

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Last week for special sale of works of Marx, Engels, Lenin

— PAGES 5, 8-9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 61/NO. 5 FEBRUARY 3, 1997

Defend abortion rights!

All those who support women's rights and democratic rights should be in the streets and in front of the clinics in response to the bombings of abortion facilities in Atlanta and Tulsa, Oklahoma. Protests and meetings are needed to speak out against the bombings, organize clinic defense, and demand the government find and prosecute those responsible.

EDITORIAL

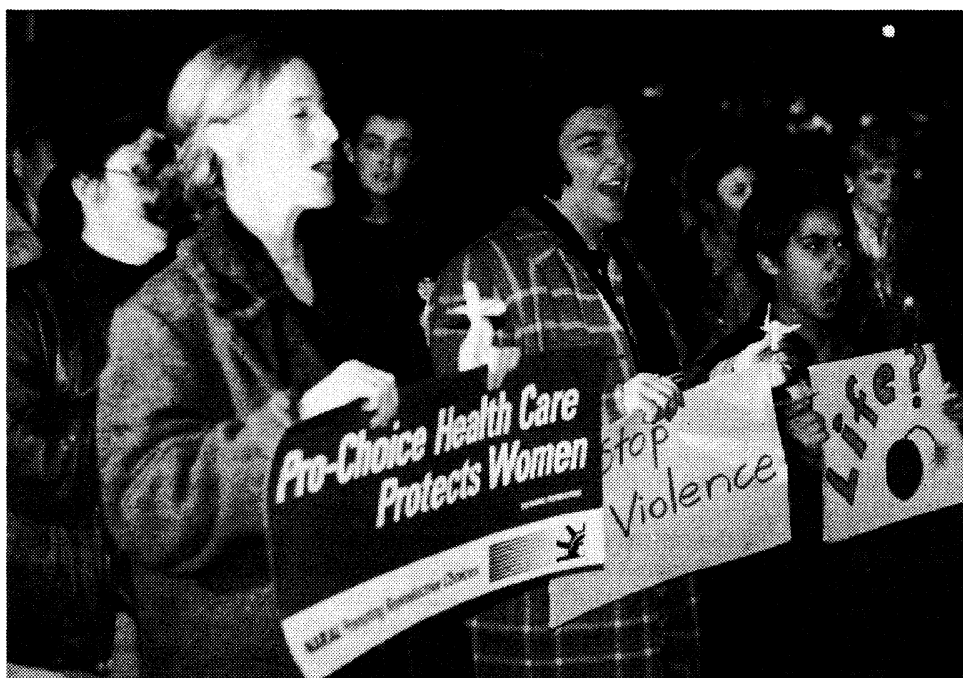
The Supreme Court ruling *Roe v. Wade*, won 24 years ago, was a product of the wave of struggles in the late 1960s and early '70s by women and men in the fight against the institutionalized domestic slavery to which women had been relegated by class society. The abortion rights victory opened the door for millions of women — especially working women, Blacks, Chicanas, and Puerto Ricans — to begin to control their own reproductive functions, their own bodies. It went a significant way toward establishing a fundamental human right for all women — the right to choose whether or not to bear a child — and marked a gain for the entire working class.

Since the mid-1970s, Washington has been chipping away at the right to abortion, especially limiting access for working-class women through the ban on Medicaid funding and other such measures. Another demagogic attempt to make deeper inroads on abortion rights has been the move to ban so-called partial birth abortions, adopted by Congress last year. While vetoing that measure, President Clinton made clear he is ready to sign a slightly modified version.

By their actions, the U.S. rulers have provided a framework in which rightists feel they can carry out attacks on abortion clinics with impunity. One of the more blatant examples is the decision by a U.S. District Court judge — just days before the Atlanta bombing — to acquit two opponents of abortion rights who blocked a clinic in New York state.

The judge declared them innocent on grounds that they were motivated by "con-

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Militant/Linda Joyce

100 people marched to state capitol January 22 in Atlanta to protest clinic bombings

Clinics bombed in Atlanta, Tulsa

BY ABBY TILSNER

ATLANTA — In the week before the 24th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion, two abortion clinics were bombed.

On January 16 the Northside Family Planning Services Clinic in Sandy Springs, Georgia, just north of Atlanta, was hit by two bombs, one hour apart, that injured seven people. The first exploded at 9:30 a.m. and damaged the operating room, waiting room, and counseling room. Only three workers and no patients were in the clinic at the time, and no one was injured. The second explosion went off in a trash bin in the parking lot at 10:30, as fire fighters, cops, and reporters who had rushed to the scene milled about. Seven men suffered injuries, including one who was hospitalized overnight.

The same clinic was bombed in 1984, when it was at a different location. At that time two firebombs exploded within two weeks at separate clinics in the area. No one was injured and no one was ever arrested

for the attacks.

The second recent bombing occurred in Tulsa, Oklahoma, at the Reproductive Services clinic. Two bombs exploded there January 19; no one was injured. The same clinic had suffered mild smoke and fire damage from two Molotov cocktails January 1. The Planned Parenthood clinic in Tulsa was also recently bombed, on Sept. 18 and 21, 1996.

The Georgia Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League called a rally and press conference to protest the clinic bombings at City Hall for January 22, the anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* ruling.

In addition, the Atlanta Militant Labor Forum altered its scheduled program, a commemoration of *Roe v. Wade*, to a speak out, and sent out a press release with a statement condemning the bombing. Channel 46 WGNX News covered the forum on the 11 o'clock news. Speaker Salm Kolis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and

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Clinton to start term by cutting Medicare

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Barely a day after his inauguration for a second term as president of the United States, William Clinton called for bigger cuts in Medicare than his proposals during the 1996 election campaign. Medicare is the federal program that provides health insurance for the elderly and disabled. It now covers 38 million people.

At a January 21 White House appearance, Clinton said he will propose \$138 billion in Medicare cuts over six years. Repeating the well-worn bipartisan justification for slashing this social entitlement, the Democratic president said the cuts are needed to balance the federal budget. Clinton is scheduled to present his budget to Congress on February 6, two days after his State of the

Continued on Page 4

Workers in Haiti protest austerity

BY MEGAN ARNEY

For nearly a week, protesters burned tires in the street, blocked intersections, and threw stones in cities across Haiti protesting government austerity plans. The measures, which include cuts in civil service jobs and the privatization of many state-owned companies, are being demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a precondition for Haiti to secure financial "aid" and loans.

Protesters are calling for Prime Minister Rosny Smarth to resign and for President René Préval to suspend negotiations with the IMF and other imperialist financial institutions. Police attacked the demonstrators,

Continued on Page 4

Korean workers end general strike, vow to keep up fight for labor rights

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

Workers in south Korea ended a general strike after more than three weeks, but plan to continue weekly work stoppages on

Wednesdays and mass rallies on Saturdays. Students are also continuing demonstrations. The protests began December 26 against antilabor legislation passed that day.



Militant/Andrea Morrell

Picket line in Boston demonstrates solidarity with Korean workers and students

The unionists say they will resume the general strike if the Seoul regime has not repealed the antilabor laws by mid-February.

Some 180,000 workers participated in the one-day action Wednesday, January 22. Demonstrations of 10,000 took place in downtown Seoul, the capital, and in the industrial city of Ulsan that day. The workers are fighting to reverse the laws, which restrict union rights, allow companies greater latitude to impose layoffs, and give additional powers to the secret police.

Students demonstrated in Seoul January 19, the day after the union officials announced their decision to call off the general strike, also demanding the repeal of the new legislation. They burned effigies of President Kim Young Sam and U.S. president William Clinton. Hundreds of the youth faced off with riot police, who sprayed them with tear gas. The students fought back, reportedly hurling 200 firebombs, as well as rocks at the cops. According to the Associated Press, at least four students were arrested and several were injured.

A telephone survey of 1,444 adults pub-

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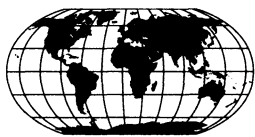
Refinery blast kills one worker, injures 25

BY JIM ALTENBERG

MARTINEZ, California — One worker was killed and 25 others injured in a huge explosion and fire at the Tosco Avon oil refinery here the evening of January 21. The blast and subsequent fire took place in the plant's hydrocracker unit, where gasoline and diesel fuel are produced from heavier fuel oils in a process using hydrogen under pressures as high as 1700 pounds per square inch. Process equipment was set afire, and windows were blown out throughout the plant. While most of the plant is currently shut down, either due to the fire or for major maintenance work, those units able to operate continue to do so.

A thick cloud of black smoke, said by company spokesperson Jim Simmons to be non-toxic soot, covered the plant and surrounding area. Nevertheless, residents of the nearby town of Clyde were told to stay indoors. Reporters for KTVU television said that Contra Costa County officials who operate a community warning system for refinery and chemical ac-

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Puerto Rico teachers strike

Teachers throughout Puerto Rico are organizing street actions in opposition to San Juan's attempt to privatize the Department of Education — a move that would cost hundreds of workers their jobs. The first protest is being built for January 23 at the Eugenio María School in Hostos, Cayey. The teachers also announced at a press conference the union will participate in demonstrations in Vieques, and Fort Allen to reject Washington's plans to set up a U.S. Marine radar system.

CNN denied bureau in Cuba

Washington is blocking a CNN attempt to set up a long-term reporting bureau in Cuba. Cuba approved the CNN proposal over two months ago. "That the United States government would resist in any way the opening of an independent news bureau by an independent news organization seems to us to run counter to all that this government represents," said Tom Johnson, the president of CNN. Other press groups like the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the Committee to Protect Journalists have endorsed the CNN project. A 36-year embargo placed on Cuba by the U.S. government makes it very difficult to travel to or get information about the socialist island.

Ecuador workers resist 'reforms'

Transportation, telecommunications, and energy workers, together with students all over Ecuador have entered their third week of protests against austerity measures put forward by Ecuadoran president Abdalá Bucaram. Cops in Quito, the country's capital, along with Guayaquil, Cuenca, Ambato, Ibarra, Puyo, Macas, and Loja tried to break up demonstrations. Dozens of people were injured and hundreds were arrested. Bucaram's new program for economic reform includes provisions that make it easier to lay off or replace workers and promote privatization. The program also pushes higher taxes and price raises in telephone, electricity and gas services.

Bucaram came to power last July during a deep economic crisis. His austerity pack-



Tobacco workers in Ecuador protesting tax hikes last December. Center banner reads: "Thousands of families make a living off the tobacco industry. 300 percent more taxes equals hunger."

age projects reducing the current currency exchange from 3,500 to 4 sucre to the dollar. "He said he would lower prices for poor people, that he would provide housing," Luis Anibal Robalino, a street vendor, told a *New York Times* reporter. "I feel defrauded for having voted for Bucaram."

Professors join Venezuela strike

Some 35,000 professors from 17 universities in Venezuela joined striking doctors January 12 in demands for higher pay. Classes for half a million students have been affected. Public sector engineers, architects, and dentists have threatened to walk out in support of the doctors. The Associated Press described the strike as "some of the worst labor and social conflicts of President Rafael Caldera's three-year presidency." Doctors went out on December 27 paralyzing 6,300 public hospitals and clinics. Inflation in Venezuela is the highest in Latin America at 103 percent.

Colombia gov't declares crisis

The government of Colombia declared an

economic crisis January 14, citing an escalating budget deficit and upward pressure on the value of the peso. The regime announced spending cuts, raising sales taxes, and restricting wage increases for public workers as proposals to resolve the crisis. Colombia had a budget deficit of \$4 billion in 1996 and the jobless rate soared from 8.1 percent in 1995 to 11.9 percent in 1996. "Strikes and protests will be of no use," asserted President Ernesto Samper, seeking to head off any working-class resistance to the government's austerity measures.

Pretoria defies U.S. gov't prying

South African president Nelson Mandela rejected Washington's warning to halt sales of \$650 million worth of military arms to Syria. Washington threatened to take away the \$82 million aid package pledged to South Africa if it did business with countries U.S. officials have declared "terrorist."

Rusty Evans, the South African Foreign Ministry director, pointed out that three other European companies are trying to make the same deal, but only South Africa is being singled out. "We will conclude agreements with any country whether they are popular in the West or not," Mandela declared. Mandela has also defended South Africa's right to associate with the socialist government of Cuba. "We will never renounce our friends, no matter how unpopular they may be," he said, referring to the Caribbean island.

New Delhi shoots down drone

The Indian air force, the world's fourth largest, shot down a Pakistani drone January 15. The remote-controlled pilotless aircraft was brought down by a missile fired over an airport in Bhuj, a town in the western state of Gujarat. The Indian government in New Delhi issued a formal protest against

the Pakistani government for violating its airspace and demanded such "violations must cease immediately." The Indian air force has put radar and missile stations in Gujarat on high alert since the shutdown.

The defense ministry of India had announced December 5 that it had "successfully completed" research on an intermediate-range missile with nuclear capability. The Pakistani regime, which has fought three wars with India in recent decades, had denied New Delhi's accusations of airspace violations by its military aircraft as "totally groundless."

Harassed women quit Citadel

Kim Messer and Jeanie Mentavlos have left the Citadel — the South Carolina military college — due to repeated, and unanswered violent offenses and sexual harassment. Messer says she never asked for special treatment, but received "criminal assaults, sadistic illegal hazing, and disgusting incidents of sexual harassment." The two women described having fingernail polish thrown on them and set ablaze, being shoved with rifles, and having cleanser stuffed into their mouths.

