

The Debs Foundation Newsletter

P.O. BOX 843, TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA 47808-0843



FALL, 2004

BRUCE RAYNOR TO RECEIVE EUGENE V. DEBS AWARD

This year's award banquet will honor Bruce Raynor, one of the labor movement's most successful organizers. Since the days of the J.P. Stevens campaign in the 1970s, Raynor has been at the center of every major organizing effort mounted by first the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and then by UNITE. In July of this year, UNITE and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union joined to form UNITE HERE, and Raynor was elected its first General President. Bruce Raynor now leads a union of some 400,000 members, and the new union has set a bold agenda of organizing in the hospitality, laundry, and related industries.



PHOTO BY CLARK JONES / UNITE HERE.

BRUCE RAYNOR
President of UNITE HERE

Bruce Raynor also has been one of the most consistent critics of the U.S. Government trade policies and international agreements which are harmful to American workers, sending their good-paying jobs overseas and driving down wages, benefits, and working conditions to near the levels in third world countries. The banquet date is November 20, the Saturday before Thanksgiving. The annual Debs Award banquets are a rare opportunity for those of a Progressive, Debsian bent to join in honoring an individual whose life work has made major contributions to social life, and also to be uplifted and reinvigorated by celebrating with a group of like-minded persons. We urge you to join us in this celebration. Other details of the banquet—time, place, presentation, Anne Feeney as singer—are given elsewhere in this newsletter. Hope to see you November 20!

The 2004 Award Banquet *What To Expect*

The presentation or keynote speaker for this year's award banquet is to be Michael Sullivan, the General President of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association since 1998 and Debs Foundation president since 2002. The respect and esteem in



MICHAEL SULLIVAN
Pres., Sheet Metal Workers, Pres., Eugene V. Debs Fdn.

which Mr. Sullivan is held by the rank and file of his union is evidenced by his election to a five-year term in 1999, but also by the enthusiastic response from sheet metal workers when in the year 2000, Sullivan was awarded the prestigious Debs Award. He is recognized in the ranks of organized labor as part of a new generation of labor leaders who bring new approaches to organizing and to incorporating new members into their union's affairs.

Mike Sullivan succeeded Jack Sheinkman as President of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in 2002. Mike is an Indiana native and grew up union and an admirer of Eugene Debs. We are fortunate to have his leadership in the foundation. Those of us who have heard him have come to expect a thoughtful, clear enunciation of Progressive principles and an informed critique of the working people's concerns in contemporary society. Anne Feeney has been a feature of our banquets for a number of years. Her songs of protest, pertaining to working class life and an array of social issues ranging from war to the environment, are presented in a moving and even entertaining fashion. just another reason to attend November 20. Ticket order information appears elsewhere in this issue. There also is important information on the hotel situation that weekend for banquet guests who wish to stay in Terre Haute overnight.

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The 2004 Banquet Date Hassle

Never before has the scheduling of the award banquet been such a struggle. We started early and thought we had “locked-in” the date of November 6. Then we got reminded of the grim reality that a few things at ISU trump non-university events such as the Debs Foundation. This year all those trump cards came into play. A large athletic event happening in Terre Haute came into play, actually two of them, both related to cross country regionals and nationals. ISU did the unprecedented by shifting its homecoming date to November 6 to accommodate the regionals. Then, the NCAA made a late ruling regarding pre-season basketball games, which forced the revision of men’s basketball pre-season in November. So, the crucial elections this year had precluded having the banquet in October, and other trump cards popped up to leave us with the weekend before Thanksgiving for our award banquet.

But that’s not the end of the story. The NCAA cross country nationals are held the same weekend, so hotel accommodations will be a premium. We alerted the membership of this in an earlier mailing. *If you will need hotel accommodations when you attend the banquet, don’t wait.* Use the hotel information provided in this newsletter to assist you in making reservations. Good luck!

