rally with him to the side of the sanitation workers, no matter the consequences to themselves.

Near the end of what would be his last public speech, King invoked the parable of the Good Samaritan as his rationale for being in Memphis. He pondered aloud all the reasons why two religious leaders would pass by a man wounded on the side of the road without stopping to help, while a man of a despised race would choose otherwise. No doubt they had justifiable reasons not to stop, with which we could all identify.

King had his own theory, though: It's possible these men were afraid. You see, the Jericho road is a dangerous road, winding, meandering and conducive to ambushing... So the first question the Levite asked was "If

I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?" But then the Good Samaritan came by and he reversed the question. "If I do not stop to help this man, what will happen to him?" That is the question before you tonight.³

The question was not what will happen to us if we take the dangerous path of extending our empathy to others, he said, but what will happen to the weak and vulnerable if we do not. "Let us develop a kind of dangerous unselfishness," King declared.

King saw in the sanitation workers' courage and solidarity what he wanted to invoke across the nation—a moment of poor people willing to stand with dignity and peacefully demand full inclusion in American society, including the right to secure safe working conditions and a living wage. He cast his lot with them, for their sake, and for us all. "Let us move on in these days of challenge to make America what it ought to be," he told them. "We have the opportunity to make America a better nation."

The next day on April 4, 1968, an assassin murdered him.

Though this is not a new book, it deserves mention again here in this issue, the labor issue of *The Socialist* magazine. Honey's book is still readily available and should not be missed by this generation of laborers and union members. It is an emotional read, from the height of jubilation to the depth of despair. It is highly recommended for any adult reader who is interested in the history of the labor cause. When reading this book, the reader will feel the solidarity engendered by the labor struggle.

Writing For *The socialist*



***The Socialist* Author Guidelines**

The Socialist is the official magazine of the Socialist Party USA. It is published twice per year. The magazine discusses Socialism and the Socialist Party in the everyday lives of working-class readers, whether it be labor, civil rights, health care, or environmental movements. The magazine publishes two types of general articles – Feature and Short, which differ in content and length. Feature articles are 2,500 to 5,000 words (about 10 to 20 pages) in length and address multiple aspects of a broad topic area. Short articles are 1,500 to 2,500 words (about 6 to 10 pages) in length and focus on a specific topic. Both are written in the same style and format and can include photographs and/or sidebars.

The Socialist seeks to be a forum for discussion of essential questions of Party-building, movement-building, economic theory, and revolutionary praxis by both Party members and the general public. We are committed to stimulating the intellectual and ideological vibrancy of SP-USA and the US socialist movement with provocative essays, articles, fiction, and even poetry. We produce ***The Socialist*** to promulgate socialist ideas and because we seek to develop ourselves and our movement through intellectual labor.

Writing Style

Articles published in ***The Socialist*** must be written in plain English, with the intent to convey information to a generalist readership with basic knowledge of Socialism. Therefore, the article must be written in the everyday language familiar to readers of news magazines such as *Time*, *Newsweek* or *People*.

We prefer there be no more than three (3) authors for articles. Authorship acknowledges only those who **write** the article. Those who support the preparation of the article in other

ways, such as reviewing or other writing assistance must be listed in an Acknowledgments section.

The text must be submitted in electronic format as a Word document, attached to an e-mail message, or through a file transfer service such as Dropbox.

Manuscript

Prepare your paper double-spaced in Word to the best of your ability. Be sure your ideas are presented in a logical form: Introduction; description of the problem or idea, proposed solution to the problem or useful purpose of the idea; Conclusion.

Acknowledgments

This section immediately follows the text of your paper. It contains all recognition of special assistance and/or others associated with your paper.

Sources

List sources you used to develop the paper, immediately following the Acknowledgments section, by citing them in this format:

- For magazines: authors (surname, first name), year of publication, title, volume number, issue number, pages.

Example for a magazine :

Lane, Thomas. 2023. Climate change is here. *Time* 257(12):57-65.

- For books: authors (surname, first name), year of publication, title, publisher, city, state.

Example for a book:

Kane, George and Terrance Blake.
2020. Socialism for today.
Random House, New York, NY.

Photos:

If the subject of your paper requires photos or other graphics, please note in your paper where they are discussed, for example: (Figure 1 Flooding). Submit the photos or other graphics in a separate file. All photos must have short captions and be submitted as .jpg at a resolution of 100+.

Submission

Submit all electronic files associated with your article to:

Mary Nickum, Editor
mjnickum@gmail.com



The Socialist Party USA

WORKING GROUPS

Labor Working Group – brings together Socialist Party USA members to organize around labor issues, the labor movement and labor unions, providing members guidance in building a militant working class movement doing such actions as strike support, working with unions and working with other working groups in the SP USA.

Ecosocialist Working Group – is a group of Party members concerned with the environment and the future of life on this planet. We set to investigate the causes of climate change and its effect on the lives of people. Based on the best scientific information available, we seek to educate people *via* a webinar series available on You-Tube.

The Anti-War/Anti-Imperialism Working Group – has been established to aid the Party in organizing and educating against Imperialism, war, and oppression in all of its forms. Being in the heart of the Imperial core, we have an obligation to fight US Imperialism at home and abroad, from Gentrification to Genocide. “Peace

is not the absence of war, but the presence of justice.” - Rosa Luxemburg

COMMISSIONS

Women’s Commission is a place where members in good standing who face marginalization and systemic oppression due to their gender can organize, discuss, and reach consensus on all things specific to our emancipation from patriarchy. Comrades who are women (cis and trans), non-binary, agender, two-spirit and other queer and/or nonbinary comrades are welcome and encouraged to join! Contact Stephanie at cholensky.s@gmail.com

People of Color Commission – aims to enhance the representation of ethnic communities within the SP-USA and combat racism within all levels of society. We advocate for non-violent direct action and serve as an educational resource for SP-USA regarding people of color communities.



Join the Socialist Party USA

I, the undersigned, desiring to bring about, by democratic means, a new society based upon socialism, hereby apply for membership in the SOCIALIST PARTY USA, and subscribe to its principles.

Name: _____ Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Signature: _____ Today's Date: _____

Gender Identity (not required): _____ DOB: _____

Race/Ethnicity: _____

E-mail: _____ Tel# _____

Other political organizations to which I belong: _____

Union to which I belong (if any): _____

If a student, what school do you attend? _____

I'm interested in the following Working Groups:

Ecosocialism Labor Anti-War

Commissions:

People of Color Women's

Other interests _____

Socialist Party USA Annual Dues Rates

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Tier 2: \$10 a month or \$120 a year - for annual incomes from \$25,001 to \$35,000

Tier 3: \$15 a month or \$180 a year - for annual incomes from \$35,001 to \$50,000

Tier 4: \$20 a month or \$240 a year - annual incomes from \$50,001 to \$65,000

Tier 5: More than \$20 a month or more than \$240 a year - incomes over \$65,000

Monthly dues will only be available through setting up a regular credit or debit card payment. If a member's credit or debit card is declined, they will be notified by the National Secretary and will immediately enter into the 30 grace period.

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