As early as September, reports the *Washington Post*, Mentavlos's mother complained about the harassment of her daughter to deaf ears. A senior cadet from a different company also witnessed the improper physical contact and reported it, but received no response from the Citadel administration.

Court strikes down voucher plan

Wisconsin state judge Paul Higginbotham ruled January 15 against a plan by Gov. Thomas Thompson to use public funds or tuition vouchers to send students in Milwaukee to religious schools. Higginbotham's decision also struck down the Thompson administration's plan to expand its voucher program for nonreligious private schools from 1,650 to 15,000 students.

The state government pays \$3,600 per student to private schools participating in the voucher program, which would increase to about \$55 million in public funding to private schools under the expansion plan. A similar voucher plan for 2,000 students was started last fall in Cleveland, Ohio.

Pentagon cops shoot teens

Seven Pentagon cops fired at least 20 shots into a minivan January 15, critically wounding one teenager who was shot in the head and another who was shot in the abdomen. Police had surrounded a minivan they said was stolen, trapping four of the five unarmed teens involved in the incident.

"Why would you start firing a gun and you don't see any weapons?" asked Donald Felder, the father of one of the youths. "They could have waited [for the youths] to get out of the car." One of the teens' parent said the cops' actions were "like target practice."

— BRIAN TAYLOR

THE MILITANT

Defend abortion rights!

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The Militant

Vol. 61/No. 5

Closing news date: January 23, 1997

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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.

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Turmoil spreads in Balkan workers states

Milosevic retains power, protests lose some steam

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The Stalinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, has maintained a firm grip on power and stepped up repression as protests against its antidemocratic measures got smaller the third week of January.

On January 20 and 21, Serbia's Supreme Court ruled that the governing Socialist Party won municipal elections in Sabac and Smederevska Palanka. These are two of the 14 cities where the opposition coalition Zajedno (Together) claims it won the November 17 municipal elections.

Belgrade's decision to annul the outcome of that poll set off a wave of daily protests demanding reinstatement of the results. The demonstrations first erupted in Nis, Serbia's second largest city, and Belgrade on November 18 and subsequently spread to 30 other urban centers. Since then, the Milosevic regime has conceded defeats in only five cities.

On January 20, the Belgrade municipal court announced that the Socialist Party had filed an appeal against the decision of the electoral commission six days earlier to honor Zajedno's victory in Belgrade. The court suspended the commission's ruling pending further legal proceedings. This was the second time the electoral commission sided with the opposition and the court with the government, reflecting some rifts within the ruling bureaucracy. The Serbian Radical Party, a rightist organization that has backed Milosevic in the conflict so far, also filed a suit against the electoral commission ruling.

In Nis, one of Yugoslavia's biggest industrial centers, similar appeals by Milosevic and his allies were turned down by the courts, and Zajedno has been declared the victor. Opposition leaders in Nis said they plan to call the new municipal assembly together by January 27.

The January 17 *Dnevni Telegraph* (Daily Telegraph), published in Belgrade, said that Milosevic plans to call new elections in the Serbian capital instead of conceding defeat for his Socialist Party. The vote is to be preceded by emergency rule in Belgrade for two months. This report could not be confirmed from other sources.

The Milosevic regime hardened its stance as the opposition rallies and the separate marches organized by Belgrade University students diminished. Reports in the big-business media have put the size of Zajedno demonstrations at 10,000 to 30,000 after mid-January. During the first month of the protests, opposition rallies averaged 100,000 people and a few brought together as many as a quarter million.

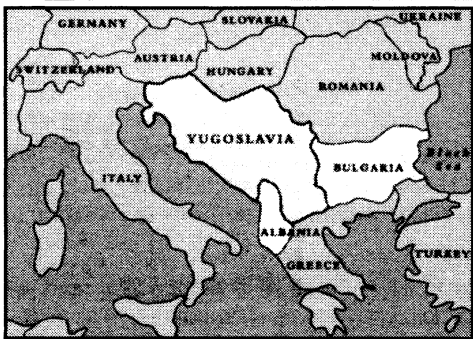
Since January 19, about 2,000 students have been waging a sit-down protest in central Belgrade. They have been surrounded by police in riot gear who are trying to enforce restrictions on street demonstrations. On the night of January 20, students sang, danced, and drank coffee to stay warm in the freezing weather. "It is cold, but we have to persist, we must not give up," said Zarko Sevic, 22, an economy student. "We will sleep later, when we win."

Police step up repression on marchers

The same day, police waded into crowds at opposition rallies in at least three Belgrade neighborhoods swinging batons and beating demonstrators, according to Belgrade Radio B-92, ending weeks of relative restraint by government security forces. Several people were injured, one of them seriously.

The ongoing protests are fueled in part by discontent among many workers and middle-class layers due to a steep decline in the standard of living.

According to official statistics, unemployment in Serbia runs at 26 percent; other estimates put it closer to 50 percent. Many state enterprises still keep on the payroll roughly the same number of workers as a decade ago, while production has plummeted by 80 percent. In numerous factories workers are owed months in back wages. Annual inflation reached 100 percent last year. Per capita income has dropped from \$3,000 per year in 1990 to \$1,600 today. Nearly one-third of Serbia's 3 million people live below the official poverty level. The official trade deficit last year reached \$2.2 billion, and for-



Protesters face off with cops in Belgrade. Resistance by working people to austerity and antidemocratic measures in Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia worries imperialist powers and prospective foreign investors.

than pay lip service to privatization and economic restructuring" as a major obstacle to bringing back the "free market."

Economic catastrophe fuels protests in Bulgaria

Protests against the ruling Socialist Party — the former pro-Moscow Communist Party — have also spread in neighboring Bulgaria. Tens of thousands have joined in marches and strikes since January 3 to demand early elections, blaming the governing Stalinists for the country's economic catastrophe. The mobilizations are organized by the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), an openly pro-capitalist coalition that held power between 1991 and 1994.

The antigovernment marches, which have been inspired to a degree by the events in Serbia, have been fueled by the country's abysmal economic crisis. Inflation in Bulgaria — a country of 9 million people with access to the Black Sea and borders with Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Rumania — hit 310 percent in 1996. Average wages plunged to \$30 per month, lower than those in Albania, until recently the poorest country in Europe. Fifteen of the country's 42 banks are in receivership.

The current crisis was set off after Prime Minister Zhan Videnov resigned in late December, citing Bulgaria's virtual state of bankruptcy. As soon as the Socialist Party nominated Interior Minister Nikolai Dobrev to replace Videnov and said it would form a new cabinet, demonstrations erupted demanding new elections, two years ahead of schedule.

President Zhelyu Zhelev, a member of the UDF, refused to allow the SP, which controls 125 of parliament's 240 seats, to form a new government. On January 19, Petar Stoyanov, a lawyer who is also in the UDF, was sworn in as the new president. He reiterated the opposition demand for rapid new elections. The UDF won the presidential race by a wide margin last November, in a vote that reflected discontent with the ruling Socialist Party.

The UDF and the SP have alternated in government since the ousting of the former Stalinist regime of Todor Zhivkov in a pal-

ace coup in 1989. Both groups represent the interests of competing layers of the petty-bourgeois caste that has been in power for decades and is trying to maintain its privileges and bourgeois way of life. The new leadership of the Communist Party changed the organization's name to Socialist Party, allowed more democratic freedoms, and presented a program of capitalist "market reforms." The SP won elections in 1990 only to lose its parliamentary majority a year later. But as the UDF administration tried to implement a program of austerity measures, prescribed by the International Monetary Fund as conditions for loans, it met strikes and other labor resistance. In 1994 the Socialist Party returned to power, seen by many working people as a lesser evil.

In order to maintain its grip to power, the SP regime unleashed the police on protesters who stormed the parliament building January 10 to press their demands. The cop beatings provided the UDF with propaganda ammunition. Since that incident, about 170 protesters with bandaged heads have been at the front of daily rallies in the capital Sofia, ranging from several thousand to 100,000 and modeled on the Zajedno protests. On January 15 thousands of factory workers and others walked off their jobs to support the demand for new elections.

While there are parallels with developments in Yugoslavia, there are also many differences. "The Serbian Socialists have violated the constitution," Krassen Stachev, head of Bulgaria's Institute of Market Economics, told the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. "Here the UDF are trying to find ways of going around the constitution to get rid of their Socialists." The major difference, though, is that capitalist economic relations were abolished through a real revolution in Yugoslavia in the 1940s, while the social transformation in Bulgaria took place at the same time largely under the tutelage of Stalin's Red Army.

What is common, however, and what worries the imperialist powers, is resistance by working people to the austerity measures of the various would-be capitalists in both countries. The IMF is demanding a fixed exchange rate for the Bulgarian dinar and a ban on the national bank printing more money. "Such austere measures, which worked in Argentina, would in the short term bring even more misery to the population," said an article in the January 20 *New York Times*.

— A.M.

Albanians demand state cover 'investment' fraud

A similar process is unfolding on a smaller scale and with its own peculiarities in the Albanian workers state.

Three thousand people marched in Tirana, Albania's capital, January 15. They demanded their money back from Sudja Kademi, who lured thousands to invest in her "pyramid scheme" by offering 50 percent interest. Kademi's company then declared bankruptcy. Protesters were beaten by police when they tried to march on government offices demanding the state cover their losses.

Another march of 2,500 took place January 19. Many protesters chanted, "Down with dictatorship!" and "We want our money!" Police again clashed with protesters at the center of Tirana.

An estimated half-million Albanians, 15
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Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention

GEORGE FYSON, ARGIRIS MALAPANIS, AND JONATHAN SILBERMAN

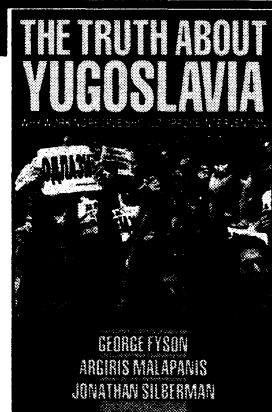
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Thousands protest austerity in Haiti

Continued from front page

arresting several activists and killing one person on January 16, the Associated Press reported. One man lost a hand the day before when a tear gas bomb fired by police exploded.

Haitian workers walked off the job January 16, closing shops and schools and suspending bus service. The strike, the largest in a series of labor actions, was called by the Anti-International Monetary Fund Committee to protest the austerity measures.

On January 10 teachers struck demanding better training and back wages. It is their second walkout in the month, with 90 percent of teachers participating. Not only have some teachers not been paid for almost a year, but the Haitian education system is seriously lacking in material supplies. There are classrooms without enough benches, blackboards, and even doors. Class sizes reach as high as 150 students. More than half of children ages 6-12 cannot read.

The portion of the national budget allocated for education went from 24 percent in 1994-95 to 18 percent last year. The still unapproved budget for the 1996-97 school year would drop education spending to just 12 percent.

More than 160 organizations joined the January 16 strike. Streets in the three main cities — Port-au-Prince, Cap-Haïtien, and Gonaïves — were reported practically empty as workers stayed home. Radio Haiti-Inter affirmed that the strike was respected in most towns. The government tried to send buses to carry people across picket lines, but the attempt was met by what AP described as "stone-throwing strikers" in the Cité Soleil, a working-class district of Port-au-Prince, the country's capital.

"The strike was a total success," Yves Sanon, a strike organizer, told AP. "The population has rejected the government and its economic policy."

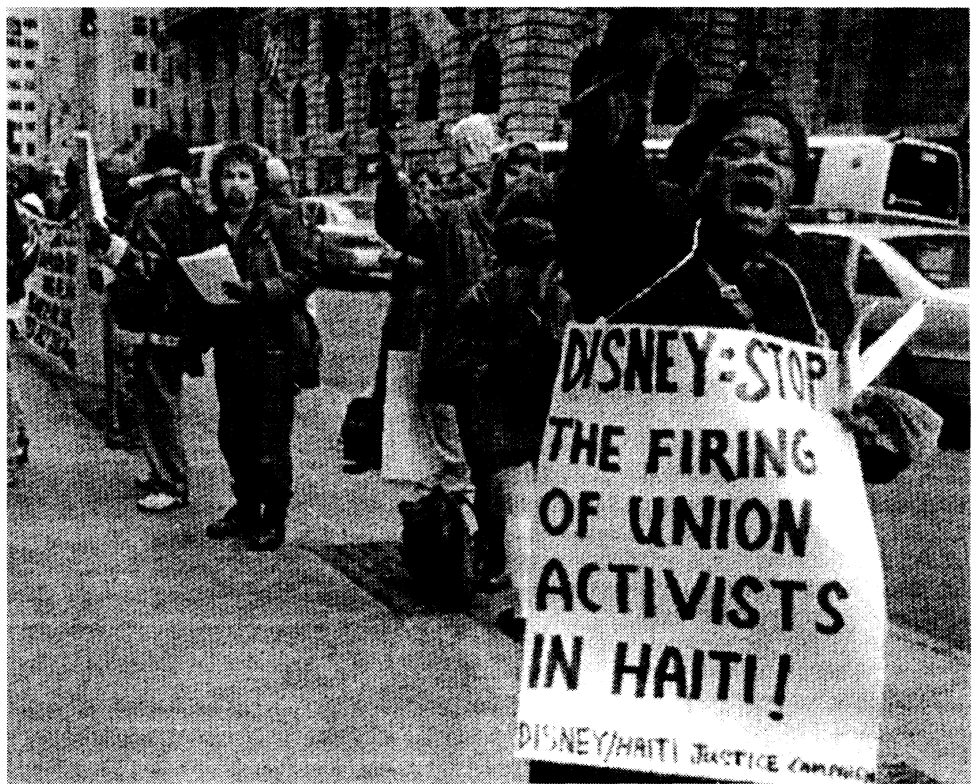
That economic policy is being pushed by President Préval and Prime Minister Smarth. In order for the Haitian government to receive any loans, the IMF and other lending institutions insist on "reforms." International capital accounts for more than 60 percent of Haiti's budget. The "reforms" include slashing the jobs of up to 7,500 public workers — nearly 21 percent of the total — at a time when 70 percent of workers in Haiti are unemployed or underemployed.

