



workers world

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

X-523



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

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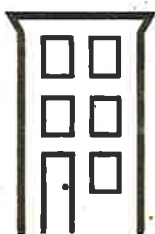
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It looked like South Africa or south Korea. But this class war is in mid-America.

Cops shoot tear gas, rubber bullets at Ohio Labor Day rally

By John Catalinotto

It may have been in Coshocton, Ohio, but the Labor Day attack on the workers by the Stone Container Company and the sheriff's department looked more like south Korea or South Africa.

With strikers picketing at the plant gate and supporters from 20 unions gathered a block away at the town's Labor Day rally, sheriffs and deputies shot tear gas, rubber bullets and wooden bullets at the strike supporters in an attempt to break the union. Over a dozen strikers were arrested by nighttime.

The 180 members of Local 544 of the

International Union of Operating Engineers had been on strike since Aug. 17. Like the International Paper Co. in Jay, Maine, the Stone paper mill is trying to impose a new takeback contract on the workers.

In fact, the main issues of the strike are the same. The company wants to take away the Christmas holiday. They also want to end premium pay on weekends. Stone Container spokesperson Bob Weaver even justifies these takebacks by citing what International Paper is trying to do to its workers. But all these paper companies have had a very profitable year in 1986 and expect to do even better this year.

And now, according to Weaver, the company has decided to impose this new contract even though the union won't agree to it. In other words, Stone Container has used supervisors and contract scabs to try to break the strike, and is hiring "permanent replacements" to try to break the union.

To reverse this union-busting attempt, workers in Ohio scheduled a solidarity rally for Labor Day in Coshocton, a town of about 14,000 people between Columbus and Canton. Workers from some 20 unions, including steelworkers and miners, swelled the Labor Day crowd to over 1,200 people, according to Local 544 leader

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Tens of thousands in Flint honor sitdown strikers

By Jerry Goldberg and Kris Hamel Detroit

September 7 — Labor Day in Michigan was celebrated with large parades in Flint and Detroit. In Flint, the parade took place Sept. 5.

It was organized by United Auto Workers (UAW) Region 1C, and was part of a weekend series of events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the sitdown strikes. The sitdowns led to recognition of the UAW by GM and spurred the organizing of many of the industrial unions of today.

The Flint parade consisted of hundreds of floats, marching bands and contingents, all dedicated to honoring the sitdowners. On many floats sat the pioneers who fought the battles which led to the UAW. A multinational group of over 50 women organized by the Area-Wide Women's Coalition marched in formation, chanting and singing, wearing the white uniforms and red berets of the Women's Emergency Brigade. It was this brigade that heroically fought on the picket lines in the 1930s.

What was most striking about the Flint event was that tens of thousands

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Area-wide Women's Coalition march in Flint, Mich., wearing the uniform and beret of the Women's Emergency Brigade of the 1930s.

WW PHOTO: CHERYL LABASH

WORKERS MARCH

Hundreds of thousands join in Labor Day events around the country.

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Canarsie attack highlights racism in New York City

By Carmen Roundtree
New York

Three Black youth were chased and beaten by a gang of 20 to 25 white youth on Sept. 2 in New York City in another incidence of racist violence, dispelling once again the myth of "liberal New York City."

This latest rash of racial violence is just another episode of continued racism that has escalated throughout the country since President Reagan has been in office.

The attack took place in Canarsie, a predominately white section of the

borough of Brooklyn, as the three youth waited outside a bagel shop for their co-workers. Ewan Lawrence, 17, Michael Washington, 19, and David Smiley, 19, were chased and beaten with baseball bats and iron pipes. Two of the young men suffered head injuries, one requiring at least four stitches.

The three youth were taken to City Hall the Friday after the incident to meet with Mayor Koch, who in response to the beating, presented each of them with official navy blue and gold city neckties, featuring the design based on the city seal. He then told the three youth that if, "god forbid," they are ever attacked again to

show their neckties and tell the attacker that they are under the protection of the mayor.

This insane babble is indicative of Mayor Koch who has more than periodically sputtered racist remarks throughout his tenure as mayor of New York City.

This is the same type of patronizing attitude that marks every racist episode that has occurred in this city, from Howard Beach to the South Bronx. Koch hands out wonder neckties that are to ward off all attackers, a fantasy that only works in superman comic books.

To date only one out of the 25 youth who were involved in the attack has been arrested. New York City's finest are trying to shrug off another racist attack by stating that they feel that it was just an isolated incident. Isolated in what way? Tell the parents of Michael Griffith, killed in racial violence in the Howard Beach neighborhood, that it was an isolated incident. Lest we not forget, tell the Latino youth who were beaten in the Bronx, and the two Latina lesbians who were beaten by the police right near the Bronx all within the last year. The list of racist violence in this city does not stop there.

On Sept. 4, just two days after the attack in Canarsie, two police beat a young Korean bicyclist, Ou Young, in midtown Manhattan. They claimed to be stopping Young for riding his bike against rush hour traffic and asked him for identification. When Young

couldn't produce it, the two police officers became violent.

One witness said that she was walking down Lexington Avenue when she saw one of the police officers violently snatch Young off of his bicycle and throw him to the ground. This story was corroborated by many witnesses who watched the incident. Another witness said that the police became violent when Young would not let go of his bike, and that one police officer threw Young to the ground as the other one started to beat him. She said that this behavior continued until a crowd gathered and started shouting at the police to "stop it, stop it." The cops then handcuffed Young and arrested him.

Young was bruised about the neck and face and bleeding from his right arm. One of the onlookers said that she spoke to Young and tried to calm him down and one of the police told her that "if you open your mouth once more, I'm gonna put you with him."

Several witnesses followed the police to the station to register complaints against them and were told that they would have to appear in court with Young in order to do so.

This is yet another episode of a wave of racist violence that has struck not just New York City, but the entire country.

It's time to put Koch, Reagan and all of their right wing cronies on notice, and once and for all bring to justice, by what ever means necessary, these racist thugs.

AIDS commissioners ignore New York City gay leaders

By Saul Kanowitz
New York

September 7 — At the end of a two-day visit to New York City, one member of Reagan's commission on AIDS said that "politics would play no part in the recommendations they will make to the President" to end the AIDS epidemic. However, the absence of most of the commission from this trip shows the indifference of many of its members to solving the AIDS epidemic and toward the commission itself.

Only two members of the commission came to New York to meet with representatives of the Black community. Later they held a private meeting with the Gay Men's Health Crisis, the Hispanic AIDS Forum, People with AIDS Coalition, Women in Crisis and the Haitian AIDS Coalition. Skepticism of the commission was expressed by the participants at this meeting.

Without the full commission publicly meeting with representatives of people with AIDS and the lesbian and gay and oppressed communities, it cannot possibly come up with a meaningful national policy.

With the exception of the one Black representative, Dr. Myers, and Frank Lily, a gay doctor, the commission is an assembly of big business representatives with anti-gay and reactionary histories. It took the outrage of the lesbian and gay community and the oppressed communities to ensure even a minimal representation on this commission. The medical and scientific communities also expressed dismay at the fact that none of the appointees with a medical or scientific background have prominence in the area of AIDS research and care.

The commission is suspect in its ability to develop an effective program to end the epidemic. But if pushed, it can become the first part of a massive and coordinated program to provide the resources for research to find a cure, to provide the medical needs and social services for people with AIDS and AIDS-Related Complex (ARC), and to educate the general population about AIDS. What is needed to make the commission an effective body is pressure from the grassroots level. The National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights on Oct. 11 will be part of that pressure.

— Ohio Labor Day

Continued from page 1
Harold Maple.

"They brought in more than 80 extra cops from seven different counties," Maple told Workers World. "All through the day they were provoking our people, riding around town and giving us the finger. We feel the whole thing was set up by the sheriff's department and the company."

Cops attacked

With the 80 cops lined up along the plant, the march was directed into town, winding up at the rented house used as a union headquarters a block from the main plant gate. "The cops lined up a block away," said Maple. "They said someone had thrown a rock up by the plant. Then they fired

wooden slugs and rubber slugs and tear gas at the unionists. If there was a riot, they caused it."

A pregnant woman who lived near the union office was taken to the hospital because of the tear gas. It turned out she was uninjured, but the state of her baby is still unknown.

Police also attacked a union van, dragging 56-year-old unionist Adrian Mathias from the truck and beating his head against the ground. Maple said also that some unionists had wounds from the wooden slugs.

Later that evening, the cops came to the rented house and put a 10 p.m. curfew on it. They also smashed up some watermelons on the front porch, broke some windows and arrested 13 people inside, charging them with "disorderly conduct."

Maple said that another solidarity rally is planned for Sept. 9 in Coshoc-ton, with many of the same unions planning to come.

Atlanta homeless union demands \$6.3 million in housing

By Barbara Gale
and Tom Doran
Atlanta

Activists working to build a union of homeless people have demanded that the city's housing authority take immediate action to build housing with \$6.3 million which they have had for more than a year. The federal government has ordered the city to begin building by Sept. 30 or return a \$3.5 million grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). An additional \$2.8 million grant resulted from the state's destruction of public housing during a highway project. That money has been available for almost five years.

Homeless organizers discovered the existence of the funds while meeting with Atlanta Housing Authority Director Sam Hider. Hider says the money hasn't been used because AHA can't find a suitable site for the housing. He admits, however, that AHA knew in advance that its only proposal to HUD so far did not meet federal guidelines because it is near existing public housing and distant from population centers.

Discovery of the idle and threatened funds was met with outrage, particularly from the homeless community. The union committee led a picket at AHA on Aug. 18, chanting, "We're not gonna wait!" and "We're ready to fight!" Many have asked why AHA will not build on available sites near white or middle class neighborhoods.

All public housing built in recent decades has been placed at the very edge of the city limits. Poor people have said for years that this is an attempt to hide the poor in out-of-the-way places.

Recently the city has begun a more direct campaign to make poor and homeless people less visible. In one weekend 150 people were arrested in a sweep of downtown which is part of a city effort to "sanitize" the central

city. Police overflowed the city jail with charges such as "public sleeping," loitering or "blocking the sidewalk." Local officials have vowed to "clean up" the downtown area before the 1988 Democratic Party Convention.

Organizers for the homeless union plan to focus on both police harassment like the "clean up campaign" and on AHA inaction in the face of the growing housing shortage.

Union organizers have pressed the need for permanent housing, not shelters. At least a third of Atlanta's homeless have jobs and work every day but live in shelters or on the streets because of a lack of affordable housing.

Politicians and businessmen claim Atlanta is a boom town. Market studies show more BMWs per capita than any other city in the U.S. Census studies, on the other hand, show that Atlanta has more poor people per capita than any place in the U.S. but Newark, N.J. Workers are pushed into the streets as rents are raised and low income housing is torn down or gentrified. Fulton County sheriffs carry out an average of 20 evictions per day.

Atlanta's homeless union was initiated at a July rally in Central City Park. Homeless speakers called for direct action to force the issues in the open.

Chris Sprowall, of the National Homeless Union, declared, "We've got to occupy offices and tear the boards off the boarded-up houses."

Others echoed the call for unity in an organization. Ethel Matthews of the Welfare Rights Organization said, "Poor people have always had to fight for what they get." Charlie Orrick of United Steel Workers Local 2401 described the threats of Atlanta's last steel mill to close and eliminate 1200 jobs. "A lot more of us may be at homeless rallies in the next two years. We've got to stick together."

workers world

46 W. 21 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010

Telephone: (212) 255-0352

Vol. 29, No. 37/Sept. 17, 1987

Closing news date: Sept. 9, 1987

Editor: Deirdre Griswold

Technical Editor: Lallan Stein

Managing Editors: John Catalinotto, Joyce Chediak, Robert Dobrow, Sharon Shelton, Gary Wilson
Contributing Editors: Monica Moorehead, Carmen Roundtree, Andy Stapp; Prison Page: Leslie Feinberg;
Special Supplement: Shelley Ettinger; Technical Staff: Sharon Ayling, Pat Chin, Mark Doran, Ken Franson,
Marsha Goldberg, Gin T. Loy, Katy Rosen, Steve Schultz; Darkroom Staff: G. Dunkel, Fabian, Susan
Rotgard; Cartoonists: Bill Haislip, Tom Shannon.