A Rough Season for Charter Members

Two on the once lengthy list of charter members of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation passed away within weeks of each other in late Spring. **Howard Hamilton** was one of that small group of ISU professors and labor leaders who, after meeting with the contractor who at the time owned the home, set about the task of digging into their own pockets and soliciting from others to come up with the required amount of earnest money and then set about the larger task of raising the required funds for purchase of the place and undertaking a massive renovation and restoration. Then a young Political Science professor at ISU, Howard Hamilton contacted all his Socialist friends and other progressive acquaintances soliciting contributions. Hamilton’s support of the Debs Foundation never wavered, although his departure from Terre Haute for teaching stints in Ohio Universities had the effect of taking him out of the highly activist role he played in the start-up phase of the organization.

Edward K. Spann was another young faculty member, professor of History, who became a charter member, and his continuation on the faculty of the university allowed his active and continuous involvement in and support of the Debs Foundation. Spann was a prolific author, and two of his books included sections on the contributions of Eugene Debs to the Progressive era in American society. For a decade, the Spann family sponsored a literary prize award through the Debs Foundation, an award which attracted nationwide attention from those whose creative writing reflected a critique of American society from a social reform perspective.

One should recognize that in those years when the Debs Foundation was founded it was not popular in conservative Indiana to be associated with the likes of the “radical” Eugene Debs, but this did not deter these two, along with

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Noel Beasley, *Executive Vice President*

Charles King, *Secretary*

Woodrow Creason, *Treasurer*

The *Debs Foundation Newsletter* is published twice yearly for distribution to members and friends of the Foundation. The Eugene V. Debs Foundation is a non-profit, private organization which maintains the home of Eugene and Kate Debs as a museum and shrine to labor, and carries on educational and informational programs which aim to honor and promote the goals for which Debs struggled: industrial unionism, social justice, and peace. For those wishing to become members, an application form is provided elsewhere in this issue.



DEBS FOUNDATION 25TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

From Right: Spann, Constantine, Hamilton, Culver

other professors such as Constantine, Creason, Stephenson, and Dyche. Woody Creason recalls that University President Holmstedt was criticized for allowing all those “commies” to teach. Holmstedt responded that, first of all there was the principle of academic freedom, and secondly they were among the best teachers he had. A foundation member who was a student of Howard Hamilton wrote as follows recalling his remembrances of Professor Hamilton:

Greetings,

Please accept the enclosed contribution in memory of the late Howard Hamilton.

I was a student of Dr. Hamilton at Indiana State University in the early '60s. He was as fine a professor as I ever had, and not only contributed to my knowledge and understanding of political science, but helped me to understand and adopt progressive political views. His influence will continue to be remembered and appreciated.

*Sincerely,
John C. Kite
Attorney*

The Debs Foundation is fortunate that Howard and Ed passed this way.

C.D.K.

Debs One Hundred Years Ago More Struggle, Trial and Error

Exactly a century ago, 1904, was an important election year for democratic socialism. The election results showed that the Socialist Party had virtually quadrupled its electorate in just four years, receiving 400,000 votes. The years since Debs' first run for president had not been easy. Debs had worked tirelessly trying to build the party, but efforts were continually plagued with internal strife, splits over goals and tactics. There were serious disagreements over the relations of unions to politics, what form political action should take, and whether or not workers' rights could ever be protected in a capitalist society.

Generally, a common bond for all socialist factions was their anti-capitalism. A major theme in the 1904 campaign was the growth of monopolies. At the 2nd National Convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago, May 1, 1904, Debs expressed his views thusly:

Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a modern Democratic convention. He would have as little business with them as Abraham Lincoln would have in a modern Republican convention. If they were living today, they would be delegates to this convention. (Ginger, Bending Cross, 230)

I dare say readers of this newsletter share similar sentiments today, if for no other reason than the glaringly obvious corporate influence over the 2004 elections.

But the socialist had a lot over which to disagree, and disagree they did often between 1900 and 1904. Debs and Big Bill Haywood, in 1902, organized an American Labor Union which endorsed the Socialist Party. This was vigorously denounced as a serious tactical error by such socialist as Fred Heath and Victor Berger, who were in firm control of the Central Labor Union (AFL) of Milwaukee. Heath and Berger saw Debs and Haywood as splitting the socialists by their attempt to build up a rival labor organization to the AFL. The Debs-Haywood association would shortly thereafter produce a rival labor organization in different form.