Government officials in Haiti, one of the poorest countries in the world, also say they will move to sell off several state owned enterprises. These include the electricity and telephone companies, the port and airport, a cement plant, flour mill, two banks and a vegetable oil plant. In return, they hope to win approval for \$1.2 billion in "aid" from international banks. Préval defended the government's austerity measures, saying, "We are far from the results we want.... We understand the dissatisfaction of the people. But there is a time to sow and a time to harvest."

Under pressure from the demonstrations, Préval has said the government will seek to "modernize" the state-owned companies by selling them as joint ventures, instead of selling them outright.

Axel Porker, a representative of the World Bank, told Radio Signal F.M., "I don't think that our mission [in Haiti] will be disturbed," by the strikes.

Haiti's main industries include coffee, sugar, bananas, cocoa, and tobacco. In 1991, U.S. companies led in imports to the Carib-



Protest in front of a Walt Disney store in New York, January 20, against low wages and terrible working conditions in its factories in Haiti.

bean island, with 64 percent of the market or \$103 million, and bought 84 percent of Haitian exports. The only railroad in Haiti is owned by the Haitian American Sugar Company.

Préval succeeded former president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was elected in 1990 following a decades-long struggle by workers and farmers to oust the reign of a series of U.S.-backed military regimes. In early 1991, a military coup ousted Aristide. After three years in exile in the United States, Aristide was reinstated as president in 1994 after U.S. troops invaded and occupied Haiti.

Last June, after a request from Préval, the United Nations Security Council voted to extend the presence of the occupation force until November 1996. In March of last year,

UN troops replaced the 20,000-member U.S. intervention force in coordinating the occupation. Canadian officials now head up the 1,300-strong force. Washington continues to keep some 250 troops in Haiti.

Aristide was not allowed by the constitution to serve a second term. He backed Préval for president in 1995 elections. Since then, however, Aristide and Préval have differed tactically on how to implement the IMF austerity measures. Both men belong to the ruling Lavalas coalition, but recently Aristide announced he would form a new political group within the coalition. The group will be used to influence Lavalas "when politically appropriate," said Aristide, who remains popular among many workers and farmers in Haiti.

Clinton starts second term planning Medicare cuts

Continued from front page

Union address.

"I'm going to do my best to reach out to the Republicans," Clinton stated at the White House presentation. "I want to meet them halfway on this and on many issues. And I hope they'll meet me halfway."

Leaders of the Republican majority in Congress praised Clinton's announcement. William Archer, a Texas Republican who is chairman of the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee, called it "a very positive and very significant development."

At the same time, "Democratic leaders of Congress remained conspicuously close-mouthed," noted an article in the January 22 *New York Times*. "We have not seen the details of it and I think until we know more about it we have to reserve judgment," remarked Laura Nichols, spokeswoman for Rep. Richard Gephardt, a Democrat from Missouri and the House minority leader.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly January 21 to reprimand Speaker Newton Gingrich for "ethics violations" and fined him \$300,000.

The congressional debate that led to this decision provided another indication of bipartisan rapprochement on how to go about cutting social services in order to undermine working-class solidarity and increase the employers' profits.

"We need to move beyond this," said Rep. David Bonior, a Democrat from Michigan, after the 395-28 vote to slap Gingrich on the wrist. "I am going to do all I can to temper the debate."

Rep. Nancy Johnson, Republican of Connecticut and chairwoman of the House ethics committee, spoke of bringing "a halt to the crippling partisanship and animosity that has surrounded us."

Conservatives praise inaugural speech

Clinton's January 20 inaugural address got similar, though guarded, approval from many conservative and some liberal politicians and pundits.

"Whatever backing and filling Bill Clinton does in the months ahead, the tone of his second Inaugural speech makes it clear that he and his advisers realize that no forward progress — no politicking, no deal making — was going to be possible until he

moved to the political center, which is to say to the right," said an editorial in the January 21 *Wall Street Journal*. "The Inaugural Speech makes it even more plain that this project is inexorably going forward."

The editors of the financial daily, who have been among Clinton's most vociferous critics, made it clear they can live with the president if he sticks with his recent record and his promises at the multi-million dollar inaugural ceremony for "smaller government" — code words for slashing the social wage.

Conservative columnist William Safire, another champion of the scandal-mongering against the Clinton administration, called the president's speech "a respectable effort, forcefully delivered," in an op-ed article in the January 23 *New York Times*. "He bestraddled the center like a would-be Colossus with 'The preeminent mission of our new government is to give all Americans an opportunity — not a guarantee....'," Safire wrote. "That sentiment was one Newt Gingrich of the Opportunity Society had to applaud, while entitlement liberals had to cringe."

Workers will pay for Medicare cuts

Clinton's latest plan to cut \$138 billion from Medicare is much closer to last year's Republican proposal for slashing \$158 billion from the program over six years. During the 1996 presidential race Clinton had offered \$116 billion on the chopping block.

Soon after his reelection, the Democratic administration spelled out how this would be one of its first priorities. "My plan would cut payments and make some other changes that would lengthen the life of the Medicare Trust Fund for a decade," Clinton declared in the ABC news program "This Week" last November.

Most of the cuts proposed by Clinton, \$91 billion, are to come from reducing payments to hospitals and health maintenance organizations (HMOs).

But a hefty amount, about \$18 billion, will come by raising the monthly premium Medicare recipients pay. According to the White House proposals this premium would rise from the average \$44 today to nearly \$62 in five years.

"Beneficiaries' cost increases would be minimal," said an article in the January 22

Wall Street Journal. While such a rise may be considered minimal by most readers of the *Journal*, it is not for millions of retired workers who live on meager pensions or depend entirely on Social Security, with average payments barely exceeding \$700 per month.

At the same time, government reductions in payments to HMOs and hospitals will mostly affect workers, because these institutions will be less likely to serve Medicare patients.

Retirees from the upper middle class or the bourgeoisie, also entitled to Medicare benefits, can easily afford private, and better, health insurance programs.

The administration's plan to cut Medicare was announced a week after the White House said that Clinton will seek major reductions in funding for Medicaid, the federal entitlement that provides health coverage for low income families.

"This frankly brightens the prospects for being able to get a budget agreement," said Rep. John Kasich, the Ohio Republican who chairs the House Budget Committee.

A year ago, disagreements between the Republican majority in Congress and the Democratic administration over the extent of cuts in these programs led to a temporary and partial shutdown of the federal government. In the ensuing months Republicans had to bury some of the most draconian cuts proposed in their earlier "Contract with America" and the Clinton administration's approach prevailed.

Differences remain after Gingrich vote

While Clinton was unveiling the current version of his blueprint for carrying out the bosses' war on labor at the White House, the House of Representatives approved a mild sanction against Gingrich.

The Republican leader was reprimanded for "bringing discredit on the House" by the improper use of tax exempt funds to advance his right-wing views through a course he taught at two small Georgia colleges. Gingrich also admitted that he misled the congressional committee investigating his conduct through "inaccurate, incomplete and unreliable statements." For this offense he was fined \$300,000, which Gingrich says he may pay from funds left over from his election campaign fund-raising, despite the

fact that Gopac, a "political action committee" he headed until 1994, was involved in the scandal.

This was the first time that a Speaker of the House of Representatives was reprimanded in the 208-year history of the U.S. Congress. The overwhelming vote in favor of the ethics committee's recommendation, and the debate around it, showed wide bipartisan agreement with taking this step.

As negotiations that would lead to this "historic" decision were being finalized, Clinton was traveling with Gingrich in the same car to the presidential inaugural ceremony. Less than 24 hours later Clinton announced his new proposals for cutting Medicare, getting some praise even from Gingrich.

No opposition from AFL-CIO tops

The seeming bipartisan convergence, and narrowing of tactical differences among the rulers on domestic policy, unfolds without any opposition of substance from the organized labor movement. So far, one of the main moves of the AFL-CIO tops in the debate around proposed cuts in the social wage has been to take part in the presidential advisory panel on Social Security, providing left cover for liberals.

That panel, includes Gerald Shea, assistant to AFL-CIO president John Sweeney; George Kouprias, president of the International Association of Machinists; and Gloria Johnson, director of social action for the International Union of Electronic Workers. On January 6, the panel made public a report that included a variety of options for gutting Social Security. The labor federation leadership has not uttered a peep of protest after Clinton's recent announcements, paving the ground to slash Medicare and Medicaid.

While a bipartisan agreement under current conditions seems likely, tactical divisions remain between and within the twin parties of U.S. big business, reflecting the fact that overcoming the rulers' problems — stiff competition from imperialist allies and declining profit rates — will not be smooth. "Everyone is talking about this bipartisan spirit, but I'm not convinced that we've reached any kind of reconciliation here," stated Rep. Kasich after the House reprimand of Gingrich.

SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

Pathfinder organizes to up commercial sales

BY GREG McCARTAN

Pathfinder is organizing a number of one-week sales trips around the United States this spring, with the goal of increasing the number of bookstores, libraries, and schools where books and pamphlets by the publisher are available to workers and young people.

Sara Lobman, Pathfinder's business manager, said, "Members of Pathfinder's staff are working with supporters in cities across the country to organize intensive sales trips, which will help meet the opportunities to increase the sales of Pathfinder titles today."

Visits are being organized over the next two months in Los Angeles, New York, and Washington, D.C. A similar sales trip was organized in Chicago last December.

"Overall, Pathfinder supporters increased sales through Pathfinder Bookstores in the United States by \$40,000 last year," she said, going from \$76,815 in 1995 to \$117,243 in 1996. "This experience of regularly selling more books to co-workers, young people involved in protest actions, and others can be a big help in organizing to get out to other commercial outlets to do sales work," she said. The increased sales through Pathfinder bookstores was accomplished through a concerted effort by supporters, among them members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists. Monthly charts in the *Militant* have kept track of the results of this ongoing campaign.

While sales to retail stores and college bookstores went up in 1996, overall sales to booksellers other than Pathfinder Bookstores decreased somewhat for the year.

Lobman pointed out how Pathfinder titles are seen by buyers at retail stores and libraries as important resource tools, containing firsthand accounts of important historical material and a point of view on central questions in world politics. "As with selling books on the job," she said, "getting books on the

shelves of retail outlets has mostly to do with explaining why people are interested in what is in Pathfinder books."

Pathfinder publishing, located in New York City, has for decades published and kept in print the writings and speeches of revolutionary and working-class leaders. These include the founders of the modern communist movement Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; leaders of the Russian revolution V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky; the generations of those who have built a communist party in the United States as part of their involvement in the battles of the working class and the oppressed such as James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, and others; the leadership of the first socialist revolution in the Americas, Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara; and working-class and revolutionary leaders such as Malcolm X, Eugene V. Debs, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, Maurice Bishop, and others.

Luis Madrid, who recently completed editing on *La última lucha de Lenin* (Lenin's Final Fight) that will be available in late February, organizes Pathfinder staff members in this sales effort.

In February, he will be going to Los Angeles, where several supporters have organized regular sales visits over the last year. Pathfinder supporters are setting up appointments in San Diego, reports Madrid, as well as researching which titles are used in university classrooms. "We will be having some meetings to show professors the quality and usefulness of Pathfinder's edition of *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, and *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, by Engels, for example," he said.

"The sales trips by staff members have two basic goals," Madrid added. "One is to have a Pathfinder representative meet with

Turmoil in the Balkans

Continued from Page 3

percent of the population, have put money in such schemes, hoping for a higher income than the average wage of \$80 per month. Some 300,000 people are unemployed out of a population of 3.2 million. Ninety percent of industry has been shut down and 500,000 retirees are struggling on an average pension of \$30 per month. Most in the country's majority rural population eke out a living barely above the poverty level. Hundreds of thousands have migrated to neighboring Greece and Italy in search of jobs, and their remittances account for nearly half of the country's gross domestic product.

Unlike Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the protests in Albania have received scant attention in the U.S. big-business media. The reason is that Washington has a cozy relationship with the Democratic Party regime of Albanian president Sali Berisha. Since 1992, the U.S. government has backed Berisha with economic and military aid. In exchange, the Albanian government has provided a base for U.S. reconnaissance activities over Yugoslavia and has discouraged Albanians in the Kosovo region of Serbia from demanding autonomy.

The Democratic Party and the main opposition groups are fragments of the former Communist Party, led by Enver Hoxha, that ruled in a dictatorial manner until 1990.

