

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Pathfinder Fund goes over the top by 10 percent

— PAGE 4

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 60/NO. 43 DECEMBER 2, 1996

Marchers say, 'Bring killer cops to justice'

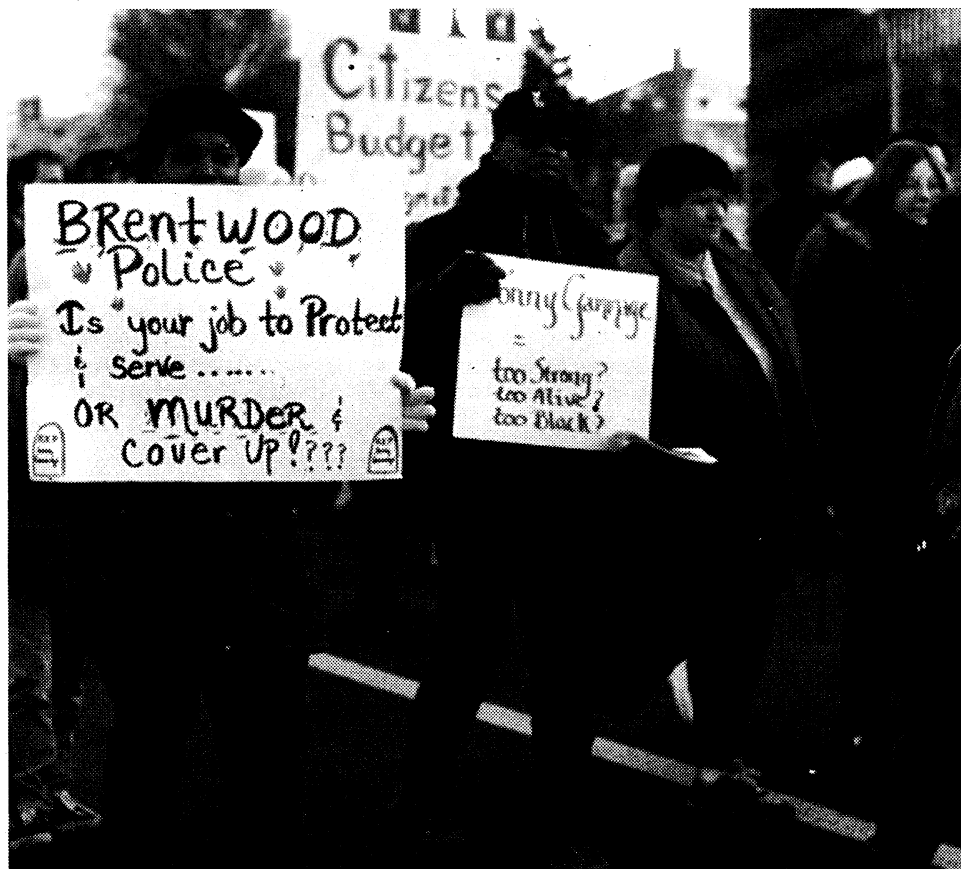
BY BILL SCHEER

PITTSBURGH — Widespread anger and protest greeted the acquittal of Pittsburgh area cop John Vojtas in the death of Jonny Gammage. Gammage, a 31-year-old Black man, was killed last year in a traffic stop involving five white cops. More than 2,000 people marched here in protest November 16 and then surrounded the court house and city-county building. They condemned the verdict and vowed to continue the fight for justice, by demanding that Vojtas and the other four police officers be charged with federal civil rights violations. Two other cops involved in Gammage's death will be retried in early 1997, after the judge declared a mistrial at their first hearing. The other two officers have not been charged.

The verdict acquitting Vojtas was rendered by an all-white jury brought in from far away Lackawanna County, whose population is less than 1 percent Black. Two jury members were relatives of police officers. The prosecution did not challenge the jury selection procedure or the racial composition.

"We have no confidence in the district attorney's office," said football player Ray Seals, a cousin and former business partner of Gammage. The district attorney, Robert Colville, is a former cop. His office works closely with the cops to prosecute cases.

Shortly after Gammage was killed, a
Continued on Page 3



Militant/Phil Norris

Over 2,000 people demonstrated in Pittsburgh November 16, protesting the acquittal of one of the three cops who were charged with killing Jonny Gammage.

Washington, Ottawa 'reassess' plans for Zaire intervention as pretext falters

BY MEGAN ARNEY

Just days after announcing they would launch a large-scale military intervention in

Fight imperialist vultures in Africa
— editorial, page 10

central Africa, Washington, Ottawa, Paris, and other imperialist powers had to begin

scaling back their plans. With the halt of fighting in the region and the return of refugees from Zaire to Rwanda, the pretext for United Nations intervention under the guise of "humanitarian aid," has been undercut. Rwandan foreign minister Anastase Gasana said November 19 that any moves to send foreign troops into his country would be regarded as a hostile act.

On November 12, Ottawa proposed it lead a force of between 10,000 and 15,000 troops from about a dozen countries to in-

tervene in eastern Zaire under the flag of the United Nations. One day later, Washington endorsed the intervention and President William Clinton announced initial approval for sending up to 4,000 U.S. troops. On November 15, the UN Security Council voted unanimously to sanction the force through March 31, authorizing troops to use "all necessary means" to defend themselves.

That same day, rebel forces in Zaire who are opposed to the regime of President
Continued on Page 8

Clinton, Congress prepare new social cuts

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Days after his reelection to the presidency of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton began preparations to cut Medicare and Social Security under the banner of balancing the federal budget. In doing so, the Democratic president is pushing for a bipartisan agreement with the leaders of the Republican majority in Congress, who maintain differences with the White House over the pace and extent of government cuts on social entitlements.

After the initial euphoria on Wall Street about the outcome of the election, it's clear that tactical divisions on domestic policy remain among the owners of capital, and among the politicians who serve them in Washington. Neither "downsizing" and "reengineering," nor the stream of assaults on workers' social gains and democratic rights Clinton led during his first administration, have resulted in reversing the decline in the bosses' profit rates. As a result, the scandal-mongering against the president-elect and his aides, and the coarsening of politics it reflects, has not ebbed since November 5.

Since early November, Clinton and other Democratic politicians, Republican spokespeople in Congress, and a number of columnists in the big-business press have been peddling the idea that the Medicare and Social Security funds will soon go bankrupt. The proposed solution? Cuts are needed in order to "save" these social programs.

According to the November 11 *New York Times*, Clinton and House minority leader Richard Gephardt said that Medicare's "looming financial problems" could be dealt with by cutting payments to doctors and hospitals.

"My plan would cut payments to providers and make some other changes that would
Continued on Page 6

California students protest attack on affirmative action

BY OMARI MUSA

SAN FRANCISCO — Thousands of students in California have staged demonstrations, marches, and building occupations since the passage of the misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative, known as Proposition 209. This ballot measure calls for eliminating affirmative action in state and local employment, education, and contracting. It passed by a margin of 54 to 46 percent.

Chanting, "ho, ho, hey, hey, affirmative action is here to stay," hundreds of students walked off the San Francisco State University campus November 6, the day after the vote. After urging students in ethnic and women's studies classes to join them, the protesters marched two miles through the streets around campus.

Students at the University of California at Berkeley also staged a series of protests beginning with a demonstration November
Continued on Page 10

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists invite you to

Regional socialist educational conferences

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics:

Charting the Working-Class Road to Socialist Revolution

November 29 - December 1

Atlanta ♦ Peoria ♦ San Francisco ♦ Washington, D.C.

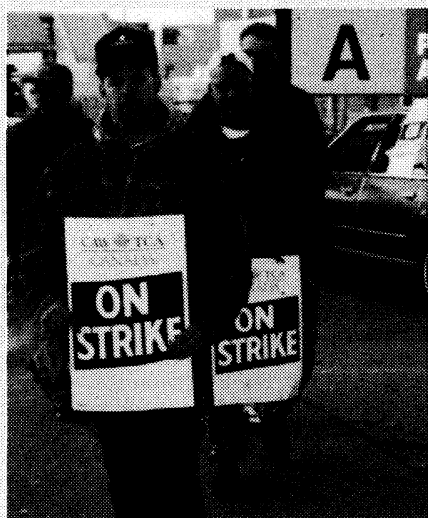
⇒ Revolutionary potential of the working class: Communist work and the trade unions

⇒ Youth and the communist movement: Building the Young Socialists

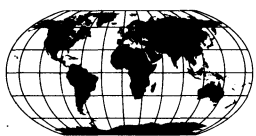
⇒ Resisting the bipartisan assault on the working class: Organizing the gravediggers of capitalism

Classes ♦ Book sales ♦ Socials

For rides and more information, contact areas listed on page 8



U.S. military brass fosters sex abuse — pages 6, 10



Israeli court says torture is o.k.

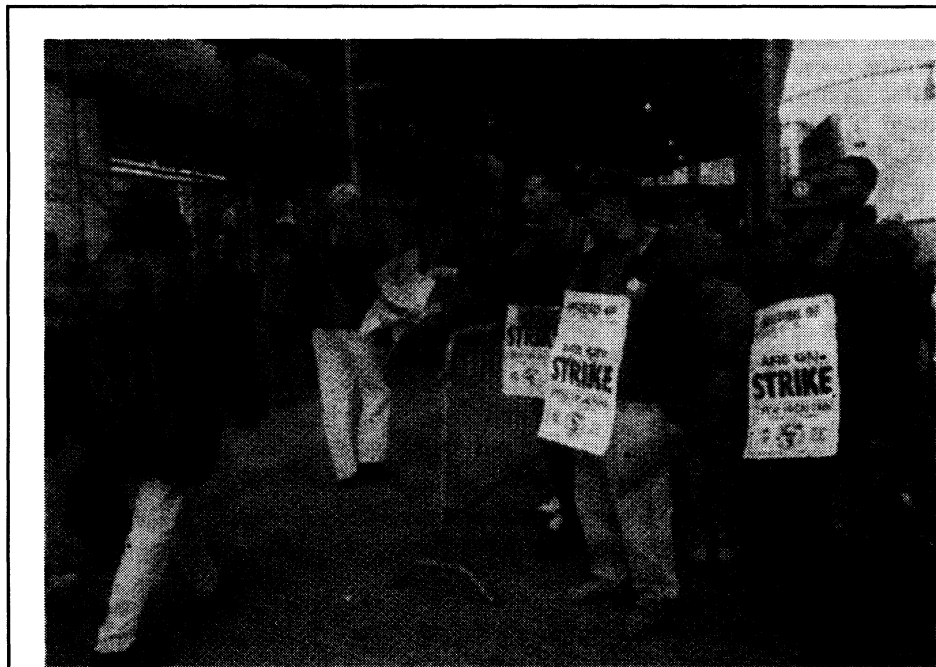
The Israeli High Court ruled November 14 that Shin Bet, the national security cops, could use "physical pressure" in interrogating Mohammed Hamadan, a Palestinian who lives in the occupied West Bank. The ruling overturned a temporary restraining order issued the previous day. Shin Bet demanded it be allowed to use torture methods against Hamadan, who they accuse of belonging to the Islamic Holy War group, claiming "a well-founded suspicion that the petitioner [Hamadan] has extremely vital information whose immediate extraction would help save lives." As in all such cases, the evidence presented by the state was kept secret from the Palestinian and his lawyer.

Meanwhile, tensions are rising in the West Bank. Ten demonstrators, both Palestinian and Israeli, were arrested November 9 in Hebron, West Bank, while protesting the expansion of the settlements. In September, the Israeli government approved plans to build 1,800 new apartments just 15 miles from Jerusalem. On November 10, attempts to implement this in Naalin, West Bank, were met by Palestinians protesters, many carrying deeds to prove the land about to be taken was rightfully theirs. Israeli soldiers opened fire on the protesters, killing Atallah Amira and injuring 12 others. Hana Amira, Atallah's widow, said, "We are not afraid, and we will keep on fighting.... Even if they kill us by the hundreds we won't budge."

UK gov't clashes with rest of EU

United Kingdom prime minister John Major has threatened to veto a European Union treaty unless the UK is exempted from labor regulations adopted by the grouping in 1993. These include a 48-hour workweek cap, a minimum three-week paid vacation, and mandatory rest periods for "long shifts." After the European Court ruled November 12 that the UK must comply with regulations, Major wrote to European Commission president Jacques Santer stating that the ruling "is unacceptable and must be remedied." In response, Santer described London's demands as a "return to the Dickensian sweatshops of the 19th century."

This is the second major conflict this year between London and its rivals in the Euro-



Food workers' union members picketing the Citarella market in New York over the firing of three workers involved in organizing a union there. The owner of the market said the firings were not for union activity, but because of "August slowdown and the workers' weak performances." Organizers said pickets won't end until workers are reinstated.

pean Union — the first being the EU-imposed worldwide ban on British beef.

Bonn postpones 'Eurofighter'

The German government has postponed the financing of a project to build the Eurofighter 2000 combat jet, the European Union's largest joint military project. The November 13 issue of the *Wall Street Journal* cited "spending cuts aimed at reining in Germany's ballooning budget deficit" as the main argument for why Bonn has pushed back its plans to finance the joint venture. The aerospace industry has cut about half its work force since 1990.

Bonn will also have "problems paying for ... an expanded German role in the Bosnian peacekeeping" force, the *Wall Street Journal* added. The Eurofighter 2000 combat jet is scheduled to be built jointly by the governments of Britain, Spain, Italy, and Germany.

Plane crash over India kills 351

In the third worst air disaster in aviation history, all 351 passengers and crew died November 12 when a Saudi Arabian jumbo jet collided near New Delhi with a Kazak Airlines cargo plane. Indian and international aviation officials cited the fact that all planes enter and exit the airport through one single corridor as a factor in the collision. The Indian air force, despite numerous complaints from pilots, "is not willing to open up more sky for civil aviation," said an Indian Air Traffic Controllers' Guild statement. Eric Moody, a retired British Airways pilot, told reporters, "The problem with Delhi is that the radar is antiquated," pointing to the fact that pilots can't always get a steady readout of where other planes are.

Castro attends summit in Chile

For the first time in 25 years, Cuban president Fidel Castro visited Chile to attend the sixth Ibero-American Summit Conference on democracy in early November, setting off much debate. Thousands of those sympathetic to the Cuban revolution greeted the socialist president with chants of "Castro, Castro!" While there, Castro visited the tomb of Salvador Allende, a Socialist Party leader who was president of Chile from 1970 until he was killed in a 1973 U.S.-backed coup led by General Augusto Pinochet.