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) 206-8222. 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.

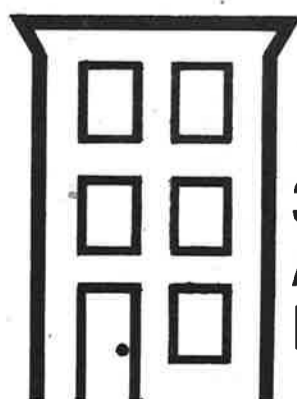
An appeal...

If you don't act now, Workers World *could* be homeless in 1989! The lease on the Workers World office is running out. We're caught in the desperate crisis between soaring homelessness and extortionate real estate developers and bankers. Our only solution is to purchase a permanent home for the newspaper. But that requires an enormous amount of money — as much as \$1 million. That's why we're initiating a two-year campaign: the Workers World 30th Anniversary Building Fund.

Workers World will celebrate its 30th anniversary in 1989 — the same year the lease runs out. Therefore we are beginning a campaign *now*. We need your help. If you value what Workers World brings you each week — our national and international coverage from the revolutionary perspective of working and oppressed people around the world — then plan today to invest in the Workers World 30th Anniversary Building Fund. You will be investing in the fight against exploitation and all forms of reaction and oppression — including landlords! You will be investing in the struggle for socialism.

Watch for a special mailing that will give you more information on the many ways your dollars will help Workers World build for the future. Find out how YOU can participate in buying a permanent home for Workers World.

Invest today in Workers World. For your future. And the future of humanity.



30th
ANNIVERSARY
BUILDING FUND

10,000 in California protest injury to anti-war organizer

By Sahu Barron
San Francisco

September 5 — At least 120 feet of railroad ties leading to the Concord Naval Weapons Station became the target of open outrage Sept. 5 when scores of demonstrators tore up four sections of the track, the site where just five days earlier anti-war activist S. Brian Willson was hit and critically injured by an oncoming munitions train.

As many as 10,000 people traveled to this isolated military enclave 12 miles north of San Francisco, which houses the largest weapons arsenal on the West Coast. Thousands walked at least a mile to the demonstration from the nearest public transportation while the cars of hundreds of others were ticketed for illegal parking!

With helicopters overhead, battalions of police cars surrounding the rally and the state troopers video taping the protesters, speaker after speaker drew the connection between the U.S. attempt to crush the liberation struggles of the peoples of Central America and southern Africa and the lengths to which they will go to silence the anti-war movement at home.

On Tuesday, Sept. 1, Willson and two other activists mounted the railroad tracks near the gates of the Naval Weapons Station to protest the sending of armaments to Central America. While 40 supporters looked on in horror, including his wife, Holley Rauen, and his 14-year-old stepson, Gabriel, a munitions train carrying high explosives accelerated and hit Willson, severing both his legs and dragging his body 20 feet.

Concord officials claimed that the train was only traveling 5 miles an hour. Yet a video tape made of the protest clearly showed that the train was moving at least three times that speed. Further, the demonstrators, who had

carried on similar protests in the days prior to the incident, had notified officials of the weapons station weeks earlier of their intent to stage peaceful protests there. During emergency surgery, Willson's legs had to be amputated from the calves down.

"We each decide what price we're to pay to ensure peace," Willson said to the rally. His message had been recorded on tape from his hospital bed.

"As soon as I am able, I will be back on the tracks. Hopefully, we can get enough people to stop the arms shipments from Concord and then the blockades will spread throughout the rest of the country," Willson continued.

Rauen, also an anti-war activist, characterized the incident as a deliberate act of attempted murder. "I am deeply angered by what happened to Brian and I am deeply angered and outraged that we are killing, raping and maiming innocent children in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Angola."

Jesse Jackson also spoke before the enthusiastic crowd. Calling on the U.S. government to halt the shipping of arms to the contras in Nicaragua, Jackson said, "Brian lost his legs so that we might walk for justice."

Anger over the military's deliberate act of terrorism against Willson was strong within the crowd. Despite the urging of the organizers of the demonstration for a strictly pacifist response, hundreds of demonstrators tore up more than 120 feet of railroad track after the rally concluded. In a similar expression of outrage, earlier in the week more than 400 people at the University of California at Berkeley stormed the ROTC building, smashing windows and writing anti-war graffiti on the walls.

Prior to the demonstration, Nicaraguan leader Rosario Murillo traveled from Managua to the naval station



Thousands protest death train in California.

WW PHOTO: STEPHANIE HEDGECOCKE

where Willson was so heinously struck down. Later, carrying armloads of flowers; she and five of her children visited Willson in the hospital.

"We made a special trip to visit him, because I wanted to convey to him the feeling of the Nicaraguan people... to tell him how deeply we have been moved by Brian's tragedy," Murillo stated. Willson, a Vietnam veteran

and participant in the 1986 Fast for Life held for 47 days in Washington, D.C., had lived in Nicaragua and met Murillo and her husband, Daniel Ortega, Nicaragua's president. Ortega also called Willson in his hospital room.

Demonstrations at the Naval Weapons Station are continuing on a daily basis.

On the picket line

Teacher strikes. The new school year is beginning, and with hundreds of thousands of workers without contracts, picket lines are up outside schools across the country. The biggest strike so far is in Chicago where teachers walked out on Sept. 8. In Detroit, 11,500 teachers represented by the Detroit Federation of Teachers walked out on Sept. 1 in a struggle against takebacks. The Detroit Board of Education is demanding that teachers accept a wage freeze and givebacks in medical benefits, along with a "contingency" 2% raise that could fail to materialize in the second year of a two-year contract. At least seven other school strikes — including Mount Clemens and Marquette — are on in Michigan, which has a history of teacher militancy. Elsewhere, school workers in North Allegheny, near Pittsburgh, Pa., and Edmonds, Wash., are on the picket lines.

Strike Atlantis Casino. Workers at the Atlantis Casino Hotel in Atlantic City, N.J., walked out on strike Sept. 2. The 750 members of Hotel Employees Local 54 have been waiting months for a promised raise to bring their pay into line with that of other casino hotel and restaurant workers in the resort city, while management stalled and stonewalled. Atlantis strikers, mostly women, are walking the scenic Atlantic City boardwalk with picket signs.

Yodels go stale. Drake Bakeries, Inc., an East Coast baker and distributor of popular junk baked goods like Yodels and Devil Dogs, was the scene of militant strike solidarity the first week in September as bakery workers refused to cross picket lines of striking Teamster truck drivers. The drivers have been on strike for two months, since Drake was taken over by the Rockefeller Group and announced plans to convert delivery routes to franchise operations, making drivers pay to become "independent contractors," buy routes, trucks, and inventory, and lose all employee benefits — all of which would cut drivers' income nearly in half. The Teamster strike began in Philadelphia and is now in place at all Drake sites throughout the Northeast. When picket lines went up Sept. 3 at Drake bakeries in Wayne, N.J., and Long Island City, Holtsville, Farmingdale, Glendale and Brooklyn, N.Y., members of AFL-CIO unions including the Bakery and Confectionery workers honored their lines and shut down operations. Drake accounts for fully 50% of the junk sweet market in the Northeast, according to company

president Christos Christodoulou, and the company will be hit very hard if the strike solidarity holds for another week.

Cruising with exploitation.

While the weather is cooling and vacation season slowing down, cruise lines are still doing big business taking people down to where it's hot and sunny. But the International Maritime Union (IMU) is asking vacationers, "Don't have fun at someone else's expense" on a Carnival Cruise Line or Bermuda Star Line ship. The boycott of the two cruise lines is based on gross exploitation of ships' crews, including 12-to-16-hour workdays, "turn-of-the-century wages," no pay for Sundays or holidays, seafarers paying for their own medical expenses and receiving inadequate treatment, seafarers paying for round trip air tickets to and from ships, plus \$700 "fee" to get the job, and on and on. According to the IMU, Carnival and Bermuda are "definitely not floating fun ships," despite their advertising campaigns to the contrary.

NBC strike. Workers have been out on strike against NBC for ten weeks, and the company continues to block any move toward an acceptable contract settlement. NBC's most recent act was to walk out of negotiations on Sept. 2, after again failing to pound the union into submission on its key demand to hire non-union workers to perform union jobs. The strike centers on job security for writers, engineers and technical staff and, despite the hardships of a long struggle, strikers are holding out well, with frequent strike rallies and strong picket lines.

NFL talks. The strike deadline is in mid-September for the National Football League and management intensified its anti-union posture on Sept. 1 with an attack on a leading union activist. Brian Holloway of the New England Patriots, player representative to the NFL Players Association, was traded away by Coach Raymond Berry as retribution for appearing on national television representing the union the night before. Protection for union representatives is one of the demands on the table, along with an improved pension plan, better grievance procedures and improved working conditions and benefits — all of which are important to the majority of players who don't earn star salaries and have no job security.

Shelley Ettinger

Carl Jacob — he let people hear the truth

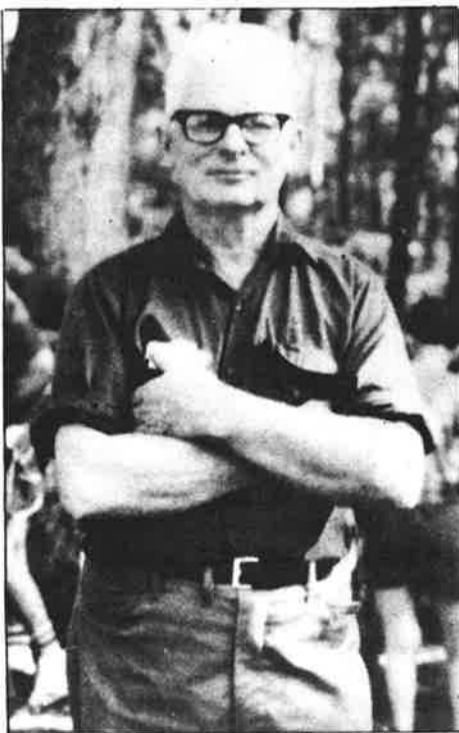
Carl Jacob, well known in the New York-New Jersey area as a skilled sound technician and progressive activist, died of a stroke on Sept. 3. He was 72 years old.

Born in Kansas in 1915, Jacob joined the Merchant Marine in the turbulent days of the 1930s, becoming exposed to both the mechanical trades and the radical politics that were to shape the rest of his life.

After the Second World War, he became a pipefitter and member of the Steamfitters Union. While working in San Francisco, he met his wife, Dorothy, a social worker, and together they moved to Denver, Colo., where they became active in the local movement for peace and justice. Concerned about the shortage of sound equipment available for demonstrations and rallies, Carl began to accumulate the microphones and loudspeakers that became his contribution to the movement.

"Carl deeply believed in the causes of justice and peace," Dorothy Jacob told Workers World. "He had a great need to let people know the truth. And providing sound at the rallies and the marches was his way of helping in the struggle."

After settling in Crawford, N.J., Jacob became well known through the area, bringing his vanload of sound equipment to anti-Reagan demonstrations in Philadelphia, housing marches in Jersey City, N.J., and labor rallies in New York



City. On Aug. 30, he was in Hartford, Conn., providing the sound for the march and rally in support of Puerto Rican political prisoners.

"Carl was always a radical politically," said Dorothy Jacob. "He went wherever he was needed. He brought the message to the people."

A memorial service will be held Sept. 14 at 7 p.m. at Washington Square United Methodist Church, 135 W. 4th St., New York.

Phil Wilayto

'Upbeat' describes Labor Day 1987

By Lallan Stein

On Labor Day 1987 trade unionists made a powerful demonstration of unity in the fight for pay raises, the right to a job and an end to contract concessions. Banners were raised in support of workers' struggles around the world.

"This is an upbeat march, the largest we've seen in years," a representative of the New York City Central Labor Council told Workers World. The council estimated that marchers in New York City numbered over 200,000 and said the turnout indicated an upswing. Unions in the city have grown 5% in the last three years to include 40% of the workforce.

A great surge in the participation of Black, Latino, Asian and women trade unionists made the march upbeat. This was best exemplified by the Garment Workers Union, whose membership consists of workers from all around the world. Contingents like this also had a large number of women and were active in raising the political issues.