When the opposition Socialist Party and the Human Rights Union, mainly backed by the ethnic Greek minority in southern Albania, walked out of elections last May charging fraud and organized protests, they were met with a brutal crackdown by the Berisha administration. In that instance, Washington and the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe refused to even criticize the government's conduct.

The new wave of demonstrations has big business worried once again. One reason, as some articles in the capitalist media have

pointed out, is that investment frauds like the "pyramid schemes" have been widely used throughout Eastern Europe and have been touted as avenues to prosperity and democracy.

—A.M.

Last chance for sale of Marxist works

BY SARA LOBMAN

With one week left in Pathfinder's extraordinary sale of the collected works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin, 51 sets of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels* have been ordered and 37 of the *Collected Works of Lenin*. The sets — 45 volumes each — normally sell for \$1,100 and \$500 respectively. Until January 31 they are on sale for members of the Pathfinder Readers Club for \$399 and \$199, a more than 60 percent discount.

They include almost all the letters, speeches, articles, and other works of these three revolutionary leaders and together contain an unbelievable wealth of lessons learned by the working-class — who Marx and Engels called the gravediggers of capitalism — from the mid-nineteenth century through the early years of the Russian revolution.

The Pathfinder Bookstore in Atlanta has sent in orders for three sets of Marx and Engels' collected works and two of Lenin's. "We are really campaigning around the sale and think we have several more sales in the hopper," Floyd Fowler wrote from that city. Four Pathfinder readers in Cleveland have taken advantage of the offer, ordering a total of three sets of Marx and Engels and two of Lenin.

In addition to these two cities, orders have come in from Boston; Chicago; Denver; Greensboro, North Carolina; Columbia,

Monthly Sales of Pathfinder Books to Non Pathfinder Outlets								
CITY	# OF BOOKS SOLD %			# OF BOOKS/PAMPHLETS SOLD				
	GOAL	DECEMBER		NOV	OCT	SEP	AUG	JUL
Des Moines	35	476	1360%	219	211	15	0	135
Boston	50	268	536%	42	7	36	79	73
Philadelphia	49	249	508%	8	0	10	45	66
Washington, D.C.	42	207	493%	1	1	21	1	126
Salt Lake City	40	170	425%	7	16	11	2	155
Chicago	60	223	372%	410	16	31	184	111
San Francisco	74	275	372%	62	3	41	71	246
New York	190	435	229%	152	85	118	664	521
Houston	32	57	178%	40	1	0	27	56
Morgantown	25	37	148%	0	0	141	18	17
Cleveland	40	46	115%	1	0	96	77	37
Pittsburgh	49	55	112%	7	1	1	0	0
Los Angeles	95	100	105%	23	103	34	246	229
Peoria	21	20	95%	4	1	0	1	0
Detroit	60	53	88%	5	0	0	30	38
Atlanta	32	23	72%	0	2	1	94	42
Miami	42	29	69%	100	0	0	10	30
Greensboro	36	15	42%	32	0	0	117	1
Twin Cities	67	26	39%	13	3	9	0	58
Seattle	60	20	33%	7	14	6	56	56
Birmingham	50	10	20%	2	0	10	39	109
Newark	133	2	2%	0	2	3	35	0
TOTAL	1,282	2,796	218%	1,135	466	584	1,796	2,106

as many potential book buyers at stores and libraries as possible, in order to increase our overall sales. Second is to lay the ground work for an ongoing effort by Pathfinder supporters in the area.

"Pathfinder staff members work with supporters in the city they will be going to for several weeks prior to the trip," he said. "Local supporters call up bookstores with current accounts to set up appointments, drop off catalogs to stores that do not currently carry our titles to see if the buyer would be interested in a meeting, and contact librarians at college and public libraries to set up a time for a Pathfinder representative to review the catalog."

"Our goal is that after the tour there will be more supporters who regularly oversee or service accounts with commercial customers in each city," he said.

Michael Baumann, another Pathfinder staff member, will be going to Washington, D.C., at the end of January. Supporters there are "doing great," he said. They "have lined up at least four or five visits every day. More

than 20 appointments are set up right now. I'll be meeting with supporters on Sunday right before the Super Bowl, to prepare the week and do a training session. Especially important will be some discussion about the books and what is happening in politics today that make them relevant. This is always a key aspect of our sales work." Visits will include independent bookstores, libraries, and college bookstores, Baumann said.

❖

Abby Tilsner reports from Atlanta that in response to the bombing of an abortion clinic there, activists have been getting out with Pathfinder books and pamphlets on street tables, at the Martin Luther King march, as well as selling to co-workers. Socialist workers sold one copy of *Is Biology Woman's Destiny?* and the pamphlet *Abortion is a Woman's Right* on the job at Wilen Manufacturing Co. Also, two of the *Abortion is a Woman's Right* pamphlets and one copy of *Problems of Women's Liberation* were sold at street tables.

South Carolina; Los Angeles; Morgantown, West Virginia; New York; Newark, New Jersey; Philadelphia; Salt Lake City; Seattle; and Washington, D.C.; as well as Australia, Canada, England, Iran, Ireland, and New Zealand.

Pathfinder is also offering several smaller collections of writings by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Bob Miller, who works at the Ford plant in Edison, New Jersey, reports that three of his co-workers who are members of the Pathfinder Readers Club have purchased eight books and pamphlets after seeing the ad in the *Militant* (see pages 8-9).

One worker bought *Genesis of Capital*, *The Housing Question*, and *Marx and Engels on the United States*. Another bought the Spanish-language editions of *Genesis of Capital*; *Value, Price, and Profit*; and *The Peasant War in Germany* by Marx and Engels, and *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* by Lenin. A third bought *The Wages System* by Engels.

More than half of the individuals ordering the collected works have taken advantage of Pathfinder's layaway plan.

Readers can reserve a set with a 25 percent deposit. Pathfinder will ship the books upon receiving full payment anytime before March 31.

In New York, where 10 people have ordered one or both of the collected works, the Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party have launched a six-part public class

series on the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The classes will cover topics such as "How the first communist organization was built," "What are wages," "The communist view on trade unions," and "The strategy of the Bolsheviks in the Russian revolution."

More than 30 people attended the first class, where the discussion took up the role of propaganda in the German revolution of 1848, the strengths and weaknesses of the revolutionary workers movement before the *Communist Manifesto* was written, and other topics.

A question at the end of the class led to a discussion on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, sending class participants back to the collected works to check out what Engels had to say about the peasant question in France and Germany, and what Lenin wrote about the worker-peasant alliance in Russia.

Pathfinder supporters in Montreal recently wrote a letter proposing they try to track down French-language titles by Marx, Engels, and Lenin that may exist in warehouses around the world and arrange to purchase them to better make them available to workers and youth attracted to communism in Quebec, France, and elsewhere.

To order the collected works or other books by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, write to Pathfinder at 410 West Street, New York, NY, or contact the nearest Pathfinder Bookstore listed on page 12.

Hearing confirms Panther was framed up

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — A court hearing has produced new evidence confirming that Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt was the victim of a police frame-up. The one-time Black Panther Party leader is serving a life sentence for a murder he did not commit.

At the 13-day hearing, it was established that Julius Butler, the key witness against Pratt, was an informer for the Los Angeles district attorney's office and for the Los Angeles Police Department at the time he testified. Earlier, it was revealed that he was an FBI informer and that under its secret COINTELPRO operation, the FBI had targeted the Panthers for "disruption" and "neutralization." These crucial facts had been withheld from the jury that convicted Pratt. Three of the jurors have since declared that if they had known Butler was a police informer they would not have voted guilty.

The hearing in state Superior Court in Santa Ana was convened to determine if Pratt's conviction should be overturned and a new trial granted him. Testimony was concluded January 10. The district attorney, who opposed granting a new trial, and Pratt's attorneys, were instructed to file closing arguments by February 14. Judge Everett Dickey will then rule on whether Pratt should be granted a new trial.

The hearing had been slated to be held in Los Angeles County, where Pratt was convicted, but it was moved to neighboring Orange County to avoid a "conflict of interest." Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Richard Kalustian had been the assistant district attorney who prosecuted Pratt and was to testify at the hearing.

Pratt is currently incarcerated in Mule Creek state prison in northern California and was brought to the Orange County jail so he could attend the hearing. When he came in the first morning, many in the crowded courtroom stood up to welcome him with hand waves, and some with clenched fists. Pratt smiled broadly.

The central focus of the hearing was on Butler. He was questioned by Johnny Cochran, who gained fame as O.J. Simpson's lawyer. He had been Pratt's lawyer in the 1972 murder trial. Cochran will also participate in closing arguments along with Pratt's long-time attorney, Stuart Hanlon.

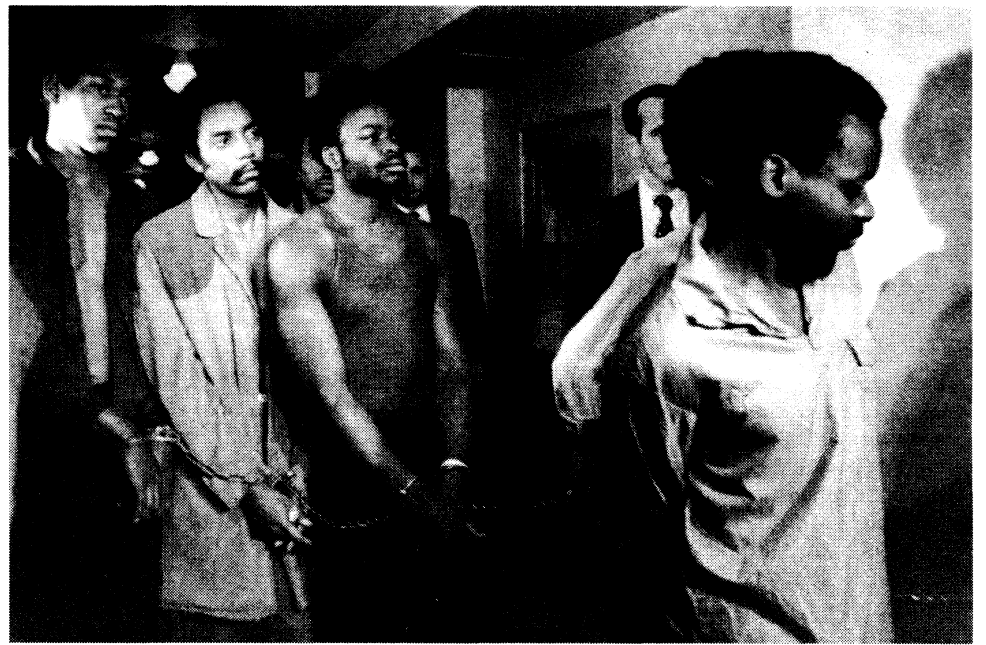
On the witness stand, Butler danced around the fact that he was indeed an informer at the time he testified for the prosecution. He testified he had not informed to the FBI, he had "conversations" with them. He stated that FBI memos saying he provided "confidential" information were mistaken. He had shared the information with others, including neighbors and his landlady.

He said he had not been an informer for the DA's office and the LAPD. He had been a "liaison" person, a "mediator."

But Butler tripped up when Cochran asked how he would define an informer and he responded, one who gives information to the police that can get someone arrested and convicted. Cochran then recalled that Butler had told the FBI that Pratt possessed a machine gun and pistol. He asked, "Would you say you were an informant?"

"I guess you could say that," Butler responded. "Yes."

Later Butler returned to the stand to



Hearing highlighted how FBI used informers and provocateurs to disrupt Black Panther Party. Above, cops arrest several members of the group in 1969 in Los Angeles.

amend that. He said he had not been an informer, but would not dispute the cops' belief that he was.

Testimony by policemen made clear they regarded Butler as a valued informer. Prior to the Pratt trial, Butler and others had been charged with abducting and beating a Panther suspected of being an infiltrator. Butler, on his own, pleaded guilty to four felony charges. His sentence? Probation and a \$200 fine. The sentence was based on a probationary report which included one cop's affidavit that Butler "has been cooperative" with them.

At the hearing, ex-prosecutor Kalustian testified that after Pratt's conviction he requested that Butler's \$200 fine be reduced. Later, he got Butler's felony conviction reduced to a misdemeanor so Butler could get into law school.

Imprisoned since 1972, Pratt has been denied parole 13 times. Four previous motions for a new trial were rejected. But continuing revelations about the frame-up, coupled with growing public support for Pratt, finally won the present hearing.

At the time of his arrest, Pratt was the leader of the Los Angeles Panthers. He was charged with killing Caroline Olsen and wounding her husband Kenneth during a robbery. Pratt insisted that at the time the crime was committed he was attending a Panther meeting in Oakland, 400 miles away. He said the FBI knew this because they had the Panthers under intense surveillance and had a tap on the Oakland Panther phone he used to make several calls. Later a retired FBI agent came forward to affirm he had seen such records. This information vanished from the FBI files.

Kathleen Cleaver, who attended the Oakland meeting, testified in Pratt's behalf at his trial. In 1992, others who attended the meeting came forward to verify that Pratt was there at the time of the murder. They explained they had remained silent on instructions from the late Huey Newton, the central leader of the organization. There was a bitter factional struggle in the Panthers at the time and Pratt had been among those opposing Newton.

Pratt was indicted for the Olsen murder in 1970 after Butler told police that Pratt had confided to him that he was the killer.