General Pinochet, who ruled Chile for 17 years and was responsible for the death of thousands of revolutionary-minded workers and others, said, "The government has invited Lucifer, and he has arrived." Argentinean president Carlos Menem, while not opposed to Castro's presence said, "no

doubt there is a contradiction on inviting Fidel Castro to a meeting where the main point is democracy."

Jamaican gov't expands cops

Jamaica's National Security and Justice Minister Keith Knight announced a series of measures at the end of October in a so-called "anti-crime" campaign. The 20-point plan includes the re-establishment of hanging, bolstering of the police force, allowing cops more latitude to carry out surveillance, deployment of soldiers to search incoming cargo, and a "zero tolerance" policy that will stiffen penalties for "minor crimes." Government spokesman Derrick Smith said that a "massive" recruitment of cops would be necessary to enforce the plan. Knight, in explaining what "minor crimes" working people would be punished for, cited road-block demonstrations as one of the infractions that would "no longer be tolerated."

N.Y. gov't proposes welfare cuts

New York governor George Pataki has floated a series of proposals to implement so-called "welfare reform." The measures include reducing welfare benefits in increments adding up to 45 percent over the five years an individual is eligible, as well as ending cash benefits for teenage parents who are not living with parents or are not attending school. Anyone who tests positive for drug use or whose children skip school will be penalized, and those that do not report to "workfare" assignments won't get benefits. Immigrants will be denied most assistance under the bill, which Pataki submitted to the state legislature November 13.

Drug-dealing cop gets wrist slap

Alberto Vargas, a former New York cop, plead guilty on charges of stealing and selling drugs, perjury in several state court cases, and other crimes. Faced with a possible sentence of up to 48 years imprisonment, Federal District Court Judge Lawrence McKenna gave the cop four years probation, six months of house arrest, and a \$2,000 fine on November 12. The *New York Times* refers to it as the "most lenient sentence yet" in a series of trials of cops in the 30th Precinct in Harlem, where Vargas was assigned. After sentencing the cop and wishing him good luck, McKenna explained, "I'm a great believer in cooperation."

Sunbeam will halve workforce

Albert Dunlap, CEO for the appliance maker Sunbeam Corp., announced plans to cut the company's workforce by 50 percent. Some 6,000 workers will be out of a job, with 3,000 of them gone before the year's end. John Challenger, executive vice president of a company that tracks layoffs, told the *New York Times* he thought this was the largest percentage of dismissals of a workforce ever made. The company plans to reduce its plants and warehouses internationally from 43 to 13.

— BRIAN TAYLOR

THE MILITANT

Palestinians resist occupation forces

The Israeli government has stepped up its campaign of expanding settlements in the West Bank. The 'Militant' covers the resistance by Palestinian fighters to these encroachments and their ongoing struggle for self-determination. Don't miss a single issue!



SUBSCRIBE TODAY! NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks

RENEWAL

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION

PHONE

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £7 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £8 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,300 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Vol. 60/No. 43

Closing news date: November 21, 1996

Editor: NAOMI CRAINE

Business Manager: MAURICE WILLIAMS

Editorial Staff: Megan Arney, Hilda Cuzco, Laura Garza, Martin Koppel, Argiris Malapanis, Brian Taylor, and Maurice Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The *Militant* can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant

Internet: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

The *Militant* can be accessed on the internet at: gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org/11/pubs/militant Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address.

Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year sub-

scription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. **Asia:** send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Canada: Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to *Militant*, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4.

Britain, Ireland: £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to *Militant* Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. **Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East:** £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to *Militant* Distribution at above address. **France:** Send FF300 for one-year subscription to *Militant*, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. **Belgium:** BF 1,900 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of 1Mei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. **Iceland:** Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to *Militant*, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. **Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark:** 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to *Militant* Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. **New Zealand:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. **Australia:** Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia. **Pacific Islands:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Cops violate rights in Brooklyn arrests

BY SARA LOBMAN

BROOKLYN, New York—New York cops stormed into an apartment building in the Crown Heights section of this city on November 11, arresting 35 people and hauling them off to jail. Armed with a battering ram and crowbar, they busted down closet doors and dug through basement storage areas. One newspaper described the scene as a "war zone, with heavily armed cops and police dogs on the ground and helicopters hovering overhead."

According to reports in the *New York Times* and other papers, those arrested were members of a group called the Provisional Communist Party, which also operated as the National Labor Federation and the Eastern Farm Workers Association.

Forty other tenants from the apartment buildings were temporarily left homeless because of the search. Many were forced to spend the night in the gym of nearby Medgar Evers College.

The cops claimed they were responding to an anonymous call to a private child-abuse agency about a crying child, and that earlier attempts by social workers to enter the building had been refused. Three people were charged with criminal weapons possession and criminal sale of a firearm. Police said that residents lacked permits for some of the several dozen small weapons found stored in a cabinet. The *New York Times* reported that anyone having more than five guns without a permit can be as-

sumed under New York state law to be selling them. Two people were charged with obstruction of government administration. The others were released without being charged.

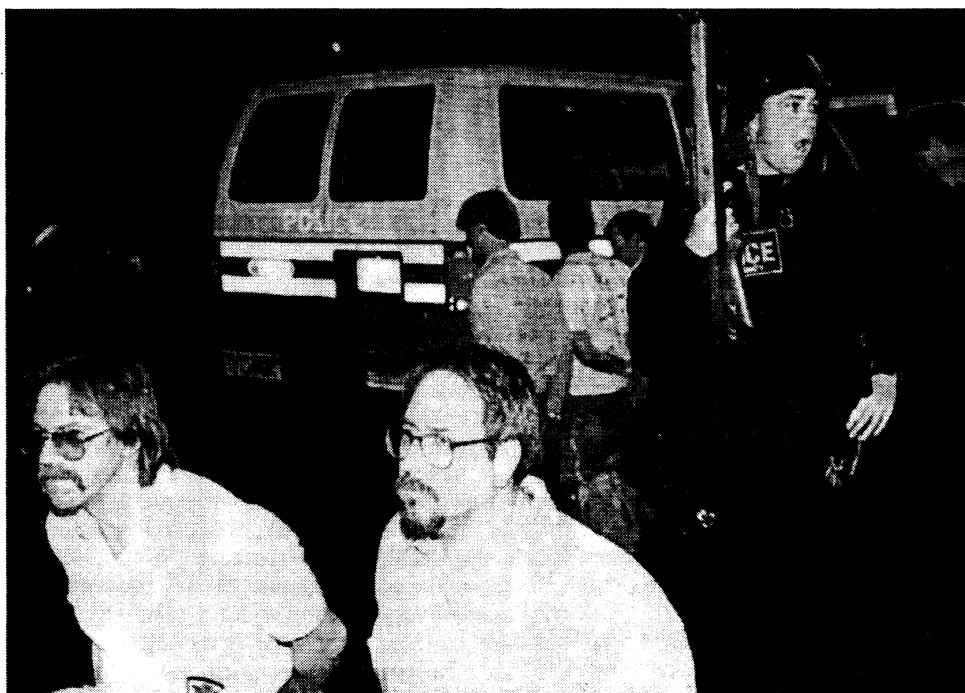
Two days after the arrests, New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani presided over a press conference where officials reported that a grand jury investigation would be conducted of the group.

No presumption of innocence

Almost before the ink on the search warrants was dry, the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, and local radio and television stations began saturating the city with sensationalistic articles. "Bomb cult bust" was the front-page banner headline of the *Post* the morning after the arrests. "Full story, more dramatic photos: Pages 2 & 3," it promised. The inside headline was "Cult's 'bomb factory': 40 busted in swoop on terror suspects' HQ." The *Times* story, which started on the front page, included a features box titled "A closer look: A cache of weapons and supplies."

But the "cache of weapons and supplies" noted in the *Times* basement floor plan turns out to be refrigerators of food, crates of books, lockers of clothes, a tool shed, joint compound, a boiler, and "file cabinets containing revolutionary literature and files on migrant workers; light bulbs, lotion and other supplies."

The building itself was "furnished like an



Cops raid apartment in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, arresting 35 people. Lacking evidence of any crimes, cops were forced to release all but five of them without charges.

office," the *Times* article said, with filing cabinets, a meeting table, and paperwork lying about. Among the alleged suspicious activities pointed to in various newspaper articles were monthly meetings "where people would clap, sing and laugh, all at the same time," occasionally repairing old cars on the street in front of the apartment house, and carrying aluminum containers into the building. The group also kept a log of police activity on the block.

The media also attempted to whip up anticomunism sentiment. The *Post* called members of the organization "Bolshevik bullies" and proclaimed, "They forgot Communism's dead."

Police officials claimed they had not known anything about the organization, and only entered the building in response the anonymous call. The facts show otherwise. This was not the first time the group's Brooklyn offices had been raided. In 1984, the FBI executed a search warrant for weapons. Nothing illegal was discovered and the guns seized in that raid were returned, although the FBI seized some of the organization's papers. The police said they knew of no illegal acts ever committed by the group. The group was also featured prominently in the *New York Times* 1995 obituary of the organization's founder, Eugenio Perente-Ramos.

2,000 march in Pittsburgh against cop's acquittal

Continued from front page

coroner's jury was convened to hear evidence and make recommendations for charges. That jury recommended that all five cops be charged with first degree murder. Instead, the DA charged three officers with involuntary manslaughter, which is a misdemeanor, and did not bring charges against the other two. The DA called as a prosecution witness Keith Henderson, one of the cops who wasn't charged. Henderson testified that the police actions that night were justified and within the guidelines.

The only eyewitness besides the cops was a former tow truck driver, Frank Belajac, who disputed the cops' story and testified that the police started the fight.

Abdulrazak Shakir, the pathologist who performed the autopsy on Gammage, testified on the cause of death. Based on hemorrhages in Gammage's eyes and bruises on his neck and back, Shakir concluded that he died of asphyxiation caused by compression to the neck and chest. In other words, Gammage was pressed against the ground with so much force that his respiratory system gave out. Gammage was handcuffed at the time of his death.

Immediate reaction to verdict

TV stations interrupted regular programming to cover the verdict. Reaction was immediate. Within two hours of the announcement, 150 people converged on the court house, many carrying hurriedly made signs. This included people who had never participated in a demonstration.

In Brentwood, the mostly white working-class borough where Gammage was killed, police beefed up patrols, the schools canceled sports practices, and students were told to go straight home. This added to the hype in some of the media coverage of "racial trouble" and of a supposed "racial divide."

The reaction on the streets and in workplaces told another story. "Most of my co-workers, both Black and white, disagreed with the verdict and were angered by it," said Sheila Ostrow, a steelworker at LTV.

"Far from there being a racial divide, I think this has brought the races together," said Deborah Bailey, an African-American activist in the Campus Coalition for Peace and Justice and a worker at Carnegie-Mellon University. The day after the verdict the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* printed reactions from people in a large cross section of the Pittsburgh area. Of the 44 printed, only four defended the verdict.

Several speakers at the November 16 pro-

test made reference to the multiracial character of the protest. Roughly a quarter of the demonstrators were white. The action included high school students and others who were at their first protest.

"I called off work so I could be here," said Eva Lavelle, a Black woman who works in an office. She was appalled that the case was tried by an all-white jury from out of town. "Not one of my co-workers defended the verdict," she said.

Others tell of police brutality cases

The demonstration, which was initiated by the NAACP, attracted people who had their own cases of police brutality. Dawn King carried a sign with a picture of family friend Maneia "Stoney" Bey, a young man gunned down by police in 1993.

Arnold Staples carried a sign listing several cops' names. At the top the sign said "Civil Rights Violators" and "Nazi Cops." "This cop," he said, pointing to the name Claude Sims, "tortured and beat my son and my nephew while they were in custody. He was off duty and drunk when he arrested them. He pleaded guilty in court, but he is still on the police force." Pointing to another name, Javan Wilson, he said, "This is a Black cop who killed a white guy, shot him

five times, and was acquitted. Police brutality is not a Black and white thing, it is a social thing," said Staples, who is Black.

Other signs identified organizations such as the YWCA, the National Organization for Women (NOW), and the NAACP.

The NAACP had projected the protest as a quiet, spiritual, prayerful event. When the protesters locked arms and circled the building there was silence. "The power of the statement is in our silence and in our somberness," said Tim Stevens, president of the NAACP in Pittsburgh.

During the demonstration and at the rally the militancy and anger was evident, though. As the march began chants of "No Justice! No Peace!" burst through, despite the organizers' efforts to maintain quiet. At the rally, calls for any sort of action, especially the demand that Vojtas and the other cops be charged and prosecuted by the federal government for civil rights violations, drew a loud response. Many speakers promoted a boycott of downtown Pittsburgh as well.

Stevens urged those present to register to vote as the main way to bring change. Most of the speakers at the rally were capitalist politicians and preachers.

One young woman, Crystal Somerville, was able to get the microphone and articu-

late the anger of Black youth who routinely confront police abuse. "It took Jonny Gammage to bring me down here," she declared.

One march participant, Pittsburgh mayor Tom Murphy, drew the verbal wrath of some marchers. Murphy, a Democrat, has made "the fight against crime" and pro-police pronouncements a feature of his administration. In the wake of the verdict, the mayor has called for a federal investigation into Gammage's death. Murphy left the demonstration early.

Some authorities are worried about the verdict undermining the credibility and effectiveness of the police and the criminal justice system. "Right or wrong, there are a lot of people who believe that because the jury was not racially mixed, the system is not fair," said John Gismondi, president of the Allegheny County Bar Association. "That should be a concern to anyone connected to the legal system. It is absolutely vital that the average citizen thinks that the system is a fair one; otherwise it loses credibility," he said.

Bill Scheer is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1557. Cecelia Moriarity contributed to this article.

Salazar wins release from death row

BY JOHN STUDER

CHICAGO — Manuel Salazar walked out of prison November 8, free for the first time in 11 years. Salazar, now 30 years old, had been convicted in 1985 of murder in the death of a Joliet, Illinois, cop and sentenced to death. Since then he has been held in a six-by-nine-foot cell on death row.

An international defense campaign was organized to fight to win Salazar a new trial and to press for his release. The defense committee distributed flyers, organized rallies, and raised funds for legal appeals.

In 1984, Salazar, a dual citizen of Mexico and the United States, was cornered in an alley and beaten by officer Martin Murrin. Salazar fought for his life and in the struggle the cop was shot to death. According to literature from Salazar's defense committee, Joliet police put out a "shoot to kill" order on the young man, and he fled to Mexico.

