



WORKERS OPPOSES WORLD WAR

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!



Danger grows of U.S.-NATO shooting war vs. Iran

Reagan refuses to abide by War Powers Act

By John Catalinotto

OCT. 11
Labor gives strong support to Oct. 11 national lesbian and gay march. 5



'MANDELA'
New movie is stirring account of anti-apartheid fight. 7



By mid-October there will be a 70-ship concentration of imperialist naval power in the Gulf. This is the largest fleet gathered in one area and coordinating their command since the Korean War 35 years ago. The U.S. will have the biggest contingent, with a carrier group from France, frigates and destroyers from Britain, frigates and minesweepers from Italy and a few minesweepers each from the Netherlands and Belgium.

These are exactly the countries which were the major exploiters of Middle East oil since it was discovered in the Gulf region. Now, eight years after the Iranian revolution threw out the shah and much of Washington's influence with him, these imperialist powers are back under U.S. hegemony, trying to regain control with gunboat diplomacy.

The White House claims the goal of this flotilla is an end to the Iraq-Iran War, but it has used every incident to attack Iran. This was true even when it was an Iraqi jet which hit the U.S. frigate Stark last May, (Continued on page 6)

70 Western warships in Gulf

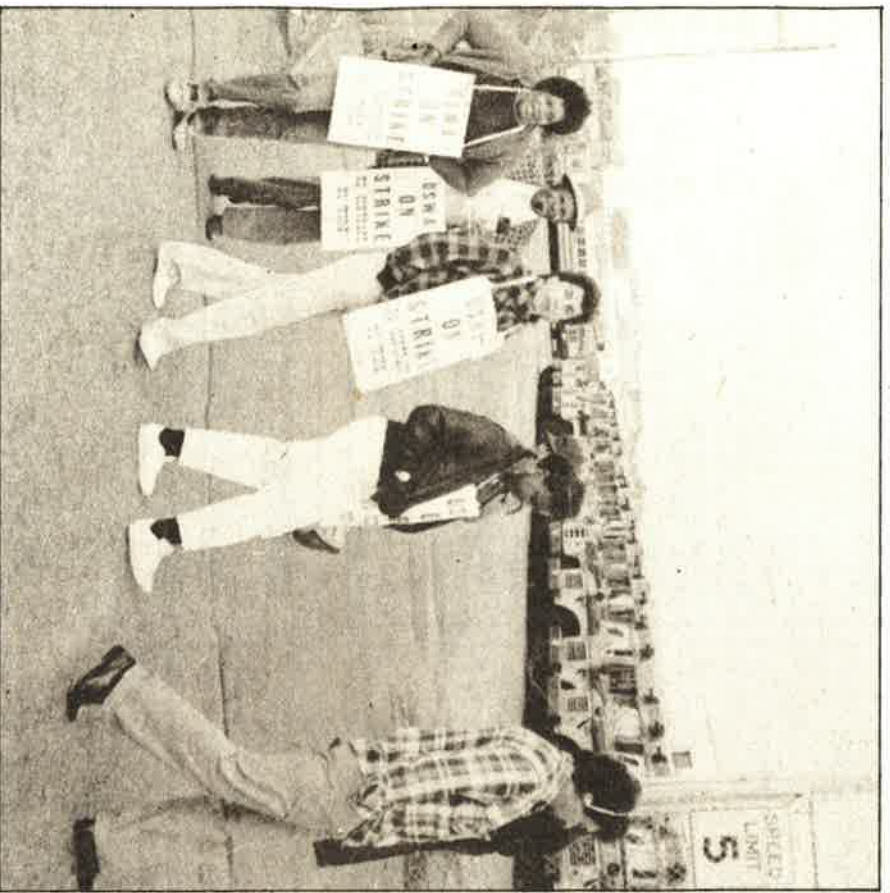
The message from the White House, that the U.S. was "not yet at war with Iran," was menacing. Adding to the belligerent atmosphere was Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's departure for a five-day visit to U.S. forces in the Gulf, where the U.S. has managed to gather a flotilla of warships from five West European countries.

Anti-racists win round in Texas death penalty case

By Joanne Gavin
Conroe, Texas

not "conducive to a fair administration of justice." The judge was referring to what the growing movement to free Brandley has objected to all along: the racist, lynch-mob hysteria in this county, located in the heart of Klan country, where Brandley was tried.

This ruling raised the hopes of the numerous members of the Coalition to Free Clarence Brandley, whose ongoing struggle has been responsible for a stay of execution for (Continued on page 4)



WM PHOTO: PETER COOK

SOLIDARITY

Striking Boston bus drivers build rock-solid unity. 2

Striking Boston drivers build rock solid unity

Bulletin: On Sept. 23, Black political leader Mel King stood shoulder to shoulder with 150 picketers in a show of solidarity with the Boston school bus strike. King explained that he had worked with USWA Local 8751 for 14 years in the struggle for desegregation. Pointing to the union's Black and Latino membership, he called it "insulting" to say that the union was against desegregation and blasted the school superintendent, some School Committee members and the media for making the charge.

By Steve Gillis
Picket Captain, USWA Local 8751
Boston

September 21 — For the 650 striking Boston school bus drivers, USWA Local 8751, what is at stake is not only a just contract with decent wages, benefits and working conditions. For the sixth time in as many strikes the drivers are having to defend their legal right as private employees to strike against multi-million dollar bus companies.

On the picket line

Teacher strikes. The biggest teachers' strike this year, in Chicago, continues as of this writing, with 29,000 school workers walking picket lines. The members of AFT Local 1 are fighting against a 1.7% wage takeback unilaterally imposed by the school board, and for wage increases of 10% and 5% in a two-year contract. Chicago teachers make as little as \$16,000 per year. Meanwhile, school workers in Elizabeth, N.J., are waging a militant fight in the face of tremendous

pressure to give up. A superior court judge cited the union and all 2,000 strikers for contempt of court last week, and imposed fines of two days' wages for every day the strike continues. Michael G. Scarpato, president of the Elizabeth Education Association, called that "a bullying tactic," but said, "That's not going to end the strike." And it hasn't, with Elizabeth teachers angrily continuing their struggle. Among other school strikes still on are North Allegheny, Pa., and Plainfield, N.J.

One element that has greatly strengthened the strike and increased union consciousness is the solidarity of the mechanics on the picketline. They recently joined the local, and are also on strike for their first union contract.

Racist attack on multinational union
The School Committee last week narrowly defeated by a 7-6 vote a racist plan to re-segregate students in neighborhood schools. This plan was billed by bigots on the committee as a way to deal with the striking drivers. The plan was immediately attacked by the attorney for the Black plaintiffs in the 1973 federal desegregation case.

In response, Robert Traynham, a Black shop steward for Local 8751, said, "I marched with Dr. King in 1963, fought for desegregation, and my children go to desegregated schools. As a child in West Virginia, I had to walk past three white schools to get to mine. This union has strongly supported desegregation since its founding. What the courts should do is

demand that the companies sit down and negotiate."
In another effort to try and shift responsibility for the strike onto the union, the bus companies and School Department spread an insulting lie that two factions exist in the union. Unfortunately, the president of the local, James Barrett, was duped into becoming a party to this scheme.

The Boston Globe, Sept. 22, featured an article in which Superintendent of Schools Laval Wilson, bus company manager Michael Kennedy and Barrett launched an attack on the militant rank and file by slandering Chief Shop Steward Stevan Kirschaum. Following an emergency session of strike leaders, the executive board, the negotiating committee, the international, and delegates of rank-and-file workers, the drivers immediately held a news conference and issued this statement:

"The school department, the bus companies and their ally the Globe have fantasized a spit out of a healthy democratic debate, the type which resulted in two unanimous strike votes from our membership. There are no factions in this union. We are 100% behind this strike. We are 100% united behind our negotiating position."

While the media has provided a smokescreen of distortions, the companies have used the sham of calling for a mediator to stall and block negotiations. In fact at mediated negotiations, the companies reintroduced a number of demands for concessions they had earlier withdrawn.

Bus drivers receive no paid sick days, no pension plan, yearly layoffs, few benefits, and many earn wages below the poverty level. For them the fight will continue tomorrow at 5 a.m. on the picketlines.



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BUILDING FUND

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46 W. 21 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010 Telephone: (212) 255-0352
Vol. 29, No. 39/Oct. 1, 1987 Closing news date: Sept. 23, 1987

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Workers World (ISSN-0043-809X) is published weekly by WW Publishers, 46 W. 21 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010. Business office: (212) 255-0352. Editorial office: (212) 206-9222. Subscriptions: One year, \$10.00; 6 months, \$6.00. All letters received by Workers World become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Back issues and individual articles are available on microfilm and/or Xerox from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers World, 46 W. 21 St., New York, N.Y. 10010.
Bundle rates available on request.

Reagan okays nuke treaty, still pushes Star Wars

By John Catalinotto

Prodded by mass anti-war sentiment and the desire to restore some credibility to an administration discredited by its blatantly aggressive policies worldwide and by the Iran-Contra scandal, the Reaganites agreed with the Soviet Union on Sept. 18 to the mutual elimination of short and medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

The Reagan administration was forced to retreat from its former "Evil Empire" name calling and negotiate a pact with the USSR so that Washington could at least appear to be looking for a way out of the arms race. Contradicting this appearance, the Pentagon announced the same day but with less fanfare that it was moving ahead full speed with "Star Wars."

In total, the number of warheads to be removed by the pact represents 4% of the total nuclear arsenals of the two countries. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will meet in the U.S. with Reagan later this year to sign the treaty.

What's in the treaty

The USSR agreed to dismantle its SS-20 intermediate-range missiles. They have 243 of these missiles deployed in the European part of the USSR and 171 in the Asian part. The Soviet Union will also eliminate their remaining SS-4 missiles, and the shorter-range SS-12/22 and SS-23 missiles.

For its part, the Reagan administration agreed to eliminate all 224 cruise and 108 Pershing 2 missiles from Western Europe. Installation of these missiles was begun first by the Carter administration and then pushed aggressively by the Reaganites in the early 1980s. The West German government has also agreed informally to dismantle the short-range missiles under its control.

Millions protested missiles

It was these cruise and Pershing 2 missiles which aroused massive opposition in Western Europe and in the United States when their deployment was announced. They allowed NATO to strike Soviet cities with nuclear weapons from West European bases.

From 1981 to 1983, millions demonstrated in West European cities in an attempt to prevent them from being installed. This also was the major demand of the June 1982 demonstration that brought a million people to a rally in New York's Central Park.

During the past six-seven years the West European and the U.S. anti-war movement have come to realize that Washington is the source of aggression and of escalating the nuclear arms race. They see the Soviet Union, on the other hand, as desiring arms reductions.

In his first administration, Reagan, in fact, was blatantly hostile to the USSR, calling it an "evil empire" that had to be dismantled and pouring a

trillion dollars into an arms buildup.

Despite this vast spending of tax money, the Pentagon was unable to gain strategic military superiority over the USSR, much to the chagrin of the U.S. militarists and rightwingers.

Facing a parity in arms from the USSR, mass pressure from the population both in Europe and the U.S., and a loss of his administration's credibility from the Contragate scandal, Reagan finally agreed to the treaty. He thereby showed that even a right-wing Republican puffed up by anti-communist malarkey can be deflated.

Missiles cost \$9 billion

The cost of the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, which will now be withdrawn, was alone about \$9 billion, according to an article by William Arkin in the October issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. From the point of view of workers, unemployed and other poor people in the U.S., this was a massive waste of resources.

For the military-industrial complex, on the other hand, even this waste meant giant profits. Specifically, General Dynamics was paid \$3.45 billion for the cruise missiles, and Martin Marietta Corporation \$2.46 billion for the Pershing 2s, excluding the costs of the deadly nuclear devices the missiles carry. It's these capitalist corporations that will demand military expansion whatever the cost to the people.

For the mass of the people, a much better use of these funds would be for

UAW-Ford settlement improves job guarantees Union remains vigilant over loopholes

By Jerry Goldberg
Detroit

September 20 — The new UAW contract with Ford Motor Co. takes important steps in providing guaranteed jobs for the 104,000 active Ford workers. However, it does not do anything to restore the jobs of the 87,000 Ford workers who lost their jobs between 1978 and today.

The centerpiece of the contract is the Guaranteed Employment Numbers plan (GEN). Based on current employment, GEN's would be set up for each plant, separating skilled and production workers.

The number of workers within the GEN must be maintained throughout the 3 years of the agreement. The company can only lay off people because of "carefully defined volume reductions linked to market conditions." All active workers with one year or more seniority will fit into a protected job slot. If workers are laid off for any reason other than market decline, they are placed in a GEN pool and receive full wages and benefits while in the pool. The GEN program is funded up to \$500 million. The program may also result in an expansion of protected GEN's if workers are recalled or hired to meet increased volume demand.