Butler, a former sheriff's deputy, had joined the Panthers in 1968 and by 1970 had become the group's area security chief. At the time, documents confirm, Butler was already providing information to the FBI. Their documents reported tensions between Pratt and Butler and said that on August 5 of that year, Pratt "probably" expelled Butler from the party. Five days later, Butler wrote a letter recounting Pratt's "confession" and gave it to two L.A. cops. Obviously tipped off in advance, FBI agents were on the scene and demanded the cops give them the letter. Later, the cops gave it to them and Pratt's indictment followed. The letter was the cornerstone of the case against Pratt.

In an interview outside the courtroom, Pratt's sister, Ginny Pratt, expressed both satisfaction and frustration with the hearing. She said the testimony was "bringing out a lot of facts we've been fighting to bring out for years." At the same time, she angrily added, "It's a cover-up.... They're covering up the role of the government, the role of the FBI — what they did to destroy the

Panthers.

"They framed Geronimo, they murdered Fred Hampton in Chicago," she declared. "It was all part of the COINTELPRO operation to destroy the Panthers."

Pratt's spokesperson, Mohammad Mubarak, said Pratt was encouraged by the hearing. He felt that the new evidence about the scope of Butler's role as an informer was important and carried greater weight because the disclosures came not from his supporters, but from the District Attorney's office and the police.

Testimony by retired LAPD Capt. Edward Henry helped round out what Butler's role was in the Panthers. He noted that in confrontations between the police and Panthers, Butler had been the most vociferous in hurling obscenities. After meeting with Butler, he added, he realized this was intended "to convince the Panthers that he was a good Panther."

When Butler was cursing the police, Henry was asked, did he think Butler was acting as a provocateur?

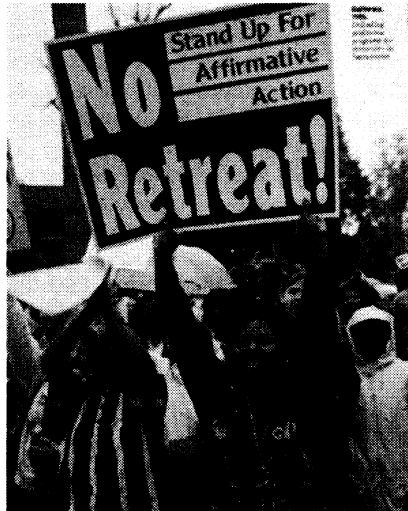
Henry responded, "In effect, yes."

Mohammad Mubarak, Geronimo Pratt's spokesperson, will speak on the case at the Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum Friday, February 14. For details, see listing on page 12.

COME TO THE Young Socialists Second National Convention

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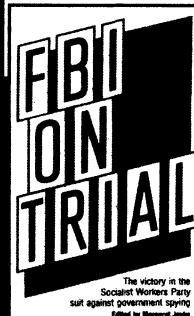
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Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Palestinians celebrate, express doubts on accords with Tel Aviv

BY HILDA CUZCO

At least 60,000 Palestinians rallied January 19 in front of the former Israeli military headquarters in Hebron to welcome Palestinian Authority leader Yasir Arafat and celebrate the partial withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank city. It had been 30 years since the Palestinian leader visited Hebron, when it was still under Jordanian rule. In 1967, Tel Aviv seized the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria during the Middle East War.

"I now proclaim the city of Hebron as a liberated city," Arafat told the crowd. "Hebron is a step toward what comes after, to area B, area C, to the establishment of our Palestinian state," he added, referring to the rest of the territories from which Israeli troops are to be redeployed.

Arafat and Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu signed the agreement on Hebron in the early hours of January 15, which stipulated the withdrawal of 80 percent of the Zionist troops from the city. Tel Aviv's troops continue to control 20 percent, ostensibly to protect the 500 Israeli settlers in this city of more than 130,000. These soldiers are allowed superior weapons than the Palestinian police.

The agreement included a "note for the record," negotiated with Washington envoy Dennis Ross, which underlines the mutual understanding for compliance with earlier accords reached in Oslo in 1993. The document reaffirms Tel Aviv's commitment to a three-stage redeployment of its troops from

other parts of the West Bank starting the first week of March, the release of some political prisoners, the resumption of talks for a safe passage for Palestinians between the West Bank and Gaza, the opening of an airport and seaport in Gaza, and continued negotiations to be resumed within two months after implementation of Hebron accords.

The agreement also calls for the revision of the Palestinian National Charter, which currently calls for the destruction of the state of Israel. Talks on other unresolved issues including borders, resources, and the status of Jerusalem — originally scheduled to start last May — are now supposed to conclude in mid-1999.

While some cheered, other Palestinians expressed their doubts after the January 19 celebration rally. "I'm happy!" chanted Sadika Fatafta, 50, who came from the nearby village of Tarkumiyah to see Arafat. "This is what we want. Could we want anything better than this day?"

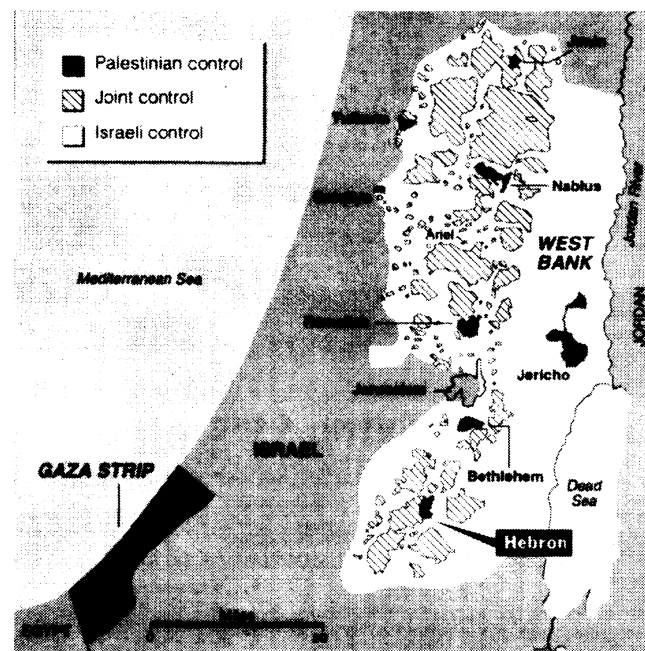
After the rally ended, Ghaleb Idries, a 30-year-old Palestinian, told a *New York Times* reporter, "When I look at these festivities, I feel that we are free. But when I return to the area I live in, I'll be full of sorrow — because part of the city is under the control of Israel, and there are soldiers and checkpoints."

Palestinian official Hanan Ashrawi also expressed her doubts of the lack of an independent army or control of airspace or sovereign rights. "We have, let's say, an emerging state, but we don't have full control over the crossing points or freedom of movement over our land," said Ashrawi.

In his speech, Arafat promised that women prisoners will be freed along with the spiritual leader of the Hamas group Sheik Ahmed Yassin. The Islamic organization of Hamas considers Arafat a collaborator with the Israeli government. Tel Aviv had refused to release four women prisoners accused of murder. Another 25 Palestinian women prisoners refused to be released in solidarity with the four.

In Israel, Netanyahu has been fending off criticism for signing the accord. After a 12-hour meeting, Netanyahu's cabinet voted to accept the accords, but not without a sharp debate. Only 11 of the 18 cabinet members voted "yes." Ze'ev Begin, son of former prime minister Menachem Begin and a member of the ruling Likud party, resigned from the Cabinet in protest of the accord. Former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, also of the Likud party, declared that the treaties were signed with a "terrorist gang." However, a poll taken over a three-year period showed that almost 70 percent of Israelis supported the Israeli and Palestinian talks.

Addressing parliament to explain the accords, Netanyahu denied any changes in his party's position. "There is no different Likud," he said. "There is a different reality which was forced upon us.... Leadership always — always — is the meeting ground



Map shows limits of Palestinian control in West Bank

between vision and reality, between ideology and practicality."

The role of Washington in the process of implementation of the accords assures its role in the Middle East. In a letter addressed to Netanyahu, included in the "note for the record," former U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher reiterates their mutual collaboration. "Mr. Prime Minister, you can be assured that the United States' commitment to Israel's security is ironclad and constitutes the fundamental cornerstone of our special relationship.... Moreover, a hallmark of U.S. policy remains our commitment to work cooperatively to seek to meet the security needs that Israel identifies. Finally, I would like to reiterate our position that Israel is entitled to secure and defensible borders, which should be directly negotiated and agreed with its neighbors."

Fighters in Lebanon resist 14-year Israeli occupation

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS AND GEORGES MEHRABIAN

BEIRUT, Lebanon — The war in South Lebanon has a faint echo in Beirut and the other major cities of the country. The almost daily Israeli bombings and the guerrilla attacks by the National Resistance (NR) fighters — composed overwhelmingly of Lebanese Shiite Muslims who are members of Hezbollah — have become common occurrences. The guerrillas have

REPORTERS' NOTEBOOK

been fighting to end the 14-year occupation by the Israeli army on Lebanese soil. In this reporters' notebook, the names of the resistance members have been changed to protect their identity.

Although there is mass sentiment in favor of the military resistance, life goes on uninterrupted in most of the country unless Israel's capitalist rulers decide to bring the war into the rest of the country, as they did last April during the military operation code named "Grapes of Wrath." That operation, which brought massive destruction in the country, was met by protests throughout Lebanon. Many volunteered to go South and rebuild the villages destroyed by the Israeli forces.

"The resistance to the Israeli occupation started on June 5, 1982 when Israel launched its murderous invasion of Lebanon," explained Ali Mansour, a former National Resistance fighter we met in a Beirut cafe. "Israeli troops reached Beirut and laid siege to the city. With the withdrawal of PLO [Palestinian Liberation Organization] troops the city finally fell. At that point, 30 Lebanese parties met and decided to submit to the occupation."

"The Lebanese Communist Party (LCP) of which I was a member, the Organization of Communist Action, and the Party of Socialist Action rejected that course and decided to carry out an armed guerrilla resistance."

Between 1967-1982, some 10,000 Palestinians and Lebanese — mostly civilians from Lebanon — were killed by Israeli troops.

Mansour continued, "At first, many people were neutral. But after two or three months of occupation the mood turned

against the Israelis. Close to 5,000 students joined in. By 1984-85, the resistance took on a mass character. Almost all the other parties joined in. Armed actions and protest strikes eventually pushed the Israelis back to their current area of occupation, which runs the length of the entire border and is between 5 and 15 kilometers wide. In the western districts of Beirut there was an insurrection that drove out the Lebanese government troops who were then allied with Israel."

Mansour said in 1990, negotiations were signed at Taef, a town in Saudi Arabia, which eventually brought an end to the civil war. Muslim and Christian bourgeois factions of Lebanon agreed on some power-sharing reforms. He explained that the LCP and other parties withdrew from the resistance and the National Resistance, which then became dominated by Hezbollah.

Front line of resistance

To reach the areas on the front line of the resistance we had to be escorted by the NR. A meeting was arranged with the director of the Hezbollah press office in the southern Shiite working class area of Beirut. He made several calls and the trip was set for January 4.

The three of us headed to the southern port of Tyre and along the way, we passed through a Syrian army barrage followed immediately by a Lebanese army barrage. In Tyre, we were met by two young men who escorted us close to the occupied zone. Hezbollah spokesman Samir Aleme welcomed us at a new school and we were given an escort before heading to the front-line villages.

Kabrikha is in the tobacco cultivating area, once the major cash crop in those parts. We were now accompanied by four young fighters. We were shown some of the destruction caused by Israeli bombings. The occupied zone was across a gorge with the Israeli troops on the other side — a mere 200 meters. We could see the Golan Heights, Syrian land also occupied by Israeli troops.

Kassem, a fighter explained to us, "many attacks are launched from here. We call this gorge the death gorge, because those of us who go in know they will never return. The resistance harasses the Israeli troops on a daily basis. They retaliate by bombing the surrounding villages, including this one."

The youth were from the area. Ismail, another young fighter carrying a cellular phone and a walkie-talkie, joined us. "I am

a son of this village. We are all mostly farmers. Now I can not farm. I am in the resistance because the Israelis give us no choice." He took us over to see the walls of the homes. "See, hundreds of nails are imbedded into the walls. The Israelis bomb us with antipersonnel bombs, each one has hundred of nails. It is designed to kill civilians."

"Despite the difficulties we are scoring victories," Ismail continued. "On December 19, one of our units wounded the Israeli commander of the occupation forces — General Eli Amitai-right there," he said, pointing to the nearest fortification overlooking the area. "We have also made the South Lebanon Army (SLA) of Lahad inoperative. They do nothing now without Israelis with them. They can't even collect taxes without the Israelis. Their troops are forcibly recruited from the occupied villages." The SLA is a Lebanese militia organized and armed by the Israeli occupation forces.

Ismail became alarmed when he noticed an Israeli patrol descending the opposing side of the gorge. "Trouble! We better get you guys away from their sight," he declared.

Suddenly the sound of mortars could be heard "We are hitting the patrol," explained Kassem. "Look." Puffs of smoke could be seen on the hill. "We always try to respond to their attempts. But now they might hit back."

A man in his 40s, Melhem Ghaleb, the owner of the destroyed house we had been observing from, walked up. "I am a truck driver and not a member of the resistance," he explained. "My house has been hit nine times, but I will not leave this village, there is nowhere else for me to go. I guess by staying I am also resisting. We are normal, honorable working people. All we want is to work our land. The Resistance gives us hope that one

day we will be able to do that."

