

SOCIALISM!



CONTINUING NEW LIFE, A SOCIALIST BULLETIN FOR THE LABOR PARTY

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Solidarity against corporate greed and unionbusting!

March for the newspaper workers June 21!

Build the Labor Party!

Inside:

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On Saturday, June 21, thousands of labor activists and workers will gather in Detroit in solidarity with Detroit newspaper workers and the thousands of other workers and oppressed fighting corporate greed, union-busting, and other corporate evils.

Detroit newspaper workers will be fighting for the owners of Gannett and Knight-Ridder to take back all newspaper workers, including the over 300 fired for alleged picketline misconduct, and to sign a union contract.

We urge workers in the Labor Party and all working people and students to support, build and participate in this action. It is especially important to support the struggle of rank-and-file newspaper workers for reinstating and recalling all newspaper workers, including those fired, against any kind of settlement that doesn't include jobs and a union contract for fired workers.

Too many times in the recent past — Caterpillar, Staley — union leaders have signed agreements in which important workers have been abandoned, making a mockery of the labor slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all!" This has undermined the solidarity of and the confidence in the labor movement.

The best way to aid the newspaper workers at this time is to fight for the largest possible turnout on June 21 and for the most unified action possible in favor of reinstating and recalling all workers and a union contract. The bigger and more unified the action, the more pressure there will be on the owners to take back all workers and sign a contract, the more pressure there will be on union leaders to mobilize the labor movement until this is accomplished.

At this point, it is difficult to see how the newspaper workers' struggle is going to develop. It's possible that the labor movement, with the June 21 action, will bring enough pressure on the owners to force them to take back most workers and sign some kind of a contract. It's possible that if this doesn't happen, that the leadership of the labor

Continued on the back

What's happening in the class struggle

In order to be able to fight most effectively, workers and Labor Party activists need to be able to see clearly what the different class forces in society are doing and what their place and tasks are in the struggle. The purpose of this article is to take a look at the situation in the U.S. today and to try to clarify the tasks of workers who are for the Labor Party.

Official reports say that the U.S. economy is continuing to grow, and at a rate faster than expected, 3% or 4% a year. Official reports also say that the rich are concerned that this upturn is going to come to an end, relatively soon and relatively quickly. Some say that stock prices are going so high that a sharp drop in prices is inevitable. If stock prices fall quickly, many investors will stop buying because they won't be assured of increasing their earnings; this may precipitate a recession. The richest financial institutions and other enterprises are already positioning themselves to take advantage of a recession; they can buy up other enterprises at bargain basement prices; they can force workers to take cuts in jobs, wages, benefits, union rights, etc., and threaten anyone who protests with being replaced by one of the thousands of workers who will be looking for jobs.

Downsizing

Even though the U.S. economy continues to grow, and is one of the strongest economies in the world, U.S. bankers and businessmen continue to "downsize," that is, cut jobs, wages, benefits. A U.S. Labor Department study of the 10.1 million workers laid-off between 1993 and 1995 showed that only 25% of these workers found jobs that paid the same or better than the job they lost. 40% found jobs that paid less; 26% didn't find jobs at all.

This is not just the policy of this or that greedy financial institution or corporation. Obviously, there are certain enterprises, like Gannett, that are particularly notorious and particularly greedy. But almost all big enterprises are "downsizing" to one extent or another. They are doing this in order to compete in the world market.

"Downsizing" is not just the policy of the owners of the banks and corporations. It is the policy of the whole U.S. government, Republicans and Democrats alike.

Since Clinton was elected, he has aban-



UNITE contingent at demonstration for strawberry workers in Watsonville.

doned almost everything that he promised, like national health insurance, and done almost everything that the rich wanted him to do — pass NAFTA, let the bill against replacing strikers die, abolish welfare, force the airline pilots back to work without a contract, go along with a bill calling for corporations to give workers time off for working overtime instead of time-and-a-half, relax regulations that require the government to hire union labor on government projects ...

Since Clinton abolished federal regulation of welfare, some states are now forcing welfare recipients to work outside their homes for their food stamps and rent money. Some are being forced to take union workers' jobs in the public sector. It's a matter of time before they will be forced to do the same in the private sector. Others have simply been cut off altogether and forced to compete with others for minimum wage jobs. In at least one case, one mother who had been receiving welfare was forced to work for 90 days straight in a parts plant without a single day off. As if this is not enough, Clinton now plans to pay private enterprises to hire workers receiving welfare payments. What a bonanza for the rich owners of the giant banks and corporations!

Naturally, Clinton and the Democrats are doing all sorts of things to try to keep themselves from looking totally disgusting. They are calling for restrictions on the tobacco companies to keep them from pushing tobacco to kids, health insurance for kids, and thousands of volunteers to allegedly aid kids. But their attempts to make themselves look good only reveal how disgusting they are. What is essential in this society — enriching the rich — will be taken care of by

full-time paid employees. What is unessential — taking care of kids — will be taken care of by untrained volunteers in their spare time!

Republicans and Democrats

Why do both Republicans and the overwhelming majority of Democrats support or go along with the corporate agenda? The answer is simple: if they don't, they won't get anywhere close to getting the huge sums that they need to run for office and get elected. Even if they do get funds from sources that are willing to finance policies and candidates that aren't completely in step with the corporate agenda, if they don't totally succumb to the corporate agenda, they are persecuted in the media and threatened with prosecution and imprisonment. Look what happened to Hillary Clinton when she wouldn't drop her plans for some kind of national health insurance program quickly enough (and the plan itself was nothing much to begin with). What was the purpose of the Whitewater investigation? What is the purpose of the investigation into campaign fundraising now? In fact, the richest bankers and businessmen want to make sure that no one can buy or hire politicians but them. They especially want to keep organized labor from having any influence; it is the only force in this society at this time that is well-organized enough and wealthy enough to have any influence, outside of the richest bankers and businessmen.

AFL-CIO policy

This is why the AFL-CIO leadership's plan to organize more workers into unions, to encourage them to be more active and more visible, and to then use this group of workers to put pressure on the Democratic Party to adopt a more pro-labor agenda is destined to fail. These politicians are all dependent on corporate funds; they all have skeletons in their closets that can be used to blackmail them. It makes as much sense to try to reform the Republican Party or the Democratic Party as it does to try to reform the owners of Gannett, Knight-Ridder, GM, Ford, or Chrysler. It's the same group of people, the same class of people. Obviously, there are certain situations in which owners of corporations and Republicans and Democrats can be forced to make certain concessions to workers. When they are faced with an absolutely massive movement, when they are afraid that they are going to lose

in the United States?

everything, then they make concessions to the workers and the oppressed population. But the goal is to placate the movement, divide the movement. As soon as the workers get tired, as soon as the workers let their guard down, the same owners and politicians try to take back what they conceded to the workers and try to crush the workers.