As a requirement of the GEN program, the contract provides that in the event of layoffs due to a market decline, laid off workers will be put back to work in proportional numbers as volume builds back up. The agreement is meant to encourage the company to increase output by recalling workers rather than simply adding overtime as is often done today.

No check on overtime

Aside from a slight increase in overtime penalties, the contract contains no other language to restrict the enormous overtime which Ford is scheduling. It has been estimated that because of this overtime, even if Ford sales went down 20% there would be no



Recent meeting demanding a stop to plant closings. Rank and file auto workers are gearing up for the battle to win a moratorium on plant closings and to reverse shutdowns slated at GM. WW PHOTO

need for reductions in the current workforce.

A major loophole in the guaranteed jobs program is that for every two jobs eliminated through attrition, one guaranteed employment slot would be lost. This is especially significant in light of the fact that the workforce at Ford averages 45 years old, with many workers nearing retirement age.

The union also agreed to work with management in "job security and operational effectiveness committees." Essentially, each UAW Ford local agreed to work with the company to eliminate more jobs through increasing productivity in the period to come.

The new agreement does include a moratorium on plant closings. However, the Canton, Ohio, and Green Island, N.Y., plants as well as facing parts depots are excluded from the moratorium and will still shut down.

No new takeaways

The contract does not appear to include any new takeaways. On wages, while the union did win a 3% wage increase the first year, despite Ford's record profits it only won 3% lump sum

payments the second and third years.

The question of a shorter work week, which was partially won in 1979 and then lost during the concession contracts of 1982 and 1984, was not addressed at all.

The new UAW contract with Ford does limit at least somewhat the company's ability to restructure in the next three years. The significance of this victory is diminished by the fact that Ford has already eliminated 43% of its workforce in the last 9 years.

Negotiations now move to General Motors. In May, GM permanently idled 3,500 workers at the Chevy Truck and Bus Plant in Flint. On Aug. 26, the company shut down its Norwood, Ohio Assembly Plant, laying off 4,300 employees. These were the first steps in GM's plans to close up to 15 plants and idle 50,000 workers in the next couple of years.

Roger Smith, chairman of the board, has stated that never in a million years would GM go for a guaranteed jobs agreement. Fueled by the victory at Ford, the rank and file are gearing up for the battle to win a moratorium on plant closings and to reverse the slated shutdowns at GM, the largest corporation in the world.

social services such as health care, housing, unemployment and social security benefits. Workers and oppressed people have every reason to demand a reduction in arms and an end to military programs such as "Star Wars."

U.S. violates 1972 ABM treaty

But on the same day the treaty was signed, the military-industrial complex pressed forward with its plans to plunder the treasury. On Sept. 18, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger approved a decision for preliminary testing of a set of space weapons systems that could be used as part of "Star Wars" as early as the 1990s.

With this concrete step, the Pentagon showed it considered the new treaty more like window dressing than a serious attempt to reverse the arms race.

Commenting on this plan, the Union of Concerned Scientists said in a position paper published Sept. 18 that such advanced development and testing of the space-based weapons would violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty.

The number of warheads eliminated by the new treaty is itself small compared to what remains. What is important about the treaty is that it reduces tensions between the U.S. and the USSR. But should the Pentagon push ahead with "Star Wars" as planned, it will go far toward bringing back the same tensions.

Canada auto victory. Mem-

bers of the Canadian Auto Workers union voted overwhelmingly — by 96% — to approve a new three-year contract at Chrysler Canada after their six-day strike ended in a clear victory. The most important issue in the strike was cost-of-living indexing on retirees' pensions that protects them from inflation up to 6% per year, and nearly 10,000 Chrysler workers walked the lines for the demand that will affect all future retirees; current retirees will receive an immediate increase of \$90 per month and automatic annual increases thereafter. In the face of a strong, united strike, Chrysler caved in on the pension demand, and raises of 6% for current workers were also won. William Fisher, Chrysler's chief negotiator, admitted the company, which originally said it would never agree to COLA on pensions, backed down in order to settle the strike. The pension COLA is the first of its kind in the auto industry, and is seen as setting a precedent for contract talks in auto in both the U.S. and Canada. Robert White, president of CAW, called the pension improvements a "key to job security."

Cops stage new attack on Black activists in Brooklyn

By Robert Dobrow
New York

In a continuing war of harassment against Black activists in this city, the New York Police Department staged an unprovoked attack on 40 community activists and arrested four members of the Black Men's Movement Against Crack (BMMAC), a grassroots anti-drug organization, last Wednesday, Sept. 15 in Brooklyn.

Several members of BMMAC, and some of those arrested in Brooklyn, are also well known and respected members of the New York Eight, a group that was singled out by the cops in 1984 and framed up on wild charges, including plotting to spring robbery suspects from jail. The group was eventually acquitted on the main charge against them and given probation for alleged weapons violations.

Since their acquittal, the city government and police have repeatedly threatened and harassed the New York Eight and the BMMAC. When the latest attack took place, the BMMAC was holding an anti-drug and tenant-education rally at the Ebbets Field Houses in Brooklyn. The seven-building complex was built on the site where the famous ball park that was home to the Brooklyn Dodgers once stood. A few blocks away is the 71st Precinct.

About half an hour into the rally, according to witnesses quoted by the City Sun, a Black weekly newspaper, police were seen talking to Jerry Key, a member of the New York Eight and BMMAC. Soon after, Key was arrested

on a traffic violation. When most people get ticketed for a traffic violation, the cop writes out the ticket on the spot. But this time, Key was taken into the precinct.

About 70 people from the rally then assembled at the precinct to find out what was happening to Key. According to Omowale Clay, a member of BMMAC, "The people were trying, because they knew the nature of the cops at the precinct, not to cause any trouble and gathered in a group in front of the precinct. Next thing you know, the cops come charging down the hill, swinging their nightsticks and beating everybody — men, women, children, it didn't matter."

When it was all over, an ambulance had to be called and Jerry Key, Roger Wareham, Kevin Garner and Gene Smith were arrested. They were charged with riot in the first degree, second-degree assault, resisting arrest and obstructing governmental administration.

Last July it was revealed that the New York City police have been engaged in systematic spying against the New York Eight for three years. Biographical information and pictures of the activists have been distributed to each of the city's 75 precincts and to 450 police commanders during training sessions to prepare for possible rebellions in the Black community.

An Oct. 20 court date has been set for Smith, Wareham and Garner, according to Colin Moore, their attorney. Key will have a hearing at the end of this month.



NYC march against racist attacks. Anti-racists and community residents marched on Sept. 20 in Canarsie, Brooklyn, to protest the recent wave of attacks against Black youth in Brooklyn. Most recently, three Black youth were chased by a gang of 20-25 racists in Canarsie on Sept. 2 and beaten with baseball bats and iron pipes. Today, groups of bigoted thugs gathered along the route of the march and harassed the demonstrators with vile, racist epithets and threats. The marchers responded to the racists with chants of "Down with racist violence!" and "No justice, no peace!"

WW PHOTO: NEVILLE EDWARDS

— Death penalty

(Continued from page 1)
Brandley. Members of the Coalition overflowed the courtroom and corridors, marched and rallied outside after they had spent the previous night on the courthouse grounds in an all-night vigil to make sure they were not shut out of the courthouse as they had been previously.

Brandley, who is Black, has been on death row, wrongly convicted for the 1980 death of a white teenage woman.

Among the witnesses in the Sept. 21 hearing was Janet Dial, a secretary in the office of the judge who presided at

the two Brandley trials. She described the atmosphere of a "company project to convict Clarence Brandley" in the office where she worked, adding that she could not even make a neutral statement, much less question the guilt or innocence of the defendant.

Dial also testified that during the trial a prominent white woman, who was escorted to front row seats by courtroom personnel, was heard to say "kill that n-----" in an audible voice several times during the trial. Even though Dial reported this to the court, the woman was not removed from the courtroom.

Supporters urge all justice-loving people to come and pack the Galveston County Courthouse on Sept. 28, when the evidentiary hearing will take place. For information and transportation call (713) 780-3012.



Atlanta residents demand justice for Eddie Callahan.

WW PHOTO: JIMMY RAYNOR

Daily protests answer racist cop killing in Atlanta

By Jimmy Raynor
Atlanta

September 19 — Protests against the police killing of Eddie Lee Callahan continued today as 200 people marched on Atlanta Police Headquarters. Demonstrators chanted and sang despite the rain throughout the three-mile march.

Many of the marchers live in the Carver Homes housing project, where the death occurred, and actually witnessed the killing. Chants of "Fired up!" could be heard for blocks as the march neared police headquarters. The rally was spirited even though surrounded by uniformed cops and marshals from the justice department.

Protests have occurred almost daily since the Sept. 10 shooting. The death of Callahan, victim of the second police killing in a week, outraged this two-thirds Black city. Recent protests have not only denounced the brutality of racist police but have focused on the handling of the case by Mayor Andrew Young's administration.

Rally speakers included City Councilmember Hosea Williams, Carrie Morris of the All-Peoples Congress, and Louise Waley, president of the Carver Homes Tenant Association. Each asked, in the words of Williams, "Why has the mayor rewarded these racist cops with a paid vacation?"

The two police officers currently are suspended with pay from active duty.

Rumford, Maine, residents to oppose scheduled Klan rally

Special to Workers World
Portland, Maine

A Connecticut-based faction of the Ku Klux Klan has announced plans to hold a rally on Sept. 26 in Rumford, Maine, the site of last year's bitter strike against the Boise-Cascade paper company.

Rumford, a town of 8,300 near Portland, is built around the paper mill. The eleven-week strike affected nearly everybody in town, but was especially bitter for the 342 United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) members who lost their jobs. Rumford resident Elaine Lawler said, "They [the KKK] want to take the anger and turn it into something else."

Civil rights and religious leaders from around the state have responded by calling for an interfaith service to be held at noon on Saturday, Sept. 26, at the Rumford high school to counter the presence of the KKK, which will be holding its rally at 2 p.m. in a rented field outside of town.

At a press conference called to announce the service, L. Evangeline Berry, president of the Maine chapter of the NAACP, declared, "We are appalled and upset . . . that this group

would defiantly select a small town in Maine to recruit members to carry out their violent acts. All minorities have suffered at the hands of the KKK, but we realize that Blacks have suffered the most." The NAACP has decreed Maine governor John W. McKernan, Jr., for not condemning the presence of the Klan in the state.

The announcement of the Klan rally comes three months into another paperworkers' strike, in the town of Jay, not far from Rumford. One of four such struggles around the country against the giant International Paper Company (IPCO), 1,100 members of UPIU Local 14 and 100 members of Firemen and Boilers Local 246 are battling to save their jobs and defeat the company's takeback demands.

The strike has sparked unprecedented displays of solidarity from the state's labor movement. On Aug. 1, nearly 9,000 union members and their families rallied at Jay, uniting workers from every trade and nationality, white, Native, Latino and Black, and those from French Canadian backgrounds, women and men, young and old. It was after this magnificent display of unity that the Klan began to distribute their hate-filled literature.

Labor in strong showing for Oct. 11 nat'l lesbian/gay march

By Shelley Ettlinger

Organizers for the October 11 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights announced last week that John J. Sweeney, president of the Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, will be special guest at a 4 p.m. "solidarity reception" for lesbian, gay and straight labor activists at AFL-CIO headquarters the day before the march.

As unions and labor officials, from small locals to national leaders like Sweeney, take public stands for the first time in support of the lesbian and gay struggle and for action on AIDS, the labor mobilization for the Oct. 11 march is shaping up as one of its most significant aspects.

Both the AFL-CIO and a number of member unions have passed resolutions in support of gay rights and against AIDS-related discrimination in recent years. However, with few exceptions the labor movement has not taken up the struggle for lesbian and gay workers' rights in a meaningful way. Now, with the Oct. 11 march serving as a concrete focus for bringing labor forward into this struggle, lesbian and gay labor activists say all that is changing.

A leader of New York's Lesbian and Gay Labor Network told Workers World, "Trade unionists are finally recognizing that we've got to unite, especially now in the face of the AIDS crisis and the attacks on workers with AIDS and all gay workers. Labor has been a powerful force in the civil rights movement for years and it should play an equally important role in the lesbian and gay struggle. And from now on, after Oct. 11, I think that's going to happen more and more."