The fieriest chanting — "We want more pay" — came from AFSCME Local 1549 which is composed of clerical workers. Their placards demanded, "Koch settle our contract now."

There were placards which read, "Fight plant closings and layoffs." The Coalition of Labor Union Women carried a banner, "Empleos, no guerra, jobs not war." The Machinists carried two coffins signifying the burial of giveback bargaining and two-tier

wage systems. The IUE float demanded child care and pay equity. TWU signs read: "Don't privatize public jobs."

International solidarity

An outstanding banner carried by Black, Latino and white service workers read: "Local 144 SEIU marches in solidarity with South African trade unionists and all workers' struggles around the world." Many unions raised the call for freedom in South Africa. UAW District 65 sponsored an African National Congress (ANC) contingent.

There were placards demanding an end to contra aid. Some of the signs linked the struggle against the U.S.-contra war in Nicaragua to the struggle against apartheid.

Bringing struggle against apartheid home

Responding to the growing incidence of racist attacks in New York, Musicians Local 802 and UAW District 65 had signs calling for opposition to racism and racist violence.

There were signs showing labor's opposition to Reagan's latest appointment to the Supreme Court. "Bork no! Civil rights yes!" was a Food and Commercial Workers union sign.

An AFL-CIO float along with signs from a great number of unions called for a health care plan to cover everyone.

Nearly all the unions carried banners in support of the Farmworkers'

struggle against unsafe pesticides: "Don't buy poison grapes."

NABET, on strike against NBC, and the Paperworkers, on strike against International Paper Company (IP), requested all of labor's support.

Hospital Workers 1199 demanded, "Justice for home care workers." And the flight attendants requested, "Don't fly TWA." Leaflets called for a boycott of Hormel and Consumer Reports for using union-busting tactics.

UAW District 65 took an important initiative by sponsoring the Lesbian and Gay Labor Network along with representatives from the Oct. 11 march on Washington.

An organization of disabled people was hosted by the Transport Workers. Bus drivers, glad for support from the disabled, pushed wheelchairs along the march route.

The Greyhound workers' union sponsored the bike messengers' Independent Couriers Association. These workers, mainly poor oppressed youth, have been hit hard by Mayor Koch's bicycle-ban. They brought up the end of the march in pouring rain. "Are we wet? No!" they chanted. "Ban Koch! We want the streets back!"

Also on Labor Day, over 500 union-

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WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

New York City Labor Day.



New York City Labor Day. WW PHOTO

— Michigan

Continued from page 1

of people turned out, lining the parade route elbow to elbow for miles. Virtually the entire community came out to honor the sitdowners. This reflects the deep-seated labor consciousness in the Flint area. Following the parade, a beautiful monument commemorating the sitdowns was dedicated in downtown Flint.

The UAW Jackson Educational Council made a special float for the Flint parade under the saying, "Jackson says sitdown against plant closings and layoffs," featuring "Queen Kong" sitting down on one of the plants. The float was pulled by a truck which carried a coffin made up by the Jobs and Justice Fightback Committee which listed the many GM plants being shutdown.

'A job is a right!'

This contingent of the Job is a Right campaign also carried several banners and signs protesting the plant closings and layoffs. It received a tremendous response from the huge crowd as it marched through downtown Flint. The crowd joined in chanting, "A job is a right, we're going to fight, fight, fight."

The Job is a Right Campaign passed out 500 signs stating, "Fight for a moratorium on plant closings and layoffs," which were eagerly received and displayed on about 75% of the floats. Flint is already being hard hit by GM's plant closings and layoffs.

Detroit's parade

In Detroit, over 100,000 people turned out Sept. 7 for the annual Labor Day Parade. The parade featured militant contingents from the Detroit Federation of Teachers, and UAW 2500 from Blue Cross-Blue Shield. Both these unions went on strike last week. Other strikers present included USWA Local 13765 from Karmazin Corpora-

tion in Wyandotte fighting proposed company wage cuts and takebacks; and UAW 985 members from Quinco Tool who have been on strike since September 1985.

The theme of the parade was "Jobs and economic justice" and the fight to stop plant closings was expressed throughout the march. UAW Local 15, representing the GM Fleetwood plant which is scheduled for closing in December, led a contingent in a march from the GM building to the parade. They carried signs saying "Moratorium — a job for every American — fight to ban plant closings and layoffs."

UAW Local 22 from the Cadillac plant, also slated for shutdown in December, had a contingent which brought together labor and the community. The local printed hundreds of signs which read "A Job Is a Right." Marching with UAW Local 22 was a large group of young, Black football players carrying the local signs. The UAW Local 22 float won the award for best float in the parade.

The demand for a moratorium on plant closings and layoffs was raised by many locals in the parade. The Job is a Right Campaign signs were very popular. The Campaign joined the Wayne County Unemployed Council in raising a special banner demanding jobs and decent wages or income for those already out of work.

There were several banners commemorating the freedom struggle in South Africa. Many workers wore ribbons opposing U.S. intervention in Central America.

Workers World Party marched in the Detroit Labor Day Parade with a banner that read, "Only socialism will end racism, unemployment and war. Support workers' struggles in South Africa, south Korea, Latin America, the Philippines, Middle East and the U.S."



New York City Labor Day. WW PHOTO

Services for Blind workers win union struggle in Philadelphia

By Betsey Piette
Philadelphia

September 6 — Labor Day in Philadelphia was marked by the victory of 35 workers after a week long strike over unfair labor practices against the Associated Services for the Blind (ASB). While the outpouring of labor and community solidarity for the striking workers was notable, it was the ASB workers themselves who made this strike particularly inspiring.

Along with the traditional picket signs announcing their demands, these workers carried white-tipped canes and were aided by seeing-eye guide dogs. The majority of ASB workers are blind or otherwise visually impaired.

ASB translates and produces books and magazines in Braille for the Library of Congress and other institutions. In April, the ASB Employees Group won union recognition after a two-year long struggle. However,

while mandated by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to negotiate for a contract, ASB has refused to give the union employee information as required by law, and refuses to acknowledge the union's right to file grievances.

On Aug. 10, union President Louis McCarthy told a supervisor to stop harassing a union member, or he would "slap him with a labor practice charge." The company supervisor claimed that this was a physical threat and had a warning letter placed in McCarthy's file, threatening to fire him. Demanding that the letter be removed, workers responded on Aug. 27 by first staging a sit-in in the cafeteria and then walking out to set up a picket line.

The ASB workers are unanimous in that their strike was for union recognition. McCarthy told Workers World, "This is not a personal issue. What happened to me could happen to any of the workers. This is a clearcut attempt

Continued on page 7

ANC appeals for support for political prisoners

By Monica Moorehead

The following statement was issued by the African National Congress Political Prisoners Committee. It is a call for international support for political prisoners in South Africa who all face execution.

Since this statement was issued, two political prisoners, Moses Muyanda Jantjes and Mlamli Wellington Mielies were sent to apartheid's gallows for the "crime" of fighting against the fascist, racist regime.

The heroic freedom fighters, the majority in their 20s, and their supporters are calling upon the international community to come to their defense, to launch a campaign to save their lives and the lives of all South African political prisoners.

Awaiting execution in Pretoria, there are now one woman and 29 men who have been convicted on charges directly related to the vicious repression in the country today. Their trials arose as a result of the people's resistance to the corrupt system of puppet "community councilors," resistance to the war the regime is waging against the people of the townships, resistance to the persecution of trade unionists and political activists.

It is now no longer possible to count the number who have been killed and injured as a result of repression and resistance in South Africa. The police and army of the regime have carried out massacres in Soweto, Uitenhage, Duduza, Mamelodi and other places inside the country, as well as over the

borders in Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

The police and their agents, the armed vigilantes, roam the townships harassing, kidnapping and often shooting on sight; people have been shot while simply walking in the street; young children have been shot while playing in the doorways or in the backyards of their homes. Elected leaders and spokesmen of trade unions and local democratic organizations have been found murdered — sometimes horribly — in mysterious circumstances. No one has ever been arrested and charged for these crimes.

Indeed, it seems that some activists are being brought to court and framed on serious charges.

Those on death row now are political prisoners. The terrorists of South Africa are still walking free. These political prisoners are:

Six from Sharpeville, sentenced December 1986:

1. Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa (30)
 2. Reid Malebo Mokoena (22)
 3. Oupa Moses Diniso (30)
 4. Theresa Ramashomola (24)
 5. Duma Joshua Khumalo (26)
 6. Francis Don Mokhesi (29)
- Two from Tzaneen, sentenced June 1986:

7. Solomon Mankopane Maowasha (20)

8. Alex Matshapa Matsepene (23)

Three from Oudtshoorn, sentenced September 1986:

9. Patrick Manginda (23)
 10. Desmond Majola (27)
 11. Dickson Madikane (26)
- Two from Sebokeng, sentenced September 1986:

12. Josiah Tsawane (29)

13. Daniel Maleke (19)

One, sentenced in Jasenville:

14. Elile Webushe

One from Colesburg, sentenced 1986:

15. Paul Tefo Setlaba (22)

Four from Addo, sentenced January 1987:

16. Mziwoxolo Christopher Makaleni (22)

17. Makhswana Menze (43)

18. Ndumiso Silo Siphenuka (26)

19. Similo Lennox Wonci (22)

One from Durban, sentenced to death three times, April 1987

20. Robert McBride (23)

Three National Union of Mineworkers members from Vaal Reefs mine, sentenced to death four times, May 1987:

21. Tyeluvyo Mgedezi (28)

22. Solomon Mangaliso Nongwati (38)

23. Paulos Tsietsi Tsehlena (38)

Six from Queenstown, sentenced June 1987:

24. Mzwandile Gqeba (22)

25. Mzwandile Mninzi (27)

26. Thembinkosi Pressfeet (30)

27. Wanto Silinga (27)

28. Monde Tingwe (23)

29. Lundi Wana (20)

One from Soweto:

30. Bekisizwe Ngidi (19)

Campaign to save their lives!

A campaign to save their lives has been launched in South Africa by the South African Youth Congress, supported by the United Democratic Front, the Release Mandela Campaign, the National Union of Mineworkers, the South Africa National Students' Congress and the National Education Crisis Committee. They are asking people to write to:

The Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, House of Commons, London SW1, England;

President Reagan, The White House, Washington, D.C.;

Chancellor Kohl, Bundeskanzleramt, Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany; asking them to use the influence of their governments to stop the hangings. They are also asking people to write to:

The State President, P.W. Botha, Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa, demanding a reprieve for the 30.

Free all South African political prisoners! Death to apartheid!



Haitian peasants mobilize to keep their land.

PHOTO: HAITIAN INFORMATION CENTER

Reaganites promise more guns for Haitian junta

By G. Dunkel

The military government of Haiti was recently assured of continued U.S. backing after a meeting between some Pentagon generals and Elliot Abrams, the assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, and Gen. Williams Regala of Haiti's provisional National Council of government. Abrams is also one of the architects of U.S. policy against Nicaragua.

The news from Haiti, supplied to Workers World by the Haitian Information Center, is chilling and documents how the army aided the massacre of more than 300 peasants at Jean Rabel this summer and how it is serving the interests of the large, feudal landowners and U.S. agribusiness.

Peasants in Haiti have been losing their land and their livelihood in ever-increasing numbers since the mid 1970s. In the north of Haiti, the most impoverished section of the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, some progressive priests organized peasants into a movement called Tet Ansanm (Heads Together) to resist the landlords, in particular the Lucas and the Poitevien families.

When the hired thugs of these families and the Tontons Macoute ambushed and massacred the 300 members of Tet Ansanm this summer, the army sent in a special Tactical Unit which joined the posse hunting the rebellious peasants and seized or de-

stroyed pick-up trucks, a nursing station and an adult literacy building belonging to Tet Ansanm. Nicol Poitevien boasted on national television in Haiti of having supervised the execution of 1,042 "communists" in Jean Rabel.

The Lucas family is closely associated with the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) office in Jean Rabel.

It is AID, with the backing of the World Bank and the Haitian government, which has developed the plan for expropriating 1.5 million Haitian peasants in the next three years and substituting cash crops and large farms for the small subsistence farms that feed most Haitians. While these international sharks call their plan a "Development Plan," the people of Haiti call it the "Starvation Plan."