All international bickering was largely laid aside after Debs was designated the Socialist Party candidate for

President. Debs' total commitment to the campaign is described vividly by Ray Ginger:

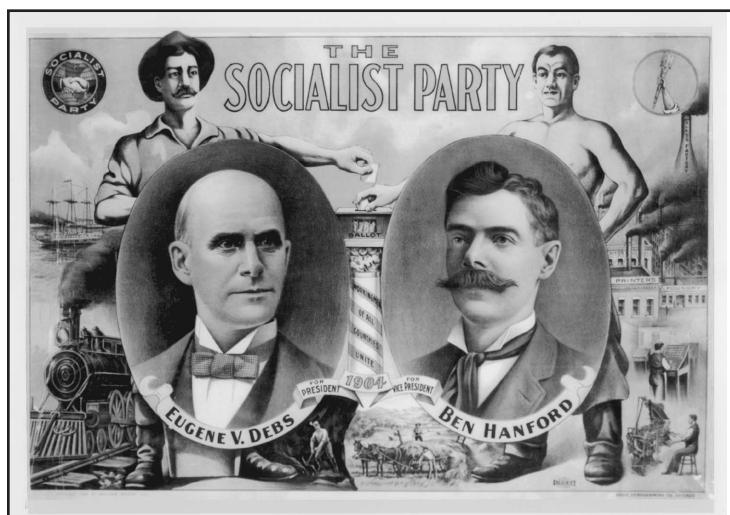
Each week Debs gave seven speeches of two hours length, rode more than a thousand miles in stifling, filthy day coaches, slept in dirty country hotels, ate greasy food and lumpy potatoes, seldom saw his wife and parents, had few friends whom he met more than three or four times a year, gave up all the usual comforts and luxuries of life. (Bending Cross, 223)

Debs had been a reluctant draftee to seek public office, but as a totally committed servant of the workers, he could be subject to a draft and would be again and again. An amusing yet telling commentary on the pervasiveness of corporate power is the incident which occurred when Debs was on his way from San Francisco to Los Angeles for an evening speaking engagement. Debs had, in

protest, refused to ride in a Pullman sleeping car since 1894, but on this day, in Bakersfield, the conductor announced that every day coach on the train would be sidetracked. Thus, in order to keep his Los Angeles engagement, Debs had to continue in a Pullman car. When Debs arrived in Los Angeles, newsboys were already hawking the L.A. Times: "All about Debs Riding into L.A. in a Pullman." This obvious conspiracy between the

California railroads and the L.A. Times inadvertently gave Debs' evening appearance immense free publicity, and he spoke to an unusually large and enthusiastic audience. The event also was given the full press coverage usually denied Debs' campaign appearances.

Debs came back to Terre Haute after the 1904 election to rest and recuperate, but time was still left in 1904 to initiate steps to form a rival union federation to the AFL. In a secret letter mailed on December 22, 1904, thirty radical leaders were invited to a meeting in Chicago on January 2, 1905, "to discuss ways and means of uniting the working people of America on correct revolutionary principles." Thus had Debs joined with other radicals such as Haywood and Mother Jones to initiate a fascinating chapter in the history of the American labor movement. More on that next year.



C.K.

Worth Reading, Viewing, Discussing

I confess, I rarely read books anymore, neither professional ones nor fiction. Most are not worth the time or money. Neither do I attend movies, for the same reasons. This year, however, I cut loose and did both: attended Fahrenheit 9/11 and read What's the Matter with Kansas. Both in my estimation were best buys. Michael Moore's 9/11 needs no introduction. It contains mainly documentary footage, and anyone who doesn't like Moore's interpretation of the indisputable events and actions should provide his or her own explanation. See how convincing you can be. The Bushites don't like the interpretation, but instead of entering into the public dialogue with their own explanation, they smear the messenger—"Why Does Michael Moore Hate America?" Or, he needs a bath and a shave! No doubt to their dismay, they inadvertently gave the movie lots of free advertising.