New endorsers each week

The list of labor endorsers continues to grow. AFSCME District Council 37,

On the picket line

Continued from page 2

a union-buster, will take charge of a federal lawsuit seeking to take over the entire Teamsters union. The government takeover plan is supposedly aimed at freeing the Teamsters of mob influence, and utilizes the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). The real goal, however, is to destroy the country's biggest and still one of the strongest labor unions and terrorize the labor movement. Judging by the Cincinnati rally, that's an impossible goal. Participants — who included members of AFL-CIO unions along with Teamsters — displayed a real spirit of anger and determination to resist as they cheered speaker after speaker, including Jesse Jackson, whose speech in solidarity with the Teamsters was met with a standing ovation. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland sent a videotaped message of support; the AFL-CIO Executive Council voted in August to "do whatever" it can to prevent the Teamster takeover, calling it "synonymous with the destruction of . . . trade unions, not their salvation."

• • • •

Football strike.

Some 1,500 members of the National Football League Players Association are on strike. The issue getting the most media coverage is free agency, but bargaining is also focused on benefit and working conditions issues. Players Association Executive Director Gene Upshaw said that the management proposal, as a total package,

representing 150,000 New York City workers and the largest AFSCME unit in the country, endorsed the march last week, joining AFSCME district councils in Philadelphia and Los Angeles and locals in several other cities.

Organizers say that a diverse group of unionists — hotel workers from Disney World in Orlando, Fla.; SEIU members from Tennessee; Greyhound drivers from San Francisco; office workers from New Haven, Ct.; auto workers from Detroit; hospital employees from Boston; public employees from Los Angeles; museum staffers from New York; and many others — is expected to march in the labor contingent on Oct. 11. A delegation from the United Farm Workers will travel to the march on a bus co-sponsored by UAW District 65 and AFT Local 3882.

Not surprisingly, the strongest support is coming from unions that reflect the new, changed character of the U.S. working class — government workers, hotel and hospital workers, office workers, etc. — unions with heavy representations of women. Third World people and lesbians and gay men. The only two unions that have reported net gains in membership in the recent period — AFSCME and SEIU — are the most heavily represented in the list of labor endorsers. The support of SEIU President Sweeney can be seen in this context of recognizing the importance of lesbian and gay workers in building a strong, united labor movement.

The successful labor mobilization is also a product of rank-and-file pressure to take up this issue. In AFSCME District Council 37, it was a letter from local members that sparked Executive Director Stanley Hill to recommend endorsing the march. At the Sept. 17 meeting of the New York City Central Labor Council, a delegate's report on labor organizing for Oct. 11 received a heartily enthusiastic response from the rank-and-file delegates.

would amount to an average annual pay cut of \$18,000. Issues include drug testing — management wants mandatory, random testing — and matters of job security, pensions and union protection. The NFL has announced it will try to break the strike by holding football games with scabs, but, perhaps even more than in other industries, they may find it difficult to turn out a quality product with scab labor.

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New York pay equity.

After a years-long struggle, New York State workers have won a pay equity agreement that will bring immediate raises for over 10,000 state employees. Pay equity has had a hard road in New York State, where management tried last spring to implement a new salary system that would have undercut the move toward equity. But after a fight by the Public Employees Federation against that maneuver, an agreement was finally reached in August. Workers will receive an average increase of \$1,000 under the new agreement.

Shelley Ettlinger

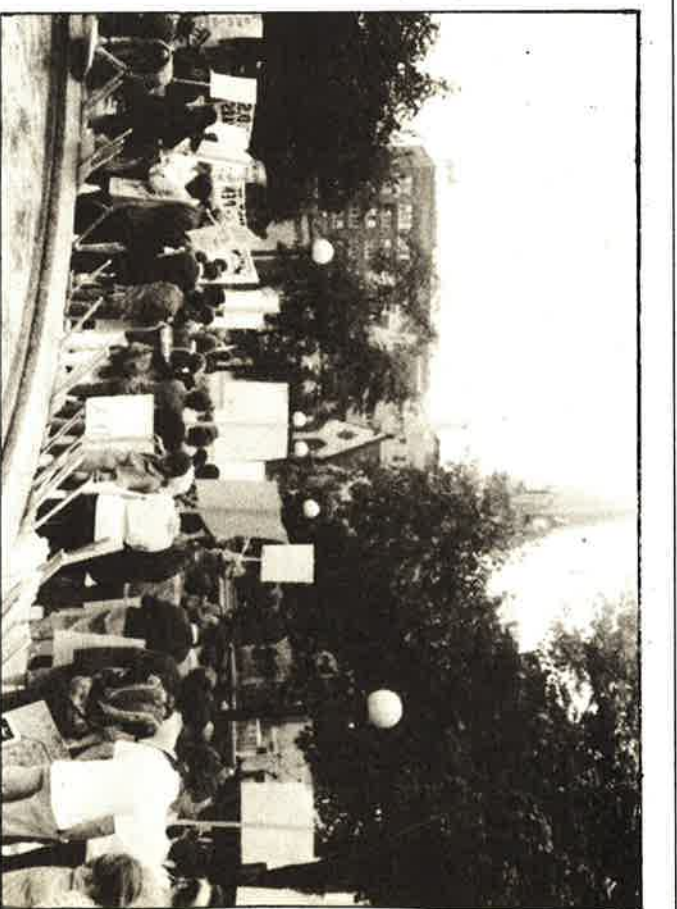
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Detroiters say 'no' to bigotry. Some 150 people protested the pope's visit to Detroit on Sept. 19. The demonstration targeted the church leader's sexism and anti-gay, anti-lesbian bigotry. Eleanor Smeal, past president of NOW, was the keynote speaker. Also on Saturday busloads of so-called "right to life" picketers were successfully prevented from closing the Summit Medical Center as they announced they would do. Pro-choice activists put themselves on the line and escorted women patients into the clinic. Nineteen rightwing protesters were arrested. The anti-papal rally heard hour by hour updates on the Summit clinic situation. The demonstration was in complete solidarity with the pro-choice battle being waged at the Summit. Linda Coleman, a clinic director, said, "They're using the pope as a reason for doing this, but we are not going to close down. These are not picketers; they are terrorists!" Under 100,000 people went to hear the pope speak in Hart Plaza, a number far short of the millions the bourgeois media was predicting.

K.H.

WWW PHOTO: MIKE SHANE

San Francisco gays, women, Indians protest pope visit

By J. Marquardt
San Francisco

The largest of several protests during Pope John Paul II's nine-day tour of the U.S. took place here on Sept. 17, when 2,000 people, organized by the lesbian, gay and bisexual "Papal Visit Task Force" rallied at the Mission Dolores.

The protest could be heard inside the church and the pope himself saw the anger as the crowd shouted, "Pope go home!" "Gay rights now!" and "Shame, shame, shame. . ."

Inside the church the pope greeted about 60 people with AIDS (PWAs), but even there the Vatican's pronouncement that homosexuality is a "disorder" and "intrinsically evil" met with protest. A number of the PWAs, most of them gay men, gave written messages to the pope. Thirty-three-year-old PWA Tristano Palermينو wrote, "The disease is horrible [enough] without the added burden of discrimination and unwarranted fear. I've always felt the Roman Catholic Church's position on homosexuality is wrong, but now I consider it dead wrong."

The pope's sermon in Detroit on Sept. 19, raging against abortion, made crystal clear the political and right-wing nature of his visit. After a brief "private meeting" with Vice President George Bush, the pope took the pulpit, supporting the Reagan administration's anti-women's rights agenda. But women and lesbians and

gays are not the only ones the pope deeply offended while here.

Native people protest church's 'brutality'
The pope honored Father Junipero Serra, currently a candidate for beatification, who in 1769 established the infamous California Mission system at the expense of the Native people's lives and culture. Native people protested the pope's visit, but their vigil in Carmel was forcibly kept a mile away from the pope's routes by police. Anthony Miranda, tribal chairman of the Coastanoan Band of Carmel Mission Indians, said that the 150 Indian people and their supporters wanted "to tell the world of the brutality that existed against our people in the Missions of California."

Although the pope talked about farmworkers' rights during his visit, the church's record of non-support speaks louder than words. Humberto Gomez of the United Farm Workers union said, "It makes me feel bad that the rural dioceses are afraid to get involved with the farm workers' union."
The pope's visit left a trail of millions of dollars' indebtedness and destruction in every city he visited. Taxpayers are paying the bill for excessive police overtime — added security for the estimated crowds that never materialized. Maintenance crews tore up ground cover, took down mailboxes and made people keep their windows closed all along the motorcade routes. Police barricades placed whole neighborhoods virtually under house arrest, as people were forbidden to leave their homes.

As the lesbian and gay community here completes final preparation for the Oct. 11 March on Washington, the pope's visit gave a sense of renewed urgency to the task. In San Francisco, the protest was carried out with militancy and humor. Many at the rally wore homemade paper pontiff hats and buttons that read, "Just Say Nope to the Pope."



EDITORIALS

Gov't-sponsored AIDS bigotry

Once again the Reagan administration has come out on the side of reaction and bigotry. Representing the administration at congressional hearings next week, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Otis R. Bowen, plans to oppose a very modest bill in Congress aimed at curbing AIDS-based discrimination.

Described as a "rights bill on AIDS" the legislation would make it illegal to discriminate against people exposed to or believed to have been exposed to the AIDS virus. The penalty for discrimination will be a \$2,000 fine. Though modest, the bill would be a first step in providing legal tools to people with AIDS to help them get and secure housing, employment, healthcare and other social services.

How could the White House possibly oppose the bill? It maintains that the "responsibility to prevent discrimination lies with the states," not with the federal government! In other words, the Reagan administration is utilizing the notoriously racist and historical reactionary "states rights" slogan to reinforce reactionary ideology on the question of AIDS. It could take decades to get a similar bill passed in each of the 50 states.

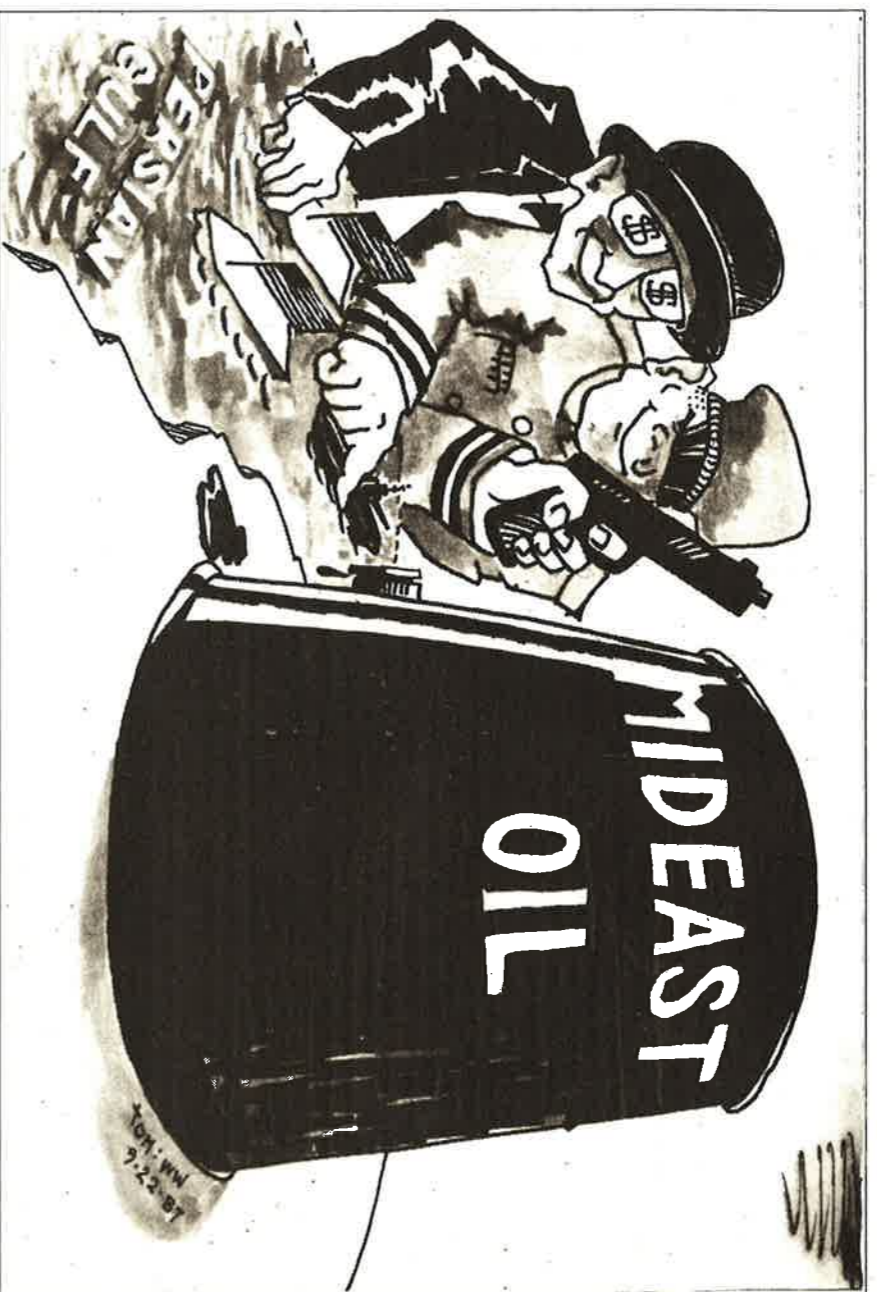
What is most consistent about the White House concerning this vitally important question is its hypocrisy. While advocating "states rights" to oppose this bill, at the same time the Reagan administration is a proponent of "big government" by instituting mandatory testing

for the HIV antibody of immigrants and prisoners on a national level. Both approaches serve to further the ultra-right's program of repression. This approach to the AIDS epidemic is to promote hatred and violence against people with AIDS, the lesbian and gay community and the oppressed.