Isn't this what happened in the U.S. in the last 50 or 60 years? The movements in the 30s and 40s in the U.S. and around the world frightened the heck out of the bosses; they made some concessions to keep us quiet. Some of us got so rich they thought they were bosses; others of us got tired, let down our guard. Now the bosses are trying to take it all back and crush us.

Working class struggles

It's not surprising that in this situation that working class and popular struggles in the U.S. continue to grow.

While the Detroit newspaper workers' strike is over, their struggle isn't. They continue to fight for reinstating and recalling all newspaper workers and for a decent union contract. The Wheeling-Pitt workers' strike in Ohio continues and support for it grows. Autoworkers are on strike against downsizing in Oklahoma and at Chrysler and GM plants in Detroit. About 20,000 demonstrated in solidarity with strawberry workers in Watsonville, California on April 13. Several thousand demonstrated against Clinton's hypocritical call for volunteers to aid kids in Philadelphia on April 27. And thousands will undoubtedly demonstrate in solidarity with Detroit newspaper workers in Detroit on June 21.

These struggles are very important. There is no question that all kinds of working class and popular struggles are going to continue to grow and get more and more massive.

But it would be a mistake to think that the growth of struggles by itself — no matter how large, massive, and militant these struggles may become — is going to solve the problems facing the working class.

Illusions

Many workers are suffering under the illusion that if we just keep on building struggles — organizing drives, struggles for more working class and militant policies in unions, strikes, more militant strikes, demonstrations, etc. — that sooner or later the

bosses and their politicians are going to be forced to make some concessions to us, to make some big changes that will make our lives more secure and comfortable. These illusions are fueled by "pro-labor intellectuals" who point to the 1930s and to Roosevelt's so-called New Deal.

But reality was and is different. Yes, under the pressure of union organizing drives, strikes, demonstrations, etc., Roosevelt was forced to make some concessions to the workers in the 1930s — the right to organize, unemployment compensation, etc. But these concessions didn't even begin to solve the enormous problems that faced workers

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at that time. In 1937, after the "New Deal," unemployment was almost as high as it had been in 1930 and conditions were almost as bad. Discontent, agitation and organization were growing. So the bosses went to war. They encouraged the Europeans to fight it out. Then, when Europe was devastated, the U.S. marched in and took over. The U.S. became the number one military power; U.S. corporations spanned the globe, exploiting and superexploiting workers from one end of the planet to the other, and bringing the profits home.

That's how they could afford to give us the jobs they did and pay us the wages they did. They took it out of workers in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. It wasn't Roosevelt's "New Deal" that brought a temporary end to the suffering and misery of the U.S. working class. It was the massive destruction and slaughter that took place during World War II, the reconstruction of industry in Europe and elsewhere, and the superprofits that U.S. corporations reaped in the process. In other words, the suffering and

misery of U.S. workers was reduced at the expense of workers and oppressed populations in other countries.

Is this the kind of solution we are looking for? What are we going to do to keep this kind of thing from happening again?

Other workers think that if we just keep organizing and promoting struggles that sooner or later there will be a "revolution" and that this revolution will solve all the problems facing workers. This illusion is fueled by the most radical pro-labor intellectuals.

But successful revolutions that really take big steps forward in solving the problems of the working class don't just happen.

They are prepared through a long process of conscious struggle in which workers figure out what's going on in the society and what needs to be done, and in which workers build their own political party to fight for political power. This party not only has to be prepared to fight for political power. It also has to be armed with a program to solve the most important problems facing the workers and the oppressed population; it has to be prepared to overcome the resistance of the rich minority.

Tasks

Workers for the Labor Party and Labor Party activists need to keep on supporting and participating in all the different working class and popular struggles. They need to keep on working to make these struggles as successful as possible and to learn everything that they can from them.

But they also need to combat the illusion that the growth of struggles by itself will solve the problems facing the working class, that workers don't need to be actively involved in building the Labor Party, in determining its policies, that somebody else can take care of that.

The labor movement needs to provide a clear alternative to the employers, their policies, and their politicians, Republicans and Democrats. The labor movement's alternative to the employers and their policies has to be an alternative that addresses the most serious problems working people face; it has to bring working people together, unify them, mobilize them against the employers.

The Labor Party and its campaign for a

constitutional amendment for the right to a job at a living wage and its platform begin to fit this bill.

Building the Labor Party

Workers in the Labor Party need to push for working people and activists involved in all the different working class and popular struggles to devote an important percentage of their time to building the Labor Party and its campaign for jobs and living wages. If all working class activists devoted an important percentage of their time to building the Labor Party and its campaign, we could begin to build an army, armed with a program, that would be capable of rolling right over the bosses.

It's especially important for workers in the Labor Party to build support for the Labor Party among the most working class sections of the working class — that is, among the workers who work and live in the most difficult conditions, who work the hardest, have the least. Many times these workers see the basic nature of this society much more clearly than more comfortable workers do. Even if they might not be able to devote as much time to building the Labor Party as other workers might, they can be the ballast for the Labor Party, what keeps it on course. And when the most difficult and critical moments come, these workers will be there, and be most prepared to do the right thing.

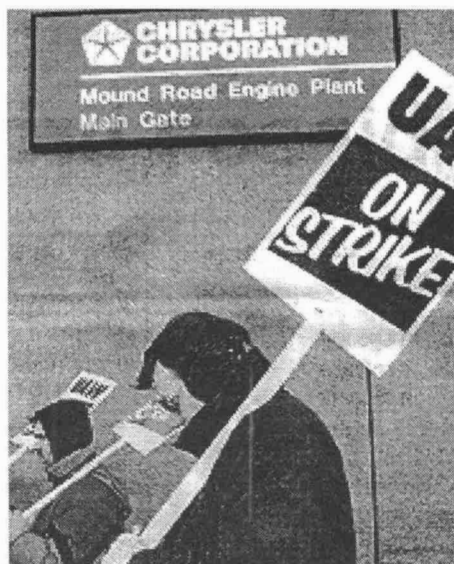
Workers in the Labor Party also need to take advantage of all the different struggles taking place and of the development of the Labor Party to learn as much as they can about the labor movement and the Labor Party. It's especially important to learn more about socialism and socialist policies.