What's the Matter with Kansas has made the best-seller list, deservedly so. The title suggests an exclusive focus on conservatism in one state, but it is prototypical for all the "Bible Belt:" rural South and Plains states. Although based on social science analysis, the book is couched in highly readable prose. The analysis focuses on how radical, right-wing conservatives won the hearts of a majority of voters in these regions and captured the Republican party. The premise is this: the radicals perceived that values trump economics. Historically, rural Americans have barely gotten by, barely made ends meet. These rural and small-town voters will endure economic hardship as long as values—read "family" values—are right. The movement started in Topeka, Kansas with the abortion issue, and rabid anti-abortion activism has continued as a key "hot-button" issue. Added to this are gun control—guns are needed to protect the family, taxes—that's a freedom of choice issues, how your money will be

spend, and public schools—which allegedly have been corrupted by liberal, godless professional educators and labor unions. Don't forget school prayer!

In the 2004 elections, the radical right has been handed another hot-button issue: same sex marriage (threatening the "time-honored," "universally recognized," relationship of a man and a woman). Bush is counting on his stand on these "family values" to rally his conservative base and to pull in a lot of other "good American" voters.

Getting back to the book, the "matter" with Kansas

The way Kansas was a century ago: A Populist Hotbed. When in early 1898, Debs arrived for a speech in Topeka, Kansas, "he was received at the Statehouse by the Governor and the Supreme Court Judges. All of these officials sat on the speakers' platform to hear Debs praise socialism."
(Ray Ginger, Bending Cross, p.197)

is not that is citizens favor secure families and sound education and are patriotic. The problem is that most are economically at best lower-middle class, yet they support an administration whose policies benefit overwhelmingly the super-rich upper 2% or less. They will do this as long as an administration can convince them it supports "good" family values. Values trump economics.

Thought: to most Progressives, economic well-being is a core family value. If household income isn't enough to provide food, shelter, clothing, health care, and good education, what good are these other family values?

C.D.K.

This form is provided mainly for new members. The 2005 Dues Notice will be included in the December Membership mailing.

NOTE: Please check here if this is a:
 RENEWAL
 NEW MEMBERSHIP

2004 Membership Dues: The Eugene V. Debs Foundation 2004

NAME _____
 STREET _____
 CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

_____ \$ 5.00 Student Member _____ \$100.00 Sustaining Member
 _____ \$10.00 Regular Member _____ \$250.00 Life Members
 _____ \$25.00 Supporting Member _____ Other

Enclose remittance. Make checks payable to the Debs Foundation.
 The Debs Foundation • P.O. Box 843 • Terre Haute, IN 47808-0843
 We are a voluntary organization, so your dues and contributions are tax deductible. The Foundation owns and maintains the Debs Home and offers several educational and cultural programs.

Below The Radar Is No News The Latent Power of the Presidency

NOTE: This essay was written the day in September in which President Bush went before the United Nations to deliver what in essence was another campaign speech, meant for domestic consumption, but from the "bully pulpit" of the U.N. podium.

We must depend on the press to provide us information on day-to-day actions of the president. The same for analysis. Presumably, the press covers all the news that is important, including what the president says and does. The Bush presidency has tightly controlled access, so the press learns to avoid criticizing policies, asking about embarrassing or damaging details, etc. for fear of reprisal. This includes even fear of organized bombardment of advertiser to pull advertising from "liberal-biased" newspapers and broadcasters. The press today is part of the entertainment industry, and consequently events which are not exciting, sensational, gory, sexy, or politically safe just fall below the radar. It simply doesn't make the news.