What the Reagan administration's opposition to this bill shows is the need for a continuing struggle. From the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s to the struggle against the Vietnam war, it has always taken a militant fightback by working class and oppressed people to force concessions from the ruling class. A struggle can and will beat back the

ultra-right and force its backers in the White House to institute a program to end the AIDS epidemic based on the demands of people with AIDS, the lesbian and gay community, and progressives in the medical and scientific fields.

The next step in this struggle is the March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights on Oct. 11. A key focus of this march is an end to discrimination against people with AIDS and a massive increase in funding for patient care, research and education. This protest provides a perfect opportunity for all progressive people to strike a blow against bigotry, racism and reaction. (See article on page 5.)



The Revolution according to Reagan

By Gary Wilson

The word revolution has been taking a real drubbing.

There have been "revolutions" in detergents. And the line from the old Beatles song, "You say you want a revolution," is being used to sell high-priced sneakers on TV ads.

Now Reagan has added his two cents. At a gala for the rich held in Philadelphia on Sept. 17 to commemorate the signing of the U.S. Constitution on that day 200 years ago, Reagan gave his interpretation of revolution.

Reagan said: "In a very real sense, it was then — in 1787 — that the revolution truly began." In other words the War of Independence was not truly a revolution; the Constitutional Convention was it.

Of course, this comes from the guy who has tried to equate some of the lowest slime to ever crawl the earth — the contra mercenary army the U.S. has armed to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua — with those who fought and died in the revolution of 13 colonies in 1776 that threw out the British imperialists.

It's time that revolution be rescued from all this silliness and nonsense and be restored to its rightful place of honor.

First of all, it should be established that what Reagan is praising is the coming together of the forces that sought to stop the revolution from moving forward, the ones who made sure that the American Revolution was only half a revolution. These were the plantation owners and northern shippers whose cargo was slaves from Africa, as well as the emerging New York bankers and lawyers.

It was because of the efforts of those Reagan holds so high that a second revolution, the Civil War of 1860, was

necessary to complete the capitalist revolution. (Of course, the socialist revolution is still to come.)

Was it the revolutionary leaders that Reagan was praising? Look who was present in Philadelphia in 1787. Here's a description from the historians Charles and Mary Beard: "Among them were men of wealth and influence in their communities — merchants, lawyers and planters. On the whole the convention was a conservative body."

"Thomas Jefferson, then minister to France, a liberal, was not present. Neither was John Hancock, whose name led all the signatures to the Declaration of Independence. That outstanding firebrand of the Revolution, Patrick Henry, though elected a delegate, refused to attend, saying that he 'smelt a rat.'" (The Beards' Basic History of the United States, pp. 126-7.) And what about Thomas Paine,

whose writings were considered in the 1770s to be the very soul of the revolution? Or Daniel Shays, who was a captain in the revolutionary army and was a popular leader of the poor farmers in Massachusetts? Of course, the revolutionary Thomas Peters, was not included. He was a Virginia slave who was part of the "Ethiopian Regiment," which had the emblem of "Liberty to Slaves" and fought on the side of the British against the plantation owners of the South in the war of 1776. None of these were in Philadelphia in 1787.

If it's not the revolutionary leadership Reagan was talking about, then what could he have possibly meant? A revolution has been properly described as a festival of the masses. Were the masses involved in writing the U.S. Constitution? No, they were in fact specifically prohibited from attending that secret meeting and the majority of the population was for-

bidden from voting on acceptance of the document that emerged.

The Constitution was the end of the revolution, not its beginning. The revolution was the masses who threw the British tea into the harbor; the revolution was Crispus Attucks, a Black man, the first to be slain by the imperialist British troops; the revolution was the Sons and Daughters of Liberty — mass, illegal groups that organized underground activity and formed the basis for the revolutionary army.

The revolution is the people rising up to overthrow their oppressors, like the people of Cuba, Vietnam and Angola did. There have been many revolutions, and Reagan stands against most all of them. That's why he is rewriting history; he's even afraid of being associated with the revolution of 1776.

— Danger of U.S.-NATO shooting war against Iran

(Continued from page 1)

Killing 37 U.S. sailors. And even though it was Iraq which broke the truce in the Gulf shipping war and began attacking ships carrying Iranian oil, the Reagan administration blamed the new fighting on Iran.

War Powers Act flouted

As usual, the Democratic-controlled U.S. Congress has avoided its constitutional responsibility to stop the administration from taking these dangerous steps in the Middle East. Just last Sept. 18, the Senate voted down by 50-41 an attempt to force Reagan to invoke the War Powers Act.

This law was designed to keep the executive branch from committing

U.S. forces to battle or putting troops in danger without the approval of

Congress, as happened with the Vietnam War. Now even though the sailors are drawing special hazard pay, Reagan refuses to invoke the War Powers Act.

Commenting on the dangers arising from the U.S. attack, Workers World Party's presidential candidate Larry Holmes said, "It's a time for the anti-war movement to be on the alert to resist any new expansion of the Gulf war, especially with the Pentagon and the administration managing the news. They are capable of repeating a phony incident like the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin one that was used to justify sending a half-million U.S. troops

against Vietnam.

"U.S. intervention in the Gulf has no backing from the broad masses of working people, nor has it even gotten the approval of the elected Congress. Instead it is plotted behind closed doors by a handful of oil company and bank executives, and heads of the giant Bechtel construction firm like Shultz and Weinberger. All these pirates allow the workers and poor is the right to die in the combat. And that's what must be stopped," concluded Holmes.

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'We hold Aquino responsible' for murder of Alejandro

Philippine people's organization slams killing of general secretary

By Lydia Bayoneta

September 21 — On the eve of planned demonstrations and strikes to denounce a wave of killings by both the Philippine military and death squads, Leandro Alejandro, one of the organizers of the demonstration, was brutally gunned down. Alejandro, General Secretary of Bayan (New Nationalist Alliance), was killed and a companion was critically wounded. Joe Castro of Bayan echoed the sentiments of the vast majority of Filipino workers and peasants stating that "We hold the Aquino regime responsible for this heinous crime."

Alejandro's murder came just eight months after the assassination of Rolando Olalia, chairperson of the KMMU (May First Movement), the country's largest and most militant trade union federation, and only 6 months after the massacre of 22 members and supporters of the KMP (National Peasants Union) in a peaceful demonstration at the Ministry of Agriculture.

More recently, Peter Alderite, a warehouse worker and union activist at the Lapanday Agricultural Corporation (owned by the U.S. Del Monte

corporation) was hacked to death because he opposed the formation of a vigilante group. When the military arrived, the killers, members of the "Tatad" death squad organization, were still around and later left with the military troops. Nothing has been done to date.

These violent deaths are part of the increasing numbers of workers, peasants, trade unionists, community organizers, and women activists who have been victimized by the Aquino military and vigilante death squads. A common denominator among all those who have been murdered is that they advocated genuine land reform; wage increases, protection of workers' rights, removal of U.S. bases from the Philippines, and opposed the monopolies of U.S. and other foreign-owned corporations who employ Filipinos at slave-wage rates.

The reaction of the military to Leandro Alejandro's murder is revealing. They have not even pretended to pursue the killers. Rather, the military has deployed extra troops in and around Manila to intimidate the organizers and participants of demonstrations planned to protest the murder! In a threatening gesture, the pro-

test demonstration was refused a permit.

As of this writing, 120 labor activists who participated in the highly successful Aug. 26 general strike, along with eight leaders of Bayan, are still being detained by the government. All have been charged with "inciting rebellion." By contrast the participants of a recent bloody right-wing coup attempt have yet to be charged. Even the Detainee Task Force, an agency which monitors human rights abuses, has been forced to close its Manila office because of death threats.

Military plotted murders

The New York Times of Sept. 20 reported that Alejandro was gunned down shortly after a meeting of the military held by Chief of Staff General Fidel Ramos. Ramos was reported to have said that "either rightist or leftist groups would soon attempt to destabilize the government." Philippine progressives cite reliable sources that the same meeting identified 60 progressive individuals whom they wanted eliminated, including Alejandro.

The Aquino government poses as being "caught in the middle" between

September 20 — A number of films depicting the South African struggle are scheduled to be released in the coming months. The opening shot of these films began on an excellent note this evening with the premiere showing of "Mandela" on Home Box Office (HBO).

By Monica Moorehead

'Mandela' presents moving account of anti-apartheid fight

"Mandela" features two of the most talented and underrated actors today, Danny Glover and Alfre Woodard.

They give moving portrayals of Nelson and Winnie Mandela, who have emerged as the heroic symbols of the oppressed South African masses' resistance and fightback against the heinous, fascist apartheid regime. The two-hour and 15 minute film is based on Winnie Mandela's autobiography, "Part of My Soul Went with Him," and was shot entirely in Zimbabwe.

The film is more than a beautiful love story dwelling on the personal lives of the Mandelas. "Mandela" historically traces the development of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa from its early days of maintaining a civil rights, non-violent stance against apartheid to a platform of armed resistance. We get a glimpse of how the lives of Nelson and Winnie Mandela have been greatly influenced and shaped for almost 30 years by the South African struggle.

The film opens up in 1952 as Nelson Mandela, then an attorney, along with his colleagues, Walter Sisulu, who still remains imprisoned with Mandela, and Oliver Tambo, the current president of the ANC, are organizing the Defiance Campaign that called for massive boycotts and work stoppages over a period of time.

These three along with other ANC leaders are shown throughout the film being harassed constantly by the

apartheid police and courts from the famous five-year treason trial of 156 anti-apartheid leaders to the Rivonia trial in which Mandela's speeches transformed the courtroom into a political forum to express the views of the ANC for the world to hear. During the Rivonia trial both Mandela and Sisulu were convicted of "high treason" and given life sentences.

Apartheid's brutality exposed

One of the most dramatic segments of the film was the reenactment of the Sharpeville massacre on March 21, 1960. The sadistic slaughter of unarmed protesters, a majority shot in the back by the apartheid state, vividly showed why this incident is regarded by many as the turning point in the ANC's decision to change its tactics and views and embark upon a campaign of armed struggle and military sabotage.

Peter Tosh, Jamaican reggae artist, sang for the oppressed

By Neville Edwards

World-famous reggae artist Peter Tosh was shot to death at his home in Kingston, Jamaica, on Sept. 11. His wife Marlene and several other people, including Jamaican radio disc jockey Free J, were also injured in an alleged attempted robbery. Free J (Jeff Dixon) later died in the hospital.

This is undoubtedly a great loss to the people of Jamaica and followers of reggae music around the world. Tosh started his musical career in the early 1960s as a member of the Wailers, along with the late Bob Marley and Bunny Wailer. The group broke up in the early 70s and Tosh went solo and became one of Jamaica's most prolific recording artists.

Tosh's early musical development was a reflection of the conditions that he and the entire masses of Jamaica were confronted with. The social, political and economic situation was based on the British system of oppression, modeled after the former colonial

Another highlight of the film was the moving talk given by Winnie Mandela at the funeral of the Soweto students massacred in June 1976, as the ANC flag was draped upon each coffin. The film also showed the participation of progressive whites involved in the struggle for a democratic, non-racial South Africa. The film climaxes with the Mandelas' daughter reading her father's reply to the Botha regime demanding that the racists, not the ANC, denounce violence.

The Mandelas have certainly had their share of painful separation through solitary confinement and banishment throughout their intimate lives as the film sensitively depicts. The film shows how their courage and determination evolving from the revolutionary struggle has helped them to overcome any obstacle and hardship, inspiring freedom-loving people around the world.

There were no jobs and the government sought to suppress any form of culture that emanated from the ghettos of Jamaica. As a result, the youths of Kingston were constantly being harassed and brutalized by the police.

Tosh utilized the revolutionary sounds of reggae as a class conscious medium in the analysis of Jamaica's bourgeois political system. His lyrics were anti-imperialist and, on the local front, he denounced the government inaction that led to the harsh realities of life in Jamaica. His songs were very appealing to the oppressed youths because he exposed the role of the police as caretakers of the rich.