Socialism

Of all the tendencies in the labor movement in the U.S. and throughout the world, the socialists (or communists; it means the same thing) have been the most consistent fighters for the interests of the working class.

Socialists and communists fight for the working class — for it to be bigger, stronger, more confident of itself and its future — because we are convinced that the working class is capable of overthrowing the power of the capitalist class and building a new society, in which workers will be comfortable, in which there will be no rich and no poor, no top and no bottom.

Of course there are socialists and communists who have become corrupt, degenerate, sold-out, and even committed crimes against the working class — like the Social



Democrats and Stalinists in Europe, the old USSR, and China. There are also socialists and communists who have become very isolated, out-of-touch, bitter and sectarian; this is a problem among Trotskyists.

But this doesn't change the fact that there are still thousands of rank-and-file socialists and communists, especially Trotskyists, in the U.S. and throughout the world, devoting their lives to the working class, in the front ranks of all the different working class and popular struggles, fighting for the Labor Party, fighting for socialism.

It doesn't change the fact that there has been big progress toward socialism in the last hundred years — the foundation of the unions in the U.S., the foundation of the Labor Party; the construction of unions and working class parties in Europe; the overthrow of the landowners and the capitalists in the old USSR, Eastern Europe, China, Cuba and Vietnam and the confiscation of their property, the establishment of workers' states and planned economies, the uprisings against the privileged labor bureaucracies in these countries; the development of labor movements in Latin America, Africa and Asia; the foundation of the Fourth International ...

Workers and students in the Labor Party owe it to themselves to learn more about the fight for socialism. Form your own opinion of this fight. Decide whether you want to be part of it or not.

Build the Labor Party!

Build the campaign for a constitutional amendment for the right to a job at a living wage!

Find out more about socialism!

M. Guttschall ☐

Notes

Detroit newspaper workers

Detroit newspaper workers and supporters have begun to talk about what to do after the June 21 march. Many are speaking for a more serious boycott of *USA Today*. Naturally, we are for a boycott. But consumer boycotts, as the newspaper workers' struggle has shown, are not labor's most effective tactic. The power of labor rests in the fact that labor produces and distributes goods and services essential to the daily functioning of the society. If, after the June 21 march, the owners refuse to take back all newspaper workers and sign a contract, newspaper workers and supporters need to fight for labor to organize a one-day citywide walk-out with mass picketing aimed at stopping production and distribution of the scab paper. We also need to fight for public ownership of the *Detroit News* and *Free Press*.

The Labor Party's campaign

Labor Party members spent the last two weeks of April campaigning for a constitutional amendment for the right to a job at a living wage. In Detroit, campaigners report that the response from workers to the campaign was extremely positive. We see the campaign as an opportunity to convince thousands that the right to a job at a living wage is a basic right that ought to be part of the constitution and that they need to join and build the Labor Party to make this happen. We want this campaign to be a first step toward campaigns for more concrete demands — like a shorter workweek without cutting pay and a higher minimum wage — and for the trade unions to run their own candidates for office.

The Oklahoma bombing

The trial against Timothy McVeigh, who allegedly bombed the Oklahoma Federal Building, has begun. We don't know if McVeigh is guilty or not, but we don't trust the U.S. government. We know the U.S. government is guilty of mass murder — the war on Iraq being the latest crime. We also know that it has framed up, imprisoned and murdered innocent people. The Rose — the alleged stealers of the secret of the atom bomb — are the most famous. The so-called "Arab terrorists" in the World Trade Center bombing are the latest (even mainstream publications now have stories saying prosecutors falsified evidence). We need an independent labor commission of inquiry into the Oklahoma bombing to find out who is really guilty.—M.G. ☐

Is socialism inevitable?

An important number of workers in the United States think that socialism is a good idea. But they wonder if it is really possible. The revolutionary Marxist theory — that socialism is the inevitable product of capitalism, the next stage in human development (slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism) — seems really far out.

That so many workers think this way is not surprising. Parents, religious figures, teachers, union leaders, not to mention rich bosses, politicians, and the media are always arguing that a truly socialist or communist society — in which workers own everything and work together to produce and distribute what everyone needs — is an impossible utopia. The first relatively successful working class and socialist revolutions took place in countries that were so poor and repressive to begin with — Russia, Eastern Europe, China, Korea, Vietnam, Cuba — that they ended up with a kind of socialism that was so poor, backward, bureaucratized and repressive, that many workers in the wealthiest capitalist countries became convinced that they were better off with capitalism. Then workers in the poor socialist countries — so poor and repressive that many socialists don't want to call them socialist at all! — became so disgusted with the privileged labor bureaucracies in these countries and this brand of "socialism," that they rose up against these bureaucracies. Many have been going along with using capitalist methods of production — like allowing individuals to own banks and enterprises and use them to enrich themselves.

So there are lots of things going on to suggest that a truly socialist society is an impossible utopia and very far from inevitable.

But this is what things look like on the



Lenin sweeps away kings, capitalists.

surface. If you look a little deeper you can see a lot more.

One of the most interesting things about what's going on in the Soviet Union is that you can see how tenacious the gains of the socialist revolution are. The capitalists and the privileged labor bureaucrats would like to abolish all forms of state and public ownership of basic resources and planning, but it is very difficult for them to do this because the standard of living of millions of Russian workers and functionaries is totally dependent on some kind of state or public ownership and planning. More, millions of Russian residents have been raised in societies based on a certain amount of state or public ownership and planning. They know what can be accomplished with these methods, like jobs for all, as well as their limitations to date. They know what's not being accomplished with the capitalist methods being used today. The workers' revolution in Albania shows that workers in these countries are inclined to rise up, establish their own governments, establish their own armed forces, and takeover the distribution and production of necessities when their patience wears thin. It's possible that the working class and popular uprisings against the privileged labor bureaucracies in the poor socialist countries are going to lead not to the restoration of capitalism but to a new, more advanced, more working class and democratic form of socialism without privileged labor bureaucracies.