The consequence of this unfortunate state of affairs is that many seemingly small actions fall below the threshold of what is reported, leaving the public unaware of what is going on. For instance, how often does the news report President Bush or Senator Hatch (R. Utah) lambasting the democrats, in highly moral tones, for obstructing the judicial appointment proceedings. Likewise, the news discusses frequently the make-up of the U.S. Supreme Court, and the awesome power of the President in nominating justices. But how often does the press cover the appointments to roughly 140 federal judiciary positions, which during the first three years of the Bush administration have sailed through almost without notice. These are the judges who largely determine what cases ever come before the U.S. Supreme Court. Of course, the justices of the highest court in the land are extremely powerful, but how cases are dealt with at other levels of the federal judiciary helps determine how and if, regardless of merit, a case will be heard by the Supreme Court. We can be certain that all those judicial appointments which have made it through Orin Hatch's Senate Committee and passed the Senate have passed the litmus test of being "pro-family."

A list of important facts and events which have hardly gotten above the radar would test your critical awareness or—did you know—as regards small events (which in their cumulative effect are highly consequential). 1) Did you know that when Jake Garner had his team ready to go to Baghdad to administer reconstruction, in February 2002, he suddenly got a call from Rumsfeld to cut 16 of the 20 State Department persons on the team? They were cutting State Department people who were deemed to be Arabic apologists, or squishy about the U.N. or in some way politically incorrect to the right-wing ideologies

at the White House or the neocons in the office of the Secretary of Defense. The vetting process got so bad that even doctors sent to restore medical services had to be anti-abortion. Wonder why Garner appeared so ineffective and why reconstruction lost so much crucial time!

2) Did you know about a clever gimmick which is a key element in Bush's "forest management initiative?" It calls for community input in the decision-making process. This provides a say for the citizens of the given community, often an isolated town largely dependent on employment in timber cutting, in whether or not to log in the national forests is a matter of economic survival. Any surprise that their preference would be to log, log, log! Cut down the commercially valuable old growth timber, which are the trees most resistant to forest fires. Most major forest fires are, especially in their early stages, more appropriately brush fires, where the old growth timber had been cut decades ago, and there has been no forest management since. Cutting old growth is highly profitable, while managing the reforestation is in the short term not profitable.

3) Did you know how war has changed its face? Today's wars are mainly civil wars. As with the U.S. Civil War, such conflicts last longer, are more cruel, women and children more often the victims, child soldiers often are forced into doing the killing, and the scars of civil war—physical and emotional—will last longer, even for generations.

4) Did you know that for three months, while President Bush has been out on the campaign trail bragging about how our war policies have brought freedom to Afghanistan and Iraq, and declaring that democracy is a sure and certain outcome, all these months he has had a decidedly gloomy intelligence assessment of possible outcomes in Iraq, with a rating of chances for democracy as at best shaky, and with equal chances for bloody civil war.

5) There is overwhelming evidence that Bush has no plan for fixing the mess he has created in the Middle East. This is why Molly Ivins, Bill Maher, and others are asking should John Kerry be required to have a clear and guaranteed plan for how to fix it?

6) Did you know that, objectively speaking, both Bush and Kerry have a lot of flip-flops, and re-flips on their record. Why is it that all we read and hear about are the Kerry flip-flops? Where is that liberal press!

The list could go on and on, but space does not permit. But one last thought: whose fault is it that the general public is so ill-informed? Is it the lack of an independent, critical press, or is it the lack of interest on the part of the public? The answer could be yes on both counts.

The hotels listed here have national toll-free numbers if you prefer to make that trade-off between saving on the phone call and dealing with someone local. The Days Inn (former Larry Bird's Boston Connection) and Travelodge are nearest to the Debs Home and Heritage Ballroom—on 3rd St. (Highway 41). The others are clustered near the I-70—3rd St. exit.