The following year, Salazar was seized from his relatives' home in Mexico and kidnapped to the United States. The kidnappers turned him over to police in Texas, who — without any extradition procedure —

gave him over to cops from Illinois. He was taken back to stand trial on charges of murder. Salazar was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to death.

His fight for freedom won broad support. More than 500 people traveled from the Chicago/Joliet area to the Illinois capitol in Springfield to support him when the state Supreme Court heard arguments on his petition for a new trial. The government of Mexico formally protested his illegal seizure from Mexican territory.

In 1994, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled that Salazar's lawyer had failed to represent him adequately at his trial, and ordered a new trial. Supporters traveled to the trial on a daily basis. A defense rally was held October 29 outside the Will County Court House where the new trial was taking place.

"Manuel Salazar is now a symbol for all our youth that have found themselves abused by the police," Emma Lozano, a leader of Pueblo Sin Fronteras in Chicago, told the rally. "Freedom for Manuel will send a message to police who are racist and abuse their authority, that this will no longer

be tolerated. Manuel does not stand trial alone, we stand with him for our future with his life at stake."

Frank Forrestal, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, issued a statement during the trial urging support for Salazar. "Manuel Salazar is the victim of a racist police frame-up and should be freed now," Forrestal said. The socialist campaign urged activists to attend the trial and support Salazar's fight.

The new trial took place shortly after tens of thousands of supporters of Mexican and Chicano rights marched on Washington D.C. October 12.

In addition, a number of Black and Puerto Rican victims of police frame-ups on death row in Illinois have been proven innocent and won their freedom in highly publicized cases.

On November 7, the new jury found Salazar not guilty of murder. He was convicted of a charge of involuntary manslaughter, but has already served more than the maximum sentence for that charge. He was released from prison the next day.

YS drives ahead to make recruitment, fund goals

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, P.O. Box 14392, St. Paul, MN 55114. Tel: (612) 644-0051. Compuserve: 105162,605

BY TOM ALTER
AND JACK WILLEY

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — With six people recruited this week, Young Socialists members are confident that the goal of recruiting 80 new members to the socialist youth organization by December 1 is within reach. With just over one week to go, YSers are getting ready for the Regional Socialist Educational Conferences to be held in four different cities across the U.S. November 29-December 1. This coincides with the deadline to collect \$6,000 for the YS National Fund Drive.

Following are reports from YS members across the country who are fighting to make the recruitment goal, raise money for the fund drive and get as many supporters as possible to the regional conferences:

* Stefanie Trice spoke to a dozen students November 11 at Drew University on the topic, "Socialism and Feminism." The event was sponsored by Drew's Women's Concerns organization, which gave \$50 honoraria. The Newark YS is putting this toward their fund goal.

Participants discussed where sexism comes from, class society and the role of the family and religion. Coming out of the meeting, two young women plan to attend

the socialist conference in Washington, D.C.

* Vanessa Knapton, from the Los Angeles chapter, reports that the newest YS member in Los Angeles was recruited through campaigning with the socialist candidates at the University of California in Los Angeles. The chapter has also been going to Riverside, where a YS member lives.

"Having weekly chapter meetings has made a big difference," she reports. "We have chapter meetings every Wednesday where we plan what we're going to do the following week. We've understood the importance of these meetings; this is where we make our decisions. We have educationals at every meeting and a regular class series

YS FUND DRIVE \$6,000 BY DECEMBER 1		
CITY	GOAL	PAID
Boston	\$600	\$125
Chicago	\$400	
Cleveland	\$150	
Detroit	\$50	
Los Angeles	\$500	
Miami	\$100	\$100
New York	\$650	
Peoria	\$100	
Philadelphia	\$200	\$123
Salt Lake City	\$50	\$35
San Francisco	\$700	
Minn-St. Paul	\$800	\$200
Other		\$25
TOTAL	\$4,300	\$608

where we invite other young people," Knapton added.

The Los Angeles chapter raised \$54 through a raffle of a Che Guevara T-shirt and a T-shirt from the October 12 immigrant rights march in Washington D.C. They are working with three people in nearby Pomona to set up a video showing as part of building for the educational conference in San Francisco. On November 20, the chapter is holding a class on Che Guevara. In addition, a dinner for socialists and contacts is taking place to raise money for the YS fund drive and build for the conference.

* The YS in Miami has raised their local fund drive goal from \$100 to \$200. Nathalia Poses, a member of the YS there, reports that 16 YS T-shirts with a picture of Che Guevara were sold at the October 12 immigrant rights march in Washington D.C.

"We're now collecting pledges from YS members and supporters," she said.

* Rebecca Arenson, member of the Philadelphia chapter, reports that \$60 was raised through selling raffle tickets at a Militant Labor Forum. One of the members of the Philadelphia chapter took raffle tickets to sell at his high-school. The chapter there is raffling a copy of *New International* no. 8, with articles on "Che Guevara and the Road to Socialism," and a Pathfinder Readers Club membership, among other prizes.

The chapter is also building the regional educational conference in Washington D.C. "We're calling people that we met when James Harris, the socialist presidential candidate toured here," she said.

* The newly formed YS chapter in Athens, Georgia, is setting up tables in downtown Athens leading up to the conference

in Atlanta. They are also holding classes, starting with *Marxism and Terrorism*.

For more information on the regional socialist educational conferences contact the Young Socialists at: 612-644-0051. Please send contributions towards the YS fund drive to: Young Socialists, PO Box 14392, St. Paul, MN, 55114.

60 new members in the YS! From July 10 to November 16

City	# of new members
Athens, GA	3
Atlanta	4
Boston	1
Chicago	2
Cleveland	2
Denver	2
Detroit	2
Fresno, CA	3
Houston	3
Los Angeles	6
McAllen, TX	1
Minneapolis/St. Paul	2
Morgantown	1
Muncie, IN	1
Newark	3
New York	3
Philadelphia	1
Portland, OR	1
Salt Lake City	3
San Diego	1
San Francisco	5
Seattle	2
Spokane, WA	5
Washington, D.C.	3
TOTAL	60

Pathfinder Fund drive shoots ten percent over the top!

BY TED LEONARD

NEWARK, New Jersey — The \$125,000 Pathfinder Fund is over the top. By the final deadline at noon, Tuesday, November 19, Pathfinder had collected \$138,048.

The success of the drive was a result of the commitment of supporters in cities around the world to reach their quotas. Nearly every area that participated hit 100 percent, and many went substantially over.

In the Boston area, supporters went over their \$6,000 goal by 24 percent, topping the list of U.S. cities. "There is an enormous

appeal in the idea of contributing money to publish Pathfinder books," reported Andrea Morrell, who helped organize supporters of the International Pathfinder Reprint Fund drive in the Boston area.

Morrell explained that the key to their success was sending out a letter signed by a range of supporters in the area to a broad list of individuals. This was followed up with phone calls. Fifty-five individuals made contributions to the Pathfinder reprint fund from the area, and contributions continue to trickle in. "Pathfinder's reason for being," explains the Boston letter, "is to make available to those who are fighting for social justice today the political legacy of the modern international working-class movement."

The letter explains the stakes in the fund drive: "Achieving this fund in full will determine whether or not Pathfinder can move its currently slated reprints through the pipeline and into the streets, bookstores, lunchrooms and breakrooms, and onto campus and community tables — where they can be discovered by workers and youth looking for political orientation and inspiration."

One United Auto Workers member who got the letter approached a Pathfinder supporter at work, reached into his pocket, and gave a donation on the spot. In another case, a contributor sent a note in response to the letter along with some money that said, "Glad to help."

Contributions were also received from activists involved in the defense of the Cuban revolution.

Birgitta Isacson reported from Sweden, where supporters led the international fund drive by going over their quota by 24 percent.

They launched the fund with an open house at the Pathfinder Bookstore in Stockholm on October 19. "We showed the Pathfinder Mural video and slides from different events in the world where we have participated with Pathfinder books, at different bookfairs in Tehran, Iran, Cuba, and Gothenburg, Sweden, as well as sales and reporting trips to Germany and Norway.

"Johan Nilsson, a member of the Young Socialists, told the meeting how he first found Pathfinder books at a booktable in the center of

Stockholm and later came to the bookstore," Isacson continued. Nilsson said, "I was first mostly interested in Malcolm X, but after also reading Fidel Castro I realize they are not so far away from each other. They both are for revolutionary change of the old society."

Isacson went on to explain, "Several supporters had donated food for the buffet afterwards and together with contributions from members of the Pathfinder Readers Club who all got a letter which explained the need for money to the fund, we now have now raised \$496."

Supporters of Pathfinder in London," according to Paul Davies, "raised \$697 for the Pathfinder Reprint Fund at an event to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian revolution."

Pathfinder publishes Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*, a vivid description of the course of the 1917 revolution told by one of its central leaders.

New Zealand supporters raised the most — \$4,719 — of any area outside the U.S. They started their campaign off with a

spirited meeting in September, and kept a steady pace of outreach that paid off in taking them over their \$4,550 goal.

Fund director Maggie Trowe said, "The efforts of supporters in cities around the world to reach their quotas successfully is already paying off."

Since the beginning of the fund drive September 1, Pathfinder has reprinted nine books and three pamphlets, and has an equal number in production to deliver by the end of the year."

This week Pathfinder's printshop is planning to deliver the reprint *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party, Minutes and Resolutions 1938-39*.

This book covers two conventions and surrounding leadership meetings in 1938-39 where revolutionists in the United States codified some 20 years of experience in building a communist party. Taking the name Socialist Workers Party, they reaffirmed the Marxist approach in the fight against the coming imperialist war, the spread of fascism across Europe, and attacks by the bosses at home.

'New International' magazine popular at Sweden bookfair

BY DECHOR HIEN
AND ERNEST OLEINIK

GOTHENBURG, Sweden — The 12th annual book fair here was attended by supporters of Pathfinder Press from Stockholm, Sweden, and Manchester, England.

About 90,000 people visited the fair. Pathfinder supporters sold 59 books and pamphlets, worth US\$750.

The most popular titles were issues of the Marxist magazine *New International*, with 21 copies sold. These were followed by titles by Ernesto Che Guevara and Malcolm X.

The Pathfinder booth displayed giant posters featuring the two issues of *Ny International*, the Swedish-language edition of *New International*. Additionally, there was a display of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-1958* by Ernesto Che Guevara. *Ny International* no. 1 features the article "Opening Guns of World War III — Washington's assault on Iraq," and the second issue includes "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War."

These Marxist magazines, which analyze

the capitalist crisis, the increasing attacks on workers and farmers, and their resistance around the world, were one of the main topics of discussion at the booth.

Many young people who came by the Pathfinder booth were glad to see the displays of books by revolutionary leaders like Che Guevara, Malcolm X, and V.I. Lenin, as well as titles on the fight against the oppression of women and of the struggle by oppressed nationalities against racism and exploitation.

One worker from the Middle East bought two issues of *New International* and joined the Pathfinder Readers Club.

The last two days many young people came to the booth not only interested in buying books, but wanted to discuss a range of political issues.

Participants of the Pathfinder team participated in the "Speakers Corner" to present *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. About 40 people attended. One of them later came to the Pathfinder booth and bought *Ny International* no. 2.

Pathfinder Fund			
CITY/COUNTRY	GOAL	PAID	% of GOAL
SWEDEN	\$400	\$496	124%
AUSTRALIA	\$750	\$804	107%
NEW ZEALAND*	\$4,550	\$4,719	104%
UNITED STATES			
Boston	\$6,000	\$7,431	124%
Atlanta	\$2,700	\$3,285	122%
Seattle*	\$9,000	\$10,291	114%
San Francisco	\$10,000	\$11,080	111%
Detroit	\$6,000	\$6,292	105%
Philadelphia	\$5,000	\$5,210	104%
Pittsburgh	\$6,000	\$6,230	104%
New York	\$14,000	\$14,340	102%
Greensboro	\$2,400	\$2,455	102%
Cleveland	\$3,100	\$3,162	102%
Salt Lake City	\$3,600	\$3,660	102%
Newark	\$8,500	\$8,590	101%
Twin Cities	\$7,000	\$7,069	101%
Miami	\$2,800	\$2,823	101%
Los Angeles	\$12,000	\$12,080	101%
Houston	\$3,000	\$3,010	100%
Washington DC	\$3,500	\$3,506	100%
Morgantown	\$1,500	\$1,503	100%
Peoria	\$2,750	\$2,754	100%
Birmingham	\$4,500	\$4,500	100%
Chicago	\$7,500	\$7,500	100%
Des Moines	\$2,350	\$1,850	79%
Other	\$730	\$730	
U.S. TOTAL	\$123,930	\$129,348	104%
BELGIUM	\$200	\$200	100%
CANADA			
Vancouver	\$100	\$104	104%
Montreal	\$465	\$465	100%
Toronto	\$265	\$265	100%
CANADA total	\$830	\$834	100%
FRANCE	\$750	\$750	100%
GREECE	\$200	\$200	100%
UNITED KINGDOM	\$697	\$697	100%
INTERNATIONAL			
TOTAL	\$132,307	\$138,048	110%
SHOULD BE	\$125,000	\$125,000	100%

SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

Two-week blitz to build socialist conferences

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

As the international campaign to win new subscribers to the *Militant* enters its final days, supporters are going all out to build the regional socialist educational conferences at the end of November and wrap up a successful subscription drive.

"A two-week blitz of central Illinois has been organized" to build the conference in

Peoria, reports *Militant* supporter Helen Meyers. "We sold two *Militant* subs at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, and two more at the Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri."

Two members of the steelworkers union at the Bridgestone/Firestone plant in Bloomington, Illinois, bought *Militant* subscriptions from supporters who work there. Several workers in the plant have expressed interest in the educational conference.

Meyers said socialists in Peoria will join with activists in Des Moines to visit strikers on the picket line at the IBP packinghouse in Joslin, Illinois. The team will go door-to-door in the Quad City area of Davenport and Bettendorf, Iowa, and Moline and Rock Island, Illinois, where many striking meatpackers live.

This past week there were several actions in Pittsburgh including one on November 16, where more than 2,000 people protested the acquittal of one of the cops who killed Jonny Gammage. "We sold 20 single issues and two subscriptions to the *Militant*, plus a couple of Pathfinder titles at that demonstration," said airline worker Edwin Fruit. He said supporters in Pittsburgh sold eight subscriptions to the *Militant* during the past week to put the campaign there back on schedule. Fruit said students at Indiana University of Pennsylvania bought two copies of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and three *Militant* subscriptions at a literature table set up on the campus there.