Another way that capitalism is undermining itself is with the growth of huge multi-national enterprises. One capitalist expropriates another capitalist; more and more wealth is concentrated in the hands of a smaller and smaller number of people. In order to compete in this kind of market, the capitalists have to cut jobs, wages, and benefits. The number of workers who are comfortable gets smaller and smaller; the number who have "nothing to lose but their chains" gets bigger and bigger.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky never said that progress toward socialism will be linear and direct. They simply said that capitalism produces the material prerequisites for socialism: a level of science, technology, industry, commerce and a productivity of labor adequate to produce the things that people need to live comfortably; a working class that is compelled to work together to pro-



Leon Trotsky and his companion Natalia in Mexico.

duce the things that people need; a working class that is compelled to struggle against the capitalist class for its own well-being, form its own political parties and fight for political power; a working class that is compelled to consider and embrace socialism because it is based on everything that is positive in capitalist society — huge multi-national enterprises that bring together workers of hundreds of different ethnic groups and nationalities to produce and distribute basic necessities and the working class itself.

Marx and his followers were convinced — and still are convinced! — that because the working class is compelled to struggle, compelled to form political parties, compelled to fight for political power, compelled to look for alternatives to capitalist exploitation and oppression, that sooner or later it would see that socialism is already in the process of developing within capitalist society, that all that is necessary is to find a way to overcome the resistance of the capitalists and their supporters, and to achieve this. He was convinced that the working class, through a whole series of experiences, would accomplish this. This is why he said that capitalism leads inevitably to socialism.

To say that socialism is inevitable, is not to say that socialism will be accomplished no matter what the workers do, or without any effort to achieve socialism. On the contrary, it means that it is necessary to see how socialism is developing within capitalist society in a very clear and scientific way and what needs to be done to help this process along and bring it to fruition.

We don't expect to convince workers of the revolutionary Marxist understanding of the struggle for socialism with a page. But we do hope to convince you to consider it, think about it; think about embracing socialism; think about devoting yourself to the fight for socialism.—M.G. □

Karl Marx: fighter for the working class

The name of Karl Marx is known to many, but few know who he really was or what he really did.

Karl Marx was born to a middle-class Jewish family in Germany on May 5, 1818. Germany was not yet a united country. It was composed of lots of fiefdoms controlled by princes, dominated by the kings of Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

As a young university student, Marx became active in radical philosophical groups.

The students were fighting for democratic change — the right of all citizens to vote, freedom of speech, etc., and an end to the rule of kings and princes. Marx began his university career planning to become a university professor. But, when the princes that controlled the universities denied jobs to radical professors that he admired and followed, he decided that he would never get a job where he could be himself.

A group of radical democrats decided to put out a newspaper and Marx, at 24, was asked to be co-editor. The paper supported the struggles of the democratic middle classes against the princes; it supported the economic struggles of the peasants against the princes. The princes had the power to censor and shutdown papers. When they threatened to shut it down, Marx resigned. It was too late and the police seized the offices and shut the paper down. After writing about the conditions of working people, Marx decided that he needed to learn more about how the economy worked.

He went to Paris to learn more about modern economics since France had already had a revolution and thrown off its monarchy. He also planned to publish a radical paper that could be smuggled back into Germany. While in Paris, he met Frederick Engels, another radical German student, who was working on a book detailing, for the first time, the living conditions of working people in England. They became friends for life.

At the request of the Prussian government, Marx was expelled from Paris in 1845. He and Engels joined the Communist League, a group of workers and intellectuals that advocated deep economic and political changes that favored working people. Marx and Engels were asked to write a document outlining the goals of the organization. They wrote the now famous *Communist Manifesto*.



Marx, on the right, with his daughters and Engels in the 1860s.

With the outbreak of revolution in 1848, the 30-year-old Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Germany where he edited a new democratic newspaper. He supported every effort by the democratic capitalist forces to defeat the kings and princes and establish a democratic government. This was the best way, Marx was convinced, to open up the road for the working class to fight against the bourgeoisie.

After the revolutions were defeated, Marx was placed on trial, declared "a dangerous individual," and banished from Germany. Marx went again to Paris, and was banished again, this time to London, where he lived the rest of his life.

Marx and his family suffered in London. Marx was a freelance writer for many publications, including the *New York Tribune* for which he wrote commentaries on European politics and on the Civil War. But, freelance writing does not pay well.

Although Marx's genius could have earned him a better life, he said, "I must follow my goal through thick and thin, and I shall not permit bourgeois society to turn me into a money-making machine."

Were it not for the constant financial help of Engels, Marx, his wife Jenny and their three daughters, would have died.

During the first years in London, Marx devoted much of his scant resources to defending and helping workers and others who fought in the defeated revolutions. He wrote important articles in defense of those on trial

in Germany, and he opened his home to the exiles, providing them with food and shelter.

But circles of people displaced from other countries were politically stifling. Marx used the lull in the class struggle to return to his original goal, as he states in the preface to *Capital*, "to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society." Over the next 12 years, Marx devoted himself to the study of political economy. This labor produced in finished form the first volume of *Capital* and rough drafts of volumes two and three.

In *Capital*, Marx explains for the first time ever, the nature of exploitation in capitalist society, the law of surplus value and capitalist accumulation. (see quote)

The democratic and working class struggles rose again in the late 1850s and early 1860s and Marx was again at the center of the action.

Marx wrote: "The recently formed International Workers Committee is not unimportant. Its English members consist chiefly of the heads of trade unions, that is to say, the real labor lords of London, the men who organized the tremendous reception for Garibaldi (the Italian revolutionary nationalist) and the monster meeting in St. James Hall which prevented Palmerston from declaring war on the Northern States (of the U.S.) as was his original intention. As far as the French are concerned, the members of the committee are not very important but they are the direct representatives of the workers of Paris. Connections have also been established with the Italian associations which held their Congress in Naples recently. Although for years I have systematically refused to take part in any 'organizations,' I accepted this time because here there is a possibility of doing some real good. ... There is now evidently a revival of the working classes taking place ..."

In 1864, the International Workingmen's Association, the First International, was founded in London.

Marx was the heart and soul of this organization. He wrote its Inaugural Address which outlined the lessons of the previous 50 years of workers' struggle. He wrote its provisional rules.

The anarchists, various non-Marxist workers' movements, as well as followers of Marx, were members of the First Interna-

tional. Marx's political leadership coupled with indefatigable work, spread the revolutionary workers' movement to dozens of countries, and everywhere the most militant and active fighters for the working class, of all political stripes, were members.