HOTELS WITH POSSIBLE ROOM AVAILABILITY

Days Inn	812-235-3333	Pear Tree Inn	812-234-4268
Travelodge	812-232-7075	Fairfield Inn	812-235-2444
Knights Inn.....	812-234-9931	Drury Inn	812-238-1206
Super 8 Lodge	812-232-4890	Hampton Inn	812-242-2222
Motel 6	812-238-1586	Ramada Limited.....	812-232-8006
Comfort Suites	812-235-1770		

Vignettes

Food for Thought

A Conservative's View

Excerpts from Pat Buchanan's Where the Right Went Wrong (source: New York Times Advertisement)

On George W. Bush:

"By mid-2004, the president had failed to abolish a single significant agency, program, or department of a Leviathan government that consumes a fifth of our economy. As custodian of the national economy and decisive actor in the management of the Budget of United States, **George W. Bush has compiled a fiscal record of startling recklessness.**"

On Today's G.O.P.:

"The GOP may be Reaganite in its tax policy, but is Wilsonian in its foreign policy, FDR in its trade policy, and LBJ all the way in its spending policies. Pragmatism is the order of the day. **The Republican philosophy might be summarized thus: To hell with principle; what matters is power, and that we have it and that they do not.**"

On Iraq:

"We invaded a country that did not threaten us, did not attack us, and did not want war with us, to disarm it of weapons we have since discovered it did not have. **We may have ignited a war of civilizations it was in our vital interest to avoid.** Never has America been more resented and reviled in an Islamic world of a billion people."

On "Economic Treason"

"The most awesome industrial machine the world has ever seen has been gutted...**Free trade is a bright, shining lie.**"

On Religion And Politics:

"Where LBJ funded community groups to build a power base in the cities independent of mayors, **George W. Bush plans to fund God's Pork for 'faith-based' groups to enable Republicans to get a foot in the church door by making the pastor dependent on federal dollars.**"

The Danger in Rising Consumption Levels... we have created a bubble economy, one whose output is artificially inflated by overconsumption of the earth's natural capital. Throughout history, humans have lived on the earth's sustainable yield—the interest from its natural endowment. But now we are consuming the endowment itself. In ecology, as in economics, we can consume principal along with interest in the short run, but in the long run it leads to bankruptcy.

Unfortunately, since September 11, 2001, political leaders and the media worldwide have been preoccupied with terrorism and, more recently, the war in **Iraq**. **Terrorism** is certainly a matter of concern, but **if it diverts us from the environmental trends that are undermining our future until it is too late to reverse them, Osama Bin laden and his followers will have achieved their goal in a way that even they could not have imagined.**

Source: Earth Policy Institute Newsletter, Summer 2004



Implications Drawn from 9/11 Report

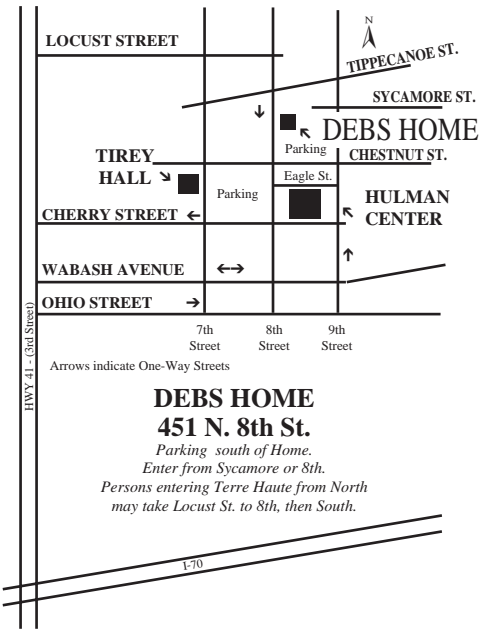
And as far as the U.S embrace of Ariel Sharon goes, nothing could be more harmful in the effort to win what the report calls "the struggle of ideas." There is simply no way to incorporate Israel's ongoing occupation into a "message of opportunity" for Arabs and Muslims. you can't square the circle. Until the United States requires Israel to come to a just peace with the Palestinians, or until the United States stops uncritically supporting Israel's occupation, the well of resentment against America will only deepen.

Source: M. Rothschild, *The Progressive*, Sept. 04

Comment: *On September 21, 2004, a massive sale of "smart bombs" for Israel was announced. Such bombs are capable of penetrating up to six feet of concrete.*

C.D.K.