The brutality, massacres and poverty are not confined to Jean Rabel. In late August, some priests associated with Tet Ansanm were attacked on the road 60 miles north of Port-au-Prince (the capital). A moderate, centrist candidate for president was hacked to death 25 miles east of the capital by some thugs who claimed he was a "communist."

Most politicians are afraid they will lose their lives if they run in the election that the U.S. claims will restore "democracy" to Haiti. These elections are just a cover for the same old gang, minus a few old faces, doing the U.S. bidding in Haiti.

Haitian man's death in Boston dramatizes fight against dictatorship

By Coco Wells and Phebe Eckfeldt
Boston

The death here of a Haitian man has sparked militant protest by the Haitian community against continued U.S.-backed repression and murder in that country.

On Monday, Aug. 31, Antoine Thurel died of self-immolation on the steps of the Massachusetts State House. A sign he left behind stated that he was protesting the Haitian military regime's oppressive policies which include torture and murder by the Tontons Macoute, a former secret police organization whose members are now a part of the national army. Thurel's death brought hundreds of members of Boston's Haitian community out

into the streets.

According to Leo Josef of the weekly newspaper Haiti Observateur, "The exile community has a tradition of being at the forefront of the fight against dictatorship. Now that the same kinds of repression are happening, they have kept people on their feet and the opposition light burning."

On Thursday, 300 people picketed the federal building in downtown Boston. At Thurel's funeral today over 2,000 people marched through the streets chanting and holding signs and banners reading, "Haiti is not for sale, USA stop interfering in Haiti's internal affairs," and "U.S. imperialism out of Haiti." Many wore red and blue armbands, the colors of the Haitian flag.

Job is a Right Campaign to join them. Two radio stations and a TV station picked up on the action.

Cleveland unionists celebrated the hundredth anniversary of their first Labor Day march. The Postal Workers Union drew applause with a banner that read "Solidarity from the mines of South Africa to the factories of south Korea!"

And in Maine, over 3,000 gathered in one of the largest Labor Day rallies to take place in the state. The Paperworkers strike in Jay brought the huge turnout. Eighty-five IP strikers from Pennsylvania also came up to the rally.

— Labor Day

Continued from page 5

ists rallied in Albany, N.Y. Special honor was paid to Steelworkers Local 3701, which is on strike against the St. Joe Mining Co. Placards demanded an end to plant closings, the apartheid system in South Africa and racism at home.

In Chicago, thousands of trade unionists marched on Sept. 4. The liveliest contingent was Auto Workers Local 558 who invited workers in the A

Korean strikers stage plant, city hall takeovers

By Sharon Shelton

On Sept. 2 in the industrial town of Pupyong, 18 miles west of Seoul, striking south Korean autoworkers staged a militant occupation of the Daewoo car plant's administrative offices to dramatize their struggle for higher wages, decent hours and the right to their own unions. Not only did the strikers take their bosses captive, but they forced them to kneel to the ground and publicly apologize for their past crimes against the workers.

This is just one among many incidents that demonstrate that striking workers across south Korea, workers who only a few short months ago had never participated in a job action, are feeling their muscle as the strike wave that has engulfed the country since late summer intensifies.

During the first week of September alone, strikers occupied at least nine plants in separate actions across the country. One such protest occurred at the Hyundai shipyard in Ulsan, a southeastern industrial center, where workers resumed a strike begun in August. Police attacked strikers who were trying to occupy a luxury hotel outside the shipyard gate and drove them into the shipyard, where they seized the administration building.

Takeover of city hall

Even more dramatic, however, was the Sept. 2 storming of Ulsan's city hall, where the shipyard strikers smashed windows and furniture and burned politicians' cars. Earlier in the day, nearly 20,000 of the strikers had marched and driven forklifts and trucks through the streets in a mass protest that paralyzed parts of Ulsan.

The resumption of strikes at three of Hyundai's eleven plants, which were called off in mid-August after the government intervened and the company promised to recognize the union, shows that government "mediation" did little to resolve the struggle. The workers had been promised a settlement, but after the Sept. 1 deadline for it passed at some of the plants, it became clear that the company was not showing good faith, and the workers walked out.

The Hyundai strike is just one of more than 750 job actions underway

as of Sept. 3, according to the south Korean Labor Ministry. Coal miners, dock workers, bus drivers and employees of small assembly plants are all now off their jobs in a country where strikes are technically illegal.

In Seoul, drivers of more than 90% of the 15,400 company-owned taxis are on strike. Indicative of the depths of the feelings of these workers, one striker poured flammable liquid on his body and set himself on fire, shouting, "Do not crush union activity!"

Students protest

The opening of fall classes on Sept. 1 saw student struggles on 19 campuses across the country. One of the largest was held at Seoul National University where students fought with cops, chanting, "Execute Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo!" (Roh is head of the ruling party of south Korea) and "Topple the military dictatorship!" The students also chanted anti-American slogans and expressed support for strikers.

The Seoul protest involved students from Yonsei University and Ehwa Women's University. The student body presidents of all three schools

were arrested last month, and their release was one of the demands of the rally.

Repression unleashed

Fearing for its very survival in the midst of this explosion of workers' and students' struggles on the heels of last summer's mass political demonstrations, the U.S. puppet regime of Chun Doo Hwan has begun massive round-ups of the workers.

On Sept. 4, police stormed into the workers' dormitories at the Ulsan Hyundai shipyard and fought with strikers before arresting 100. A virtual occupation force of 7,000 cops had been shipped into the area and families of executives evacuated only days before.

The same day, police in Pupyong attacked workers and arrested 100 at the Daewoo auto plant, which is a joint venture of the Daewoo group and General Motors. Also, in Jungjam in eastern south Korea, 105 striking coal miners were arrested.

In all, over 500 strikers were rounded up at work sites throughout the country. These police dragnets coincided with ongoing arrests of stu-

dents and other activists whom the regime tried to blame for "fomenting" the workers' upsurge — as though the south Korean workers don't have reason enough to struggle!

Terrible job conditions

South Korean workers labor an average of 57 hours a week, the longest work week in the world. Wages average only \$1.75 an hour. Job conditions are truly dangerous: Last year, 1,550 workers were killed on the job, and 141,809 people suffered job-related accidents.

Over 2,000 U.S. companies profit off these terrible working conditions. So pervasive is U.S. imperialist control of south Korea that its military is under direct command of a U.S. general, and the occupying force of 42,000 U.S. troops is what props up the hated dictatorship.

Before the current upsurge, there were almost no strikes in south Korea. But there have been 3,200 of them so far this year. Clearly, the south Korean workers are fed up with the pro-big business, anti-worker Chun Doo Hwan regime — as well as the profit-gouging U.S. imperialists behind him.

U.S. secret role in Philippine coup

By Andy Stapp

A year-and-a-half ago the Reagan administration was deep in a dilemma over "what to do about the Philippines." Should it back its old friend the dictator Marcos or push its new friend Aquino?

For a few days Reagan alternately gave his blessing to the one, then the other. Both Marcos and Aquino are, after all, very wealthy, both are bitter enemies of the New People's Army (NPA) guerrilla insurgency, both are "friendly" to the large U.S. military presence and the 200 U.S. companies that have invested more than \$1 billion exploiting Filipino labor.

This very summer, Aquino issued a new hundred-peso note carrying the images of the Philippines and United States flag!

In February 1986, Washington finally dumped Marcos. Aquino got the nod.

But now everything is back to square one. The Aquino regime has been less than a roaring success against the NPA, which has grown from around 22,000 fighters in 1986 to 24,000 today. And the bosses of big U.S. firms such as Nestle and Kimberly Clark Corp. are complaining that her government has not been able to enforce back-to-work orders against workers' strikes.

All in all, from the imperialist standpoint, this is a weak regime, one that might have to be replaced. On the other hand, Aquino's civilian-democratic facade is an asset, as opposed to another military junta in the Marcos tradition. So what to do, support Aquino or Col. "Gringo" Honasan, the leader of the latest coup attempt?

Washington's secret role

Once again, the answer seems to be to do both. While Reagan professes support for Aquino in public, the people in the Philippines see the hand of the CIA and the Pentagon in the recent military uprising aimed at ousting her.

"Government eyeing possible U.S. role in coup," reads the banner headline in a Manila daily. "Washington blamed for Friday's coup attempt," says another.

According to the Manila Standard, Col. Honasan is aboard a U.S. aircraft

carrier. The Independent, another newspaper, reports that "two white men in a white Puma helicopter landed at armed forces headquarters at Camp Aguinaldo at the height of last Friday's coup and approached Honasan, who was camped there with his men."

The newspaper quotes a witness, "I heard one of the white men say in a loud voice, 'I have instructions to get you out of here for the good of your country and the cause you are fighting for.'"

Honasan charges that Aquino is "too soft" on the NPA. Wherever his current whereabouts, his forces claim to have set up a provisional government in Central Luzon's Region 3 — the area that includes two gigantic Pentagon installations, Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base!

Some Filipino newspapers report that the colonel is actually at Subic Base right now. No one in the U.S. Congress, among all those who profess to admire Aquino so much, has even dared to ask the Pentagon if this is true.

But Aquino's Defense Secretary Rafael Iletto has said he would launch a

probe into the question of U.S. involvement. An "After Battle Report" issued by his office says flat out that Col. Honasan had discussed "CIA support for destabilization" with fellow plotters before launching his aborted putsch.

Little of this information is available in the U.S. press, which pretends that Washington, the old colonial master in the Philippines, has nothing to do with what goes on over there.

Whatever the pervasive control the U.S. exercises over the government in Manila, however, there is one aspect of Philippine events totally beyond Washington's grasp. The imperialists do not call the shots with the NPA, which last week launched a big offensive. The guerrillas prevailed in a pitched battle only 40 miles from Manila itself, while carrying out 14 other assaults simultaneously elsewhere around the country.

It is this growing NPA army that created the bitter rift in the conservative factions that run the country. And it is the NPA which will end the puppet parade by freeing the Philippines from U.S. military, political and economic domination and exploitation.

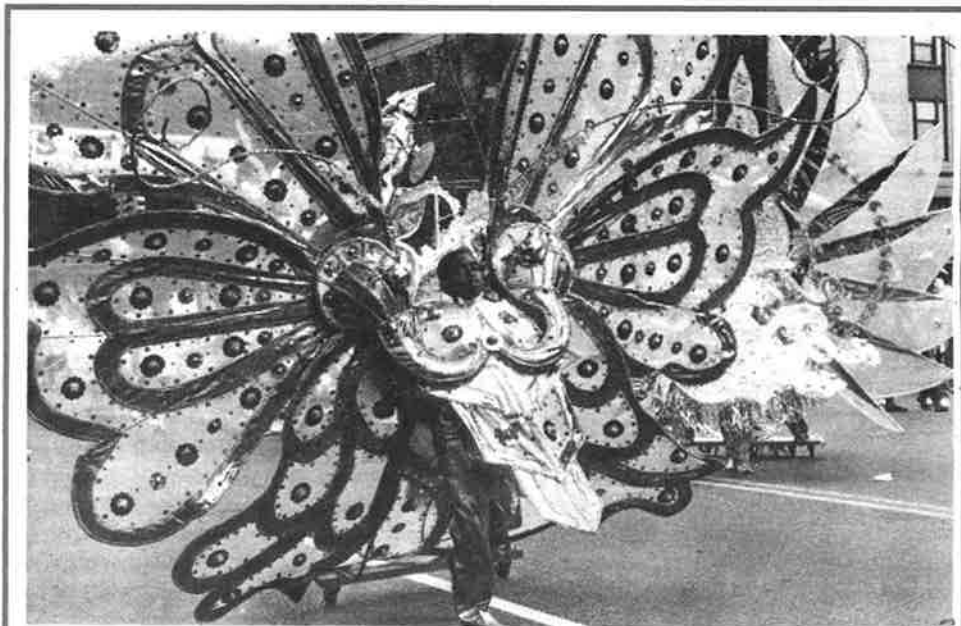
— Philadelphia

Continued from page 5

at union busting." A strong union is seen as prerequisite to winning wages and benefits that could lessen dependency on government programs for disabled workers.