Marx had always been a strong and healthy man, but the endless nights of work on *Capital* and later for the International, coupled with the daily grind of poverty, wore down his health. From the 1860s until his death in 1883, Marx's health declined steadily.

During these years, Marx and Engels devoted particular attention to defending the struggle of the Irish peoples for nationhood and freedom. They said that English workers will never be free as long as Ireland is in chains. The English section of the First International denounced the mistreatment of Irish nationalists and demanded their release from prison.

In 1870, the workers of Paris rose up against the government, against the capitalists. They "stormed the gates of heaven," as Marx said, and built the Paris Commune, the first workers' government in history. The rulers of the world shook with fear, and blamed the uprising on the International. The International did not organize it, and in fact, Marx had warned the workers of Paris against a desperate uprising that could not be won only a few months before. But, once the battle was engaged, Marx defended it vigorously and so did the First International.

"It's real secret," Marx wrote of the Paris Commune, "was that it was essentially a government of the working class, the result of a struggle between the producing and the expropriating classes, the finally discovered political form under which the economic emancipation of labor could take place."

In the last years of his life, Marx saw the birth of what was to become the largest, most advanced socialist movement in the world: the German Social Democracy. Under the leadership of German workers and intellectuals trained in Marxism, the German Social Democracy rose up, sometimes legal, sometimes illegal, but always growing and building its ranks. Without the successes of German Social Democracy, scientific socialism, Marxist socialism, would not have dominated the workers' movement so completely.

Marx died in his sleep on March 14, 1883.

At his funeral, Engels said:

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of devel-

opment of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history; the simple fact, up until now concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc., that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art and even the ideas on religion of the people concerned have been evolved ...

"But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

"Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. ... But this was not even half the man.

"Marx was above all a revolutionary. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it brought into being, to contribute to the lib-

From *Capital* ...

"The expropriation of the immediate producers is accomplished with merciless vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property [of the peasant and handicraftsman], that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent laboring-individual with the conditions of his labor, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labor of others... What is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments

of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion and a tenacity and with a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the Paris *Vorwärts* (1844), *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-1849), the *New York Tribune* (1852-1861) and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in organizations in Paris, Brussels, and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Workingmen's Association ...

"And, consequently, Marx was the best-hated and most slandered-man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with each other in heaping slanders on him. All this he brushed aside as though it were a cobweb, ignored it, and answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America — and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

"His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!" — Fred Russo □

of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under, it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The death knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

African-American struggles today

The struggles of African-Americans and other peoples of color for equal rights are an important part of the fight for socialism. The more equality there is, the more unified the working class is. The more unified the working class is, the closer we are to socialism. Socialism by itself will not liberate the Black people from oppression. But it will be an important step in this direction. Here are some of the struggles taking place on this front in the last month.

More than 3,000 demonstrated against the Klan in Pittsburgh. The mayor was determined to protect the Klan from demonstrators. The City-County Building, where the Klan had petitioned to speak and been granted a permit by a Federal judge, was surrounded by fencing, barricades and several hundred riot-gear police, including mounted patrols! But this was not enough. The mayor and other elected officials organized a "unity rally" in which demonstrators had to pass through metal detectors and more mounted police into a fenced-in area. Another coalition, led by students and activists in the community, urged people to stay out of the cage and they did. There were a 1,000 inside and 2,000 outside.



Anti-Klan rally, Pittsburgh.

On April 14, about 1,000 Black people, with about 1,000 police, marched through the Grays Ferry section of Philadelphia to protest the racist assault on Annette Williams and her family in February. The demonstration had been preceded by a prayer vigil on April 2, organized by the Mayor and the Catholic Cardinal, as an alternative to the demonstration. The demonstration was called by a community organization with the support of a minister from the Nation of Islam. Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam, agreed to pull the Nation out of the demonstration when the Mayor agreed to

appear with him and speak before a church audience.

The National Congress on Puerto Rican Rights (NCPRR) initiated a demonstration for April 7 against police brutality called Racial Justice Day. On February 22, Librador Sanchez was murdered by plainclothes police trying to protect his friend from them, thinking they were thugs. The only mistake he made was not knowing they carried badges. On April 6, one day before the demonstration, Kevin Ceden, who is Black, was shot in the back by police after he allegedly attacked them with a machete. All the rally speakers were relatives of those shot, unarmed, by police. He is the fourth person shot in two months for supposedly threatening police with a knife: besides

Malcolm X

May 19 is the anniversary of the birth of Malcolm X, the great fighter for the liberation of the Black people. Toward the end of his life, Malcolm began to see the struggle of the Black people as part of the worldwide struggle against oppression. He also became sympathetic to socialism. Here are some of the things he said.

"All of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries, and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America. Its impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find one and you happen to get that person into a conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism. *May, 1964*

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse com-

pletely. *March, 1965*

Sanchez, they are Donald Davidson and Deonaime Matan. □



Marisol Sanchez carries her father's picture, murdered by NY police.

"You can call it a political showdown, or even a showdown between the economic systems that exist on this earth which almost boil down along racial lines. I do believe that there will be a clash between East and West.

"I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue with the systems of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think it will be based upon color of skin, as Elijah Mohammed had taught it. *January, 1965*

"We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era.

"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter.

"The Negro revolution is not a racial revolt. We are interested in practicing brotherhood with anyone really interested in living according to it. But the white man has long preached an empty doctrine of brotherhood which means little more than a passive acceptance of his fate by the Negro..." *February, 1965* □

U.S. out of foreign lands!

Everywhere you look you see the U.S. government involved in the affairs of other peoples and nations.

Since the U.S. Congress and Senate passed the Helms-Burton law, which allows the U.S. to punish other nations that trade with Cuba (by barring representatives of corporations and governments from entering the U.S. and/or by taking legal action against them in U.S. courts), various European nations have begun to protest this law on the grounds that it violates the rights of other nations to trade with whomever they wish. As a result of a complaint in the World Trade Organization, the U.S. has been forced to compromise. It has agreed not to enforce the provisions in the law calling for action against other nations, on the condition that other nations drop their complaints.

Supporters of the Zapatistas in Mexico complain that under the guise of combating drug-trafficking, the U.S. government is training and arming the Mexican military and police, in preparation for a "civil war" on the part of U.S. corporations, the U.S. government and the Mexican rich, against the Mexican people, who are fed up with having their country drained dry by their Northern neighbors and Mexican allies.