Supporters in Los Angeles have led the international subscription effort throughout the campaign. They have already gone over their goal of 85 subscriptions to the *Militant*, and plan to keep selling. Distributors of the socialist press there



Young Socialists throw themselves into the subscription campaign efforts in Canada

Militant/George Rose

launched their target week by selling 10 subscriptions to the *Militant* over the November 16-17 weekend.

Martin Hill, a socialist worker in London, wrote, "*Militant* sellers sold 18 copies of the *Militant* at a table in Aldershot, the site of a major Army base near London." Hill

said several soldiers who stopped by the table bought copies of the socialist newspaper and some said they expected to be sent to Zaire. "African countries owe big debts, that's why they're in such a mess," one soldier told Hill. "The debt should be canceled."

Rightists and labor stage separate protests in Italy

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM — Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators marched in the streets of Naples and Rome on November 9, reported the German daily *Die Welt*. In Rome, police said 500,000 gathered at la Piazza San Giovanni — the historical meeting place of the left and the unions — at a rally called by Silvio Berlusconi's rightist alliance, the Freedom Front. The protest was against the tax increases of the "Olive Tree" coalition government headed by Romano Prodi. These are part of an austerity package designed as an attempt to meet the criteria for Italy to join the European Monetary Union. The main banner at the action read, "For freedom, work, and social justice — against the budget of the left."

Die Welt reported that participants in the Rome demonstration were middle class, mainly small entrepreneurs. Pockets of

young fascists participated, shouting "Duce" and raising their arm in the fascist greeting as a tribute to Benito Mussolini. Berlusconi was quoted in *Die Welt* saying, "We have got enough of this government; it should go home." Berlusconi headed a right-wing coalition government in 1994. He resigned on Dec. 22, 1994, while facing a widening corruption investigation and labor protests.

In Naples 150,000 rallied, most of them young people. Many carried red flags and portraits of Che Guevara, according to *Die Welt*, in a demonstration called by the old Communist Party. The demonstration was called as a "march for jobs" and according to the organizers was not directed against the government.

Carl-Erik Isacsson is a member of the Metalworkers Union in Södertälje, Sweden.

Steelworkers protest pension cuts

BY TONY DUTROW

WHEELING, West Virginia — "We're fired up, can't take it no more!" and "No Contract, No Peace" echoed through downtown here November 13. Several hundred strikers lined both sides of Market St. chanting, holding up signs, and marching in front of the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel corporate headquarters.

The unionists mobilized to express their outrage at the decision of Wheeling-Pitt bosses to cancel a bonus to pensioners' widows due in November. Some 4,500 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) began their strike at eight of the company's facilities October 1.

According to the November 14 *Charleston Gazette*, payments of between \$600 and \$1000 were to be paid in November as part of the last contract, for widows who receive

less than the minimum pension.

One ad run by Wheeling-Pitt in the *Wheeling Intelligencer* on the day of the rally in bold lines said "Responsibility for any pain or hardship experienced by widows or widowers rests squarely on the shoulders of the USWA negotiators who walked our employees off their jobs."

The lunch-hour rally forced the company executives to order out. Strikers booed as a delivery truck driver waded through the protest with a tall stack of pizzas. A picket from the Yorkville local carried a hand-lettered sign "We may howl, we may growl, but damn it, we won't beg."

WHX, the steelmaker's parent company, purchased Wheeling-Downs, a popular and profitable dog racing track. Strikers have adopted a "union" racing dog as one of the symbols of their fight.

Jerry Adams, a worker at the Beechbottom mill for 30 years, thought actions like this strengthen the fight. "The company is poised to break the union, that's clear to everybody, and when they break the union, they've broken us all," he said.

One of the largest contingents to the protest came in two busloads from Allen Port,

Pennsylvania, to join strikers from the Ohio and West Virginia mills.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel has refused to reopen negotiations since it presented the union with its "final offer," which omitted any reference to the union's proposals on pension rights.

According to the November 9 Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*, since the strike began, WHX shares have lost twenty-one percent of their value.

As the company pleads poverty, it sits on a \$406 million nest egg. Meanwhile, the bosses have launched a massive media campaign against the main demands of the strike. Full-page company ads appear in papers as far south as Uniontown, Pennsylvania, as well as in the Wheeling and Steubenville, Ohio, area.

The airwaves are flooded with slick commercial spots blaming the union's "unreasonable" demands and attacking the workers' goal of winning the pre-1985 bankruptcy pension plan. This plan includes a "30 years and out" provision and a \$40 pension per year of service worked, close to the level won by steelworkers in the rest of the unionized integrated steel mills.

Militant Subscription Drive OCTOBER 5 - NOVEMBER 24, 1996							
	Militant			PM		NI	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
CANADA							
Montreal	25	21	84%	8	9	40	30
Toronto	45	34	76%	10	3	25	11
Vancouver	30	25	83%	3	3	20	9
CANADA Total	100	80	80%	21	15	85	50
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland*	20	21	105%	1	3	15	12
Christchurch	6	3	50%	1	1	4	7
N.Z. Total	26	24	92%	2	4	19	19
AUSTRALIA							
	15	10	67%	3	1	10	8
UNITED STATES							
Atlanta	27	22	104%	20	18	20	14
Los Angeles	85	86	101%	40	35	40	28
Philadelphia	35	32	91%	15	15	10	13
Houston	40	35	88%	15	17	15	11
Boston	30	26	87%	15	10	15	13
Pittsburgh	30	26	87%	3	3	12	6
Des Moines	25	21	84%	15	11	15	5
Miami*	30	25	83%	20	13	22	13
Tucson, AZ	5	4	80%	1	0	2	0
Peoria, IL	25	18	72%	3	1	10	3
Birmingham, AL	48	34	71%	5	6	18	4
Salt Lake City	32	22	69%	12	7	10	4
Detroit	50	33	66%	10	9	15	15
San Francisco	70	52	74%	30	14	35	30
Chicago	60	37	62%	30	21	30	13
Seattle*	50	30	60%	20	17	25	20
Washington, DC	30	18	60%	20	17	15	15
Twin Cities, MN	60	32	53%	20	8	25	12
Greensboro, NC	25	12	48%	5	8	9	5
New York	135	62	46%	105	98	90	35
Newark, NJ	90	38	42%	45	30	45	6
Cleveland	25	10	40%	8	1	15	11
Denver	8	3	38%	4	2	2	2
Morgantown, WV	21	4	19%	1	5	7	6
Other		4					
Total U.S.	1036	692	67%	462	366	502	284
SWEDEN							
	12	12	100%	8	4	20	18
UNITED KINGDOM							
London	36	23	64%	8	8	25	24
Manchester	26	6	23%	2	0	15	9
U.K. Total	62	29	47%	10	8	40	33
ICELAND							
	6	2	33%	0	0	4	0
FRANCE							
	6	1	17%	3	0	8	3
International totals							
	1263	850	71%	509	398	688	415
Goal/Should be at	1200	1032	84%	425	366	550	473
IN THE UNIONS							
AUSTRALIA							
AMWU-Food	2	1	50%	0	0	2	1
AMWU-Metal	5	2	40%	0	0	1	2
AUSTRALIA total	7	3	43%	0	0	3	3
CANADA							
USWA	6	6	100%	2	1	6	3
IAM	7	5	71%	1	0	7	2
CAW	3	2	67%	1	0	4	1
CANADA total	10	7	70%	4	1	17	6
NEW ZEALAND							
EU	4	3	75%	0	0	0	0
MWU	5	0	0%	0	0	0	0
UFBGWU	3	0	0%	0	0	0	0
NEW ZEALAND total	12	3	25%	0	0	0	0
UNITED STATES							
UFCW	4	4	100%	7	4	3	1
UMWA	4	2	50%	0	0	4	2
UNITE	15	6	40%	10	3	10	2
USWA	40	12	30%	10	3	22	5
UAW	60	17	28%	10	0	30	1
IAM	64	16	25%	14	3	29	7
UTU	50	12	24%	5	0	28	2
OCAW	27	6	22%	0	1	15	3
U.S. Total	260	71	27%	49	10	138	22
UNITED KINGDOM							
RMT	4	1	25%	0	0	4	1
AEEU	6	0	0%	0	0	4	0
TGWU	5	0	0%	0	0	0	0
U.K. Total	15	1	7%	0	0	8	1
*Raised goal							

Clinton, Congress prepare to cut Social Security

Continued from front page

lengthen the life of the Medicare Trust Fund for a decade," Clinton said on the ABC news program "This Week."

Medicare, which covers health care for the elderly and disabled, was enacted in 1965 along with Medicaid, which provides health coverage for low income families. These programs were an extension of the concessions working people won through earlier labor battles, registered in the Social Security Act of 1935.

Phantom of Social Security bankruptcy

Peter Peterson is a Wall Street investment banker who heads up the Concord Coalition, which has been leading the rulers' ideological assault on Social Security for years. In a recent full-page ad in the *New York Times*, the group asserted that "if we don't reform Social Security it could be running an annual deficit of \$700 billion to \$1.3 trillion annually by 2030."

An opinion column in the November 4 *Christian Science Monitor* noted that well-known economists and politicians now repeat arguments presented by Peterson in his latest book, a classic propaganda piece against social entitlements titled *Will America Grow Up Before It Grows Old? How the Coming Social Crisis Threatens You, Your Family and Your Country*. The *Monitor* story commented, "Purveyors of doom have set their panicky sights on the federal Social Security system. They claim a 'demographic time bomb' of retiring baby boomers will hurl the nation into bankruptcy within the next few decades."

The columnist said that privatizing Social Security is one of the proposals discussed in ruling circles. "Only the fear of making the government's most popular and successful program a campaign issue has kept it off the front burner in Congress," the article concluded. "When the election is over, watch out."

Clinton began using such arguments to lay the groundwork for cutting Social Security soon after November 5. "Now down the road, there's the baby boom problem," he said at the post-election ABC news pro-

gram where he discussed cutting Medicare.

During his first term Clinton had appointed a bipartisan Advisory Council on Social Security that was scheduled to issue a report with three options, all of which include putting hundreds of billions of dollars in Social Security taxes into the stock market. Two of the three plans would have individuals invest some or all of their Social Security taxes directly in individual accounts. This is the opposite of what the labor movement codified in the Social Security Act — guaranteed pension, disability, and unemployment benefit floors as a right for all.

A column in the November 18 *Washington Post* pointed to other proposals on how to cut Social Security. Author Alan Krueger said that one of the solutions to the supposedly impending bankruptcy of social security is redefining the federal Consumer Price Index (CPI), which he says probably "overstates the true cost of living." Social Security pensions are pegged to the CPI for cost-of-living adjustments. "A one point reduction in the CPI would save an estimated \$150 billion over five years," Krueger stated.

The columnist then argued it may not be prudent to redefine an established federal index for this purpose, and offered another approach. "One way of skirting this issue, while improving the solvency and fairness of Social Security, would be to index Social Security benefits to wage growth," he said. "If wages grow by 2.9 percent a year, then Social Security benefits would grow by 2.9 percent as well." Krueger did not say what would happen to retirement benefits if wages stagnate or decline, as has been the case with average hourly real wages since the early 1970s.

Tactical divisions among rulers

While meddling with federal retirement benefits may take a little more time, preparations to cut Medicare are on the front burner.

At a November 12 meeting with House majority leader Richard Armey, Senate majority leader Trent Lott, and House speaker Newton Gingrich, Clinton indicated he may go along with Republican proposals for a constitutional amendment to balance the budget in six years. "White House officials also retreated somewhat from Clinton's proposal to form a bipartisan commission to find ways to ensure the long-term solvency of Medicare," said an article in the November 13 *Washington Post*.

Republican Party leaders have scorned the

bipartisan panel idea, saying that Clinton mocked their proposals to cut Medicare during the presidential contest. Clinton campaign ads said, "The president stopped [the GOP], protecting Medicare and education while balancing the budget."

While Clinton has stood by his campaign rhetoric, he and White House officials have pointed out several times since the election that Clinton's proposal to cut \$124 billion from Medicare is not that far off from the Republicans' last offer of cutting \$168 billion. The GOP had to retreat from the more drastic proposal in its now buried "Contract with America" to slash \$270 billion from health benefits for the elderly and disabled.

Tactical differences remain, however. "Until the president lays out his balanced budget blueprint, complete with proposals for shrinking the ballooning Medicare program, Republican leaders say there is nothing to talk about," said an article in the November 11 *Wall Street Journal*.

Another reflection of the divisions among the U.S. rulers over how far and fast to go after social entitlements was Clinton's flip-flop on the so-called balanced budget amendment to the constitution. A day after Clinton announced he is willing to go along with the GOP proposal, White House officials said the president would "actively oppose" it.

A number of articles in the big-business press began pointing out that the "spirit of bipartisanship" that was touted by Clinton, Gingrich, and others in the days immediately following the election may be evaporating.

The slowing down of the rate of growth of the U.S. gross domestic product to 2.2 percent in the third quarter of 1996, compared to 4.7 percent the previous quarter, was one indication of the problems big business faces.

Simultaneously, the U.S. rulers are using Washington's military superiority to assert their domination in a world marked by increased competition among imperialist powers.

"The United States cannot and should not try to solve every problem in the world," said Clinton in his November 15 statement announcing that U.S. troops would stay in



Clinton with his newly appointed chief of White House staff Erskine Bowles, a North Carolina businessman. His administration has now put on the front burner cutting Medicare and is floating new proposals to cut Social Security in the name of "saving" these entitlements from bankruptcy.

Bosnia until 1998 and GIs would be sent to central Africa. "But where our interests and our values are at stake, where we can make a difference, we must act and we must lead. Bosnia is such an example."

Pornographication of politics

While debate on U.S. military intervention in Bosnia and Zaire has been minimal, the differences among U.S. rulers on domestic matters and their inability to resolve the problems facing U.S. capital are reflected in the ongoing "ethics investigations" and harsher tone of bourgeois politics.

The inquiry into Gingrich's affairs on charges he improperly used tax-exempt funds for political purposes is unfolding. According to the November 21 *New York Times*, Republican majority leader Richard Armey is now trying to replace most members of the "ethics committee" pursuing the investigation.

Meanwhile, conservative commentators have become more shrill since the elections in pressing the charges that Clinton received illegal campaign funds from Indonesian businessmen. William Safire describes the scandal in syndicated columns as the "Asian connection," while other conservatives refer to it as "a cancer on the Clinton administration." An editorial in the November 19 *New York Post* called for an independent counsel to investigate "Indogate."