In contrast to many musical artists, Tosh reflected his interest in international politics when he recorded his first anti-apartheid song in 1977. He sought to unite all Africans at home and abroad in the "fight against apartheid," as he stated it. He encouraged everyone to oppose nuclear arms. His last album is entitled "No Nuclear

rightist and leftist groups in the Philippines. They thus try to blur and hide the role of the Aquino military in the increasing terror and destruction in both the countryside and urban areas. The recent proliferation of anti-communist death squads and thugs is not a spontaneous movement (over 40 such groups have sprung up around the country) but a concerted, conscious part of the comprehensive anti-people, counter-insurgency program of U.S. imperialism to defeat the Filipino national liberation movement.

But neither the machinations of the U.S. government nor the Philippine puppet military will enable them to maintain the U.S. neocolonial hold indefinitely. After all, during the darkest days of the Marcos dictatorship, the Filipino movement not only survived, but matured and grew stronger. Liddy Alejandro, wife of the slain leader of Bayan, addressed the rally following the murder in defiant terms: "The people will not be overcome," she said and predicted that more people will join the guerrilla movement. "The movement will be strengthened," she said.

(Next: How the U.S. government arms and supports the death squads.)



Danny Glover portrays Nelson Mandela.

Due to the pro-ANC sentiment of the film, the ultra-right-wing bigot Jerry Falwell had called for a boycott of "Mandela" by HBO members in an attempt to force the film's cancellation. This boycott call was unsuccessful. The ANC finds the film helpful and is encouraging viewing of "Mandela," especially in light of the right-wing attacks on it.



Peter Tosh

War" and is dedicated to the people of Japan.

Born in 1945 on the south central coast of Jamaica, this giant of reggae music and fighter for the cause of oppressed people around the world wrote, produced and sang over a dozen albums and countless singles and, like the late Bob Marley, many of his records remain to be released. The memory of Tosh lives on because his music serves as an inspiration for the struggling people of the world in their fight to defeat oppression.

CORRECTION

In last week's issue of Workers World an article headlined "Chicago forum focuses on northern Ireland," appearing on page 11, misidentified the Markievicz-Drumm Unit of Irish Northern Aid. This group is named after two women martyrs of the Irish Republican movement.

TRADE UNIONS, WAGES & PRICES

The Soviet reforms and the capitalist market/Part 7

By Sam Marcy

September 20 — An article by A. G. Aganbegyan on "The new economic strategy of the USSR and its social dimensions" is of considerable interest. It was written for the *International Labour Review*, Vol. 126, No. 1, January-February 1987.

Aganbegyan was formerly an economic consultant to the Soviet government and is now Chairman of the Commission on Manpower and Natural Resources of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The article is of interest to us at this time more for what it leaves out than for what it includes. However, much of it is very informative and written in a readable style.

The *International Labour Review* is the organ of the International Labor Organization, a United Nations affiliate. A long time ago it was merely a statistical agency attached to the old League of Nations, but its functions have significantly changed over the years, so that now it is composed of some 123 member countries, each of which has about 12 employer representatives and 12 labor representatives.

After it became a UN agency it underwent a complete revolution. Some years ago, it became a battleground between the U.S. and the USSR when the reactionary leadership of the AFL-CIO under George Meany threatened to bolt the organization unless the Soviet trade union delegation was expelled. Violent anti-communist that Meany was, he claimed that Soviet trade unions were not free to negotiate on behalf of the workers with the Soviet government.

Of course, the UN rejected this outlandish demand, and the AFL-CIO left the organization in protest. However, in recent years, the new AFL-CIO leadership thought it the better part of wisdom to quietly return to the organization.

Struggle in ILO over

legitimacy of Soviet trade unions
The ILO and the *International Labour Review* are still a political battleground where the legitimacy of Soviet unions is occasionally challenged by the pro-imperialist forces, although these have greatly diminished in recent years.

In any case, the magazine carries analytical articles from a host of countries, dealing with labor matters, most of them written by bourgeois figures from the so-called neutral, academic point of view. Nevertheless, they contain a good deal of information. For instance, the issue referred to carries an article on workers' participation in personnel management policies in Italy, and purports to describe this participation at the enterprise level, how much headway it has made, the so-called "tripartite consultation" experiment. It reveals that the class struggle itself has reemerged in many ways, notwithstanding these imaginative innovations on the part of Italian management.

So it is that readers of Aganbegyan's article naturally would look to

see what he has to say about the role of the trade unions in the new economic strategy in the USSR. But one looks in vain for any mention of them, and this in an organ which is supposed to deal with both labor and management's views and sometimes offers detailed descriptions of labor conditions around the world.

Unfortunately, the article confines itself mainly to going over what has already been covered in the reports of General Secretary Gorbachev and of Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the 27th Congress of the CPSU (March 1986) and to the more recent plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

In our view, there are three problems he should have addressed himself to, particularly since he is writing for a select worldwide audience which includes many trade union leaders outside the USSR who want to get the Soviet view of the reorganization, not just the view given in the capitalist press. These three points are: the democratization process and the role of the trade unions; the issue of remuneration; and the significance of the anti-wage leveling campaign.

Democratization and the trade unions

A good starting point, it seems to us, would have been to quote or elaborate on what Gorbachev said at the 27th Congress, when he described how important democratization is for the restructuring plan. "Democracy in all walks of life is expanding and deepening," he said. "Public organizations are displaying more initiative. Democratic principles are gaining momentum in production management."

If democratization develops and takes on more vigor, affecting more and more groupings within Soviet society, and shows a tendency not to operate solely for the benefit of bourgeois intellectuals and academicians, especially those of the so-called dissident movement, then the prospect that this phenomenon will be extended to the trade unions and the working class as a whole seems an auspicious and welcome development.

Much is now being written on the problem of bureaucracy having impeded the development of the economy. The same phenomenon of bureaucracy, high-handedness and rigidity has been true in relation to the trade unions. It would have been appropriate for Aganbegyan to show, for example, that for an inordinately long time the trade unions held no congresses at all. To be precise, there was no congress for almost 17 years, from the Ninth Congress in 1932 until the Tenth in April 1949. Of course, this was a gross violation of the democratic rights of the trade union membership and did much to damage the standing and efficacy of the unions. It must have tremendously reduced their role.

It wasn't until later years that there was a pickup in trade union activity and the congresses began to be held more frequently. If there's any fundamental organ in the USSR which has suffered from the deprivation of

its rights, it is the trade unions and the workers they represent.

This should not be interpreted as nullifying the role of the unions in the USSR or of underestimating the tremendous progress that the population and the working class have made in recent years. The Soviet Union is now the third greatest industrial power and its economic growth is by no means contracting. Only the rate of growth has declined, although that is of course a factor of enormous concern.

It's all too obvious that if *glasnost* is to become a real catalyst for radical change, it can't be the radical change that the bourgeoisie would like and which it tries to read into the restructuring plans, exaggerating every little manifestation which seems to point in a capitalist direction. Underneath it all lies an overdue reemergence of a broader, truly socialist democracy, a democracy which has nothing in common with its bourgeois counterpart in the imperialist countries.

It seems to us that the Soviet leaders and in particular the trade unions have to take into account two different paths of development if *glasnost* widens and deepens and becomes a fundamental element in this new phase of socialist development.

The Soviet Union has successfully avoided any kind of emergence or influence of a deleterious character similar to the reactionary Polish development (so-called Solidarity). But it also might have learned a great deal from the Polish strikes of 1970, which were of a purely economic origin and had their basis in the mismanagement of both the economy and the labor situation.

Restructuring and the problem of wages

Any great restructuring of Soviet economic development has its problems and its dangers, and it is impossible that these should not be of primary importance to the trade unions. It's in this connection that we have to take into account the aspect of remuneration, how the workers get paid, how the national income is divided, how and what portion of it goes to the working class and to other sectors of society.

This we believe should have been a takeoff point of Aganbegyan's article. He should have given the details, the illustrative material that crosses some of the i's and dots some of the i's, so the reader gets a more concrete picture of what is involved in these remuneration plans.

Aganbegyan gives us a detailed example of how to make more efficient use of trucks. He discusses many aspects of how converting to diesel engines will save fuel, money and time. But what about some details on the plans for remuneration? It's left out.

Paying attention to this is all the more necessary because the bourgeoisie and their lackies from the trade union bureaucracy in the West consistently bring up what they call slave labor in the USSR; that's how they characterize the Stakhanovite movement and socialist emulation. An article in the ILO magazine would have been a good opportunity to explain these two phenomena, since they also were discussed at the 27th Congress.

Socialist emulation as spur to economy

Let us first take socialist emulation. In the bourgeois press, this general idea is attributed to Stalin and is castigated as an example of an anti-labor practice. In reality, it antedates Stalin's tenure in office and, as a matter of fact, was first brought up as a resolution adopted by the 9th Congress of the CPSU (1920).

"In capitalist society," the resolution said, "emulation had the character of competition and led to the exploitation of man by man. In a society in which the means of production have been nationalized, emulation in labor ought, without impinging upon the solidarity (of workers), only to raise the sum total of the products of labor. Emulation between factories, regions, shops, workshops and individual workers should be the object of careful organization and attentive research on the part of the trade unions and the economic administration." (In Isaac Deutscher's *Soviet Trade Unions*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1950.)

It was understood for many years by the working class that emulation in the early days of the Soviet Union was an imperative necessity imposed on the working class by the inadequacy of the means of production — virtually three-quarters of the industrial stock had either been destroyed or damaged as a result of civil war and counter-revolutionary sabotage. Raising the productive forces, getting the working class to emulate in the production process was not a matter of choice but of necessity.

However, it should be noted that care was taken not to destroy or impinge upon the class solidarity of the workers, not to bring up that crude, destructive competition which revives and extends the individualistic, acquisitive characteristics that industrialization brought about by capitalism had subjected the workers to.

(For those wanting more details on this question, there is no better exposition of the relationship of competition and cooperation among workers than that contained in Volume 1 of *Capital*.)

Importance of socialist solidarity

In the new socialist system it is the cooperation of the workers and the mass of the people as a whole which changes individual competition into socialist emulation. The greatest care must be taken, however, to preserve socialist solidarity among the workers, to draw all the other heterogeneous social strata of socialist society into the mainstream of socialist solidarity rather than to repeat the cut-throat competition which is the driving force of capitalist system and without which it cannot survive.

In the USSR at the beginning, the competition was to be between factories, shops and workplaces and not so much between individual workers. Those who produced more got greater remuneration.

Of course, these socialist emulation campaigns have not always been of an ideal character and frequently degenerated into something else, particularly in the Stalin era. Nonetheless, they have survived and for those concerned with seeing how well they served the Soviet Union and preserved it as a socialist community, it is only necessary to look at the tremendous cooperative efforts made during the war which hurled back the Nazi juggernaut.

In the early campaigns, certain objectives were set and had to be carried out. Herein lies the origin not only of objectives but of quotas. The mea-

surement at the beginning was the quantities produced by each worker. However, later on, hours and a minimum wage were set.

So while quotas were set and specific objectives delineated, at the same time the utmost care was taken to retain the solidarity, the goodwill, the agreement and enthusiasm of the workers. For without that, the Revolution and the early construction period of socialism would have collapsed altogether. No amount of coercion or compulsion could ever have developed the socialist industries to the level of today.

But important as socialist emulation was, it still proved wholly inadequate to move the country forward, as witness the need to introduce the New Economic Policy (NEP), which was a partial restoration of capitalism.

Piecework and the Stakhanovite movement

Following in the footsteps of socialist emulation, in later years there was the piecework system, which, while it raised production, really did impinge upon the solidarity of the workers and began a process of social differentiation within the working class, a process from which it has not emerged to this day. This division constitutes one of the problems of Soviet society today in making the transition from the phase of Socialism, what Marx called the first stage of Communism, into full-scale Communism.

As a still further development of the piecework system, there then developed the Stakhanov movement. This seemed a mere intensification, but on a truly enormous scale, of the piecework system. It made quantitative production more and more the criterion, not only in wage demands but for overall production in general. Stakhanovism was based not on the production team, not on the brigade, but on individual performance. Some of this was highly exaggerated and led to the setting of false quotas.

However, there are two sides to the development of Stakhanovism as a movement. It was an important catalyst in accelerating industrial production, especially in heavy industries, such as mining. It wasn't all brawn and physical exertion; it also stimulated new methods of increasing efficiency and output.

But the inordinate emphasis it put on individual accomplishments also widened the social stratification within the working class. While the main emphasis in socialist emulation was on cooperation on a particular project in a locality or region, the greatest emphasis was now put on individual ability. Earnings depended on the production output of the individual.