Ghaleb said, "This area used to have about 5,000 inhabitants, now it is about 400. The rest went to Beirut."

The shells were getting closer and we were ushered into a farmer's home deeper in the village. "I have my son in an Israeli prison camp," explained Ismael Mahmoud Zein's mother. "He has been there 6 years. He was caught while carrying out a guerrilla attack. Every two or three months we get some news through the Red Cross."

She showed us the small packet of all the one-paragraph notes she has received from him. The family is then allowed one paragraph in reply. "But his morale is good, look at the art work he does while in prison." She pointed to an embroidery and a model of the Dome of the Rock shrine in Jerusalem. She has been allowed one visit up to today. When asked if she would allow her other sons to fight, she laughed. "It is not for me to allow them, they do as they please. Our life is a resistance," she added.

Beshar Abu Saifan contributed to this article.

Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation

FRED FELDMAN AND GEORGES SAYAD

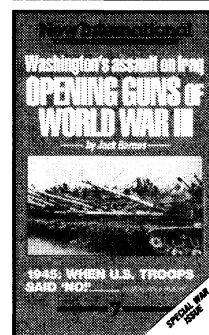
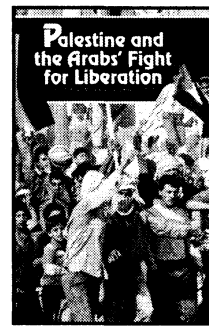
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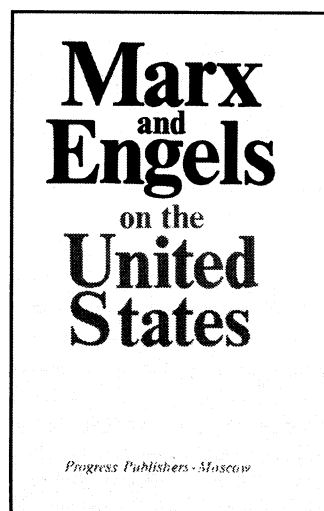


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Illustration from *On the Paris Commune*



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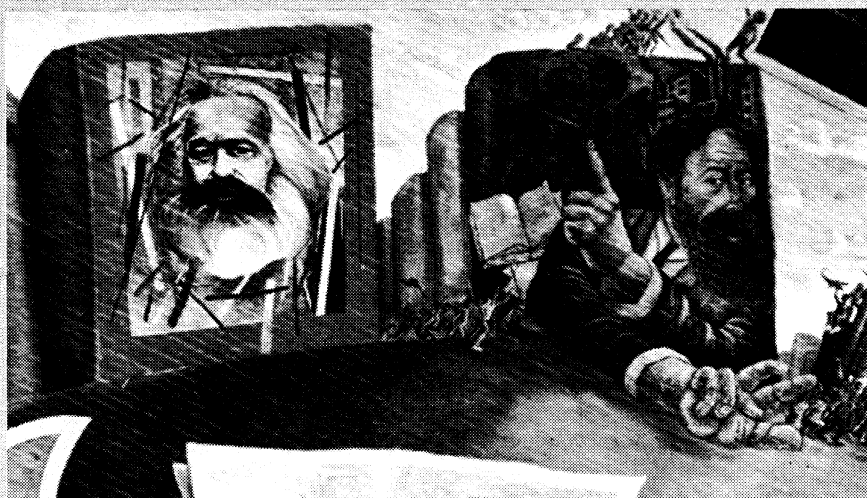
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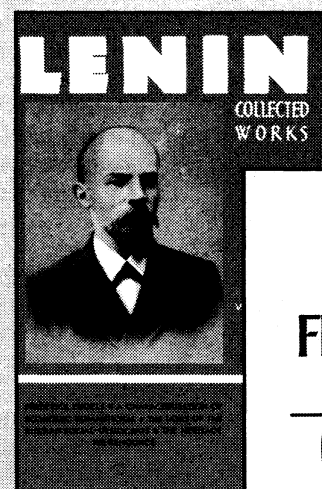
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Detroit news strikers keep up their fight

BY JOHN SARGE

DETROIT — Newspaper strikers here launched a new campaign on December 30, "Shut Down Motown '97." Hundreds of strikers and their supporters blocked the street in front of the downtown Detroit printing plant of the *Detroit News* and *Free Press*. Other recent actions have targeted Metro Detroit airport and downtown traffic at rush hour.

"After 18 months on strike, all the actions we have taken have not brought us closer to getting a contract," Kate DeSmet, a striking journalist, told the press. "We believe that it is time to take a more aggressive route. This campaign is about disrupting the lives of people who have shown little interest in resolving the strike."

This campaign follows new government attempts to limit the unionists' ability to confront the companies. In late November, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) announced plans to seek contempt citations against the striking unions for failing to abide by an agreement reached last July on picket line behavior. That "agreement," reached under threat of legal action, said strikers must not "restrain, threaten or coerce replacement workers or any employees of the Detroit Newspapers, *Detroit Free Press*, or the *Detroit News* because they choose to cross a picket line."

The NLRB, which still has not ruled on numerous unfair labor practice charges filed by the unions early in the strike, was reportedly preparing charges against the striking unions for efforts to discourage advertisers from using the newspapers. The government agency was also seeking legal action against the unions for a rally outside the southeast Michigan printing plant of *USA Today*, the national newspaper owned by Gannett, the owner of the *Detroit News*.

Some 2,500 editorial, production, and distribution workers, organized in six unions, went on strike July 13, 1995, against

the two daily newspapers, the *News* and the *Free Press*, and their joint business agent, the Detroit Newspaper Agency (DNA). Some 2,000 workers are still out, fighting to protect jobs, wages, working conditions, and their right to negotiate jointly. The UAW distributed more than 1,200 checks to active strikers over the holidays. To qualify, a striker was required to participate in regular strike activity — picketing, leafleting, helping at the food bank, or working at the *Sunday Journal*, a weekly tabloid that the striking unions help publish.

DeSmet, a member of Newspaper Guild Local 22, reported that the Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions, made up of presidents and business agents of the striking unions, signed a new agreement with the NLRB December 27, requiring the striking unions to have a picket captain at every line, responsible for enforcing the July agreement. Any violation could cost the local unions \$5,000 and the strikers involved \$500. Strikers are supposed to sign a copy of this settlement within 30 days.

The companies continue to refuse to make any offer that could end the strike. There are negotiating sessions with the different locals, but management holds to their position that most strikers have been permanently replaced and that the unions must accept all of the bosses' demands.

Workers keep up pickets, boycott

The newspapers continue to try to intimidate strikers. Workers report that more than 275 members of the six unions have received letters discharging them for picket line "misconduct," which includes anything the companies claim violates the July NLRB agreement.

In face of company intransigence and NLRB moves, the strikers have kept up picket lines at the editorial offices and printing plants. They leaflet businesses that are still advertising in the scab papers and con-

tinue to organize a readers' boycott of the papers, as well as other actions to keep the strike in the public eye.

Over the fall, strikers organized protests of up to 200 at stores that advertise in the struck papers. Unionists wearing T-shirts urging a boycott of scab advertisers paraded through the offending businesses. One hundred fifty strikers and their supporters delayed the shipping of the southeast Michigan edition of *USA Today* on September 23, by picketing the Port Huron printing plant that produces the paper.

Strikers are also campaigning to get the AFL-CIO International Executive Board to call a national labor mobilization in support of the Detroit strikers. A "Detroit Strikers' Appeal for a National Labor Action," signed by 840 strikers, was made public December 7 at a conference of 200 strikers and their supporters at Wayne State University.

"Now that the national election campaigns are over, we are appealing to unions around the country and supporters of our strike to join us in urging AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and the Executive Council to reconsider [a national labor action]," the appeal states.

This call has been endorsed by the Metro AFL-CIO; the striking unions; United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 876, an 18,000 member union representing retail clerks across Michigan; and a UAW Region 1A leadership meeting.

But there is not unanimity on the way forward for the strike. Top officials of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and the Newspaper Guild (which is in the process of merging with the CWA) have proposed to offer an unconditional return to work. International union officials and some strikers claim that such an offer, while bringing down the picket lines, would start the clock running on back pay once the unions win their NLRB charges.

The newspapers continue to be hurt by the strike. They admit that circulation is down 34 percent; strikers speculate a much greater loss in readership.



Militant/John Sarge
Strikers rally at *Detroit News* building in April 1996

The strike has widespread support among working people in this area. Circulation figures report readership losses of up to 75 percent in some heavily unionized areas. Strike support lawn signs stand in front of thousands of workers' homes across southeast Michigan. *Detroit News* and *Free Press* boxes are gone from most large unionized factories and been replaced by suburban daily boxes at some, including in the heart of Detroit, just minutes from the newspaper offices.

The strikers have set up a rotating series of dinners at union halls across the region to raise money for the strike. Locals are holding regular raffles and collections. Solidarity has extended across the border with union locals in Ontario, Canada, organizing fund-raising efforts and speaking engagements.

Those who want more information, including getting strikers to visit their area, can call the strike headquarters at (313) 877-9016.

John Sarge is a member of UAW Local 900.

Ford to cut jobs in UK

BY CAROLINE BELLAMY AND IAN GRANT

LONDON — Ford Motor Co. announced January 16 that it would cut 1,300 jobs at its Halewood plant near Liverpool, England by April 1997, taking the plant down to one shift. The company also plans to end production of the only model made at Halewood, the Escort, in 2000, threatening the plant with closure and the loss of another 2,500 jobs. Ford currently says that it wants to keep Halewood open as the sole European producer of a new "people carrier" vehicle, but this is contingent upon the granting of about £75 million (US\$124.5 million) government aid for the project, and no union opposition to the current cutbacks.

The day after the announcement workers held a mass meeting at Halewood and took a near unanimous vote for a day of action the following Thursday. Mass meetings are to be held at other Ford plants across the United Kingdom to vote on a ballot for a strike action. Ronnie Jennings, a worker at Halewood for ten years, told *Militant* reporters, "If we get the backing of other plants we'll be all right. If not we'll have problems."

The job losses take place in the context of a European car market where despite the fact that sales are at a high — hitting the 2 million mark in the UK for the first time since 1990 — manufacturers' profit rates are falling. In the late 1980's UK car profit margins were 11 percent. This year they average 1 percent. "That's what we call profitless volume growth" said Colin Whitbread, an auto consultant with the Economist Intelligence Unit. This declining profit rate is not a feature of the motor industry alone, it is the cause of the world economic crisis. Average annual economic growth in the imperialist countries slipped to about 2.5 percent in the 1980's from more than 3 percent in the 1970's and 5 percent in the 1960's and continues to fall.

To increase profits in this situation, each manufacturer needs to produce and sell more cars. In Europe, and other developed parts of the world, most people who can afford to buy a car at prices that profit the manufacturer, already have one. The resulting lack of room for growth of the market as a whole — the European car market is fore-

cast to grow by only 3 percent next year — means cutthroat competition as each manufacturer battles to increase its particular slice of the cake. This has led to too many vehicles being produced and a price war — both of which are cutting profit rates still further. Competition and the laws of supply and demand have come together to create a downward spiral.

This has led to a drive by manufacturers to cut costs through speedup, attacks on wages and conditions and ultimately the cutting of "excess capacity," as has happened at Halewood. No matter how cheaply a factory produces, if it is not running at full capacity profits are reduced as the proportion of overheads per car is greater. Jac Nasser, global automotive chief of Ford said of the closure, "The workforce at Halewood has done a yeoman-like job over several years. They have improved efficiency more than 50 percent. However the plant is running at 55 percent of capacity which is not good."

Ken Sanderson, who works on the line at Halewood, said, "We have done everything they have asked from us for the last 10 years — we can't do any more. If this factory goes down there will be complete devastation in this area."

The problems in the car industry "run from top to bottom across Europe" reports the weekly *Observer*, "Chronic overcapacity, oversupply, high costs, intense competition, low prices and low profits affect the job security of every employee."

The new version of the Escort will continue to be produced at Valencia in Spain and Saarlouis in Germany, despite the fact that wage costs are much higher in Germany than in the UK. But recent labor struggles in Germany make it more of a gamble to attack the unions in that country. J. Kidd, who has worked at Halewood for 20 years commented on the union actions in Germany, "We'll have to start doing that here. This is going to affect all the other plants. They'll all be affected eventually."

Caroline Bellamy and Ian Grant are members of the Transport and General Workers Union at Ford in Dagenham, London. Debbie Delange in Manchester contributed to this article.

Airline workers reject pact

BY JANICE LYNN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Mechanics, technicians, and utility workers at United Airlines, organized by the International Association of Machinists (IAM), rejected proposed wage increases in voting during early January.

The 63 to 37 percent vote by the 13,900 IAM members was a indication of continued dissatisfaction with the Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP) negotiated in 1994. That agreement gave deep wage and work rule concessions in return for 55 percent employee ownership — through shares of stock that workers can't touch until they retire or resign — and promises of "job security." The ESOP was cheered at the time by the Clinton administration as establishing a new model for labor and management working together.