The ASB strikers were joined on the picket line by representatives of the Delaware Valley Union of the Homeless, 1199C Hospital Workers Union, Transit Workers Union, the International Union of Operating Engineers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, National Lawyers Guild, United Labor Action, Teamsters, All-Peoples Congress, the National Federation for the Blind and AFSCME. ASB strikers told this reporter of the solidarity of truck drivers and a U.S. mail carrier who refused to cross the line, and a working supervisor who called in sick so he would not have to violate the strike.

Mass picketing on Thursday was successful in preventing any ASB personnel from entering the workplace. Later that afternoon, the nine-day strike ended with a mutual agreement to let the NLRB settle their differences, and a temporary suspension of McCarthy's warning notice pending the NLRB ruling on the union's unfair labor-practice charges.



Labor Day Caribbean style. A million to a million and a half people turned out for the yearly Caribbean festival on Labor Day in Brooklyn, N.Y. Among the many floats, food stalls and musical groups was a "Free South Africa" stand of the People's Anti-War Mobilization, which was quite popular.

WW PHOTO: PAT CHIN

MARXISM AND MATERIAL INCENTIVES

The Soviet reforms and the capitalist market/Part 6

By Sam Marcy

(Sixth in a series.)

September 4 — In his report to the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on June 25, 1987, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev said:

"Democracy in all walks of life is expanding and deepening. Public organizations are displaying more initiative. Democratic principles are gaining momentum in production management. Public opinion is coming across loud and clear. The media is working more actively for renewal. An offensive is in progress against bureaucratism. Bossy, pressure management is gradually being overcome. Important changes are taking place in the work of cadres as fresh blood is injected.

"The democratization experience convincingly shows that we are on the right road. This offers good prospects for perfecting our political system and society as a whole."

Of course, every socialist, every progressive can only hope that this is becoming the reality in the Soviet Union.

Inertia and stagnation

Earlier, in his report to the 27th Party Congress on Feb. 25, 1986, Gorbachev had said that "difficulties began to build up in the economy in the 1970s, with the rates of economic growth declining visibly. As a result, the targets for economic development set in the CPSU Program . . . were not attained."

"The main thing," he continued, "was that we had failed to produce a timely political assessment of the changed economic situation, that we failed to apprehend the acute and urgent need for converting the economy to intensive methods of development, and for the active use of the achievements of scientific and technological progress in the national economy. . . . By inertia, the economy continued to develop largely on an extensive basis, being oriented towards drawing additional labor and material resources into production. As a result, the rate of growth of labor productivity and certain other efficiency indicators dropped substantially."

In a word, inertia, conservatism and bureaucratism have inhibited the proper growth of the socialist economy.

Of course, this is not the first time in recent decades that there has been a call by a congress of the CPSU for a struggle against bureaucratism, for the broadening of democracy, for the observance of legal norms against high-handed methods of political procedure and production methods. The 20th Congress in 1956 was notable for precisely that, as well as later congresses. There has, in fact, been a continuous stream of calls for greater democratization of the organs of the party and government, especially in economic affairs.

Today, however, it is envisioned on a much broader and more intensive scale.

Nor is the scientific-technological revolution an altogether new phenom-

enon in the USSR. It was reported, discussed and acted upon in the 25th and 26th congresses, and even earlier. The whole gigantic effort to industrialize the country since the October Revolution of 1917 has been one giant effort to apply the latest findings of science and technology to industry as efficiently as was possible at the time. This is not to overlook, of course, the very severe, extremely harsh methods utilized during some periods of socialist development.

The current problem relating to the scientific-technological revolution differs in that over the last few years, maybe as long as ten years, there has been a slowdown in the growth rate of the economy, according to Secretary Gorbachev.

Global effects of scientific-technological revolution

The fact is that the scientific-technological revolution is a global phenomenon, that has taken hold particularly in the most highly developed capitalist countries. One of its fundamental aspects is that, as against previous phases of development, this one has meant a quantum jump in scientific and technological progress.

To some extent, it has developed more rapidly in the leading capitalist countries than in the USSR. So that, to prevent a wider disparity in scientific-technological development, it is necessary for the USSR to also take a qualitative leap, as Secretary Gorbachev has said.

But how is this to be done?

We know how it is being done in the leading capitalist countries: by a massive and continuing attack on the living standards of the working class, by plant closings, outsourcing, the creation of offshore facilities in the less developed countries, etc. But most of all, this almost seven-year-long wage-cutting offensive against the workers has manifested itself in an enormous shift to low-paid jobs that far outweighs the creation of some high-paid jobs among the more skilled and in the high-tech industries.

Hence, high-tech means low wages. We elaborated upon this theme in the book *High tech, low pay: A Marxist analysis of the changing character of the working class* (WW Publishers, 1986).

It is conceded by most bourgeois economists that the scientific and technological leap made in recent years in such capitalist countries as the U.S. has resulted in the phenomenon of low-paying jobs, especially in the service industries, and that this is gradually making its way into high-tech as well. But the whole thing is masked by the continuing relative growth of the capitalist economy.

The question is: Is this phenomenon occurring in the socialist countries as well, above all in the USSR? That would seem utterly contrary to and inconsistent with the entire history of socialist development in the USSR.

Economic content of democratization

So that the core issue in the Soviet reforms is how to deal with the phe-

nomon of the scientific-technological revolution. First, of course, the democratization process is exceptionally necessary. This scarcely needs to be said. However, there is the question of the economic content of the democratizing process. Who benefits from it and who may possibly be hurt by it? Which social groupings voice their views first and which don't we hear from?

We know that the imperialist bourgeoisie hails the utilization of the new democratic processes by certain neo-bourgeois elements, and conveys the impression that they are all there is. However, that is to take a narrow view of the inherent possibilities for socialist democratization and the participation of the broad mass of the workers. Indeed, in his report, Gorbachev called upon the creative energies of the masses and for their broader participation.

Still, we have to look at the economic content of the democratization process and see how it affects each stratum of the population and which have given voice to their views.

The Soviet restructuring reforms naturally raise the question of how they will affect the wage levels of the workers. To the workers this is one of the principal issues. Of course, the wage problem has to be viewed in connection with the whole plan. Wages have to be considered in the totality of the situation of the USSR, not as an isolated phenomenon.

Reforms and material incentives

An article on this subject entitled "Economic reform in the USSR: Material incentives are part of restructuring" was distributed last March by Novosti Press Agency. It was written by Gennadi Pisarevsky, who is identified as a political analyst.

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," says Pisarevsky, "is the main principle for the distribution of material benefits under socialism. The better a person works, the more he should get from society. This is social justice as we see it, but we now see it being violated."

How is it being violated?

"Regrettably," Pisarevsky goes on, "we have lost much of our ability to control the quality and quantity of labor. As a result, the earnings for bad and good work have become largely the same. The wages for skilled and unskilled labor do not differ much, either."

This is surprising, if not astonishing, since the difference between skilled and unskilled workers in the USSR has long been recognized as an inevitable carryover from capitalism. The author presents no wage data to demonstrate his thesis. In fact, no data appear in the article whatever.

However, he asserts that "the engineering profession has become much less prestigious." (This strikes us as highly questionable.) "The incomes of all working people have been growing, but those of unskilled labor have been rising even more quickly. Now a worker with the highest qualifi-

cations gets just 50% more than a low-skilled newcomer.

"Without solving this problem," Pisarevsky continues, "a tangible acceleration in economic development is unthinkable."

Higher paid to get more

The economic reform, according to him, therefore rotates around the higher paid getting more — at the expense of the lower paid, if we take the national income as a whole into consideration.

According to Pisarevsky, "The improvement of the pay-according-to-work system and the introduction of new wage and salary schedules are a major part of the radical economic reform which is taking place in the USSR. This should be completed . . . in the Twelfth Five-Year Plan period (1986-1990).

"The gist of the reform is a dynamic switchover of the economy as a whole and each enterprise in particular to a self-financing scheme. Every enterprise should pay for itself, so to speak, rather than getting subsidies from the State Budget, as often happens now."

According to our understanding and to the basic reports emanating from the 27th Congress, including the report of Secretary Gorbachev and others, the gist of the reform is the modernization and retooling, the introduction of new, high technology and the phasing out of older technology. That is the basic material foundation of the reform.

That will raise the productivity of labor in an intensive way, rather than by extensive methods, as Gorbachev says was done previously. But it signifies the displacement, as we have indicated earlier, of a great number of so-called excessive workers. Hence, the imperative necessity of retraining those workers expected to be eliminated by the scientific-technological revolution.

Retraining of displaced workers essential

Of course, vast sums of capital have to be invested in the new equipment. But an equal if not greater portion of the national budget must be allocated to the retraining of the workers who inevitably will be eliminated as a result of the retooling, the phasing out of obsolescent plant and equipment and even whole industries. By the end of the plan conversion this will amount to millions of workers. That's where the money has to go. That, it seems, is the ABC of the whole process.

However, according to Pisarevsky, the fundamental changes to be made are not the scientific-technological revolution, the modernization of the plant and equipment and the replacement of obsolescent plants and tools, but rather are in the social sphere: changing the relations between the managers, the skilled and the unskilled, which incidentally results in lowering the pay of the less-skilled worker.

Not a word is mentioned about the staggering problem of retraining the lower-paid workers. The change which he envisions, and he says is based on the 1986-90 five-year plan, thus runs dangerously close to the way in which the restructuring process is proceeding in the capitalist countries.

Pisarevsky says the gist of the reforms is a dynamic switchover to a self-financing scheme. Every enter-

To our readers

This issue of Workers World omits many features usually found in these pages in order to accommodate the important analysis of the Soviet economic reforms by Sam Marcy, chairperson of Workers World Party, and the full-page ad on page 3 launching the Building Fund campaign.

prise should pay for itself instead of getting subsidies from the state.

But how would the Soviet space program, for instance, ever have succeeded if it hadn't received subsidies? Such subsidies are the product of the labor of many millions of workers, whose contribution to the state budget pays for not only the space program but for the defense establishment in its entirety, just to give one example.

(It should be interjected here that the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, which is always advising the USSR to solve the problem of consumer goods by cutting into heavy industry and its defense budget, has itself been on the wildest spree of military spending ever, to the tune of over \$2 trillion in the Reagan years alone. This of course has forced the USSR to divert more of its resources to defense.)

Some Soviet industries could never have been developed, let alone survive, without subsidies from the state. What is the meaning, then, of "self-financing"?

What about regional differences?

"But how will this plan be introduced into practice?" Pisarevsky asks. "All enterprises are state-owned in this country, and the state should not prefer some over others. But today ministries often take part of the profits from enterprises which do well in order to subsidize those who don't. This practice is unjust and, naturally enough, will be abolished. But there should be equal pay for equal work."

There are many regions of the USSR which are still less developed than others. The task of socialist construction is to raise them up to as high a level as possible, which certainly means subsidies of one form or another. One can never equalize all the regions, but this is precisely one of the great missions of socialist reconstruction.

He then continues: "The wages of workers will go up by 20% to 30%, and the salaries of high-level executives, specialists and professional people will be raised 30% to 35%."

"Workers who service processing centers, program-controlled tools, robotics and automatic lines" he says, "will get the biggest increase in wages. They will receive special rates which will be from 40% to 45% higher than today. The bonus for higher qualification will also be substantial. All in all, 75 million Soviet people will have their wages and salaries raised."

The reform of the pay-according-to-work system, says Pisarevsky, will result in greater autonomy for individual enterprises and greater responsibility for the results of their work. "The management has been given the right to raise the earnings of the best specialists by a quarter of their wages or salaries. True, this right can be abused. . . . To avoid this, the management is obliged to present its decision before the trade union committee and the entire work collective."

This view of the plan marks a sharp shift in favor of the higher-paid workers and all the executives, specialists and higherups. Pisarevsky offers no data on the ratio of skilled to unskilled workers or what industries, enterprises and regions will be most affected and no mention if any high-tech equipment will be used or what role it will play in raising productivity.

Is problem equality or inequality?