But gradually the piecework system gave way and more emphasis was put on time wages. This marked a socially more progressive development and showed the level of efficiency that socialist development had achieved.

We thus see that while, on the whole, the development of individual remuneration for the workers was wholly dependent on the level of the productive forces, varying degrees of material incentives were introduced in order to overcome objective necessity and not as a preference of socialism.

Wage standards: bourgeoisie or socialist?

Even if the Soviet Union had not gone through the period of civil war and intervention, and its productive forces had not been so low and backward in relation to the capitalist West, it would still have been necessary to employ an objective standard to measure wages. The only correct socialist one, as pointed out in earlier articles, was based on the Marxist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his

need." But in the first phase of Communism, the objective standard had to be a bourgeois norm of distribution — to each according to his or her work.

This would persist until the productive forces were so highly developed that this bourgeois standard, still based on the what Lenin called the "narrow horizon" of the bourgeoisie, would no longer be necessary because of the abundance prevalent in the ultimate phase of Communism.

It is not necessary to embellish this standard and call it a socialist principle when it is not, as we have pointed out in earlier articles. In fact, it is an important step forward for the workers to get equal pay for equal work, especially when capitalism as a whole has not fully attained this anywhere, given the discrimination against women, against nationally oppressed peoples, against young as well as old. Giving full development to this bourgeois standard is a progressive step forward and it will continue until it becomes not a socialist form, but an irrelevant form, because it will no longer be needed. The abundance that can be produced once the productive forces have been fully developed, when they are no longer hindered by a capitalist environment and socially regressive habits and customs, will make this bourgeois standard unnecessary.

It is in this light that the issue of remuneration has to be viewed. It's entirely possible, of course, that in some areas of the Soviet economic system workers do not yet get the measure of their work, do not get what they ought to. It is possible that this still has to be pursued in order to elevate those who are not getting what they are entitled to under the standard of equal work for equal pay.

Raises for high or low paid workers?

But what is basically at issue in the Soviet Union today seems to be whether to have an upward revision of wages in such a way as to favor the more skilled, the more privileged sections of the working population and the officialdom in the Soviet Union, as against the lower paid, lower skilled mass of the workers. That is the problem.

Let's examine what Aganbeyan and others have to say on this question.

In order to move forward to Socialism, then to Communism, says Aganbeyan, there are two methods.

"An increase in efficiency can be achieved in two ways. First, by mobilizing organizational, economic and social reserves and making better use of existing potential. Such short-term measures have already been applied, and it is no exaggeration to say that they have started to spur the acceleration process, as recent events show. . .

"Secondly, we can also achieve better results through such powerful levers as improved management, the strengthening of material interest in production results and the reorganization of the economic machinery. A number of measures have been initiated along these lines but it will be some time before they produce results. Moreover, however great our organizational, economic and social reserves and possibilities, the fact remains that they are not limitless, and the more they are used the more difficult it will be to keep up the pace. And herein lies the challenge: not only do we have to maintain the pace, we have to step it up! The major leap has to be made in the 1990s; and the main springboard for that leap is scientific and technological progress."

The question is, how will this concretely and directly affect the workers?

This problem has to be pursued in order to really find out what has caused the slowing of the growth rate in the USSR to the extent that Gorbachev in his report to the 27th Congress

characterized it as a "pre-crisis situation." One view is that while the cause lies in the disparity of income levels, it is the upper levels that have to be increased first. The plan makes clear that there will be an increase for all the Soviet population, but that a larger increase will go to the more developed and skilled sections of the population and of the workers, not to speak of the officialdom. And so it was that the first wage increase under the restructuring program went to scientists and technicians.

It should be mentioned *inter alia* that under any circumstances, except for a catastrophic development like the outbreak of another war, the economic and social development of the USSR will proceed. It will succeed in accomplishing its basic targets and will probably overfulfill many of them. The views of the bourgeoisie on this, as in previous decades, will be proven bankrupt.

What we are concerned with, however, is how the society advances toward Communism.

With respect to the element of remuneration, it is there that the trade unions have to undergo a process of democratization and make their influence more felt.

Why a campaign against leveling?

Aganbeyan should have addressed himself to the question of why there's a campaign against equalization of wages, against so-called leveling. Gorbachev raised it in his talk to a Plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU on January 27, 1987, entitled "Reorganization and Party Personnel Policy."

Said Gorbachev, "New principles have been worked out and are being implemented for raising pay in productive spheres. We have taken a resolute course for abandoning wage leveling and are consistently adhering to the socialist principle of distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of one's work."

Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, also alluded to it in his report to the 27th Congress:

"It is a task of tremendous social and economic significance to make the system of remuneration more effective. [Indeed, it is! — S.M.] The elements of equalization that have increased of late and serious shortcomings in setting work quotas and establishing wages and salaries are undermining the role of these incentives and are holding down the growth of productivity. We cannot put up with this situation. The earnings of every working person must be strictly adequate to the results of his or her work. The strict relationship between the growth of emoluments and the growth of productivity is an imperative for the modern-day economy and we will insist on its being observed without fail."

No real leveling in USSR today

There doesn't seem to be any substantial basis for an attack against levelers or equalization in the Soviet Union today. Could there still be a carryover from the days of War Communism, that is, the phase in Soviet history when direct Communist norms of distribution were introduced?

After the civil war was over, they were annulled, not because direct Communist norms in monetary terms were not desirable but because they were premature and could not fit the difficult conditions of the young republic at the time. The productive forces were not developed, not to speak of the struggle against the counter-revolution, the developing civil war and imperialist intervention. The swing back to a partial form of capitalism under the NEP entailed the employment of bourgeois norms of distribution, payment being made according to the work of the in-

dividual worker.

It is highly unlikely that any remnants of that early egalitarian practice have persisted in recent Soviet history. "The elements of equalization," says Ryzhkov, "have increased *of late*." Precisely when? And why are there such serious shortcomings in setting work quotas and establishing wages and salaries, as he says?

First of all, it seems to us that the reason the system of remuneration is such a "tremendous social and economic task" is due not to a slowing of industrialization and mechanization, but rather because it has had to be done in such a short period. It is only 60 years since the first 5-year plan; by comparison the capitalist West had more than two centuries to move toward a mature industrialized society.

When the first Soviet 5-year plan began, the number of job classifications of workers was small by comparison with today. There has been a huge proliferation of new classifications that never existed before. With each new industry there come into existence new types of jobs which require different classifications and wage scales.

Of course, this is a complex task, but it is not that difficult to develop a technical standard for evaluating the work, similar to time studies. Even Lenin assumed that the Taylor system of studying labor time, developed in the U.S., was technically applicable to the USSR and could be employed there. This is not to be confused with the social evaluation of a job, which takes an altogether different standard.

It is quite different when there's a political struggle, when the whole wage plan is viewed in the light, for instance, of the struggle of factions within the unions or within the Party. But the technical evaluation of new jobs using new equipment lends itself to a precise measure of labor time, where that standard is applicable.

Wages are a social rather than technical problem

Ryzhkov, however, views the system of remuneration as a tremendous economic and social problem. Why? Because what is involved are also social judgments. Who makes these judgments, and what determines social status in Soviet society?

It is elementary Marxism that being determines consciousness. Someone who has spent all his or her life, not in a mine, a steel mill, a farm or service industry, but in the higher echelons of the bureaucracy, might give an entirely different social evaluation of the work of a low-paid maintenance worker in a hospital or an office.

All the more necessary is it, then, for the workers themselves to have a fundamental say in the matter. True, in a socialist planned economy the workers alone cannot decide what wages will be, what the whole economy can really produce and what the gross national product will be. But it must be remembered that a majority of the population are now workers, having grown from a small minority barely 70 years ago.

Lenin's stand on trade unions

Lenin from the very beginning of his struggle for a Bolshevik party fought against economism and syndicalism. It was the Mensheviks who said that all priority must be given to the unions as against the overall political struggle, whereas in Lenin's conception the working class as a whole was the fundamental organ in the proletarian struggle for socialism. He was equally opposed to the syndicalist view that the trade unions in and of themselves could be the political instrument for the overall struggle for socialism.

Though this struggle between the

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TRADE UNIONS WAGES & PRICES

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Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks began as long ago as 1903, it retains significance to this very day. While correctly evaluating the tendencies towards syndicalism and economism, Lenin nevertheless was extremely precise in evaluating the role of the trade unions in a socialist government. He saw the need for the workers to be able to defend their interests through their own organizations, the unions, even against their socialist government.

While Lenin opposed autonomy for the unions, which would lead to their degeneration into a bourgeois form of struggle against socialism, he nevertheless, especially in the debate at the 9th Party Congress in 1920, fought to see that the unions were not stifled or wholly absorbed into the governmental and state apparatus, but would retain their identity and even that their new functions would be expanded.

To raise wage problems today in the context of a struggle against leveling and equalization seems not only vague but unrealistic — unless there are deeper issues that remain to be brought to the surface. While there is a polemical edge to these attacks, it is nothing like the attacks in the thirties against levelers and egalitarians. It seems to us that the polemic today is directed not against elements of the present Soviet governing group but rather against the Khrushchev and Brezhnev period.

Across-the-board wage increases

During the period of the sixties and seventies there were some across-the-board wage increases. According to some writers, from the bourgeoisie as well as the USSR, these increases were substantial. The minimum wage was raised during the Khrushchev period and again in 1968. It is possible that, on that basis, across-the-board wage increases have been enacted of late, as Ryzhkov says. But this is a far cry from leveling or egalitarianism.

Across-the-board wage increases, especially where there are incentives, leave inequities between different classifications of workers. It is not unusual in the trade union movement of the capitalist countries to demand that the bosses set up a special fund to equalize or straighten out significant wage inequities after a general wage increase.

Some bourgeois ideologists who presume to social analysis speak in terms of value judgments and the biases that one has in relation to any social phenomena, including wages. But Marxism proceeds from objective relationships. It identifies the working class as the key and central class in capitalist society by virtue of the fact that it is the producer of all values, that its labor power has generated the material wealth.

The big problem in socialist distribution in the USSR has been that the productive forces are not yet mature enough to go beyond the capitalist heights. Distribution, therefore, is inadequate to fully satisfy the demands of the masses.

Material base for rise of bureaucracy

In the period of Khrushchev, as well as of Brezhnev, some of the inequities became sharpened, notwithstanding increases in the minimum wage and across-the-board wage increases. Material incentives have been gradually evolving and becoming more widespread since the first 5-year plan, and it is precisely because of the great divergences in material incentives and

particularly the contrast between the lower paid and the higher paid that the bureaucratic apparatus grew up.

It was not lack of democracy that created bureaucracy but the low consumption level, the low culture of the mass of the people in the early days of the socialist republic, the struggle to make ends meet — all this heightened by war and intervention.

Impact of scientific-technological revolution on less skilled workers

A definite result of the scientific-technological revolution, certainly in the Western capitalist countries, is the huge growth of the service sector and the decline of the industrial sector. As we have pointed out in our book (*High Tech, Low Pay*), the high-tech revolution has heightened the disparity between low paid and high paid and has created a much more numerous low-paid working class in the service sector along with a shrinking number of more highly skilled, higher-paid workers and specialists.

This in turn has brought about fear of a historic decline of the working class, that it will disintegrate and be superseded by a new middle class, alien to class consciousness. All this is bourgeois rot.

The next collapse of the capitalist economy will expose the utter hollowness of this theory and show the unity of the working class and especially of the clerical and service workers. Instead of holding a hallowed position socially, which bourgeois ideologists attribute to them but which is only true for a very thin sliver of the service sector, these workers are becoming more and more exploited.

With this in mind, it was Leonid Brezhnev among others who called the theory that the proletariat was declining and giving way to a new middle class an erroneous "right deviation."

We are not aware of who he was polemicizing against or even if it was meant that way, but it is important to note that the working class in the USSR is also undergoing a change. A fundamental aim of the restructuring, as developed in Gorbachev's report and in somewhat more detail in Ryzhkov's report on guidelines for economic and social development, is to replace unskilled workers in order to develop the economy. So it's a valid question to ask how all this will concretely develop, at least in outline form?

How will Soviet workers be affected?

Aganbegyan describes how a wholesale shift to diesel trucks is envisioned that will prove more economical. "The same thing will happen in many other enterprises. The main impact of the scientific and technological advances whose foundations are now being laid will be felt in the 1990s."

We know that over a considerable period diesel engines have replaced gasoline engines in the U.S. And we know also that this has had a tremendous impact on the railroad workers, who have had to put up a struggle against this rationalization because it deprived them of many benefits. They have had to fight tooth and nail to preserve what they had won in the way of work rules. Every attempt of the workers to maintain their conditions of work was called feather bedding by the bosses.

What will be involved in such a change in the Soviet Union? A railroad worker or even a railroad union official reading this would want to know what will be changed.