The differences among the U.S. rulers notwithstanding, it is clear they are preparing for a more frontal assault on labor.

"Numerically it's doable," said Stanley Collender, chief budget analyst for the security firm Burson-Marsteller, referring to the prospect of eliminating the deficit in the federal budget by cutting Medicare and Social Security. "Politically, it's still tough because you've got to take on seniors and all that. But... you've got a better shot at this than you've probably had in a decade."

Sex abuse by army officers is widespread

BY HILDA CUZCO

What began with charges of rape and sexual harassment at U.S. Army training centers in Maryland and Missouri has become a widening investigation. A toll-free number, set up by the U.S. Army after allegations of sexual misconduct against instructors at Aberdeen Proving Ground Ordinance Center in Maryland, has received thousands of complaints, most of them from women at other bases and other military services. Of the 3,100 calls logged as of November 16, military officials say about 340 are worthy of further review.

The Army brass say they want to avoid another "Tailhook scandal" by pursuing the latest charges. Dozens of pilots and other women were sexually harassed and assaulted at a 1991 convention of the Tailhook Association, a group of Navy and Marine aviators. Navy officials' attempts to cover up the incident caused particular scandal.

"We will explore and leave no stone unturned," declared Maj. Gen. Robert D. Shadley, Aberdeen trading center commander, in a November 8 news conference. Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated that investigations will go to "all training centers, to get to the bottom of this."

The charges include rape and sexual harassment, as well as consensual relations between officers and soldiers. According to military rules it is illegal for officers and

recruits to fraternize.

At Fort Leonard Wood in Missouri, Staff Sgt. Loren Taylor pleaded guilty at a general court-martial on allegations of sexual misconduct. Taylor has been sentenced to five months in prison and a bad conduct discharge. Trials for Sgt. George Blackley and Staff Sgt. Anthony Fore are scheduled for sometime in December.

In addition, four more noncommissioned officers have been charged for breaking rules against relationships with recruits and indecent assault. In total, 10 instructors have been suspended from their posts and reassigned on that base, which trains around 25,000 new recruits a year, 25 to 30 percent women.

At Aberdeen Proving Ground, a captain and two sergeants have been charged with rape and sexual harassment.

Sgt. Delmar Simpson was jailed. He faces charges of nine rapes involving three recruits. Army documents allege Simpson told one of the women, "If anyone finds out about me having sex with you, I'll kill you." Capt. Derrick Robertson, Simpson's commander, has been charged with rape, sodomy, and adultery, and Sgt. Nathanael Beach with adultery, threatening a soldier, and illegal relationship with recruits.

In an interview with the *Wall Street Journal* Rep. Steve Buyer, a member of House National Security Committee, commented that the sex scandal at Aberdeen may prove

an opportunity to reverse gender integration in the Army.

Army Secretary Togo D. West Jr. told the *Washington Post*, "We could solve this by not having women being trained. But that answer disregards the nature of our society and our responsibility."

Sexual harassment is widespread in the military. In one 1995 Pentagon survey of 90,000 female soldiers in various branches of the military, 60 percent said they had been subject to such abuse, and nearly 10 percent reported being sexually assaulted.

At Aberdeen, where about 20 percent of the 11,000 recruits are women, female soldiers are now under orders to be with their designated "battle buddy," a fellow recruit, at all times. Army officials say this is to protect the women and guard against false accusations of abuse.

Meanwhile the Associated Press reported November 16 that eight instructors have been disciplined on charges of sexual harassment and misconduct at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas. Twelve women recruits filed complaints there in 1994.

The *San Antonio Express-News* also reported on November 14 that five sergeants have been disciplined for sexual misconduct at Fort Sam Houston in Texas. Officials at Fort Jackson in Columbia, South Carolina, disclosed they prosecuted 27 cases in the past year.

Available from Pathfinder

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

James P. Cannon

In this companion Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*, Cannon and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party defend the political and organizational principles of Marxism against a petty-bourgeois current in the party. The debate unfolded as Washington prepared to drag U.S. working people into the slaughter of World War II. \$19.95

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party
by James P. Cannon

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women

COSMETICS FASHIONS AND THE EXPLOITATION OF WOMEN



Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed, Mary-Alice Waters

In her introduction, Mary-Alice Waters explains how the entry of millions of women into the workforce during and after World War II irreversibly changed U.S. society and laid the basis for a renewed rise of struggles for women's equality. \$12.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 8, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

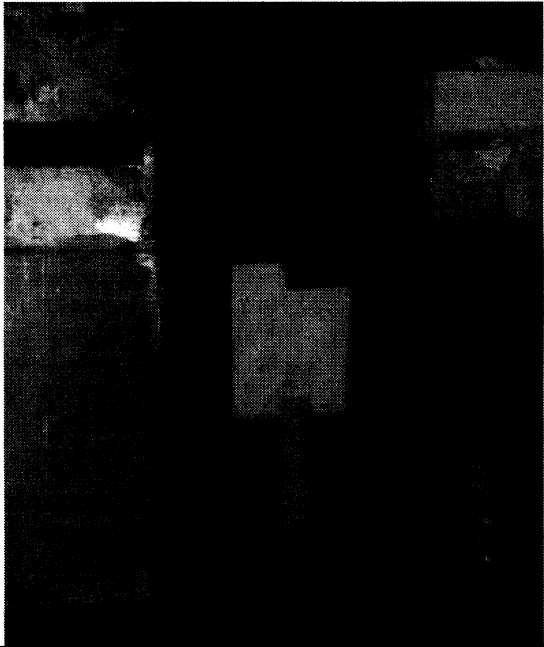
Available from Pathfinder READINGS FOR THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES

Charting the working-class road to socialist revolution

JACK BARNES

THE CHANGING FACE OF U.S. POLITICS

Working-class politics and the unions



The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

JACK BARNES

This is a handbook for the generations of workers coming into the factories, mines and mills—workers who will react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality that will accompany the arrival of the twenty-first century.

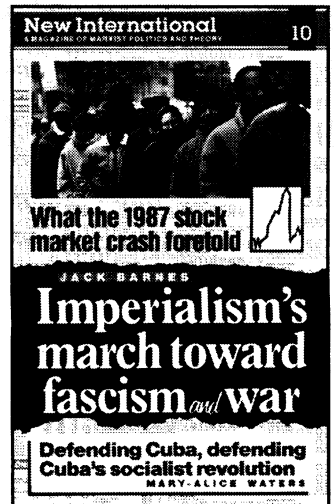
It is a handbook for young people who, in growing numbers are repelled by the racism, women's inequality, and other intolerable social relations produced daily by capitalism on a world scale.

It is a book for fighters who sense that this social system, if not replaced, will lead to economic devastation, fascist tyranny, and world war.

Above all, it aims to show why only the working class can lead humanity out of the social crisis endemic to capitalism in its decline. It shows how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. \$19.95

New International

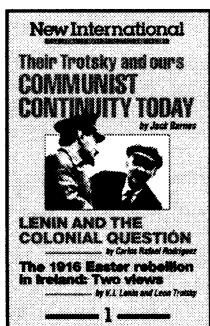
A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY



No. 1

- Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today
by Jack Barnes
- Lenin and the Colonial Question
by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez
- The 1916 Easter Rebellion in Ireland: Two Views
by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky

\$8.00



No. 6

- The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop
by Steve Clark
- Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation
by Larry Seigle
- Land, Labor, and the Canadian Revolution
by Michel Dugré
- Renewal or Death: Cuba's Rectification Process, two speeches by Fidel Castro

\$10.00

No. 5

- The Coming Revolution in South Africa
by Jack Barnes
- The Future Belongs to the Majority
by Oliver Tambo
- Why Cuban Volunteers Are in Angola, two speeches by Fidel Castro

\$9.00

No. 7

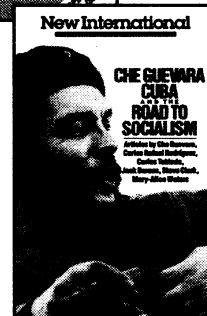
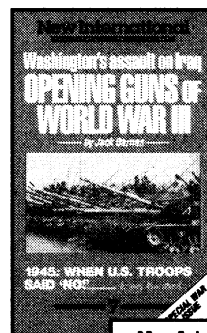
- Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq
by Jack Barnes
- Communist Policy in Wartime as well as in Peacetime
by Mary-Alice Waters
- Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War
by Samad Sharif

\$12.00

No. 8

- The Politics of Economics: Che Guevara and Marxist Continuity
by Steve Clark and Jack Barnes
- Che's Contribution to the Cuban Economy
by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez
- On the Concept of Value and The Meaning of Socialist Planning, two articles
by Ernesto Che Guevara

\$10.00



No. 10

- Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War
by Jack Barnes
- What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold
- Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution
by Mary-Alice Waters
- The Curve of Capitalist Development
by Leon Trotsky

\$14.00

No. 9

- The Triumph of the Nicaraguan Revolution
- Washington's Contra War and the Challenge of Forging Proletarian Leadership
- The Political Degeneration of the FSLN and the Demise of the Workers and Farmers Government

\$14.00

No. 2

- The Working-Class Fight for Peace
by Brian Grogan
- The Aristocracy of Labor: Development of the Marxist Position
by Steve Clark
- The Social Roots of Opportunism
by Gregory Zinoviev

\$8.00

No. 3

- Communism and the Fight for a Popular Revolutionary Government: 1848 to Today
by Mary-Alice Waters
- 'A Nose for Power': Preparing the Nicaraguan Revolution
by Tomás Borge
- National Liberation and Socialism in the Americas
by Manuel Piñeiro

\$8.00

No. 4

- The Fight for a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States
by Jack Barnes
- The Crisis Facing Working Farmers
by Doug Jenness
- Land Reform and Farm Cooperatives in Cuba, two speeches by Fidel Castro

\$9.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 8, or write:
PATHFINDER
410 West Street
New York, NY 10014
Tel: (212) 741-0690
Fax: (212) 727-0150

When ordering by mail, please include \$3.00 to cover shipping and handling for the first book and \$0.50 for each additional title.

Washington must 'reassess' intervention

Continued from front page

Mobutu Sese Seko overran a refugee camp in Goma, routing the thugs who ran the camp, who are backed by the Zairian army. The camps of Rwandan refugees on Zaire's eastern border were under the military control of the Interahamwe vigilante militias and former officers of the Hutu-dominated Rwandan army, who were heavily involved in the 1994 massacres of 500,000 people in Rwanda. When the opportunity came, refugees left for Rwanda by the hundreds of thousands. An estimated half million people had walked back across the border to their villages as of November 19.

In this context, U.S. officials announced they would have to "reassess" the intervention. On November 19, the Pentagon announced it would send 200 U.S. troops to Rwanda and 600 more to neighboring countries, with the largest concentration of U.S. troops — about 500 — in Uganda. In preparation, some 30 cargo planes have been moved to Europe.

Clinton still prepared to send troops

"I think we have to be prepared for the prospect that we will still have some presence there," said Clinton.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns added, "We are preparing for an intervention force and we would be naive and sadly mistaken were we to arrest all our efforts now because of preliminary good news." All preparations for deployment — such as the movement of water supply equipment and transport aircraft to jumping-off points in Europe — would go ahead while the reassessment takes place, administration officials said. U.S. defense secretary William Perry said November 17 that "2,000 people and dozens of airplanes" had been put on standby for possible intervention.

Two days later, Perry said that while U.S. forces are now preparing a smaller operation, the effort may still have to be expanded.

The French government issued a statement saying it believed that an international force was still required to help with the logistics of a rescue operation. As the dominant imperialist power in the region, Paris had backed the brutal 20-year reign of former Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana, who was killed in 1994.

Sylvana Foa, a spokesperson for UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said that UN officials also believe the force should proceed. "The situation [in Zaire] is very, very volatile," said Foa.

Canadian officials still hope to intervene in central Africa as well. In an interview with

CBC Radio of Canada, Raymond Chretien, the UN special envoy to Rwanda who is in Kigali, told reporters that the Canadian government is proceeding with its intervention force. "With the changing circumstances of the refugees, we may scale down the size of the military mission."

Chretien added that he was having "great difficulty" in Kigali in convincing Rwandan government officials to accept the intervention force. "I have to continually remind them that Canada does not have a history of having colonies. That it [the intervention] is not a political operation which we are mounting."

While Rwandan officials say the big majority of refugees have returned, those governments pushing to intervene insist hundreds of thousands remain in Zaire.

Rwandan gov't objects to intervention

When U.S. and Canadian troops initially landed in Rwanda, they were met by government officials and told there is no longer any need for military intervention. Some 34 Canadian soldiers arrived in Kigali on November 17, but were restricted by Rwandan authorities. Three days earlier an advance team of 43 U.S. soldiers landed in Kigali.

Rwandan officials have strongly objected to the idea of a UN intervention force. Gasana refused point blank to cooperate with an incoming force, according to the *Financial Times* of London. "The whole mission has become null and void," Gasana told reporters November 19.

Gasana made it clear that the Rwandan government would regard as a hostile act the sending of any troops as part of the Canadian-led force, and would not allow them



Laurent Kabila (right), a rebel leader in Zaire, said U.S. troops not welcome in Goma.

to use its airport. The announcement in the capital city of Kigali came just two days before a scheduled meeting in Stuttgart, Germany, of government officials planning the intervention.

Rwandan officials also say the force would do nothing to bring justice to thousands of Hutu supporters of the former regime who participated in the 1994 massacre. When the current government took power, those forces provoked the exodus of Rwandans to Zaire, saying Hutu residents were in danger of retribution. The Rwandan government also opposes the international

force because it will include French units. Paris has pushed from the beginning to intervene in the situation, to bolster its role in the region.

Tensions have heightened between Washington and Paris lately over former colonies in Africa. In early October, former U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher visited several African countries touting a plan for a regional "peace force" that the U.S. military would dominate.

Meanwhile, Laurent Kabila, a leader of the rebel forces in eastern Zaire, said November 15 that he would not allow U.S. troops to seize Goma's airport. "Why should they occupy the airport?" he asked. Kabila later added, "I don't think the international community has any reason to come here."

The South African government, which earlier had hesitantly backed the intervention, now has withdrawn its proposed participation.

South Africa has offered technical support but no troops. South African vice president Thabo Mbeki said November 15 that his country was not prepared to send troops "to fight a war."