The U.S. government claims that it had nothing to do with the decision of the Peruvian president, Fujimori, to storm the Japanese embassy in Peru and kill all the young members of the Tupac Amaru organization, who seized the embassy and its occupants as a way to protest the terrible poverty and repression in Peru and demand the release of all the Tupac Amaru members held in Peruvian prisons in medieval conditions. On the other hand, the U.S. government claims that it fully supports Fujimori's decision.

The U.S. is also very much present in Zaire, where it supported the wealthy dictator Mobutu for decades. Now that the opposition to Mobutu is overwhelming, with massive strikes and demonstrations demanding his resignation, U.S. ambassadors are trying to make contact with and talk with leaders of the opposition. They are urging them to form "a broad coalition government," that is, make concessions to and include the very forces that they have been fighting. At the same time, the U.S. is trying to paint the opposition as blood-thirsty killers and, in this way, lay the basis for sending troops to

Zaire in the event that the opposition leaders don't heed the U.S.'s advice.

The U.S. initially threatened to send troops to Albania, "to protect U.S. citizens," when Albanian workers and peasants rose up against the U.S.-backed president who was looting all the wealth of the country and turning it over to Western businessmen and his friends. Now the U.S. has stepped back for a moment; the Italians have taken charge of invading the country and trying to put down the revolution, under the guise of distributing "humanitarian aid."

The U.S. is also trying to force the Russians to accept NATO troops so that the U.S. and the Europeans will be in a position to invade Russia, when the Russian people rise up against Yeltsin and others like him who are looting Russia in the same way that Berisha has been looting Albania.

Why is the U.S. so involved in the affairs of other peoples? Is it really about fighting for democracy and human rights, or against terrorism or drug-trafficking, as government officials and the media claim? If the U.S. government is so concerned about these problems, why doesn't it focus on doing something about these problems here, in the U.S.? We don't see representatives of other peoples getting involved in U.S. affairs to any great extent. A few Asian businessmen give some money to Clinton and its a big scandal. What would happen if they sent Asian troops over here? If it's not OK for representatives of foreign corporations and foreign governments to meddle in U.S. affairs, why is it OK for the U.S. to be so involved in other country's affairs?

In fact, behind the U.S. government is not the people of the United States, it is U.S. banks and corporations. Behind every TV, radio, and newspaper story that you see about what's going on in another country and what the "U.S." is doing about it, are U.S. banks and corporations and their desires, what they want so that their investments will be protected and/or strengthened and expanded.

U.S. bankers and businessmen want to get rid of the Castro administration in Cuba because it had the audacity to lead the Cuban people in telling U.S. bankers and businessmen to get out of Cuba and in trying to build a more socialist society.

U.S. bankers and businessmen want to "help the Mexican government fight drug trafficking" by giving them "training" and "arms," because they are afraid that the Mexican government by itself is not going to be able to protect all the U.S. enterprises now in Mexico from the Mexican people.

U.S. bankers and businessmen, through the government and the military, are involved in Peru, Zaire, Albania, Russia, and countless numbers of other places for the same reason. They want to make sure that U.S. corporate interests are defended.

For U.S. bankers and businessmen, the rest of the world and the people in it are nothing but sources of cheap raw materials, cheap labor, and markets in which to sell products. All the other things that government officials and the media talk about — democracy, human rights, terrorism, violence, drug-trafficking, etc. — are just aimed at hiding their real aims. Almost all working people in the U.S. realize that rich bankers and businessmen buy politicians and that these politicians then pass laws and do other things favorable to the rich. If the U.S. government is owned by the rich, and favorable to the rich in the United States, is there any reason to believe that the U.S. government is going to act for anyone but the U.S. rich in its dealings in other countries?

Workers in the Labor Party need to take a strong stand against U.S. government intervention in other countries — Stop the U.S. blockade against Cuba and Iraq! Get all U.S. forces out of Cuba, Mexico, Iraq, and all foreign lands and waters!

As the Labor Party grows and develops, it will have to take up more of these issues. It will have to take a strong stand against U.S. banks, corporations and the government, and their attacks on workers in other countries, like Cuba and Mexico. It will have to take a strong stand on the side of workers and oppressed peoples of other countries, against U.S. bosses and their government.

U.S. workers, in collaboration with workers in Latin America, Africa, Europe, and Asia, have the power to produce and distribute everything that workers and oppressed peoples need, not just to survive but to prosper. They have only to realize this, organize themselves to make it happen, and crush the resistance of the rich.—M.G.□

Notes

Cuba. The Cuban Communist Party (CP) is organizing a 14th World Festival of Youth and Students and an International Workers Meeting Confronting Neoliberalism and the Global Economy in Havana in July and August. We urge Labor Party activists and socialists to support and participate in these gatherings against U.S. corporations and their persecution of Cuba. U.S. corporations and the U.S. government are trying to pressure Castro and the Cuban CP to totally collaborate in restoring capitalism in Cuba and destroy the gains of the workers' socialist revolution. The U.S. has already been successful to a certain extent. The Cuban CP uses its positions to live better than most Cubans; it stops the formation of other working class parties; it's failed to support the struggle for socialism in other countries like Nicaragua. Nevertheless, it's still essential to support efforts the Cuban CP makes to build support for Cuba against the U.S., in the same way that one supports efforts of the union bureaucracy in the U.S. to build the unions. The more support there is for Cuba against U.S. corporations and their demands, the less isolated Cuba is, the more possibilities there will be for Cuban workers and their supporters to defend their gains against the imperialists and the privileged labor bureaucracy in Cuba. For the Youth Festival: 212-866-7220. For the International Workers Meeting: 313-561-8330.

Mexico. The National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, the Zapatistas' co-thinkers in the U.S., are asking individuals and organizations in the U.S. to take a stand against U.S. intervention in Mexico, especially U.S. aid to the Mexican military and police under the guise of fighting drug-trafficking. They call for statements of protest to Clinton (Phone: 202-456-1111; Fax: 202-456-2461) and the Secretary of State (Phone: 202-647-4000; Fax: 202-647-7120) and for organizing demonstrations at Mexican consulates.

Europe. Working class organizations in Europe are organizing a massive demonstration against unemployment in Amsterdam on June 14. International Workers Unity and organizations affiliated with it — the Revolutionary Workers Party in Spain, La Commune in France, the Socialist League in Germany, supporters in Belarus and Russia — are participating actively. They are also organizing a meeting of workers from Western and Eastern Europe to talk about a common fight against the capitalists and their supporters. □

The Socialist Workers Party speaks out: No to the imperialist occupation of Albania!