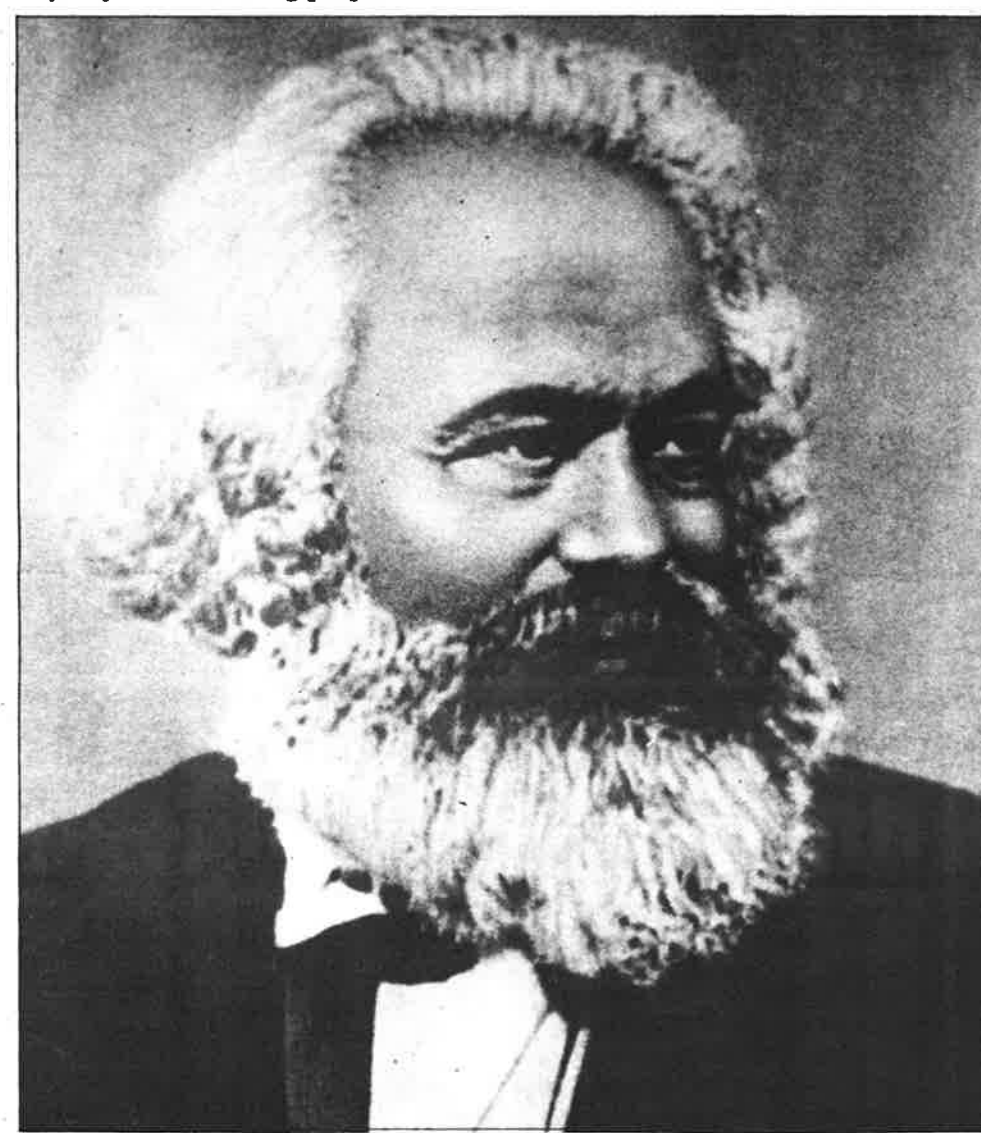
Lower-paid workers, he claims, have been getting much more than they should while the higher-paid ones have been losing ground. Such a picture is completely at odds with what we've known about the USSR for many decades. On the contrary, one of the problems is and has been the disparity between the lower-paid and average workers on the one hand, and the higher-paid workers and general officialdom of the state apparatus on the other. The many privileges they have

been entitled to are considered enormous by comparison.

The last time there was a significant rise in the wage level of the lower-paid workers was in 1956. There was a rise of about one-third in the lower categories of salaries and pensions, and pensions were drastically revised in favor of employees with low earnings. The method of payment by piece rate was largely abandoned in favor of hourly wages.

All this happened immediately following the 20th Congress, during the Khrushchev era. But this substantial rise for the lower-income workers was balanced in time by increased wages to the higherups and above all by the systematic rise and application of material incentives. We really know of no significant increases for the lower-paid workers that were not balanced out by material incentives for the higherups.

According to Pisarevsky, the plan's "implementation will become one of the most important events in the life of Soviet society, so these measures were discussed in detail in 150 work collectives. The reform was approved by a majority of the working people."



Karl Marx, and Lenin after him, anticipated both the great advances for the workers and the bourgeois limitations that would persist during socialist construction, that is, during the lower stage of Communist society as it evolves out of capitalism.

A majority of the working people approved it. He doesn't say how large a majority, whether it was 51% or 91%. He doesn't tell us what kind of collectives these are, from what industries or regions, or the character of the discussion. Most of all, he doesn't say whether the trade unions participated in the discussions and what their views are.

He concludes, "Now the main principle of socialism — from each according to his ability, to each according to his work — will finally have a chance to be proven in practice."

Wages lowered in some collectives

Now let us see another version of how the reforms are working. It's an article in Pravda of July 25 and deals with a report by the First Secretary of the Bryansk City Party Committee.

"How is restructuring coming along in the economic sphere?" Secretary A. Kurasov asks. "Though there are difficulties, progress is nevertheless

being made. Economic work has been stepped up in the labor collectives. Factors contributing to intensification are being applied more persistently, and the targets for labor productivity have been exceeded. The general level of fulfilling contract obligations has risen as well. . . . The province also handily met its quotas for the sale of meat, milk and eggs to the state during the first six months of the year. Major construction continues to improve. . . . The rate of increase in capital investments for social needs this year was 2.3 times higher than the rate for the economy as a whole."

So far, so good.

"But," continues the Pravda report, "here's the other side of the coin. Wages have gone down in a number of collectives. There have been such cases at the Bezhitsky Steel Plant, the piston ring and telephone equipment plants in Klinty, the Kokorevka Furniture Factory and several other enterprises. These enterprises failed to stabilize their work and fell into a difficult economic situation. As is well known, wages have become more closely tied to end results nowadays."

We thus see that all is not as well as

prove the system of payment for labor, and to inculcate the truth that every ruble of wages has to be earned."

No mention here of new technology, retooling or phasing out of old equipment or the introduction of retraining programs.

Abuses by managers

Wage padding is not something initiated by workers from below. This is an abusive practice of managers. It is a survival of the practice in capitalist governmental agencies and businesses of "no show" jobs where officials collect the wages for themselves. For this reason alone, the authority of the enterprise committees and of the trade unions as the central organs to combat this should be reinforced. Wage padding and other practices should not be used as a basis to hand out higher wages and bonuses to the higherups, especially the very high, supposedly to increase productivity.

The article urges a switch over from quantity to quality work and accountability for money spent, but just how is not made clear. Suffice it to say that the phenomenon of lower wages in some collectives shows there's something amiss here.

At the same time, Pisarevsky says that management has been given the right to unilaterally raise the earnings of the best specialists by a quarter of their wages or salaries. If this right is abused, if, for instance, "an executive . . . give[s] this bonus to his friend or to those whom he needs for his own purposes," only then is management "obliged to present its decision before the trade union committee and the entire work collective."

Of course, this is far superior to what happens in capitalist society, where the owners of a corporation can enforce whatever decision they make upon the workers, especially where there are no effective trade unions.

However, it is a departure for the USSR from previous practices. Managers had authority, but never so wide and sweeping. Their authority related to the production process, the management of the plant or the enterprise. The wage rates were primarily the function of the trade unions — of course, as part of the planning process of the whole government. The trade unions are not autonomous organizations, nor are they expected to be; they are part and parcel of the national planning process and an integral part of the government.

Important role of trade unions

Thus the question of wages generally and material incentives in particular for management, specialists and others is a matter of deep concern for the trade unions, and should be at their upcoming congress. Such matters cannot be left to the individual judgment of the managers, only to be approved after the fact by enterprise committees. Such a procedure reduces the significance of the trade unions as a fundamental organ of the workers in the process of production and in the planning process in general.

Under Soviet law, the unions have a constitutional right and obligation with respect to this very critical question. If, as Gorbachev's statement says again and again, one of the objectives of the reforms is to democratize all the institutions of Soviet society, the arrogation of such vast responsibility by the managers of the enterprises goes against this very concept.

As long ago as the 26th Congress of the CPSU, then-secretary of the party Leonid Brezhnev stated, "The constitution of the USSR has greatly enhanced the role of public organizations in the development of our democracy. The largest of these are the trade unions.

"The trade unions have the task above all of protecting the rights and

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MARXISM AND MATERIAL INCENTIVES

Continued from page 9

interests of the working people and actively dealing with everyday social questions. Of course, they would be unable to do much in this sphere if production did not develop and if labor productivity did not rise. It is precisely because our trade unions are dedicated to the working man's interest that their duty is to show a concern for a boost in production."

Of course, the trade unions take a direct part in the management of production. There were at the time of the 26th Congress "more than 70 functions of management [which] cannot be performed without the consent of the trade union committees. Twenty functions were in the competence of the unions." (From Brezhnev.)

The sweeping powers now granted to management cut all this down and reduce the role of the trade unions in reality. However, one thing should be borne in mind which is to the great advantage of the workers in the USSR: under the Soviet constitution, according to Brezhnev, "the trade unions have a rich arsenal of forms and means to exercise their rights." These go beyond having workers' meetings. They have the right to "permanently function in production conferences and collective agreements" and, what is of exceptional importance, the "right to legislative initiative."

(No union has the right to legislative initiative in a capitalist government!)

Unions defend workers' interests within framework of planned economy

In this country we hear only of the neobourgeois elements in the Soviet Union and their criticisms; we never hear what really springs from the interests of the workers, who are concerned with strengthening and deepening socialist reconstruction.

Aside from the general problem of material incentives — their functions, parameters and limitations and their advisability in certain historical circumstances — the question is how they are to be awarded and who is to judge.

It seems that the shift is decidedly in the direction of greater management prerogatives, to the detriment of the unions, whose chief responsibility is the well-being of the workers. Bourgeois ideologists in capitalist countries are constantly applauding every move made by the Soviet government which seems to indicate the independence of management and the general loosening of the planned economy. Some reports actually call for the absolute independence of the unions from the government.

This is false and destructive in a socialist society and planned economy. No institution can be independent, and least of all the unions that have primary functions in production and in the planning of it. Their functions are many and are not inconsistent with the objectives of socialist construction or the scientific-technological revolution.

The bourgeois press continually distorts decentralization, hoping it will lead to the liquidation of socialist planning and its substitution by the capitalist market. Overblown bureaucratic practices and excessive centralization of course impede the development of the economy, and it may be necessary to distribute some functions to lower organs of government and to different regions of the country. But it's another matter entirely to arrogate

to the managers sweeping authority as against the enterprise committees and the trade unions.

The example of the Bryansk case shows it is the proper function of the unions to correct the situation. That is why they have the constitutional right of legislative initiative to correct not only local but national matters in accordance with the plan. These are safeguards built into the planned economy.

Pravda on composition of working class

An article in Pravda last Oct. 24 summarized the growth of the working class in the Soviet Union and its relation to modern technology:

"Over 61% of the workers are employed in manufacturing, construction, transport, communications and other industries. Every fourth worker is engaged in the services. Workers account for approximately half of the farming personnel and about a third of the employment in science and related services.

"... The level of organization of the working class has risen. Almost all blue- and white-collar workers belong to trade unions.

"... What is it that stimulates the working class as the main social force behind the countrywide acceleration process? The economy of the supreme type of organization and efficiency, which is our objective, requires workers of a new technological outlook, efficient citizens prepared, vocationally and psychologically, for change in the technological base of the production sector."

However, "low blue- and white-collar skills are a brake on new technology. Material and moral losses from personnel incompetence will grow with a switch to more advanced technology."