The difference between what happened here and the situation in the USSR is that there the workers have a great interest in the changeover because they are also involved in the planning. But we still want to know: How will the progressive safeguards and the various work rules be affected? What role do the unions play in

the changeover? This is not mentioned in Aganbegyan's article, but it is of key significance.

Wholesale changes planned in price system

However important and indispensable wage remuneration is, it must be seen in the framework of the price system — the role of consumption, the purchasing power of the workers, the availability of consumer goods.

Explaining that a major task of the plan is to "meet consumer demand for a wide range of high-quality goods and various types of services," Aganbegyan says that "the program will focus less on the quantitative aspects than on improving the range and quality of consumer goods. . . . In order to fill the big gap that exists between the production of consumer goods and actual demand, and to prevent unwanted goods piling up on shelves and having to be marked down, a radical change will be needed in the economic relationships between the population, the retail trade and the producers of consumer goods. A decision has already been taken to reorganize the economic machinery in light industry: the range of targets imposed from above is being sharply limited for enterprises in this industry. Their plans will be drawn up on the basis of contracts with trade organizations, which, in turn, must see to it that their orders conform to actual consumer demand.

"Another aim of the reform, inseparable from the first, is to gear the whole system of management to improving efficiency and quality standards and speeding up scientific and technological progress."

High quality is necessary, but also the price range is important. Some high-quality items may be very desirable for those who can afford them, but a low price may mean more for those who can't afford expensive goods.

Later on, Aganbegyan says, "At the same time the way is now being paved for a radical overhaul of the entire system of prices and the machinery used to arrange finance and credit, for developing the wholesale trade and for establishing direct links between enterprises to replace the distribution of production resources from centralized funds. All of these efforts naturally require time, especially the work of drawing up and introducing new price lists. But an overhaul of these basic economic levers will be a major step in the transition from predominantly administrative to economic methods of management and should create the necessary conditions for a further important move towards enhancing the independence and rights of production associations and enterprises while increasing their responsibility for the end results of their work."

So we see "a radical overhaul of the

entire price system . . . an overhaul of basic economic levers . . . a transition away from administrative to economic methods of management." What does it all foreshadow? What could be the meaning of an overhaul of an entire price system?

Will price change bring redistribution of national income?

It could forecast a virtual social revolution. Not a revolution in the classical Marxist sense — we rule that out of the question. What it may portend, however, is a wholesale redistribution of the national income. It may affect the prices of as many as 200,000 items and, even if stretched over a long period, that would involve a social transformation of as yet undisclosed proportions.

The phenomena of prices, of wholesale and retail trade, of buying and selling, all these are vestiges of a commodity economy. They are a carryover from the old commodity capitalist system which formerly existed in Russia and which began elsewhere centuries ago.

What are prices? Price is a monetary expression for value. Value in turn reflects, under average circumstances, the amount of socially necessary labor incorporated in a commodity. All sorts of goods, whether they be shoes or gloves or washing machines or whatever, are commodities.

Much has been written about the need for quality in these consumer products; the need to concentrate, as Aganbegyan says, on quality instead of quantity. All of this has to do with the circulation of commodities, which must go from the producer to the consumer.

The problem which has been stated over and over again is that while there is a shortage of some commodities, in other areas their quality is so low that they pile up because they are not saleable. Consumers do not want them.

What is the meaning of this discrepancy between the production of a commodity and its salability, its destination to the consumer? Here we must look at the very meaning of a commodity.

Relation of use value to value

We are still dealing with the circulation of commodities in the USSR, notwithstanding that there is a socialized economy in the sense that the means of production are clearly and unambiguously owned by the workers' state. The circulation of commodities exists side by side with the socialist ownership of the means of production and is indispensable to it. A direct method of getting products to consumers was installed prematurely during War Communism and was later abandoned.

A commodity not only has an exchange value (the amount of socially necessary labor incorporated in it), it

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also has a use value.

There is a sharp discrepancy between the commodity as an exchange value and its use value, the contradiction inherent in a commodity which Marx explained in the very first pages of *Capital*.

The use value of commodities has failed in the conditions described by Aganbegyan and others. "If the thing," said Marx, referring to a pair of gloves, shoes, whatever, "is useless, so is the labor contained in it. The labor does not count as labor and therefore creates no value."

Marx was not trying to pass a moral judgment here. He was explaining the two factors of a commodity, its use value and its value.

It is from this contradiction that we have to view the problem of the workers as consumers, along with the rest of the population, and as producers. The same working class that produces also consumes. If the values produced, as Marx said, have no use value, if the consumers don't want them, the immense collective labor of the working class is thereby also useless.

Economic vs. administrative measures

Bourgeois economists will say: We could have told you that in the first place! You need to abandon socialist planning and let the free capitalist market reign supreme!

No, says Aganbegyan. Our problem is not related to the absence of a free capitalist market. It grows out of the use of administrative measures in the planning and in the price system above all.

What then do the Soviet leaders say must be done? To replace the administrative measures with economic ones. That will bring costs into correspondence with actual prices. Consumers will benefit. With the new economic mechanisms replacing the administrative ones, products will be tailored for the consumer and the problem will be solved.

The problem is to develop a correlation between prices and costs, between the actual amount of labor power that goes into a commodity on the average and its price. We in the U.S. know on the basis of the only experience we have, that is, under capitalism, that prices can fluctuate wildly and violently. However, it is to be noted that prices are not an altogether arbitrary phenomenon; they contain an inner lawfulness. No matter how much a pair of mittens may fluctuate in price, the oscillations are never like the oscillations in the price of an automobile or a washing machine.

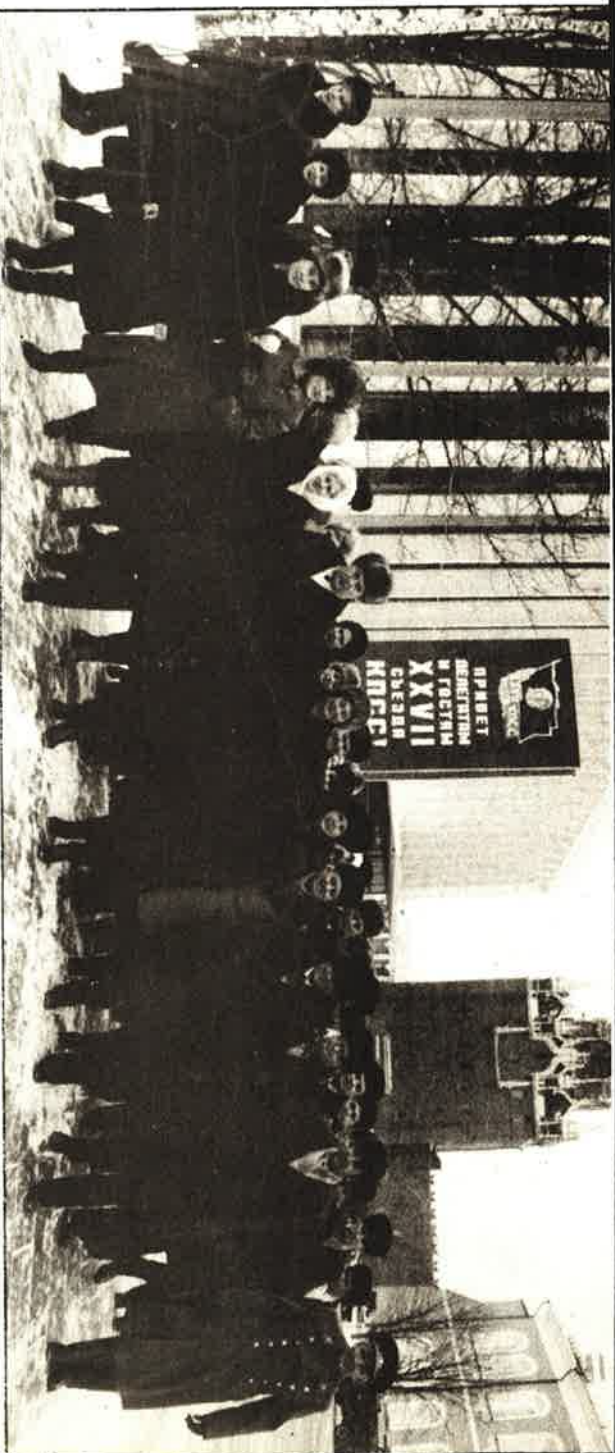
The amount of socially necessary labor will hold the price to a certain level. Where there are no buyers, no consumers, the enterprise is bound to collapse.

The socialist answer, says Aganbegyan, to administrative prices made on command from above is to replace them with economic mechanisms. Well and good. But how will that be done? And who will do it? Who will carry out this vast, indeed revolutionary transformation?

Workers' control needed in pricing too

Nothing so much affects the daily life of the people, aside from their wages, as the matter of prices. Workers have some control over their wages almost anywhere. Where they seem to lose control altogether is in their role as consumers. How will this change in the price structure be determined in a socialist society, in a planned economy, in a period of resurgent democratization?

Notwithstanding the assertion that the prior lists of prices were developed on the basis of high-handed, unrealistic, uneconomic and administrative directives, what will be the political form for instituting economic pricing? Moreover, will the decisions be confined to the same administrative, managerial staffs?



Delegates to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, January 1986, from Byelorussia. A small minority at the time of the Revolution, workers now make up a majority of the population. All the more necessary is it that they have a fundamental say in setting the new wages and prices.

The matter of setting prices is not wholly technical. That would be easy. It is also a social question. If it is carried out by a definite social grouping within the administrative and governmental apparatus or is shifted from one organ of the state to another, the question will be the same as in the development of the wage scale. Will it be done by an upper stratum only, who have long experience with academic training but are not necessarily concerned with workers themselves? Marxism teaches us that even in a socialist society, social groupings reflect different social views.

Democratic forms needed in setting prices

Therefore, in the elaboration of a plan to restructure and overhaul the vast and complex problem of prices in the USSR, the priority must go toward democratic forms as the political form for the new economic content. If it is not really controlled by the mass of the people this time, then it may amount to a new mechanism but will lack the direct participation of the masses and the initiative from them that Gorbachev and others are calling for. If it is not really put to the masses, then there could be a redistribution of wealth that shifts the burden of the price structure onto them.

Lowering prices is easy and always welcome. Raising them is another matter. This applies not only to consumer goods but to the production process as a whole. If the new forms of collective organization are to have any of the advantages which, according to the plan, they are intended to have, then price committees of workers, of consumers, on a truly mass and national scale, have to participate in them.

This is what has to be demonstrated: how the masses will participate in this process. If it becomes another edict, then of course it is merely a change in form and not in substance. We know through other experiences that a minor change of price of only one or two kopeks may not be noticeable, but if done on a mass scale, it can add up to billions of rubles.

In capitalist society, the bourgeoisie has learned that the introduction of a sales tax of one penny can go unnoticed, but it adds up to hundreds of millions of dollars in the long run. It's a tax on the working class and a supplementary form of extracting surplus value from them.

In reverse, the same applies where there are shortages, especially during war time. Price control in the capitalist countries showed that notwithstanding the eternal love of the capitalist class for the free market, they nevertheless knew very well how to put a lid on prices and the masses suffered as a result of shortages. But somehow or other, with this uniform rule on prices, the bourgeoisie seemed to get what they needed. It was otherwise with the working class.

Continual broadening of democratization means the replacement of old personnel by new personnel coming

from the ranks of the workers. The bourgeoisie may say that the workers can't understand these complex matters (which they in fact complicate), but the workers can exercise sound judgment in a just way that is superior to what any technocrat can accomplish.

It is precisely in the matter of prices, which seem to be so removed from the domain of workers' control, as well as in the matter of wages, that the workers have to be again and again encouraged to exercise initiative and participate, from the lowest plant level, neighborhood and small household. As Lenin said, "Every cook will learn the art of statecraft. Every cook will govern."

Responsibility of state vs. collective

The Aganbegyan article raises a very interesting question concerning the responsibility of the state and of the collective under the reforms.

"The new economic machinery must be so designed that society as a whole, i.e. the State, is not liable for the inefficiency of this or that workers' collective but the collective itself is accountable for failing to use its resources and possibilities to the full. Conversely, if a collective works particularly hard and achieves better results, a significant part of the additional profit should accrue to the workers and serve to stimulate them to pursue their efforts."

First of all, there's confusion here between "society as a whole" and "the State." The two are not synonymous. The state has not withered away or been completely liquidated into society as a whole. That is a long, long way off, according to the report of the 27th Congress, which made it clear that the USSR is still in the stage where it must use the bourgeois standard of the measurement of labor. That is only the first phase of socialism, where the state remains.

It is important that the distinction be maintained. It's true that the state may represent all of society, but it has not been liquidated; that marks the highest stage of Communism.