ANNUAL AWARDS BANQUET TERRE HAUTE November 20 2004 Honoring BRUCE RAYNOR	
SCHEDULE OF EVENTS Afternoon 1:00 to 5:00 p.m.: Debs Home Open Evening 6:00 p.m.: Social Hour and Reception (cash bar), Tirey Hall, Heritage Ballroom, ISU 7:00 p.m.: Banquet Honoring Bruce Raynor	
The fall business meeting will be Sunday, November 21, at 9:00 a.m. at the Debs Home	



Parking is free in ISU lot south of Debs Home, and one block west of Tirey (lot entered from Cherry, or from 4th (one-way north)).

Individual Greetings

You have the opportunity to participate in sending greetings in either of two forms. For a listing of your name (one or two persons), send \$20. For a listing which includes your personal greeting not to exceed 20 words, send \$30. Indicate if not attending the banquet in order that a copy of the souvenir program can be mailed. This order must be received by November 8. Use space at bottom of this page to provide name, \$20 or \$30 listing (include message) and if attending the banquet. Your greeting honors the Award Recipient, Bruce Raynor, and the Debs Foundation as well.

Dinner Ticket Order

\$30 per ticket, Table of 8 is \$210
Students K-College - 1/2 price

NOTE

We offer a choice of entrees. Please **indicate your choice when you order tickets and again at the door.**

Name _____

_____ X \$30 = \$ _____
number of amount
tickets enclosed

Chicken Dijonnaise _____
Number

Pasta delsol _____
Number

Tickets must be paid in advance, checks payable to The Debs Foundation, P.O. Box 843, Terre Haute, IN 47808. Please check one of the following options.

Hold tickets at the door, in the name of _____
(actualy the preferred way)

Mail my tickets to the following address:

Inquiries may be directed to Charles King, 812-237-3443.

Program Listing	\$20.00 _____
	\$30.00 _____
Name or Names:	

(If not attending banquet, provide mailing address across left).	

The Emperor's New Language

If words stop meaning what they mean by common convention, then the basis for community is lost. It is not necessary to go to the extremes of an Orwellian society where power and control rest on thought control, and where war is peace, slavery equals freedom, and ignorance is strength. What may appear to be minor changes in technical specifications, arcane details of bureaucratic classification, or choices of terms, may actually have grave implications for matters of human welfare, environmental quality, and war and peace....

High unemployment is always a political problem for incumbent governments, but especially when the lost jobs are high-paying ones. In the United States, some 3 million well-paying manufacturing jobs have been lost since George W. Bush entered the White House, and total manufacturing employment is down to levels last seen a half century ago. What to do?

The 2004 edition of the annual *Economic Report of the President* has hit upon a solution. It suggests that perhaps jobs in the fast-food sector—where wages are on average one-third those in manufacturing—should be regarded as manufacturing jobs. The report asks, “When a fast-food restaurant sells a hamburger, for example, is it providing a ‘service’ or is it combining inputs to ‘manufacture’ a product?”....

If you trust the explanations offered by the media, joblessness in Europe is high because these societies are saddled with burdensome welfare states and rigid

labor laws. The U.S. economy, by contrast, is a lean and mean job creation machine. Or is it?

The U.S. government counts anyone working as little as a single hour per week as employed (whereas the German government requires at least 15 hours per week). The United States also appears to be far more willing to drop people out of the statistics if, having lost hope of finding a job, they stop actively looking for openings....

The easiest way to conceal one's true intentions may be to call one's actions the direct opposite of what they are. The Bush administration, for example, has proven very imaginative in naming its actions and policy initiatives. “Clear Skies,” “Healthy Forests,” and “No Child Left Behind” all conjure wholesome, desirable visions of the future. But the result of these policies are more polluted air, denuded forests, and shortchanged education. The impact of “clear Skies,” for example, will be 50 percent more sulfur dioxide emissions, almost 40 percent more nitrogen oxides, and three times as much mercury pollution than if the 1970 Clean Air Act were fully enforced. The utility industry will be able to continue its violations of established law and reap higher profits, but at the cost of far more deaths related to air pollution.

Excerpted from an essay by Michael Renner in World Watch, July/August 2004

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