Need to focus 'material incentives' on raising level of unskilled

Well then, if material incentives are a principal stimulant for increasing the pace of the scientific-technological revolution, if accelerated growth is the objective, and if low skills are blocking the road, then it should follow that the material incentives, if they are to be applied anywhere, should go to the low-paid, unskilled workers, not to the executives, the managers and other higherups.

"Material incentives" should be focused on the unskilled, particularly on retraining those whose jobs are to be eliminated by the new technology and automated advances. They must be turned into a force for the development of the means of production instead of being a brake on it.

This is confirmed in the Pravda article. "We still have big numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Also, the knowledge of many skilled workers is already obsolete. The progress of research and engineering and plant renovation would step up the obsolescence of blue- and white-collar skills."

This is precisely the problem in the capitalist countries with the advent of the scientific-technological revolution. However, the Pravda article correctly calls for "advanced training and retraining schemes. Without such programs, we will not be able to avoid economic losses (from new technology under-utilization) and social losses (which can arise because of difficulties with the employment of workers of outdated trades). Much is being done in this respect. In the late 70s and early 80s, 7-7.5 million workers were learning new trades a year. . . .

"In that period, the 27th CPSU Congress admitted, signs of stagnation appeared. Personnel's activity was on the decrease, and the working class's major social values and honest work and collectivism became depreciated. Outdated management leverage and the emphasis on 'improving things without changing anything'

avored those who wanted to receive maximum from society with minimum effort. There are still many such persons on the shop-floor level."

Why pick on the shop-floor level? Are they the cause of it? Or does personnel mean, as hinted in the previous sentence, those in the governmental, that is, bureaucratic apparatus? Putting it all on the workers on the shop-floor level is incorrect.

"The nation sustains economic and moral losses from slack and slipshod practices, breaches of factory regulations, drink abuses and embezzlement." Who are we indicting here? Embezzlement, considered a white-collar crime in the capitalist countries, mostly concerns the high managerial staff, including the bosses themselves. Breaches of factory regulations by whom? By workers only, not by management? Why link this with drink abuses, which are usually attributed to the workers and not to those in high places? Furthermore, alcoholism is a social disease and requires social solutions, not merely legal restrictions.

The article concludes that "most workers are for socialism's principle, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work,' and against egalitarian wages and dishonest incomes."

Blaming 'egalitarianism'

Here we see egalitarianism lumped together with drink abuses and embezzlement. It seems that whenever there is a new five-year plan, and the wage scale naturally figures prominently in it, the egalitarians come in for a drubbing. The loudest voices are always the Pisarevskys and the professors unconnected with the process of production. Usually they have some authority behind them, which may not be all that clear but nevertheless seems to be omnipresent.

Secretary Gorbachev spoke of "leveling" in his report to a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on Jan. 28, 1987: "New principles have been worked out, and are being implemented, for raising pay in productive spheres. We have taken the unwavering course of abandoning wage leveling and consistently maintaining the socialist principle of distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of one's work."

We are unaware that any such wage-leveling tendencies have been in progress in the Soviet Union in recent decades. Nor have we been able to find out when, if ever, they were abandoned.

Throughout the history of the working class, terms like levelers and egalitarians have been hurled against the working class as an epithet. The charge is that the workers' struggle for Communism aims to level the wealth of society and divide it among all on the basis of equality.

At one time long before the Marxist era, when the workers were first emerging as a class, there were numerous Communist sects which talked about a kind of egalitarian society. Some of these utopian groups, like the very early Christians, envisioned an ascetic sort of Communism based on poverty — rather than on abundance, which of course is the aim of scientific revolutionary Marxism.

Sects like this existed in Europe around the time of the Reformation, as depicted in Karl Kautsky's book, *Communism in Eastern Europe* (not to be confused with modern-day Europe).

Genuine Communism, the Communism of Marx, Engels and Lenin, assumes a society where the productive forces have grown to such dimensions that it is possible to meet all the needs of society, when the bourgeoisie and its state have disappeared along with all class oppression and distinctions. No such society can exist unless the productive forces have attained the level of assuring abundance for all.

Lenin on equality

With respect to democratization in the program of the 27th Congress, it's important to remember what Lenin said about democracy. "Democracy means equality," said Lenin. "The great significance of the struggle of the proletariat for equality and the significance of equality as a slogan, are apparent if we correctly interpret it as meaning the abolition of classes."

Lenin went behind the political form of democratization directly to its class significance. His exposition has significance for our discussion about the restructuring and the reforms. "But democracy means only formal equality. Immediately after the attainment of equality for all members of society, in respect of the ownership of the means of production, that is, of equality of labor and of equality of wages, there will inevitably arise before humanity the question of going further from formal equality to real equality, i.e., to realizing the rule, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'"

Formal equality, which manifests itself in the bourgeois distribution form of wages, is a transitional period and, says Lenin, "there will inevitably arise before humanity the question of going further," thereby recognizing the transitional character of formal equality, crossing the narrow bourgeois horizon and going to real equality, which has been the aim of all Communists since Marx and Engels wrote *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848.

Attacks against levelers and egalitarians in the Soviet Union in our view represent the unwarranted defense of privileged positions in Soviet society, of exorbitant and highly excessive remuneration paid not just to highly skilled workers (that really isn't such a big problem) but to the so-called specialists, managers, the top notch of the managerial staff and the higherups in the governmental apparatus as a whole.

Petty bourgeois levelers vs. workers' struggle for equality

While every type of protest against privilege is characterized as coming from levelers and egalitarians, the working class as a whole does not entertain such crude, petty bourgeois notions of equality. However, workers do understand the significance of the growth of social inequality, the widening of pay scales and growing social differentiations in the proletariat as a result. This is what rubs the workers the wrong way.

The workers, of course, know that socialist equality will come primarily as a result of the growth of the productive forces. Hence the significance of the application of the scientific-technological revolution, which is necessary for the gradual abolition of all class distinctions. The workers realize only too well, however, that the best they can get under present circumstances is equal pay for equal work.

Let us now take up the formula "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," or as Secretary Gorbachev puts it, "the socialist principle of distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of work."

Marx's formula on socialist distribution

It's highly questionable whether this is a socialist principle of distribution, or if it is a socialist principle at all. The theoretical origins for the formula, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," can be found first in Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875) and later in Lenin's summary of it in *State and Revolution* (1917). Those are the two principal sources for the theoretical formulation of distribution in socialist society.

According to Marx and also Lenin,

"from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is not a socialist principle of distribution. On the contrary, it is a bourgeois norm, a bourgeois standard or criterion for how to measure the amount of labor time in the lower, that is, the first stage of Communism, as against the latter stage of Communism when the formula "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will prevail.

This is the basic issue. In his report, Gorbachev has said that when the new administration took over, the economy was in a pre-crisis stage. Does it follow from this that the solution to the impending crisis must be first of all an intensification of bourgeois norms of distribution? Shouldn't the primary emphasis be on expenditure for high technology, which is the fundamental lever for raising productivity, and the retraining of particularly the less skilled workers?

There is no doubt whatever, no matter how one reads both the *Gotha Program* and Lenin's summary of it, that pay according to work performed, equal pay for equal work, is a bourgeois measure. Let us then see precisely how Marx and also Lenin put this.

Marx vs. Lassalle on Gotha Program

The question of national distribution in a Communist society first arose during the ideological struggle of Marx and Engels against Ferdinand Lassalle's conceptions of socialism. The struggle reached a crisis after the so-called Unity Congress held in May 22-27, 1875, in the German city of Gotha between the Lassalleans and the Eisenach faction, most of whose leaders adhered to Marx.

The leaders of the Eisenach faction, who were Marxists, neglected to forward a copy of the draft program to Marx before agreeing to it, so great was their eagerness to achieve unity.

When Marx and Engels finally got the draft, they were not just disappointed but angered by the many bourgeois notions of the Lassalleans contained in the program. This forced Marx to write a criticism of the Gotha Program, which contains the clearest exposition of Marx's and Engels's conception of the development of a Communist society.

Lassalle had a pet dogma about the iron law of wages, which Marx, and later Engels, took apart. The term iron wages assumes an inflexibility that is altogether wrong historically, since wages fluctuate between capitalist recessions and so-called prosperity. They are the payment for labor power, which is a commodity differing from all other commodities in that it has the property of producing surplus value.

The first part of the Gotha Program to be addressed by Marx says that "the proceeds of labor belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society." Marx shows that this Lassallean formula is scientifically incorrect and quite impossible.

"To all members of society?" Marx asks. "To those who do not work as well? What remains then of the 'undiminished proceeds of labor'? Only to those members of society who work? What remains then of the 'equal right' of all members of society? But 'all members of society' and 'equal right' are obviously mere phrases."

Marx says that out of every worker's wages must be deducted the amount necessary to replace the means of production that are used up, as well as additional portions for expansion of production, to set up a reserve for insurance against accidents, natural calamities, etc.

"These deductions," Marx wryly points out, are "from the 'undiminished proceeds of labor.' . . .

"There remains the other part of the total product, intended to serve as the means of consumption. Before this is divided among the individuals, there

has to be deducted again from it: First, the general costs of administration not belonging to production."

Here comes a really remarkable observation by Marx. "This part will, from the outset, be very considerably restricted in comparison with present-day society and it diminishes in proportion as the new society develops."

Marx foresaw smaller state apparatus under socialism

According to Marx, then, a workers' state or socialist society starts off with a smaller apparatus for the administration of the state than exists under capitalism, and it should diminish in proportion as socialist society develops. This means the administrative apparatus of the state and not the services provided by the state, as Marx notes later. From this it follows that the Soviet state apparatus should have been declining in numbers rather than increasing.

There is the need, says Marx, for schools, health services, funds for those unable to work, etc. This part should grow as the new socialist society develops.

"Only now do we come to . . . that part of the means of consumption which is divided among the individual producers of the cooperative society."

Marx explains that we are dealing here with "a Communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically,

Equal pay for equal work, Marx and Lenin both agreed, is a bourgeois right that conceals much social inequality, since the abilities and needs of individual workers vary greatly. It is a great advance for workers in the socialist countries to have achieved formal equality in wages, but it should not be confused with the goal of socialism: "From each according to ability, to each according to need."

morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."

From this Marx draws the conclusion that "equal right here is still in principle bourgeois right. . . . In spite of this advance, this equal right is still perpetually burdened with a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is proportional to the labor they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an equal standard, labor. But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labor in the same time or can work for a longer time, and labor to serve as a measure must be defined by its duration or intensity. Otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement: This equal right is an unequal right for unequal labor." (Emphasis in original.)

Thus it is very clear that bourgeois right is a standard of measurement in the distribution of the national income. The measurement of equal right is, however, as Marx puts it, an unequal right for unequal labor and is a bourgeois standard.

Then Marx goes on to say, "But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of Communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. . . .

"In a higher phase of Communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor has

become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!"

Two stages of Communism

What is the difference between the two stages of Communism? "The political difference between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of Communism," said Lenin in *State and Revolution* in 1917, "will in time no doubt be tremendous." But, says Lenin, "the scientific difference between Socialism and Communism is clear. What is generally called Socialism was termed by Marx the 'first', or lower phase of Communist society. Insofar as the means of production become public property, the word 'Communism' is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that it is not full Communism. The great significance of Marx's elucidation consists in this, that hereto he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the doctrine of evolution, looking upon Communism as something which evolves out of capitalism."

Further on, Lenin says, "Instead of artificial, elaborate, scholastic definitions and profitless disquisitions on the meaning of words (what is Socialism, what is Communism?), Marx

issuing from the womb of capitalism."

What conclusions, then, do we draw from this in connection with the Soviet economic reforms and plan to restructure wages?

First of all, it is necessary to say what Lenin said time and time again. Things must be called by their right names! Bourgeois norms of distribution should not be called socialist norms of distribution. It is necessary to go back to Lenin and Marx and call the form of distribution, the form of payment, a bourgeois right. We are still in the narrow horizon of bourgeois right during the first stage of Communism.

It is wrong and harmful to embellish bourgeois right, to prettify it, and above all to engender illusions and give it a distorted meaning. Pay according to work performed, equal pay for equal work, is a very great advance in the first phase of Communism, notwithstanding its bourgeois limitations.