The proposal that was just rejected would have raised wages by 3 percent in 1997 and 1998 and 2 percent in 1999 and 2000. United's pilots turned down similar wage increases by an 80 percent margin. In a separate vote, the 9,500 ramp workers, storekeepers, food service workers, and others represented by the IAM did approve the wage increases by a 67 percent margin. The proposal also provided for lump-sum profit sharing payments in 1998 and 1999 if United's pre-tax earnings are \$1 billion or more.

This "mid-term wage adjustment" was built into the ESOP contract, which is in effect until the year 2000. That agreement sets an overall limit of a 10 percent wage increase. Many who voted "no" did so in

order to get bigger raises sooner. The proposal now goes to an arbitrator.

The vote was a topic of debate and discussion among United employees. Most workers agreed the proposed wage increases were "crumbs" and didn't come close to making up for the more than 15 percent in wage concessions given up in 1994, not to mention keeping up with inflation. Others questioned turning down any wage increase. "I supported the 'yes' vote," John Peterson, a Miami food service worker, told the *Militant*. "I think we should get as much money as we possibly can because we never know how long we're going to have a job."

There are other potential fights brewing in the airline industry as well. At American Airlines, the Allied Pilots Association rejected a contract proposal in a 61 to 39 percent vote and have entered a 30-day "cooling off" period that will end February 15.

Meanwhile, at USAir, pilots, flight attendants, and IAM-organized ground workers are being asked to take concessions and make sacrifices in order to make the airline profitable. The company wants to set up a separate "low-cost" operation, dubbed US2, for 40 percent of its operations, with deep cuts in wages and other concessions, such as longer flying hours for pilots, from those employees shifted to US2.

Janice Lynn is a utility worker at United Airlines and member of IAM Local Lodge 1759. Janet Post, a food service worker at United Airlines in Miami and member of IAM Local Lodge 368, contributed to this article.

Steel strikers mobilize a show of strength

BY TONY DUTROW

FOLLANSBEE, West Virginia — On January 10, about 300 strikers braved sub-zero windchill factors to swiftly respond to a potential threat by Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. bosses to bring unauthorized workers across the coke mill picket lines. Earlier in the day, unionists were tipped off by a caller on a local talk-radio show who blew the whistle on the plan by urging others to cross the line with him.

Though the threat never materialized, and may have been a trial balloon, the Steubenville, Ohio, *Herald-Star* was compelled to report on the serious preparations made by the union.

"This is a show of solidarity. It's a message to any replacement workers that they will have to deal with this membership," Larry Mallas, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1190, said in the January 11 *Herald-Star*.

From the beginning of the strike, the union has authorized the company to operate the mill with management and other salaried personnel to preserve the ovens. The company nevertheless obtained an injunction from a West Virginia judge the first week of the strike, claiming the union had terrorized salaried employees entering the mill. The injunction limits the size of pickets to eight strikers per gate.

Gordon McCloud, an ex-coal miner who worked at the Mingo Junction mill for eight years, was among the hundreds who showed up, mostly by word of mouth and phone-trees. "We had our cars lined up on both sides of the highway, almost for a mile. We didn't let any of the management into the plant until 2 a.m.," he said of the protest, which began at 10 p.m. the previous night.

"We wouldn't let any of them in until after we checked their ID's with our list and inspected each car," he added. "This was the strongest showing on the picket lines since the strike started. We had strikers from Yorkville and Martins Ferry, [Ohio], on the line too."

Ron Moran, who was on picket duty the day after with McCloud, said he would have come out but missed the call. Moran, a motor inspector at the Mingo Junction mill with 34 years' seniority, said, "We are a testing ground for the rest of the labor movement, and after this action I think it shows the union is very strong here at Wheeling-Pitt. This was really great for morale."

Union, company meet with mediator

Representatives of Wheeling-Pitt and the USWA met January 15 with federal mediator John Pinto. According to an interview in the *Wheeling-Intelligencer*, Dave Helfert, Washington D.C. director of communications for the federal mediation service, said, "The two sides have sought Pinto's assistance."

In mid-December an attempt to get talks off the ground fizzled as the company refused to discuss restoring the guaranteed pension plan the union lost following the 1985 bankruptcy and 89 day strike later that year. Pinto, a Pittsburgh-based federal mediator, presided over the December talks.

Earlier in the week, the heads of the Catholic Diocese of Wheeling-Charleston,



Militant/Dave Welters

Strikers picket company headquarters November 13, 1996, in Wheeling, West Virginia.

West Virginia, and the Diocese of Steubenville issued a joint statement calling for the resumption of talks.

"The union commends the bishops for their concern and their initiative in seeking to bring the parties together," Jim Bowen, chief negotiator for the USWA, said in a January 11 interview in *Herald-Star*.

The commencement of talks follows a January 7 announcement by WHX, Wheeling-Pitt's parent company, that it will report a loss for 1996, the first in four years, as a result of the three and nearly four-month-long strike.

"Wheeling-Pitt's interim spokesman John Waiter said the company [WHX] decided

to issue the statement in advance of the earnings report because of the 'unusual situation of the strike' by 4,500 steelworkers in West Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania," the *Wheeling News-Reporter* explained.

"WHX stock has lost about 10 percent of its value since the United Steelworkers of America struck Wheeling-Pitt plants," wrote the *Charleston Gazette*, commenting on the same statement. The article also said that a steel analyst for the Wall St. firm Lehman Bros. of New York projected a loss of \$17 million for WHX in 1996.

Judges deny benefits to strikers

Marching in lock-step with officials in Ohio and Pennsylvania, a panel of administrative law judges in West Virginia denied unemployment benefits to more than 600 workers on strike from that state. Hearings were held on the matter December 17 in Wheeling. Lawyers for the union announced they will appeal this ruling, along with the decisions in the other two states.

Meanwhile, the January 15 *Wheeling-Intelligencer* reported that Ron Macko, an Allenport, Pennsylvania, foreman working at the Follansbee coke mill, was pinned against a coke oven door the day before. He was hospitalized in critical condition at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. The company refused to release further details on the extent of the injuries.

Tony Dutrow is a member of USWA Local 1557, at the USX Clairton Coke works.

Socialist oil workers discuss world politics, opportunities to recruit youth

BY JIM GOTESKY

CHICAGO — Socialist workers active in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union met here January 4-5 to analyze world politics, discuss recent developments in the oil and chemical industries, and review their activities on the job and in the union over the last months.

Angel Lariscy, a member of the conference steering committee and a production worker at Witco Co. in Peoria, Illinois, opened the conference with a report outlining the importance of reaching young workers, and the real openings to win youth to the communist movement today. She pointed to the need for joint functioning with members of the Young Socialists in the union and on the job, and stressed that this collaboration should be on a completely equal footing.

Lariscy explained that the increased openness among youth to socialist ideas has developed prior to any qualitative change in the pace of the class struggle, or any strengthening of the labor movement. Oil and chemical workers, along with workers throughout the U.S., continue to be in retreat in face of a decade-and-a-half assault by the bosses. She pointed to growing evidence that the attack against oil workers, in particular, is growing sharper.

"During the last 15 years, according to the American Petroleum Institute, over 170 refineries closed their doors. For many of the remaining 160 facilities, 1995 ranks as one of the least profitable years ever. To reverse declining profit remaining facilities are being retooled and automated," Lariscy explained.

Offensive by oil bosses

She pointed out that as part of "downsizing" the oil refining industry, the employers are pushing to lower the wages and working conditions of oil workers. She pointed to how Tosco has risen to the status of fourth largest U.S.-based refiner as an example.

In 1996, Tosco bought the Marcus Hook British Petroleum refinery outside Philadelphia. The company demanded deep cuts from the OCAW there, and closed the refinery when the workers refused and went on strike. Many months later, after the union agreed to slash jobs by a third and take other deep concessions, the facility was reopened.

Tosco then bought Unocal's 76 Products' division for \$1.8 million. The purchase will nullify the existing OCAW contracts in four California refineries. Lariscy cited a *Bloomberg Business News* article lauding Tosco. "Using a combination of bare-knuckled union negotiations and savvy oil purchasing, Tosco has wrung much higher profits from refining than competitors such as Unocal and Diamond Shamrock," it said.

Other oil bosses are following Tosco's progress closely. Sun Oil, for example, recently announced it would eliminate more than 200 union jobs without cutting production at its refinery across the street from Tosco's Marcus Hook facility.

These facts, according to Lariscy, underscore the openings for political discussion among oil workers. "Oil and chemical workers like other working people in the U.S. are engaged in a war of position with their capitalist bosses. The bosses push for concessions and workers push back. Big struggles will come in the future as the bosses, unsatisfied with small victories, aim to break workers' resistance, but discussion and ferment is developing now."

Selling socialist literature on the job

Lariscy discussed how to turn around the unnecessarily low sales of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books to co-workers by the socialist unionists. She explained that literature sales to oil workers fell far short of the goal set at the last national meeting of communist oil workers that

each would sell an average of two books and pamphlets on the job per month.

The weak sales of communist literature, Lariscy said, could not be justified given the growing political discussion among oil workers who confront big changes in their industry and who are discussing explosive international events from the mass mobilizations of workers in Korea to the future of Social Security, affirmative action, and women's rights.

Jerry Freiwirth, a refinery worker at Shell Oil in Deer Park, Texas, presented a Tasks Report to the conference. Freiwirth's report continued discussion on the importance of working together jointly with Young Socialist members in industry and its connection to the transformation of the way communists function on the job and in the OCAW.

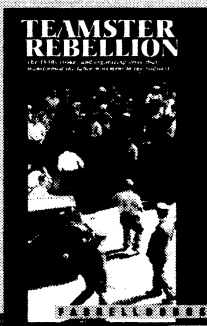
"A party of socialist workers in the OCAW and other industrial unions, who function in politics along the axis we have discussed, is enormously attractive to young people coming around," he explained.

"If we have not been doing consistent political and educational work on the job, it is too late when big political developments break. Right now, we need to be consistently selling Pathfinder books and the *Militant* on the job. As we do so we also bring co-workers with us to political events and we stand shoulder to shoulder with our co-workers in the guerrilla tussles that unfold on the job as the bosses probe for more concessions."

"We don't think that socialist workers can seriously affect the relationship of forces in this stage of the class struggle," Freiwirth continued, "but we do join every scrap of resistance, every opportunity that is real and genuine, and see everything within the framework of how it opens up politics so that we can bring communist ideas to fellow workers."

The conference adopted motions to reaffirm a standing goal to sell an average of two Pathfinder titles on the job per month per person, to make steady progress toward increasing the number of plants where more than one member of the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialists are working on the job together, and to help SWP branches sell the *Militant* newspaper and *Perspectiva Mundial* regularly at OCAW-organized plant gates. Conference participants also adopted goals to increase their financial contributions to the communist movement.


Jim Gotesky is a maintenance worker at the Unocal refinery in Rodeo, California, and a member of the OCAW.



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CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The 'Ebonics' Debate — What Kind of Education Do Black Youth Need? Speaker: Osborne Hart, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 158. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m.

Korean Labor Fights Back. Panel discussion. Fri., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m.

Both events held at 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Governor Wilson's 1997 Budget: An Attack on Working People. Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles and member of United Transportation Union. Fri., Jan. 31. Dinner 6 p.m., Forum 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. at Mission St. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$4 forum. Tel: (415) 285-5323.

FLORIDA

Miami

Crisis in the Airline Industry. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30

p.m. 137 N.E. 54th St. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Panel Discussion on the Guatemala Peace Accords. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner of Massachusetts Ave). Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Defend Social Security! Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 2490 University Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Abortion is a Woman's Right. Keep the Clinics Open! Panel discussion. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 59 Fourth Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Debate on 'Ebonics' and the Fight for Public Education. Speakers: Bud Haitcoat, member United Auto Workers union; Tamar Rosenfeld, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 87A Halsey St. (1 block west of Broad, 2 blocks north of Raymond). Donation: \$4. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Korea: Behind the Strikes. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m.

Zaire: The Struggle for Freedom. Fri., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m.

Both events held at 1906 South St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

After the Wik Ruling: Why Working People

Must Defend Aboriginal Land Rights. Fri., Jan. 31, 7 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9281 3297.

BRITAIN

London

Tory Politics, Sleaze, Morality: A Working-Class Response. Speaker: Pamela Holmes, Communist League. Fri., Jan. 31, 7 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 0171 401 2409.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Is the Coalition Government an Advance for Maori Rights? Sat., Feb. 1, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Christchurch

The Upsurge in Yugoslavia: Behind the Protests in Belgrade. Speaker: Joan Shields, Communist League. Fri., Jan. 31, 7 p.m. 199 High St. (Corner High St. and Tuam). Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

Abortion clinics are bombed in Atlanta, Tulsa

Continued from front page

United Auto Workers, stated, "Antiabortion forces can't win by reasoned debate, so they resort to violence to intimidate and terrorize women from asserting their constitutional right to abortion, and doctors from performing them. We should learn from the history of the fight to legalize abortion. Working people have a stake in defending this important democratic right. The way to defend it is to mobilize, get out into the streets and demonstrate, to demand that those responsible are prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

During the program she encouraged participants to attend protest actions and to help explain the importance of the right of women to control their bodies.

The Feminist Majority had called a Janu-

ary 16 press conference in Washington, D.C., before news of the bombing, to report a survey that of 312 abortion clinics around the country 30 percent reported acts of violence in 1996, compared to 39 percent in 1995.