Cuban president Fidel Castro, speaking at the U.N.-sponsored World Food Summit in Rome November 16, denounced the hypocritical "humanitarian" pretext. "What are we going to do to prevent the starvation of 1 million people every month in the rest of the world?" he said.

CALENDAR

MICHIGAN

Detroit

How To Win Strikes in the 1990s. A free event co-sponsored by Action Coalition of Strikers & Supporters (ACOSS) and the Wayne State University Student Council. Sat., Dec. 7, 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. *De Roy Auditorium, Wayne State University.* For more information, call: (810) 447-2716.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Nicaragua Today. Speaker: Francisco Picado, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. 1906 South. St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Socialist Education Day. Saturday November 30.

1:30 p.m. Class 1: Defend Working People in Power - Emulate Cuba's Socialist Revolution
3:45 p.m. Class 2: The Fight for Social Security - Defending Social and Democratic Rights Today.

7 p.m. Forum: The New Zealand Elections - What Do They Mean for Working People? Speaker: Michael Tucker, Communist League. Dinner 6 p.m.

All events will be held at La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$2 per session; forum \$3; dinner \$6. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant, Perspectiva Mundial, New International, Nouvelle Internationale, Nueva Internacional* and *Ny International*.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Mailing address: Suite 252, 267 West Valley Avenue Zip 35209. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Compuserve: 73712,3561

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. Compuserve: 74642,326 **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255, 285-5323. Compuserve: 75604,556

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Compuserve: 103171,1674

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 803 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 724-9759. Compuserve: 104226,1245

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. Zip: 60622. Tel: (773) 342-1780. Compuserve: 104077,511 **Peoria:** 915 N. Western. Zip: 61650-0302. Mailing address: P.O. Box 302. Tel: (309) 676-2472. Compuserve: 104612,147

IOWA: Des Moines: 2724 Douglas Ave. Zip: 50310. Tel: (515) 277-4600. Compuserve: 104107,1412

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772. Compuserve: 103426,3430

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Compuserve: 104127,3505 Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel: (612) 644-6325. Compuserve: 103014,3261

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 87A Halsey. Mailing address: 1188 Raymond Blvd., Suite 222. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. Compuserve: 104216,2703

NEW YORK: New York City: 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Brooklyn, NY Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 399-7257. Compuserve: 102064,2642. Compuserve: 104075,35 ; 167 Charles St., Manhattan, NY. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (910) 272-5996. Compuserve: 103475,672.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 662-1931. **Cleveland:** 1832 Euclid. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Compuserve: 103253,1111

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. Compuserve: 104502,1757 **Pittsburgh:** 1103 E. Carson St. Zip 15203. Tel: (412) 381-9785. Compuserve: 103122,720

TEXAS: Houston: 3260 South Loop West. Zip: 77025. Tel: (713) 349-0090. Compuserve: 102527,2271

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 209 E. 300 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124. Compuserve: 76714,1545

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 1930 18th St. N.W. Suite #3 (Entrance on Florida Av.). Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185. Compuserve: 75407,3345.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Compuserve: 74461,2544.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055. Compuserve: 70543,1637

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000. Tel: 02-281-3297. Compuserve: 102174,1243

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 0171-928-7993. Compuserve: 101515,2702

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

CANADA

Montreal: 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369. Compuserve: 104614,2606

Toronto: 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324. Compuserve: 103474,13

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343. Compuserve: 103430,1552

FRANCE

Paris: MBE 201, 208 rue de la Convention. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21. Compuserve: 73504,442

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: 552 5502. INTERNET: gphssg@treknet.is

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075. Compuserve: 100035,3205

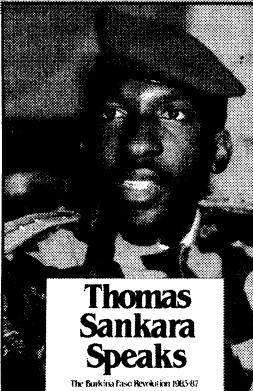
Christchurch: 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055. Compuserve: 100250,1511

SWEDEN

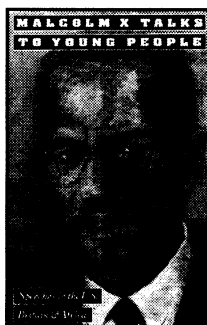
Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. Compuserve: 100416,2362

from Pathfinder

Thomas Sankara Speaks
The Burkina Faso Revolution, 1983-87
"When the people stand up, imperialism trembles. As it watches us, imperialism is worried.... Imperialism is trembling." — Thomas Sankara, March 26, 1983 **18.95**



Malcolm X Talks to Young People
Speeches in the U.S. and Africa
Includes explanation of the role of U.S. and French imperialism in the Congo (now Zaire) in 1960s. **\$10.95**



Available from bookstores, including those listed on this page, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Tip: check out the 'c' word — A panel of educators, clergy, business folks and — nice touch — a vice prez at Disney, will study why U.S. people are “so cynical, so dis-



Harry Ring

tressed, so angry, so ticked off about so many things.”

Socialism anyone? — “Roughly 100 million Americans suffer from chronic illnesses, such as diabetes,

heart disease or arthritis, and the health care system is not designed to treat their growing ranks and rising costs, researchers said. The chronically ill are not necessarily old and millions below 65 are trying to be independent but need an array of medical and social services.” — News item,

Clear enough? — While GM's hourly labor cost is, allegedly, \$43 an hour, ITT Automotive, a big-time global parts supplier, says an increasing number of its employees earn less than \$10 an hour.

Currently, 15 percent of its 55,000 workers worldwide, are making less than \$10 an hour in wages and benefits. The company

aims to boost that to 25 percent by 2000.

‘Great, but how about Rasputin?’ — People scoffed when Texaco said a “digitally enhanced” version of that tape showed its exec really said “St. Nicholas,” not “niggers.” Actually, he wasn't talking about Santa. He was discussing the Moscow report that the Russian Orthodox Church is moving to confer sainthood on Czar Nicholas II, who was terminated by the Russian Revolution.

Think you got troubles? — The folks who pay big bucks for quality caviar are finding there's less available and, it's now disclosed, a good

amount of what they're getting is falsely labeled lower-quality stuff. With Russia and Iran the principal suppliers, overfishing is shrinking the supply of egg-producing sturgeon to near-extinction.

The ultimate condo — King-size mausoleums are being pushed by the funeral industry. A high-rise mausoleum on an acre of land will hold as many as 17,000 crypts. Prices vary according to tier. The second or third row — the “heart and eye” level — are usually the priciest. The top — “heavenly” — row is the cheapest.

Must take a straitjacket — As central London rental values continue to rise, realtors are offering

guidance to interested investors. Like, one rental agent declares, “The first thing we will stop landlords from doing is spending too much money.”

Why pay hotel bills — For a comfortable stay in London, there's a nice four-story building in the choice Mayfair district. Fully furnished, with a roof terrace and ornamental gardens. *The Times* of London does advise that it's at “the highest end of the rental market” — £7,000 a week.

...meanwhile — The YMCA reports that some 140,000 young people are homeless in Britain. An additional 315,000 have no permanent place to live.

‘A revolutionary party is key to victory’

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics — Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions is theme of upcoming regional socialist educational conferences in the United States. This book, which contains the central strategic lessons that the communist movement has drawn over the last 20 years, is a handbook for revolutionary workers and young socialists today. (See ad on page 7) The excerpt below is from “Prospects for Socialism in America,” the main political resolution adopted by the 27th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The entire resolution appears in *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*. The book is copyright © by Pathfinder, reprinted with permission.

BOOK OF THE WEEK

The breakdowns and cyclical fluctuations of the American economy are rooted in the contradictions of world capitalist production and trade. The very ascent of American capitalism to world supremacy has paved the way for a cataclysmic explosion on its home grounds.

In America, a country that has never been carpet-bombed, invaded, occupied, or made to pay war indemnities, capitalism for all its achievements has not been able to assure liberty, justice, and a decent standard of living for all of its people. As the mightiest and wealthiest capitalist power celebrates the 200th birthday of its revolutionary origin, growing numbers of Americans are beginning to ask, “If not here, then where?” If capitalism can't make good in the United States, maybe something is decidedly wrong.

The end of the long postwar boom, and the rise of unrest and social struggles in the United States, once again call attention to the fact that the victory of the European socialist revolution is not a necessary prerequisite for the development of a revolutionary situation in the United States.

Just as the first workers and peasants revolution could succeed in Russia, where the operation of the law of uneven and combined development thrust the most backward of the major capitalist countries in Europe to the forefront of the world revolution, so those same laws can produce severe shocks in the coming period within the heartland of the most advanced imperialist power.

But even the most devastating breakdowns of American capitalism cannot automatically produce a victory for the socialist revolution. As Lenin pointed out, there is no absolutely hopeless situation for capitalism. However deep the crisis, if enough commodities can be destroyed or devalued through war, depression, and bankruptcy, and the standard of living of the working class can be driven low enough, capitalism can recover for the moment.

While powerful world forces are laying powder kegs under American imperialism, only forces inside the United States can take power away from the American capitalists and disarm them....

Questions of perspective, program, and party building cannot be postponed with the expectation that they will be resolved by the colossal objective forces of a revolutionary upsurge. On the contrary, even a small propaganda nucleus that intends to become a

mass party must be armed with a clear revolutionary perspective that puts the construction of the revolutionary party in first place....

The two-party system of American capitalism remains the greatest shock absorber of social protest. The single biggest anomaly in the American political scene is the absence of a political party of the working class and the lack of a tradition of independent working-class political organizations in the American labor movement. To transcend this political backwardness remains the single greatest leap to be taken in the politicalization of the American working class.

There is, of course, an advantageous side to the political inexperience of the American working class. The class-struggle minded socialist workers confront no powerful traditional reformist party to which the working class remains stubbornly loyal. The workers are not weighed down with the conservatizing force of the class-collaborationist political routinism ingrained in the European proletariat by the mass social democratic and Stalinist parties. Although the American union bureaucracy is far stronger than in the 1930s and acts as a formidable surrogate for a mass reformist party, it is less of an obstacle to socialist revolution than the reformist workers parties in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe.

The political education of the American working class does not necessarily have to pass through a reformist labor party or come under the domination of Stalinist or social democratic misleadership. Explosive developments, propelling events at extraordinary speed, could bring about a rapid transition to revolutionary class consciousness. A mass revolutionary socialist party could emerge during such a revolutionary upsurge — but only if its cadres are prepared beforehand with a clear perspective and program and only if they are conscious that a revolutionary party is the historical key to victory.

As Trotsky explained in the Transitional Program, “The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth International is the central task of the transitional epoch.”

The Socialist Workers Party is internationalist to its core. Not only are world developments shaping the coming struggles at home, but the American workers' enemies are the exploiters on a world scale. The perspective of the Communist Manifesto — “Workers of the world, unite” — remains our fundamental goal....

At the heart of the Socialist Workers Party's revolutionary program and internationalist perspective is its proletarian orientation. Only a party that has deep roots in the working class, that is composed primarily of workers, and enjoys the respect and confidence of the workers, can lead the American working class and its allies to power.

The proletarian orientation means concerted, systematic work to root the party in all sectors of the mass movement and to recruit the most capable fighters to the party. It means participation in labor organizations, in industry and among the unemployed, in the organizations of the oppressed minorities, in the struggles for women's liberation, and in the student movement....

Our proletarian orientation means functioning as a homogeneous campaign party capable of choosing realistic objectives and concentrating our striking power and resources with maximum effectiveness. It means professionalizing our work and adjusting ourselves to the demands and direction



Militant/Ernie Mailhot
Eastern Airlines strikers march in New York, September 1989. *Changing Face of U.S. Politics* draws on the experience of communist workers in this fight and others.

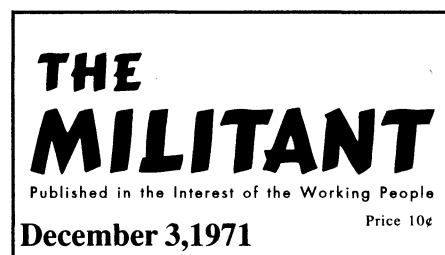
of the mass movement in order to help lead that movement forward.

The need to integrate the party into all aspects of the mass movement shapes every activity we undertake. The deepening crises of the American capitalist system and its reactionary interventions abroad do not imply any esoteric new “tactics” for building the party. They only reinforce the need to deepen our proletarian orientation and to take advantage of the new opportunities opening on all sides.

The perspective of increasing class struggle and class polarization indicates more than ever the need for a disciplined

combat party of the working class. The revolutionary party that seeks to lead the socialist revolution is a voluntary organization. Without a common bond of mutual confidence, experience, and loyalty to the program and goals on which it is founded, it will never accomplish the immense tasks before it. Thus, for us the concept of loyalty to the party we are building, pride and confidence in our collective efforts — what Trotsky referred to as party patriotism — is simply the proletarian orientation and internationalist perspective applied to the construction of the revolutionary instrument necessary to realize our program.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



WASHINGTON, D.C. — On November 20, over 3,000 women and men marched here in the first feminist march on Washington since 5,000 women demonstrated for the right to vote in 1913.

The march down Pennsylvania Avenue was loud and spirited, with chants of “Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide,” “One, two, three, four, we want abortions, not the war.”

The largest demonstration for the right to abortion on November 20 took place in Paris, where, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch, “Four to five thousand Parisians demonstrated Saturday against ‘the condition of women in society’ and against the abortion law. The demonstration was organized by the Mouvement pour la Liberté de L'avortement (Movement for the Right to Abortion), Femmes en Lutte (Women in Struggle), and the Mouvement de la Libération des Femmes (Women's Liberation Movement).”

Chants included “Work, family, country — enough!” and of “Free abortion and contraception on demand.”



November 30, 1946

With another disastrous winter facing the German working class, expected to be far worse than the last, military governments in the four zones are disturbed by mounting signs of mass discontent. Its sharpest manifestation this month was a protest action by the organized Ruhr coal miners. On November 16 at a meeting in Bochum, the miners overwhelmingly rejected the proposal, agreed to by their union leaders, to work an extra shift of one voluntary Sunday a month.

The miners refused to work the extra shift because their food rations and wages are insufficient. They accused their union leaders of having agreed to this proposal of the British occupation forces without previously consulting them. (The French Stalinists, in their desire to obtain coal for French capitalism and to aid the Soviet government to participate in the exploitation of the Ruhr, denounced the miners for this action.)

According to the November 18 *New York Times*, the reserves of food and clothing are used up, fuel is almost impossible to get, transportation is broken down, spare parts and raw materials exhausted, and nothing has been replenished.