In this issue of Socialism!, we are reprinting an article from the Socialist Workers Party's publication, The Militant, in solidarity with the workers' revolution in Albania and against the pro-capitalist occupation.

Since the working class and popular struggle against the pro-capitalist bureaucracy in Albania broke out, the SWP and a number of other working class, socialist, and communist tendencies in the U.S. and Europe have taken a strong stand in defense of the struggle against the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, in defense of the gains of the workers' revolution in this country and against the pro-capitalist occupation. Workers should encourage these tendencies to make a common fight along these lines. They would be more effective.

An explosive confrontation — between armed workers and peasants on one side and imperialist occupation troops on the other — is rapidly shaping up in Albania. It's only a matter of time before the powder keg is set off and bloody battles are waged by the Albanian toilers to defend themselves against the imperialist occupation force, whose aim is to attempt to force them to accept as normal the joblessness, social insecurity, and dog-eat-dog competition produced by the workings of capitalism. More than 2,500 troops from Italy, France, Greece and elsewhere are already in Albania, with more on the way.

Working people around the world have the obligation to speak out in defense of our brothers and sisters in Albania, and demand an immediate end to the occupation of that country. The imperialist bayonets there are not only aimed against the Albania toilers who've taken up arms, but at the working class world wide.

Albania remains a workers state — one of the countries where workers threw off the yoke of capitalist exploitation and opened the door to constructing a new society. Like the other workers states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Albania was dominated for decades by a bureaucratic caste who lived as parasites off the working class. This counter-revolutionary layer are wannabe capitalists today, both in the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party of Albania. But neither they nor their imperialist sponsors have been able to reverse the key conquests of the 1944-46 revolution. Every attempt to reimpose capitalist rule — including firings, layoffs, dismantling subsidized prices and social benefits — is met with resistance, even if dispersed, politically confused and without clear class-conscious leadership. The rebellion that swept southern

Albania at the start of this year, demanding the ouster of the swindler president Sali Berisha, is once again confirmation.

It's that resistance that the imperialist invaders want to break. If they were to succeed in crushing the working class and its ability to fight back, not just in Albania but throughout the workers states, particularly in Russia, they could open the door to a new wave of capitalist expansion on the blood-soaked soil they have retaken.

Using the bogus pretext of facilitating food distribution — which even Red Cross officials say is not needed — Rome, Athens, Paris and other imperialists launched their military intervention to try to take a stab at this ultimate goal. Washington, for tactical reasons, has decided not to deploy troops in Albania for now, while stepping up preparations to directly assault the workers state in Russia. With soldiers occupying Yugoslavia and pushing to expand the NATO war machine in Eastern Europe, the Clinton administration is trying to position itself for future intervention in Albania if the military operation there backfires in the face of the regimes of its NATO allies and rivals.

The U.S. government has propped up the Berisha regime with military and economic aid for five years. Now the White House is pondering a scenario for Albania similar to the role it played around Yugoslavia: encouraging a slaughter, while presenting itself as a "peacekeeper" in order to organize a subsequent occupation force.

While allied in their desire to overturn the workers states, the increasing tensions among the different imperialist powers — from Washington and Paris to Rome and Athens — are another piece of the explosive situation. The squabbles between the rulers of Italy and Greece over who gets to send troops where in Albania are just a glimpse of the rivalries and conflicts to come. And these conflicts will now play out in the middle of Europe, where the last world imperialist war began.

The imperialist war drive will intensify the class struggle as workers battle the bosses attempt to squeeze more profits off our backs. Air traffic controllers, electrical and other workers who have organized recent strikes in Italy, Greece, France, and in other capitalist countries are an aid to the fighters in Albania. Class-conscious fighters, youth and other opponents of imperialist war around the world should celebrate the resistance in Albania, and join in protesting the military occupation. All imperialist troops out of Albania now! □

From International Workers Unity (Fourth International)

Millions of Russians on strike!

We are reprinting an article on the general strike in Russia from *La Aurora*, the publication of the Revolutionary Workers Party in Spain, one of the organizations affiliated with International Workers Unity. International Workers Unity is working to bring together all the tendencies associated with socialism, Trotskyism and the Fourth International that are fighting for the revolutionary socialist program in the working class and, in this way, rebuild the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded in 1938.

On March 27, Russia went on strike. The plazas of many cities turned into meeting places and thousands of workers demonstrated against the Yeltsin government. 20 million strikers according to the unions that called the strike; two million according to the government denounced by the strikers. More than 20,000 factories called for the strike. About 100,000 demonstrators came together in front of the Kremlin, in Red Square, and many hundreds of thousands in plazas throughout the country.

But the day was just a knock at the door. In reality, Yeltsin's pro-capitalist government, the ex-communist bureaucracy that dominates all of Russian life, and the capitalists in the rest of the world, all breathed a sigh of relief when this enormous mobilization ended. What they feared was and is worse!

Albanianization

Albania is a small country, but it may be that in this country a big turn has begun. Perhaps because here the association between capitalism, the mafia, the old Stalinist bureaucrats and imperialism, more easily dominated the country. Albania does not seem to be the last chapter of what began in 1989, of the revolt against the dictatorships that prostituted socialism, but the first chapter or prologue of another fundamental movement: the uprising of the workers against the march toward capitalism.

This was and is feared in Russia. Production is falling from one year to the next. While 3% of Russians have become "rich," 40% live in very precarious conditions, 20% are poor, who scarcely feed themselves, 7% are in hunger and 10% are beggars, thieves or prostitutes.

Unemployment affects about 30% of the working population. Retirees and workers



100,000 in Moscow Square, March 27.

wait months to get their pensions and salaries. The State already owes — without the least possibility of being able to pay — the equivalent of about 20 million dollars, almost double the annual budget for education, research and culture. There are workers in factories that have gone for six months without being paid, and the agricultural cooperatives are sacrificing what they have produced in order to take care of their hunger. The army has received only 33.8% of its budget for food for troops this year. Demoralization and revolt are spreading in the barracks.

This is the "triumphal march" toward capitalism in Russia! The only thing that separates Russia from Albania is a spark, that will set all the flammable material accumulated on fire. And a Russian step, in any direction, is a big step.