It says here that the state is not liable for the inefficiency of this or that workers' collective, but the collective itself is accountable to the state. This seems to run contrary to the whole concept of democratization. The whole idea was to relieve the state of some of its functions, to relieve it from "interfering," as has been said on other occasions, in economic relations. It is supposed to cut down on bureaucracy, petty privileges and so on.

It's a wholly other matter if what is meant, or even hinted at, is that the state is relieving itself of its responsibility and thrusting it entirely on the collectives. Viewing it from that perspective, it would not be a good thing at all.

Giving a collective responsibility to organize itself, to account to itself, that's one thing. But what about conditions that are beyond its control? What if managers abscond with funds? Why should the workers bear

the responsibility for that?

Total responsibility for the work collective is an impossibility. It is a step downward to a decentralized economy, a sort of syndicalist view. The collective, after all, is part of a plan for the whole country. No collective is going to decide autonomously whether to produce beans or bolts or nuts. It's all within the framework of a plan.

How is hard work to be measured?

Aganbegyan says that "conversely, if a collective works particularly hard and achieves better results" then it will get the profits. But what about collectives that do not work particularly hard? What if they just work normally? Hard work is a flexible concept. Some work hard to the best of their physical and mental possibilities. Some have more responsibility at home, and so on. Some are women with children, some are older, and some are not stimulated by more profit. They may want to have less of that and more time to devote to advancing themselves culturally and intellectually.

If one is all consumed to work hard in the collective, and some work excessively so just for material gain, it results in other deficiencies, does it not? "Where the new system was interpreted in a truly creative spirit and energetic action was taken, as for example in Byelorussian light industry, a noticeable improvement in productivity and quality standards was achieved," says Aganbegyan. "The fact remains, however, that the experiment did not confront the workers' collectives with the tough decision whether to work harder and live better or to continue working as before and live badly."

Again, why this juxtaposition of work harder and live better, or continue working as before and live badly? This leaves out of consideration those who have worked hard and are once again being asked to work even harder.

Millions of workers look forward to an even easier life, but all of that is in the dim future.

There appear, however, to be other views emerging in the Soviet Union. In the pamphlet *Expert Opinion*, put out recently by Novosti Press Publishing, Tatyana Zaslavskaya, academician, is asked, "Where do you see the main source of injustice?"

She answers, "In the economic sphere. The uneven distribution of investment in schools, hospitals, roads, etc. . . . Thirdly, it is bureaucracy.

Lenin observed as far back as the first year of the Soviet state that although the October 1917 Revolution had from the very outset created a fundamentally new type of state with true government of the working people, it was impossible to set up an administrative machinery corresponding to it at once. Bureaucracy proved too tenacious and the struggle against it remains one of the key tasks of society to this day."

This theme is worth pursuing in future articles.

PHOTO: V. VVATKIN, NOVOSTI



Corporaciones agrícolas: Daño al trabajador y daño al público

Por Petra Guerra

Más y más personas consumen verduras y frutas con la intención de mantener una dieta saludable. Sin embargo, las grandes compañías agrícolas de este país que procesan estos productos no tienen la misma intención. Para ellos sus ganancias son más importantes que la salud del público consumidor. Estas compañías usan diferentes clases de pesticidas que hacen un daño enorme a la salud de los trabajadores, al público, la tierra y las frutas y verduras que ellos procesan. Algunas de las razones por la cual usan estos pesticidas son: para exterminar los parásitos e insectos que dañan a la vida vegetal, para evitar la prematura maduración del producto y para que se vean más atractivas y el consumidor las compre. La consecuencia del uso indiscriminado de estos pesticidas las sufren especialmente los trabajadores agrícolas.

Para enfrentar esta situación el Sindicato de Trabajadores Agrícolas Unidos (UFW) está patrocinando un boicot a la uva de mesa de California. Los tres objetivos principales del boicot son: 1. elecciones libres y justas, y negociaciones de buena fé. 2. La prohibición de los cinco más peligrosos pesticidas usados en la actualidad: Parathion, Fosdrin, Captan, Dinoseb y Bromuro de Metilo. 3. Que el sindicato y los dueños lleven a cabo pruebas de laboratorio en busca de residuos ve-

nenosos en las uvas y que los resultados salgan a luz pública.

Para informar a la comunidad de lo peligroso que son las uvas rociadas con insecticidas y la necesidad de poner más control y prohibirlas se ha desarrollado un video documental que nos cuenta sobre la vida real de varias personas que han sido y siguen siendo víctimas de los pesticidas. El nombre del video es "La Ira de la Uva" y habla de las condiciones inhumanas que el campesino se ve obligado a enfrentar para ganar lo suficiente para subsistir. Este video incluye el testimonio de Juan Chabolla, trabajador de 32 años de edad que murió envenenado después de trabajar en una cosecha de tomate que cinco minutos antes fue rociada con un insecticida en un pueblo cercano de San Diego.

La ironía es que dos meses antes de la muerte de Chabolla el gobernador del estado de California había rechazado un proyecto de ley que obligaría a las empresas agrarias que instalaran anuncios en donde se hubiese fumigado con substancias peligrosas. La muerte de Chabolla no hubiera ocurrido si el gobernador hubiese pensado más en la vida del trabajador que en los gastos que hubieran incurrido las corporaciones por poner los anuncios.

También hay testimonios de una niña que nació sin brazos porque su madre trabajaba en la uva durante los primeros meses de embarazo, donde se había fumigado con el pesti-

Por Teresa Gutierrez

Por primera vez en la historia cinematográfica de este país, que una película escrita y dirigida por un chicano y que trata sobre la vida de un chicano, que ha sido acogida por el público en forma tan positiva y a la vez distribuida por todo el país, como es "La Bamba." Este éxito, de Luis Valdez, es sobre la joven estrella del rock, Richie Valens, quien estaba en camino a la fama cuando murió trágicamente en un accidente aéreo en 1959 junto con otras dos estrellas del rock.

Valens, un chicano del sur de California y de 17 años de edad, cuyo verdadero nombre era Ricardo Valenzuela, se hizo famoso con grabaciones disqueras como "La Bamba", "Come On, Let's Go" y "Donna."

En este periodo "Reaganista" de racismo y reacción, es muy refrescante ver una película tal como "La Bamba" que protagoniza la cultura chicano-mexicana en una forma positiva y realista. Es la historia de una familia de la clase trabajadora, demostrando el valor que tiene el trabajador de las fincas en la cultura chicano/mexicana. Además, señala el papel que juegan las mujeres en la supervivencia de la familia. La película no solamente se trata sobre el triunfo eminente de un chicano, sino que también muestra rasgos de como realmente viven la mayoría de chicano/mexicanos en este país.

Una de las contribuciones más grandes de "La Bamba" es la de atraer la atención nacional sobre la existencia de un pueblo oprimido, que en su mayor parte es oculta por la prensa del país. La película expone muchos

aspectos del carácter racista de ésta sociedad. Valenzuela, por ejemplo, a pesar de poseer un gran talento, tuvo que cambiarse el apellido para poder ser aceptado. Mientras que muchos argumentan que el cambio de nombre por los actores y actrices se usa para atraer atención, la realidad es que cuando un miembro de una nacionalidad oprimida debe "anglonizar" su apellido, lo hace por la política racista que existe en este país.

A pesar de sus importantes contribuciones, la película fué muy criticada por la prensa, por no concentrarse solamente en la vida de Richie Valens. Pero es para crédito de Luis Valdez el contraste que hizo de la vida de Richie con la de su hermano Bob. Pues, a pesar de las contradicciones que tenía Bob, se encontraba en el a un talentoso artista chicano que nunca tuvo la oportunidad de realizarse.

La historia de Bob representa la realidad de muchos chicano/mexicanos. Muchos jóvenes talentosos e inteligentes, de muchas nacionalidades, nunca obtienen las oportunidades de salir adelante. Para mucha gente del Tercer Mundo que lucha por elevar su estilo de vida, el racismo demanda que nieguen su cultura, su lenguaje y su herencia para poder adelantarse un poquito solamente. También demanda que de alguna manera ignoren y se eleven por encima de las condiciones de pobreza y prejuicio con las que crecieron.

La tragedia reciente de un joven chicano, estudiante de Harvard, muestra esto claramente, el New York Times dice: "Mundos en colisión, del barrio a Harvard, de Harvard a la cárcel." El artículo contó la historia de un joven quien estudiaba en Harvard



Trabajadores agrícolas.

cida Captan. De 13 niños en el área de McFarland, California, que estaban bajo control médico con diagnóstico de cáncer, 6 han muerto. Estas muertes al igual que los que han nacido incapacitados, fueron la culpa de

“Un Éxito”

por casi dos años. De una familia de la clase trabajadora, mexicana, pobre en el sur de California, José Razo se entregó en un precinto de la policía el mes pasado y confesó el robo de más de \$30,000 de varias tiendas en un período de un año y medio.

Las contradicciones entre la vida en una institución racista de torres blancas como Harvard y una vida en el barrio, llevó a este joven a la desesperación. El dinero que él obtenía era para ayudar a su familia, para poner un techo en la casa, para comprar muebles y ropa. Razo le dijo a su madre que él se sentía culpable, sabiendo que él lo tenía todo y su familia nada.

La prensa lo llama un "mundo en colición," pero la tragedia de este talentoso joven es el resultado de una sociedad racista que presenta obstáculos tras obstáculos para la gente del tercer mundo. Cada día, manda mensajes a los oprimidos diciendo que ser tercermundista, tener otro idioma, otra cultura, o ser pobre es algo de que avergonzarse.

Observemos el movimiento racista de "Sólo Inglés" en los EE.UU. que discrimina contra otros idiomas y que demanda que haya una sociedad donde sólo el inglés sea usado. Este movimiento no es nada más que un ataque a los oprimidos de muchas nacionalidades en este país: asiáticos, latinos, nativos, negros y árabes, que no tienen derecho a su propia cultura o a su propia auto-determinación.

A pesar del hecho de que José Razo pudo ingresar a Harvard, las condiciones opresivas que le rodeaban fué lo que lo llevó a una situación tan trágica. Sin embargo, el fiscal de la corte

las corporaciones y sus dueños. Este es el producto del capitalismo que siempre presta más importancia a la ganancia que a la vida.
El apoyo para la lucha de estos trabajadores ha sido tremendo. Cesar Chavez, el presidente de la UFW ha viajado através del país dando a conocer la lucha de los trabajadores agrícolas. En la Ciudad de Nueva York, se lanzó la campaña nacional contra los supermercados A&P y también los supermercados New Dominion, que también pertenecen al A&P. En el valle del Río Grande, en Tejas, los supermercados M. Rivas prometieron que en sus tiendas no se venderían uvas esquitrolas.

Aunque los dueños no quieren admitirlo, el boicot les está costando mucho dinero. El precio de una caja de uva se vendía por \$25, pero desde el boicot ha bajado hasta \$7. Varios de los ranchos más grandes han dicho que ya no tienen trabajo, que se ha terminado la uva, pero la realidad, como dijo el compañero Arturo Rodriguez, representante de la UFW en la ciudad de Nueva York, "La cosecha de la uva no se termina hasta el mes de noviembre, pero los rancheros prefieren dejar la uva que se pierda en vez de pagarle al trabajador lo que pide."

en el caso, dice que Razo tuvo la oportunidad de "escapar del barrio," pero la desperdició. La gente oprimida, no importa en que lugar estén, no pueden escapar el racismo de esta sociedad. Un estudiante blanco le dijo a la prensa que otros estudiantes llaman a Razo, "mojado," en son de broma.

Además, para muchos de los oprimidos quienes aman su cultura y forma de vida, "escapar del barrio" no es una opción que deseen. Lo que la gente oprimida quiere es un mejor estándar de vida y un fin al racismo, y no escaparse de su cultura y su forma de vida.

La película de Valdez ejemplifica esto bien, pues ni Richie ni Bob tenían ningún deseo de abandonar su forma de vida. Esta es una contribución significativa que "La Bamba" hace. Muestra la cultura chicano/mexicano con el calor y orgullo que muchos mexicanos sienten hacia si mismos. Por primera vez, los oprimidos podemos ir a un cine y vernos como gente verdadera, luchando para sobrevivir, y que nos preocupamos los unos por los otros, en contraste a la mayoría de las películas nos retratan como narcotraficantes o adictos.

El éxito que Valenzuela tuvo durante su corta vida, sin embargo, no debe de ser usado para promover una actitud que diga, "ven, si cambian su nombre y estilo de vida, tendrán éxito."

Es precisamente esta manera de pensar individualista que promueve actitudes como las del movimiento de Inglés Solamente, como la Reforma de la Ley de Inmigración y que promueve racismo y violencia y denigra la existencia de los oprimidos.