Workers at three big motor works in Cologne downed tools last week in protest against inadequate food rations. The workers were getting only 1,000 calories daily.

Fight the imperialist vultures

"Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture.... It can only suck the blood of the helpless," Malcolm X said in a 1964 interview. The retreat by Washington and Paris to "reassess" their plans to send thousands of troops for a military occupation in Zaire reflects the weakness of imperialism. They were forced to pause when Rwandan government officials refused to allow them to use that country's airport. The imperialist vultures get weaker when oppressed people began to resist domination.

The crisis in Zaire is a sign of the deepening political and economic crisis of capitalism throughout the undeveloped world. The worsening conditions there stem from the unequal terms of trade imposed by the world market system and the debt payments forced from the toilers' labor into the coffers of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other imperialist financial institutions. The imperialist bankers demand that governments in the oppressed countries cut wages, slash minimal social expenditures, and implement other brutal austerity measures to pay this blood money.

The external debt of Zaire in 1992 was \$9.8 billion. The country was listed in the IMF's 1996 World Economic Outlook report as one of the least developed countries in the world and defined as a "net debtor country."

As the wealth of the country continues to be siphoned off, explosive conditions have developed. In 1991 unpaid soldiers, workers, and peasants protested against the regime for at least a week. A similar upheaval was repeated in 1993. Real wages in the early 1990s were less than 10 percent of those in 1960, while the rate of inflation in 1992 was 2,735 percent.

This is why the regime of Zairian president Mobutu

Sese Seko is falling apart. This presents a crisis for the imperialist rulers in Washington and Paris, who need stability and reliable regimes to police the masses to allow their extraction of raw materials and other business ventures to continue without disruptions. Mineral-rich Zaire leads the world in industrial diamond production and produces about two-thirds of the world's cobalt. That's why competition for dominance on the African continent is heating up as Washington attempts to assert its military might.

As Cuban president Fidel Castro pointed out, capitalist politicians and the big-business media cry crocodile tears for the refugees to justify military preparations, while millions of people starve every month in the rest of the world. Imperialist intervention has never been a solution for oppressed masses — bringing only more war, destruction, and starvation. In 1964, U.S. pilots participated in a military operation dropping bombs on African villages to crush an uprising in the Congo (today Zaire). "It's not a humanitarian project," Malcolm X explained to a London audience about that assault.

"We in Africa are used to being victims of countries wanting to carve up our territory and subvert our sovereignty," said South African president Nelson Mandela in a tribute to Cuban fighters who in 1988 helped defeat the racist South African army in Angola. Mandela explained how that decisive defeat "broke the myth of the invincibility of the white oppressors."

Washington and its imperialist rivals in Paris and elsewhere will resort to military force to impose their will on oppressed nations. But they will face stronger resistance and ultimate defeat from the toilers of the world who will never return to the slave barracks.

U.S. brass fosters sex abuse

The top brass in the U.S. military machine feigns shock at the exposure of rape and widespread sexual harassment directed against female recruits by their officers at U.S. Army bases across the country. But this should come as no surprise, either to the generals or to working people. What female soldiers are subjected to is just an extension of the abuse of women that the U.S. officer corps organizes around the world.

For decades the U.S. military has acted to ensure the availability of the sexual services of large numbers of women — at "bargain rates" — for U.S. troops. During World War II the Japanese army forced as many as 200,000 women from throughout Asia to submit to what amounted to repeated mass rapes. Many of these so-called "comfort women" were later organized as prostitutes for the occupying U.S. troops after the war. The areas surrounding U.S. military bases in the Philippines, Vietnam, and many other countries became infamous over the years for their brothels and "massage parlors." The number of prostitutes in Vietnam at the time U.S. troops were forced to leave was estimated at more than 300,000. The U.S. military controlled the health and security features at these facilities.

Opposition from the government of Saudi Arabia prevented Washington from setting up similar "services" in the Middle East during its war against the people of Iraq in 1990-91. U.S. military officials arranged for large numbers of troops to be flown home via Thailand and the Philippines, to make available to them the brothels in those countries.

The tone set from the top in the military often leads to "excesses." The latest wave of protests by the Okinawan people against the presence of 29,000 U.S. troops stationed on their island was sparked by the rape of a 12-year-old school girl by three U.S. soldiers. The servicemen, who U.S. officers at first refused to turn over to Japanese authorities, said they were just trying to "have fun," but didn't have money to pay a prostitute.

The widespread publicity of the recent revelations and the scope of the investigation by the military brass show that rape of women soldiers by their officers does present a problem for the U.S. armed forces. It undermines credibility in the military machine of the mightiest empire and above all, it undercuts military discipline necessary for any army to be effective.

Some military officers, politicians, and commentators are arguing that the revelations of rape and sexual misconduct at the military bases in the United States demonstrate that this behavior is part human nature. At least one congressman so far has suggested that this proves there should again be sex segregation in the military. The "solution" devised by officers at the Aberdeen Proving

Ground is to order female recruits to be accompanied by a "buddy" at all times.

The problem isn't "human nature." It's the degradation of women bred and perpetuated by capitalist society, which gets a particularly vicious twist in an imperialist army. The confidence of women in the military to report this harassment more than in the past is a product of the gains won in the fight for women's rights. But the brass will continue to organize conditions that breed these attitudes, as long as there's a capitalist army.

The actions of the Cuban army and its leadership stand in sharp contrast to the Pentagon. More than 300,000 Cuban volunteers fought in Angola between 1975 and 1991, dealing fatal blows to the invading apartheid army of South Africa. This was one of numerous internationalist missions carried out by Cuban revolutionaries in support of the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world — the exact opposite of every military action taken by Washington and the other imperialist powers.

Former Cuban General Arnaldo Ochoa correctly signed three execution orders for young Cuban soldiers who had raped or murdered Angolan women. The policy of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) of Cuba prohibiting harassment and violence against women is clear and is implemented unambiguously. It mirrors the practice of the Cuban revolution.

Later, Ochoa himself was executed after being convicted of drug trafficking, black market deals, and outright robbery.

In explaining why it was necessary to apply Cuba's maximum criminal punishment rather than some lesser penalty in this case, Cuban leaders argued that a key principle of the revolution was at stake: the lives of those who wear stars and medals are not worth more than anyone else in Cuba. Raúl Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, explained that if Ochoa were to be treated more leniently than the young soldiers he ordered executed it would mean that human life in Cuba has differentiated value depending on your wealth or political connections.

This is an example of the correct application of the death penalty, used to advance building a society based on human solidarity instead of profit. It's the opposite of how capital punishment is used in the United States, where it's tool of the capitalist rulers against working people.

As the example of the Cuban armed forces show, only the overthrow of the wages system, of capitalism, and the joining of the battle for new social relations that are the foundation of a socialist society can eliminate rape and other abuse against women — in the military or in society as a whole.

California students protest Proposition 209

Continued from front page

6. Students Against Proposition 209 and MEChA (the Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan) occupied the Campanile and some chained themselves to the building. Around 4 a.m. campus cops stormed the building, beating and arresting 23 protesters.

"Cops in riot gear came with no warning and picked us up," said Rashid Ibrahim, one of the students who was there.

Later that morning, 200 students rallied and marched through the campus. They stopped at the main lecture hall in Wheeler Hall and urged students to "walk out." Elewyn John, a first year student who is Black, told the *Militant*, "Affirmative action shouldn't be abolished. There are still many gains to be made. There will be less diversity among the student population."

The students moved on to California Hall and demanded a meeting with the university Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien. They were met by a line of cops who refused to allow them in.

A delegation went to meet with the Chancellor to demand a town hall meeting where opposition to Proposition 209 could be discussed and ways the university could continue to have affirmative action programs.

The "town hall" meeting took place November 14 and was attended by more than 300 students. After initial presentations by leaders of MEChA, Students Against Prop. 209, and Tien, Jennie Luna of the MEChA gave a statement. "In 1969 students demanded a Third World College and ethnic studies department here at Berkeley to be run by the underrepresented. These issues are still a reality," she said. Luna noted that "third world students are still very few."

At its July, 1995 meeting the University of California Board of Regents voted to end all affirmative action programs where race and sex were criteria for admissions.

Protests in Santa Cruz, Los Angeles

As it became clear that Proposition 209 would pass, hundreds of students at the University of California Santa Cruz shut down the student services building and demanded that proposition 209 be officially rejected by the university. Student activists stayed up all night planning a building occupation for the next day.

The demonstration began around 8 a.m. as a group of less than 50 students blocked the entry ways to the Hahn Student Services building in the center of the Santa Cruz campus. As word spread of the takeover, the demonstration grew to at least 400 students. Many of the building's employees also joined the students. Students, officials, police and people donating food came and went as the day wore on.

An agreement was reached between the demonstrators and university officials ending the protest between 9 and 10 p.m. that night.

Nearly 100 demonstrators, many of them organized by Chicano students at the University of California at Irvine, assembled on the steps of City Hall in Los Angeles on November 8 to protest the passage of Proposition 209. "This is a message for all those who promoted 209," declared Isabel Silas, a Black student activist from Pitzer College in Claremont. She told the crowd, "we are not going to go away. We are going to fight."

On November 7, Asian students at the University of California at Los Angeles held a special meeting to discuss the implications of the passage of the anti-affirmative action ballot measure.

From November 8-10, upwards of 1,500 Chicano students gathered at California State University at Northridge, near Los Angeles, at the annual statewide convention of MEChA chapters. A central topic of discussion was how to maintain Chicano enrollment in the face of attempts to implement Proposition 209, as well as organizing continuing campus protests.

On November 11, after a six-hour occupation of the administration building at the University of California at Riverside, police arrested 20 students, most of them members of MEChA, during a protest demanding university officials honor previous affirmative action commitments. Up to 150 students, from various student organizations, had gathered outside the building to support the demonstrators.

In San Diego, November 4, supporters of the Raza Rights Coalition staged a protest in Chicano Park against the scheduled appearance of Henry Cisneros and Federico Pena. Cisneros is secretary of housing and Pena, secretary of transportation in the Clinton administration.

Attacks of affirmative action has already been felt in California's medical schools. A report issued at the annual meeting of the Association of American Medical Colleges recently held in San Francisco showed a 19 per cent drop in minority enrollment. The report noted that the national decline of minority student enrollment at medical schools is "only 5 percent."

Omari Musa is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-326. Jim Altenberg in San Francisco, Jacob Perasso in Santa Cruz, and Jon Hillson in Los Angeles contributed to this article.

Workers in Utah strike against company cuts

BY JESSE SMITH,

WEST VALLEY CITY, Utah — Some 143 members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), Local 2-591 began their strike against the Hexcel Corp. on November 2. Wages are the main issue, as the company slashed workers' pay 33 percent when they bought the plant from the former Hercules Composite Products Division in July. The plant makes carbon fiber and resin-impregnated woven fibers used by the aerospace industry.

The unionists rejected a contract offer from management that included 3 percent annual raises for the next five years. The final contract offer guts seniority rights and severance pay and increases the amount workers must pay for health insurance.

Hexcel also wants to be able to lay off employees four days per year with no pay and refused to honor the union contract after purchasing the plant. The union has been fighting since then for a new contract. The old contract with Hercules was scheduled

to expire in October, 1998.

"I'm striking for my grandkids," said striker Nettie Hinkle. "If Hexcel can get away with this, what's to stop other companies from doing the same?"

Hinkle added, "They cut our wages 33 percent last July and now offer us back 3 percent. They want higher payroll deductions for medical care."

Striker Connie Edmund stated, "They want to bring in temporary workers at lower wages, without benefits or union protection. They want salary people back in the bargaining unit with their back seniority. They want no seniority provisions in job promotions—they want to be able to pick and choose."

Tony Ortega, another picketer, told the *Militant*, "We want to be treated like human beings, with dignity."

"This will be a hard strike. We have many single parents on the picket lines and the holidays are coming," Hinkle added. Summing up the morale on the picket line, striker Anthony Vigil said, "The company has a take



Militant/Dan Fein

Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers members picket in West Valley City, Utah. The unionists are fighting to push back company concession demands.

it or leave it attitude. We won't just take it!" Financial contributions for the strike can be sent to: OCAW Local 2-591, Gary Dav-enport, Sec.-Treasurer, 8773 S. Royal Crest

Drive, West Jordan, UT. 84088.

Jesse Smith is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 392.

USWA signs contract with Bridgestone/Firestone

BY MEG NOVAK
AND JOHANNA RYAN

PEORIA — On November 6, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and Bridgestone/Firestone Inc. announced a tentative agreement in a labor dispute that has been ongoing since workers walked off the

job and set up picket lines in July 1994.

Workers employed by Bridgestone/Firestone, one of the largest tire-producing companies in the world, were originally organized by the United Rubber Workers (URW) when they began the strike. During the strike, the company said it would per-

manently replace 2,300 of the 4,200 strikers. In May 1996, the URW officialdom ordered the striking workers to make "an unconditional offer to return to work." The company accepted the offer with the condition that they be able to call workers back one by one, as openings occurred. Workers returning to the plants had their wages slashed from an average of \$17 an hour to an average of \$12 an hour.

The URW was then merged into the USWA in June, 1996. Since that time, the union tops had focused on a consumer boycott of Bridgestone/Firestone tires as its main strategy for gaining a new contract.

With both sides claiming victory, and the USWA officialdom touting this as a victory won by using boycott tactics, the agreement leaves much to be desired for workers inside the plants where it will be implemented if approved by the union membership. Some of the biggest concessions of the company are the implementation of a seven-day, round-the-clock 12-hour rotating shift schedule, and the introduction of a two-tier wage scale that would start new hires at 70 percent of the base pay of veteran employees. It would take these workers three years to reach 100 percent pay.

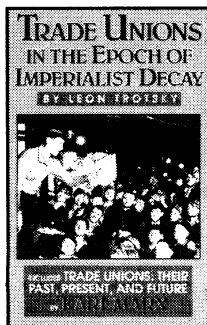
Under the new pact, workers will receive an immediate pay increase of 40 cents per hour and the elimination of health-care premiums. The company will also grant "amnesty" for more than 40 employees discharged for strike-related activity. Meanwhile, the Associated Press reported that four to 15 workers who were fired for strike related activity are not being rehired.

George Becker, president of the USWA, commented on the settlement, "We're interested in Bridgestone/Firestone being a prosperous company, because the more they make, the more they can share."