In capitalist society, we are still fighting for it. A large bulk of the working class has not attained this yet. Working women in particular are still fighting to get equal pay for equal work. Even more oppressive is the limitation put on the oppressed nationalities in capitalist countries, where racist and national prejudices and rank discrimination, especially in the United States, prevail.

So that equal pay for equal work is still something to be attained in capitalist society while it has already been attained in the first stage of Communist society in the Soviet Union during the protracted period of socialist construction.

Now that this has been established, what do we do about a bourgeois norm being applied in a socialist society? That may be a contradiction, but all existence is characterized by the movement of contradictions.

Attitude of state and trade unions

What attitude should the state take? Should it take a passive attitude? Should it let this bourgeois norm develop endlessly, spontaneously, unrestricted, so that if altogether unchecked it may swamp the rest of society? Should it let it continue to flourish for such a protracted period, in the 70th year of the October Revolution, and now be enlarged, intensified, deepened? Will that not bring the Soviet Union closer to bourgeois society, at a time when its productive forces have outstripped even some of the advanced European capitalist countries?

What does this mean in the contemporary context, in the context of the 27th Congress? According to the Pisarevskys, the burden, i.e., the limitations of bourgeois right, will not be alleviated but will fall more heavily on the backs of the low-paid workers.

If the democratization process proceeds, as everyone hopes it does, it must take cognizance of this regressive phenomenon. It becomes all the more incumbent not only upon the government, but particularly on the forthcoming trade union congress and the members of the labor collectives at the shop and enterprise level, to raise their voices.

If this is not done, then as we see it from the vantage point of this side of the ocean, the imperialist bourgeoisie will seek to take advantage of any dissatisfaction and grievances from the workers. It will raise the demagogic slogans of independence for the unions, meaning their bourgeois independence. Is this not what happened in Poland?

All the more then is it necessary, in the course of a developing discussion on the nature of the restructuring, that this be taken into account. Taking a correct attitude in all of this will in itself be one of the very great demonstrations of socialist democracy in action.

Bourgeois right persists in first stage of Communism

"Marx," Lenin continues, "did not smuggle a scrap of 'bourgeois' rights into Communism of his own accord. He indicated what is economically and politically inevitable in a society

Chile a 14 años del golpe militar

Por Santiago Manque Milla
Periodista invitado

Desde el 23 de agosto de 1973 cuando Augusto Pinochet asume la comandancia en jefe del Ejército Chileno, apoyado por el imperialismo estadounidense y la burguesía chilena, comienza a producirse el período más amargo de la historia de Chile. Ya que ese día y con ese acontecimiento se comienzan a gestarse los hechos que desembocan en el golpe de estado del 11 de septiembre de 1973. La comandancia en jefe del ejército, entendiéndose que dentro de la posición de mando y la verticalidad de la institución militar, ya la tenía en mente el año 1971; y sólo este pudo cristalizarse cuando el asume la jefatura máxima del ejército el 23 de agosto de 1973, con el desplazamiento del último general constitucionalista, Carlos Prats.

A través de estos 14 años la dictadura de Pinochet se ha mantenido en el poder mediante el terror, el crimen, la tortura y la represión. ¿Cuáles han sido los hechos para que Pinochet se haya mantenido tanto tiempo en el poder?

Como ya hemos dicho una de las razones principales es su puesto de Comandante en Jefe del ejército. Ya que con esta investidura, puede controlar las cuatro instituciones armadas. Y a la vez puede colocar a su arbitrio los hombres de extrema y absoluta confianza dentro de los mandos medios del ejército. Produciéndose con esto, el apoyo incondicional de los cuerpos armados a la dictadura chilena. Ya que dentro de estas, es que Pinochet se nutre de los hombres que pasan a integrar los cuerpos selectivos de la represión. Vale decir CNI y otros organismos paramilitares que actúa impunemente para secuestros, reprimir y asesinar a sus opositores y pueblo en general. Como segundo factor de apoyo encontramos a los 12 grupos monopólicos nacionales que en su origen fueron 36 y que hoy forman la burguesía chilena.

En junio de 1982 a raíz de la devaluación del peso y la deuda en dólares contraída por estos grupos, hace que la mayoría quiebre y sus cabezas visibles sean sometidas a juicio por estafa. Esto hace que los 12 grupos que sobrevivieron controlen toda la economía nacional y por ende apoyan la gestión dictatorial del General Pinochet.

Dentro de estos grupos económicos encontramos a los representantes de las transnacionales extranjeras. Para ser más exacto, al grupo económico liderado por el abogado Ricardo Claro.

Y en el plano social, sólo encontramos que un 16% de una población de casi 12 millones de habitantes apoyan la dictadura chilena, vale decir la oligarquía y la derecha facista componen este 16%.

El 70% de la población está en contra del gobierno dictatorial. Y este 70% de la población que expresa en una y mil formas su profundo anhelo de justicia frente a los crímenes y demás delitos cometidos por el régimen militar contra sus mejores barricadas y en las movilizaciones ascendentes de la lucha de masas.

Durante estos 14 años las clases populares comienzan a recuperar parcialmente el terreno de la fábrica y sus organizaciones sindicales; a recuperar mucho más extendidamente el terreno del barrio y de bases. En el plano estudiantil se recuperan parcialmente las universidades y colegios mediante las organizaciones juveniles. La mujer juega un rol importante ya

que cada año ellas han iniciado los períodos de protestas y forman parte del quehacer diario de la lucha en contra del régimen. Los Mapuches levantan su voz a la tierra, que les pertenece por derecho propio. Y el pueblo en general sale y se hace presente en las manifestaciones anti-dictatoriales recuperando la calle. Se recomienzan las reconstrucciones de los partidos de vanguardias populares.

Lo fundamental de estos 14 años de lucha es que da vida a nuevos movimientos a acrecentar y fortalecen las organizaciones de base y a surgir una nueva izquierda revolucionaria. Pero el costo social en vidas humanas ha sido grande, los mártires que cayeron luchando el 11 de septiembre defendiendo el gobierno legalmente elegido por el pueblo, se han sumado a los mártires que han caído durante estos

14 años para recuperar la libertad y la democracia usurpados por la oligarquía nacional y apoyado por el imperialismo norteamericano y sus transnacionales.

A pesar de la represión, el pueblo mismo ha sabido defenderse. Y es así como han surgido los movimientos de auto-defensa y milicias populares. Ya al calor de las protestas populares surge el Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez el 14 de diciembre de 1983 — y es el Frente mismo que el domingo 7 de septiembre de 1986 atenta contra la vida del dictador. Partidos como el Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria, Partido Comunista, Partido Socialista, MAPU-LAUTARO han asumido la lucha clandestina desde el mismo día del golpe de estado, perdiendo en esta lucha a sus mejores cuadros revolucionarios en pos de

conquistar la libertad del pueblo chileno.

El ascenso de las luchas populares ha sido obra del pueblo mismo apoyados por los pueblos oprimidos del tercer-mundo. Si bien es cierto la dictadura tiene el apoyo de millones de dólares del imperialismo y de las transnacionales. El pueblo chileno tiene el apoyo de millones de obreros explotados, discriminados y sojuzgados por este mismo imperialismo. Tiene el apoyo de aquellos pueblos que luchan por su liberación en Sudáfrica y Centro América y en general por todos los que luchan por la dignidad humana, por los que están en contra de la opresión de los pueblos del mundo.

¡Con el apoyo de todos ellos el pueblo chileno triunfará! ¡Sólo la lucha nos hará libres! ¡Venceremos!

Por amor y por la vida: Washington el 11 de octubre Marcha para exigir los derechos de lesbianas y gays

Por Lucinda Sintierra

El 11 de octubre se llevará a cabo una marcha de importancia histórica en Washington, D.C., por los derechos de los homosexuales en este país. Todos, lesbianas y gays, heterosexuales, latinos, negros, indígenas, árabes, asiáticos blancos y a todas las personas progresistas se les hace un llamado a venir y dar apoyo a sus hermanas y hermanos que exigen un fin a la represión contra las lesbianas y los gays.

Esta marcha nacional es la segunda de esta naturaleza que se ha llevado a cabo en la historia de este país, la primera fué en 1979. Ocurre en un momento en que la comunidad lesbica y gay, además de enfrentarse con el prejuicio que fomenta el sistema capitalista, ha tenido que bregar con la trágica crisis del SIDA. El resultado es que la comunidad homosexual en vez de ser derrotados se han politizado de una manera que no se había visto antes, se han unido para ayudar a los con SIDA y a luchar por sus derechos.

A su vez el gobierno a tratado de destruir todos estos esfuerzos asustando al público con falta de información precisa sobre el SIDA.

Las demandas en esta marcha también incluyen la aprobación de un proyecto de ley congresional afirmando los derechos de lesbianas y gays, el fin a la discriminación contra personas con SIDA, el complejo relacionado al SIDA (ARC), o cuyas pruebas de anticuerpos HIV resulten positivas, y contra aquellos percibidos a padecer del SIDA. Se exige un aumento enorme en los fondos para la educación sobre el SIDA, investigaciones médicas, y el cuidado de pacientes con SIDA. Educando al público sobre el SIDA es clave para confrontar esta crisis de una manera científica. Personas tercer mundistas, heterosexuales y homosexuales, son afectadas en un número desproporcional a sus números en la población.

Tomando en cuenta que los ataques contra los homosexuales provienen de la misma fuente que los que fomentan

el racismo, sexismo, anti-sindicalismo y anti-ideas progresista en general, la comunidad lesbica y gay ha hecho un llamado para la unidad y apoyo. Otras demandas de primera importancia también son por los derechos reproductivos, que la mujer tenga el derecho al aborto si ella escoge, un fin al racismo y el fin del apartheid en Sudáfrica. Una demanda adicional es por los derechos de transvestitas y transsexuales.

Muchos grupos y organizaciones progresistas apoyan y han endosado esta marcha. Entre ellos esta Jesse Jackson y la Coalición Arco Iris, la Organización de Arrendatarios de Massachusetts, el Comité 29 de Noviembre para Palestina, el Comité para una Política Nueva para Korea, Mobilización del Pueblo Contra la Guerra/Congreso de Todos los Pueblos, SANE, Mobilización para la Supervivencia, Organización Nacional de la Mujer, La Liga Internacional de Mujeres por la Paz y Libertad, varios consejos municipales incluyendo el de Washington, D.C. y once representantes del Congreso.

Varios sindicatos que representan a cientos de miles de trabajadores también han endosado la marcha en Washington y están formando un contingente laboral para tomar parte en las actividades del 11 de octubre. Entre ellos están: el Distrito 65 del UAW (trabajadores unidos de la industria de automobiles), el Consejo Laboral del AFL-CIO en San Francisco, varios locales de la Federación de Profesores (Norte)americanos, Trabajadores de la Transportación, Local 171, David Sickler, Director Regional de la AFL-CIO, la Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores Sociales y otros.

Miles y miles de personas participaron en la manifestación en Washington. Autos, guaguas, trenes y aviones vienen de todas partes del país. De Nueva York van por lo menos 500 guaguas y un tren, 200 guaguas y otro tren de Boston, 10 guaguas y posiblemente 2 trenes de Hartford, Connecticut y varios trenes de Rhode Island, Chicago y Nueva Orleans. Para los que van a volar hay varias aerolíneas que ofrecen pasajes con descuentos a través de agentes de viajes.

Por mucho que la clase dominante trate de destruir el movimiento lesbico y gay, jamás podrán derrotarlos. Vengan a la marcha el 11 de octubre en Washington, D.C. Por amor y por la vida: ¡No iremos devuelta al closet!



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La marcha del día del trabajador en Nueva York fue una de las mas grandes en su historia. En ella participaron más de docientas mil personas. La presencia de los trabajadores latinos se hizo sentir, ya que un numeroso contingente de diferentes países de habla hispana desfiló representando a los diferentes sindicatos que en ellos se agrupan. Tales como ILGWU, IBEW, DC 37, SEIU, UAW 259 y UAW 65 estos portaban cartelones en apoyo a sus hermanos los obreros indocumentados; otros con cartelones en oposición a la ayuda a la contra Nicaraguense y al apartheid en Sudáfrica.