Provocation

Russia has been living without a government for many months. The cause is not the president's sickness. On the contrary, the paralysis of the authorities in Russia before the president's inabilities, is the manifestation of the indecision of the leading "class," made up of the different factions of the bureaucracy. Since 1994, the bureaucracy has held back on its capitalist "reforms" because of its fear of the people. But the capitalist "reforms" that have already taken place have disorganized the economy and left it defenseless before a handful of speculators and thieves.

At the beginning of March, Yeltsin decided to run on ahead, relaunch the "reform," and called the hated Chubais to the government. Does Yeltsin believe that Russia can endure more steps toward capitalism? Perhaps not. But a few days before the general strike, Michael Candessus, director of the Interna-

tional Monetary Fund, promised the Kremlin dollars.

It is 10,000 million dollars in credit, that the IMF promised Yeltsin during his electoral campaign, and which many capitalists wrote off as "electoral credit." It served to win the elections, but not for much else.

Leaders

The March 27 general strike had various aspects, and some of them were contradictory. The workers participated in it, for a good reason, in order to condemn Yeltsin and nascent capitalism, without looking much at who called this protest and why.

In the meetings, the leaders of the unions, spoke in the midst of hostile silence or boos and whistles. The strikers know that the leaders of the unions, those that led the unions under the Stalinist dictatorship or its closest relatives, are flesh and blood with the current government, and their protest was not a call to struggle.

General Lebed, this clown who thinks of himself as Napoleon, was pushed out of working class demonstrations, where they reproached him with shouts for having given the presidency to Yeltsin, by switching sides in the second round in the elections.

The fascist Zhiranovsky tried to attract the tens of thousands of demonstrators with his demagogy and he succeeded in attracting ... a few hundred.

Even in the ranks of the majority party of the opposition, among those that continue calling themselves "communists," but who demonstrate their support every day for incipient capitalism — albeit with conditions! — the latest events are producing a crisis. The resurgence of the old "communists," more or less Social Democrats, more or less Stalinists, is a *symptom* of the rejection of capitalism by the Russian workers. But it can only be, in the final analysis, a stepping stone, an uncertain movement, before the real rebirth of the revolutionary Marxist movement in Russia.

In the complex political life that is evolving, hidden within this huge general strike, the elements of consciousness and organization that are going to come to light in the next events, are slowly maturing.—A. Ramos □

Solidarity ...

Continued from the front

movement will be forced to mobilize the labor movement in a more massive and militant way — like a one-day citywide strike — until this does happen. It's also possible that neither one of these things will happen and that the newspaper workers' struggle will drag on indefinitely.

Certainly workers in the Labor Party and all labor activists should support any efforts on the part of newspaper workers toward any kind of mass labor action aimed at getting jobs back now — like a citywide strike. Workers in the Labor Party shouldn't advocate any more small, isolated, symbolic actions that allow the owners to pick out and fire the most active workers. The owners are always trying to figure out which workers are the most active and committed, pick them out, and separate them from the rest. Why make it easy for them?

Regardless of what happens with the newspaper workers' struggle, there is no question that the labor movement needs a new policy. That the newspaper workers' strike/struggle has gone on so long, that there may still be no resolution in sight, shows that there are fundamental changes in the relations between the employers and the labor movement that labor must come to grips with.

Labor has to fight for jobs and living wages for all by law and build the Labor Party in order to pass and enforce these laws. As long as labor continues to focus primarily on jobs and better wages for this or that sector of workers, the employers are going to continue to succeed to a certain extent in painting labor as a special interest group that cares only for itself. As long as labor doesn't throw itself into building the Labor Party to fight for and carry out its policies, as long as it continues to support the Republicans or the Democrats, the employers are going to succeed in painting labor as part of the relatively wealthy establishment. Labor is going to keep on losing ground among the masses of working people.

Workers in the Labor Party and labor activists need to keep on supporting the newspaper workers and all working class and popular struggles. They also need to devote an important percentage of their time to building the Labor Party's campaign for a constitutional right to a job at a living wage and the Labor Party itself.

Let's take the offensive against the employers, fight for jobs and living wages for all, and build the Labor Party!

The Labor Party's campaign

The Labor Party's campaign for a constitutional right to a job at a living wage has begun. I have had the opportunity to do some petitioning and to talk to young workers and students about it.

While getting signatures at Wayne State University, most of the students I talked to said the idea of a job at living wage (most felt \$10/hour was livable) was great, that it would help them out while going to school. They could spend less time worrying about money and more time focusing on school. Others felt that if people made enough to live on, life would be easier for everyone because crime would drop, less people would be on welfare and more people could spend time with their families and not have to work 2 or 3 jobs to make ends meet. However there were a few nay-sayers, "\$10 an hour for flipping burgers! If you want to make it you have to work hard and earn it!"

I also spoke with workers at the Chrysler Mound Road Engine Plant during their re-

cent strike. Here I got a mixed reaction. Some felt that people need good-paying jobs, otherwise the country will be in trouble and that if you work for a living you should make enough to live on. Still others said, "I had to work hard to get here, so why shouldn't the next guy? Nothing was ever given to me so why shouldn't it be difficult for others?"

There is a lot of support out there, we just have to keep up our work. — Tim James

What is Socialism! ?

Socialism! is a bi-monthly bulletin continuing *New Life*, a socialist bulletin for the Labor Party, published since March, 1994. We are working to build support for the Labor Party, socialism, internationalism, revolutionary Marxism, and rebuilding the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky and his co-thinkers in 1938.

The Editorial Board of *Socialism!* meets monthly. Meetings are open to anyone interested in the Labor Party and socialism.

If you would like more information about *Socialism!*, please complete the form below and send it to us.

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Socialism! is a socialist bulletin for the Labor Party published in Detroit. We support International Workers Unity (Fourth International), an international workers revolutionary socialist tendency making an important contribution to rebuilding the Fourth International. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Socialism!* These are expressed in editorials. Editorial Board: Margaret Guttshall, Tim James, Kim Morgan, Fred Russo.

LABOR PARTY
Amend the U.S. Constitution to
Guarantee a Right to a Job
We, the undersigned, call upon the Congress of the United States to pass an amendment to
the U.S. Constitution to guarantee the right of every citizen to a job.
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in Detroit call: 313-961-4480

Labor Party meetings: Wednesday,
May 14, 7 pm, UAW 417; Tuesday,
June 10, 7 pm, UAW 600

Socialism! meetings: Saturdays,
May 31 and June 28, 2 pm, Cass
Cafe, Cass and Forest, Detroit