He added that he hopes the agreement will set the pattern for future negotiations in the tire industry, including talks with Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., whose contract expires in April.

Despite these claims of victory by the USWA officials, the *Wall Street Journal* on November 7 characterized the union's agreement to 12-hour shifts as "a key victory" for the company. The settlement will be voted on by mail in December.

Meg Novak and Johanna Ryan are members of USWA Local 787 at Bridgestone/Firestone in Bloomington, Illinois.



Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay

Leon Trotsky
Featuring "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future" by Karl Marx

"Apart from their original purposes, the trades unions must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its complete emancipation. . . . They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions."

—Karl Marx, 1866. \$14.95

The Eastern Airlines Strike

Accomplishments of the Rank-and-File Machinists
Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan, and Jack Barnes

The story of the 686-day strike in which a rank-and-file resistance by Machinists prevented Eastern's antiunion onslaught from becoming the road to a profitable nonunion airline. \$9.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 8, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

LETTERS

Residents protest pollution

The Militant Labor Forum at the Pathfinder Bookstore in Houston, Texas, on November 8, brought more than 70 people together to discuss "Kennedy Heights Vs Chevron: A Case of Environmental Racism?"

Most of the participants in the meeting were residents of Kennedy Heights, a predominantly Black subdivision in southeast Houston. This subdivision was developed in 1968 on land that was owned by Gulf Oil and used for oil storage. The oil storage left the area contaminated, and the residents of Kennedy Heights have faced a myriad of cancers and other health problems due to the contamination. They are fighting to get Chevron, which purchased Gulf Oil, to pay compensation for health damages and to move them to other residences away from Kennedy Heights.

Speaking at the meeting were John Simmons, who is Vice President of the Kennedy Heights Civic Association and chair of the Contamination Committee, William Paul Thomas, who is an assistant to State Senator Rodney Ellis, Constance Pickens, a hospital worker and Kennedy Heights resident, and Joette Baity, a refinery worker who spoke for the Socialist Workers Party.

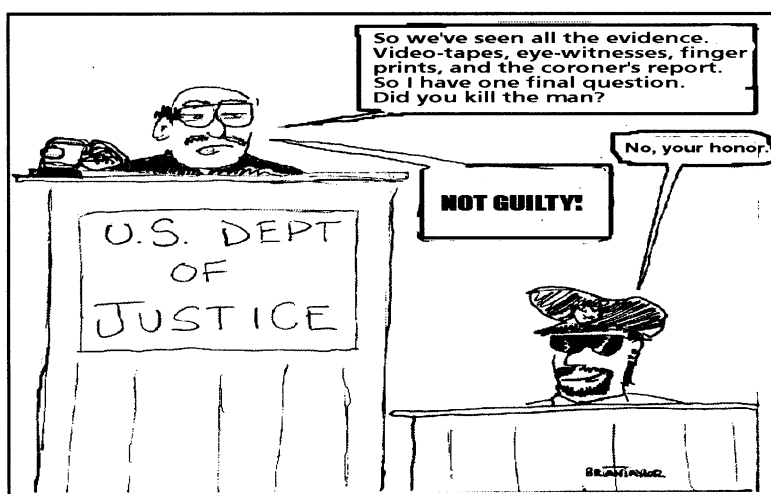
John Simmons said that in get-

ting information for the residents' lawsuit against Chevron, lawyers discovered a 1968 correspondence between Gulf and the real estate developer which said regarding the Kennedy Heights area "this would be a good place for a poor or colored neighborhood."

Constance Pickens described health problems in her family related to the contamination and talked about a neighbor who just died of cancer. She said that this is not so much a case about color as it is about people dying off and the need for justice. She also expressed the impatience that many residents feel about the legal process. The next court hearing will be in May, and there have been many delays prior to this. She said "What are they waiting for, all of us to die off? We need to be moved out now."

Joette Baity discussed the massive amounts of pollutants produced by Texas refineries noting that the Environmental Protection Agency cites Texas as the leading emitter of toxic industrial pollutants. She also recounted the attacks on health and safety in the refineries, the common interests of refinery workers and Kennedy Heights residents in their fight against the oil companies, and that the oil companies must be held responsible for the effects of pollution both past and present.

Bob Bruce
Houston, Texas



Rights victory in Tonga

A court in the Pacific island nation of Tonga ordered two journalists and a pro-democracy campaigner released from prison October 14. Kalafi Moala and Filokalafi 'Akau'ola, editor and deputy editor of the newspaper, *Taimi 'o Tonga*, and 'Akilisi Pohiva, Member of Parliament for the Pro-Democracy Movement, were jailed in September for 30 days when an impeachment motion against a government minister that Pohiva was to table in Parliament was published in the newspaper.

The jailings drew widespread protests from international media organizations, including the Pacific Islands News Association and the

International Federation of Journalists. Amnesty International called the three men "prisoners of conscience."

King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV rules over Tonga's 104,000 people and 150 islands with near absolute power. Only 9 of the 36-member Parliament are popularly elected. He can dissolve Parliament at will, and after it voted to proceed with the impeachment motion that sparked the jailings, he terminated the body - "until further notice."

Tonga, one of the few Pacific Island groups not to be formally colonized by European imperialist powers at the end of the nineteenth century, has long been dominated by Australian and New Zealand impe-

rialism. The New Zealand army trains the Tongan military. The country's chief justice is a New Zealand lawyer.

Some 56 percent of Tonga's exports, mostly bananas, coconuts and vegetables, go to New Zealand, and 29 percent to Australia. New Zealand supplies 39 percent of imports and Australia 25 percent. Most Tongans are subsistence farmers on land strictly controlled by the nobles. Large numbers move overseas for work, mainly to Australia and New Zealand, but also to the United States and elsewhere. Private family remittances from these workers make up over half of the country's gross national income.

The Auckland factory where I work has a mainly Tongan workforce. Commenting on recent events, one co-worker noted the strong support for the Pro-Democracy Movement at recent elections. "I think a change is coming in Tonga," he said.
Terry Coggan
Auckland, New Zealand

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Ontario workers debate way forward

BY JOHN STEELE

TORONTO — Canada's capitalist rulers and their political servants reacted with outrage to the show of union power during the October 22-27 Metro Days of Protest against the austerity and anti-union drive of the 17-month-old Conservative government of Ontario Premier Michael Harris. This was the fifth and largest in a series of actions organized by the labor movement since last December. Since then, a discussion is unfolding among working people here over how to advance their fight.

On October 26, close to 200,000 workers, students and other youth marched past the convention site of the ruling Ontario Conservative party chanting "Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho, Mike Harris has got to go!" The employers were particularly incensed by what they claimed were illegal strikes by tens of thousands of workers on October 25. Major plants and offices were shut down as well as public transit for the day, despite Ontario Labor Relations Board injunctions against picketing and other threats by government officials and bosses.

Harris at first tried to downplay the scope of the mobilization, claiming only 35,000 participated October 26. He claimed that the protest was made up of narrow "special interest" groups such as communists, Iraqis and Iranians. He was forced to issue an apology for his remarks in response to a press release by the Canadian Arab Federation condemning them. He added the city-wide protest actions will not deter his government from carrying out more cuts to health care, education, child care, workers' compensation, and other rights of working people.

During the October 26 protest, discussion began among activists about the next steps to take in the fight against the government. Some placards called for a province-wide protest and strike. Other workers wore stickers that said "NDP-Labor Solidarity," indicating support for the social democratic New Democratic Party, to which most unions are affiliated outside Quebec. In the last provincial election, the Conservatives defeated Ontario's first NDP government, which had been elected in the fall of 1990.

Union officialdom divides over tactics

Divisions in the union officialdom over to what extent labor should wage a fight against the Harris government and get the NDP reelected broke out into the open at a November 7 meeting of 50 officials of unions affiliated to the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL). The officials met with the OFL executive board and the co-chairs of the Metro Days of Action: Linda Torney, the president of the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and York Region (LCMT) and Margaret Hancock, the Chairperson of the Metro Network for Social Justice.

The meeting produced two press releases. One stated that the Metro Days of Action were a "huge success" and would continue in "other communities across the province." It read that the OFL would meet with its "community partners" to determine the next Days of Action. The decision would be discussed at a December 10 meeting of the OFL executive board and affiliated unions.

A second release was issued at an unscheduled news conference, which rejected the "strategy of partial general strikes," and urged instead "target action against employers who ignore workers' rights by using scabs and locking out workers," permitted under Harris' anti-union laws. The release states that its signers "are opposed to a strategy that takes away from the need to be militant on issues that directly affect workers in their workplaces...[and] pledge that the goal of their efforts is to defeat the Harris government and elect new Democrats both provincially and federally."

The officials of 13 industrial unions who organized the second press conference and endorsed the second statement included: the



Some 200,000 workers, students, and youth march in Toronto 'Days of Action' on October 26.

United Steelworkers of America, International Association of Machinists, Power Workers' Union, Communications, Energy and Paperworkers, Amalgamated Transit Union, and United Food and Commercial Workers.

Power Workers' Union president John Murphy said at the second press conference, "We're not going to participate in a blanket attack on communities," echoing the ruling-class attempt to paint working people who couldn't use public transit to get to work as victims of the Metro Days of Action. "We think that the idea of simply shutting down a city without weighing the impact of public opinion is working against the goals we're trying to achieve."

In light of the division, the LCMT unanimously adopted a resolution that stated: "The LCMT expresses concern over the second [anti-Days of Action] press release which threatens to divide the movement when the unity of mass action and political action finally seem an attainable goal."

The division reflects the tactical split among union officials that took place at the November 1993 OFL convention as a result of the NDP government's Bill 48 — called the "social contract" — which ripped up the union contracts of thousands of government workers and imposed wage cuts and layoffs. Citing Bill 48, unions such as the Canadian Auto Workers and those representing government workers did not campaign for the NDP in the June 1995 provincial election. One month before that election the LCMT refused to back the NDP. Officials of many of the unions now opposed to more Days of Protest continued to campaign for the NDP.

Would NDP defend workers' interests?

All sides in the debate in the officialdom over the effectiveness of mass protests assume the election of an NDP government would in some way strengthen the position of working people.

"We are not going into the next election not being able to support a political party," said Syd Ryan, president of the Ontario division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, a supporter of the wing of the officialdom in favor of more Days of Action. He warned that the NDP would have to support the goals of the protest movement to get its backing in the next election, or the movement would have to launch a more radical left-wing party.

The NDP is also being discussed on the shop floor in many plants. During one shift this reporter heard two different views on the question.

"The October 26 protest was good," said Machinists union member Sam Zaher, a mechanic at Ford Electronics. "But I don't have any respect for the NDP. They didn't do anything for working people when they were the government."

"Even though the NDP stepped on labor's

toes when it was in power, it's still the only viable alternative because it's rooted in the unions," said Leo Mullen, who is also a mechanic.

Despite the differences over the Day of Action strategy, neither wing of the union officialdom presents working people with a fighting political perspective that draws a clear class line between working people and the ruling capitalist families and their governments. The fundamental problem, they say, is the right-wing Harris government's "corporate agenda."

However, the problem working people face is not simply a particular government in a particular province. The problem is the world capitalist profit system, which has been on a downward curve since the 1974-75 worldwide recession. With sharpening trade conflicts between the rulers of Canada, France, Germany, Japan, the United States, and other imperialist powers, major corporations backed by capitalist governments throughout the world are attacking the living conditions and rights of working people.

Auto workers in Canada came up against this reality in October, when the General Motors bosses forced them into a 20-day strike in order to strike a blow at their union in its drive to lower wages and cut jobs. Low profit margins relative to their competitors left GM's major shareholders no choice. GM workers had no choice but to set up picket lines and fight.

The Harris government is acting in the interests of the capitalist ruling class of billionaire and multimillionaire families that own the mines, mills, factories, banks and agribusiness across Canada. It has carried out some of the sharpest attacks against working people under the guise of balancing the budget. At the same time, NDP governments in Saskatchewan and British Columbia are attacking the rights of working people in the name of deficit-cutting, as did the previous NDP administration in Ontario. Recently, the B.C. NDP premier Glen Clark announced plans to fire 3,500 government workers in order to cut \$750 million in government services. And behind the attacks of

the provincial governments stands the federal Liberal government in Ottawa, which has cut billions of dollars in transfer payments to the provinces for social services and gutted unemployment insurance.

Conservative, Liberal, NDP, and Parti Quebecois governments all defend capitalist property relations, and therefore respond to the capitalist economic crisis by attacking working people in order to shore up the profit rates of the capitalist rulers. Their only differences on economic and social policy are over how far and fast to slash social programs and restrict union rights at any given point in time, taking into account the possible resistance of working people.

"The success of the Metro Days of Action strengthened the struggles of working people," steelworker and Communist League leader Susan Berman told a Militant Labor Forum here one

week after the protest. "The mobilization showed the potential power of our unions when we take action in the streets on behalf of all working people."

Independent working-class action

"We need more protests of this kind and more picket line solidarity with fighters such as the S.A. Armstrong steelworkers who are fighting to defend their union against the use of scab labor," Berman added. "What we don't need is to tie union power to the dead-end perspective of electing 'lesser-evil' capitalist politicians of any stripe, including the NDP, despite its ties to the union officialdom."

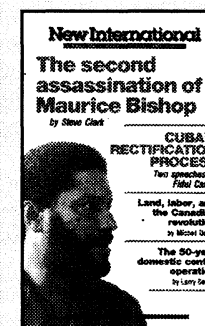
Berman proposed that fighting workers and youth study and discuss the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* published by Pathfinder press after the 1987 stock market crash.

"The proposals in the action program offer a perspective to unite our class on an international scale against our class enemies to overcome the divisions among us created by the capitalist crisis and governments," she said. "This program proposes an international fight to create millions of jobs by shortening the work week without cuts in pay; affirmative action programs to overcome job discrimination faced by women, Quebecois, Blacks, native people, immigrants and others; and a fight to force the cancellation of the debt of the Third World countries to the imperialist banks that is devastating the lives of millions of workers and farmers in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

"In struggles of this kind our class can forge a working class leadership and mass political party capable and committed to taking the struggle all the way against the capitalist system itself — as our class did in the 1959 Cuban revolution that replaced the government of the capitalists with a workers' and farmers' government as the first step towards socialism," Berman concluded.

John Steele is a member of Local 2113 of the International Association of Machinists.

Available from Pathfinder



in New International No. 6
Land, Labor, and the Canadian Revolution
by Michel Dugré \$10.00

An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis: A Program for International Working-Class Struggle Today \$3.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 8, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