Ann Glazier, the director of Planned Parenthood's clinic defense organization, told the Washington press conference, "We were saying acts were down slightly last year, but were still high enough to be unacceptable." The Atlanta bombing was designed "to send a message of fear to the community," she said. "They've been unsuccessful in frightening women away from clinics. They're ratcheting it up a notch to scare people."

Just in the past month a doctor was stabbed outside a clinic in New Orleans; a

Planned Parenthood office in Dallas was robbed at gunpoint; a Phoenix, Arizona, clinic was the site of three arson attempts; and the clinic in Tulsa was burned.

Atlanta Mayor William Campbell sent police officers to the city's nine abortion clinics the day of the bombing for extra security.

Federal investigators said January 20 that they do not believe there is a connection between the Sandy Springs and Tulsa bombings, nor of the Tulsa bombings with the Planned Parenthood bombings last September.

Local Atlanta television on the day of the Sandy Springs bombing repeatedly stated that the style of bombing — two bombs set off one hour apart — was the style used by the Irish Republican Army and groups from the Middle East.

Editorials and articles in the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* have described these bombings as "domestic terrorism" and suggested the target could have been the rescue workers who rushed to the scene, not the clinic itself.

Meanwhile, there have been other probes against abortion rights. In New York, Federal judge John Sprizzo ruled January 13 that George Lynch and Christopher Moscinski committed no crime when they blocked access to a clinic that provides abortions in

Dobbs Ferry, New York, because they were motivated by "conscience-driven religious beliefs." The two members of Operation Rescue, who had been arrested more than 20 times for their antiabortion actions, had been charged with contempt of court for violating an injunction against blocking the driveway to the Dobbs Ferry clinic. In letting them off, Sprizzo cited a 1970 Supreme Court decision in favor of a Vietnam War conscientious objector. Randi Fallor, the director of the clinic, asked, "Is it O.K. for them now to block our door? For them to place bombs in the clinic? For them to shoot us, as long as they're sincere in their moral beliefs?"

A new bill to ban so-called partial birth abortion was introduced into the Senate January 17, the day after the Sandy Springs bombing. Similar legislation passed in Congress last year but was vetoed.

CORRECTION

The article "UK rulers face growing divisions," in *Militant* issue no. 4, page 16, contained a factual error. The billionaire founder of the Referendum Party is James Goldsmith, not John Goldsmith.

'Abortion is a woman's right'

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

ATLANTA — In factories and other workplaces throughout Atlanta, people are discussing the clinic bombing. Some, like my co-worker Dorothy, a sewing machine operator at Wilen Manufacturing, a mop factory organized by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), heard about the attack on the clinic on the radio minutes after it occurred. "Suddenly the news broke in to report the clinic bombing," she said. "As they were talking about it, the second bomb went off. I was sitting there sewing — the whole thing really surprised me, especially the second bomb."

"After thinking it over," she continued, "I feel the target was the clinic. Remember, last year they killed a doctor who performed abortions. They carry on this time of year because it's near the anniversary when abortion was legalized."

Anthony Norwood, a forklift operator at the plant, disagreed. "A lot of people are walking around mad. Government buildings, abortion clinics, newspapers are all targets. It's sad."

Support for a woman's right to choose abortion is strong in the plant. Paul Cornish, 22, explained, "I absolutely, by all means think abortion is a woman's right, and her decision. It's absolutely up to her."

Cornish and Molden, a long-time worker at Wilen, had the same response concerning the federal government's inaction in protect-

ing abortion clinics. "What is the government doing about it? Doesn't seem like much to me. They should be more supportive of our right to choose. It is the law, right?" stated Molden.

Arlene Rubinstein works at Wilen Manufacturing and is a member of UNITE.

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'Think of all the locker room jobs' — Last month, hundreds of Vietnamese villagers fought 600 cops who were trying to seize farm land on the northern edge of Hanoi



Harry Ring

for a luxury golf course, a joint venture of the government and a South Korean company.

Hey Clinton — At press time, D.C. hotel owners were balking on a commitment to pay triple time on Inaugural Day. The Ho-

tel and Restaurant Employees union contract calls for double time for that day, and because it's also Martin Luther King day, the workers are entitled to an extra day's pay. The hotels, which are charging top rates and requiring a minimum four-day stay, say the workers are being "greedy."

No Helms-Burton indictment? — When the deal for a partial pullout of Israeli troops from Hebron was signed, Yasir Arafat broke out a box of Cuban cigars (Monte Cristo no less) for U.S. mediators who ignored the U.S. anti-Cuba embargo and lighted up.

Think you're crazy? — "The central problem of the past 30 years is that the poor are getting richer

much, much faster than the rich are getting richer." — An *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* opinion piece by Jude Wanniski, who was an economic adviser for Ross Perot and also Jack Kemp.

Oral pollution — Tightened pollution standards "will raise taxes, stifle economic growth and mandate a lifestyle police," warned David Sykuta of the Illinois Petroleum council at a Chicago hearing on proposals that would assertedly strengthen federal air control standards.

Breath shallow — "Air pollution is responsible for hastening the death of 64,000 people a year in the United States, according to the Environmental Protection Agency. In

Chicago, 80 percent of the air pollution is blamed on the steel mills ringing the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan — not on the snow blowers and motorboats and old automobiles that draw such attention..." — News item.

Handy to carry them out — Coca Cola Bottling of Oregon has been working temps as much as 19 hours a day. A company official told the state safety agency this was not excessive. He said the company was planning to buy new forklifts to lighten the workers burden.

£ Street — In England, there will be a test run on using street signs paid for by corporations and bearing their logos. The idea came from

Bribex (?), the country's leading maker of street signs.

How about gloves and hair nets? — Mattel agreed to put warning labels on its Cabbage Patch dolls which "chew" plastic food. Children had their fingers nipped or got their hair snagged in the teeth. Mattel points out that none of the children needed medical care.

Your choice — All whiskeys, we now learn, contain cancer-causing aromatic hydrocarbons. But, the cheapest stuff contains less than big-ticket items like single malt scotch. An angry spokesman for the Scotch Whiskey Association retorted that several pieces of burnt toast contained more of the carcinogen than a glass of malt.

U.S. Army officer reviews books by Guevara

Supporters of the Cuban revolution will appreciate the following review of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War 1956-58* and *The Bolivian Diary* appeared in the November 1996 issue of the *Hispanic America Historical Review* (HAHR). The HAHR is a major academic journal for

BOOK OF THE WEEK

Latin American studies. The author, Russell Ramsey, is a retired Army lieutenant colonel who teaches at the U.S. Army School of the Americas. In 1961 Ramsey wrote the curriculum for the first counter guerrilla course taught at the School of the Americas.

BY RUSSELL W. RAMSEY

A team of Cuban scholars has worked for a decade on an edited set of Ernesto "Che" Guevara's memoirs on the Cuban Revolutionary War, published as *Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria* (Havana: Editorial Política, 1996). Mary-Alice Waters, a writer and longtime champion of the Cuban Revolution, worked simultaneously to prepare an English version, the *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War 1956-58*. Waters and the Cuban editing team started earlier on the other Che Guevara memoirs, the less complete account of his fatal expedition in Bolivia. These essays emerged as *El diario del Che en Bolivia* (Havana: Editora Política, 1987, 1988); they were refined and translated into English as *The Bolivian Diary*.

Che Guevara belongs to an exclusive fraternity of revolutionary theoreticians who were also force commanders in the field. His first literary effort, *La guerra de guerrillas*, was really a long essay, part theory and part application. A quick translation by the Central Intelligence Agency went to the desk of Robert F. Kennedy, soon to be attorney general and Cold War adviser extraordinaire to President-elect John F. Kennedy. The Kennedy brothers, hoping to build support for the forthcoming Alliance for Progress, perceived Guevara's piece as the expression of a serious threat to their hemispheric view. Consequently, a month before JFK's inau-

guration, orders were given to the U.S. Army to begin training the Latin American armies and security forces in counterinsurgency and nation-building programs.

In the early 1960s, English translations of Che Guevara's "On Guerrilla Warfare" came out in *Evergreen, Ramparts*, and *Monthly Review*; other Guevara essays followed. Gathered mostly from Cuba's *Verde Olivo* magazine, they were translated into English by Victoria Ortiz and published as *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War* (1968). The same year, John Gerassi edited Guevara's essays and published them as *Venceremos! The Speeches and Writings of Ernesto Che Guevara* (1968). The Gerassi volume contains the essay; on the battles against the Fulgencio Batista government, Guevara's political and economic theories, and the original "On Guerrilla Warfare."

The present work edited by Waters, *Episodes*, corrects hundreds of little errors that have crept into the Che Guevara essays; it also fully identifies figures alluded to or previously identified only by *noms de guerre*. Photographs, a glossary of terms, an order-of-battle chart, and rosters of names with minibiographies make this work mandatory reading for students of the Cuban Revolution.

Che Guevara organized a team of Cuban internationalist volunteers to fight alongside followers of Patrice Lumumba in Zaire, then called the Congo. Guevara's work and message were a major force at the January 1966 Tricontinental Conference in Havana. In November of that year, he joined the guerrilla cadre he had inserted into the Bolivian altiplano, and he kept a diary during the ten-month effort to implant a revolution. Betrayed in the field, captured, and executed in October 1967 by the Bolivian administration of Rene Barrientos, he was immediately enshrined in the Valhalla of fallen revolutionaries. Aleida March obtained the diary-actually in two separate segments-and arranged for its publication under Cuban government auspices.

Daniel James translated and edited Guevara's field memoirs as *The Complete Bolivian Diaries of Che Guevara and Other Captured Documents* (1968). Until now, the James volume has stood as the definitive Guevara memoir on the Bolivia episode just as the Ortiz and Gerassi volumes have been the sources for Guevara's revolutionary theories and his field

command role in Cuba. Recently, however, Bolivian government officials have cooperated with Cuban authorities to release and validate more documents. Michael Taber and Michael Baumann worked with Waters to render the present version, *The Bolivian Diary*. Newly translated, it contains field notes by Inti Peredo and other field commanders who corroborate Guevara's notes and also fill in gaps.

Waters' meticulously edited pair of volumes is now the best original source for English-speaking scholars. Her attention to detail and her precision do not overcome the rough eloquence that was Guevara's style; the transcendental message of a new moral order bites through the prose with deceptive simplicity.

The Uruguayan poet José Rodó created, in the early 1900s, a Latin American metaphorical persona called Ariel, a romantic yet legitimate Icarus whose wings always melted in the heat of competition with the North American giant. Ernesto "Che" Guevara became Latin America's Ariel incarnate during the Cold War. He blended Marxist political and economic constructs of another time and culture with the essential spirituality of Latin America. Waters' meticulous volumes do for Guevara's work and writing what Arrian of Cappadocia did for Alexander the Great: preserve the thought and work of a tempestuous, controversial figure with honesty and artistic grace.



Cuban Council of State Office of Historical Affairs
Fidel Castro instructs combatant in use of his weapon during revolutionary war

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

25 CENTS THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

February 4, 1972

In January, an eighteen-member British commission arrived in Zimbabwe [Rhodesia]. Supposedly to test Black attitudes toward a November 24 agreement between British Prime Minister Edward Heath and "Rhodesian" ruler Ian Smith.

The agreement provides for the formal independence from Great Britain of the white-ruled colony, provided the country's 5,000,000 Blacks accept the terms of a new constitution. While giving lip service to the principle of majority rule (there are only 250,000 whites in Zimbabwe), the new constitution actually allows an almost indefinite extension of the present system of white domination.

On January 17, some 8,000 Blacks took to the streets of Gwelo, a city in the central part of the country, shouting "No! No!" Mobile police units assaulted the demonstrators with tear gas. One Black was killed; fifty-five were arrested.

Despite the police repression, the Gwelo demonstrations continued for three days, with Blacks defending themselves against the police attacks.

On January 19, the protests spread to the capital, Salisbury, where cars belonging to whites were stoned by Africans chanting "No! No!" — A phrase that quickly became a national slogan.

Blacks opposition appeared to be so unanimous that even the Center party, a coalition of Black and white liberals that opposes the Smith regime but had urged acceptance of the agreement, reversed its stand on January 20.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y.

FIVE (5) CENTS

February 1, 1947

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., Jan. 25 — Announcement that Armour & Co. in 1946 netted \$30,291,128 profits — highest in the country despite the meat famine imposed by the packing trust — was received with indignation by the organized packinghouse workers of this area.

After drawn-out negotiations with the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, Armours and the other "Big Four" packing corporations (Swift, Cudahy and Wilson) granted a 7 1/2 cent hourly wage increase plus additional concessions on holidays with pay, elimination of some geographical wage differentials, sick leave, etc. But two of the most important demands, for a cost-of-living bonus (a form of escalator clause) and a guaranteed annual wage, were lost in the shuffle.

Dissatisfaction with the company's offer was shown in the UPWA National Strike Strategy Committee, where several members are reported to have voted against the packers' proposals and urged a fight for the union's original demands. The top leadership headed by UPWA President Ralph Helstein, former lawyer for the union pushed through acceptance of the packers inadequate offer.

Rumblings of discontent are being heard among the UPWA ranks as they find their measly 7 1/2-cent increase already being eaten up by rising prices. They are talking about renewing their demand for a cost-of living bonus next April when the contract can be reopened for new wage demands.

Episodes OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1956-58
Ernesto Che Guevara

This book is a firsthand account of the military campaigns and political events that culminated in the January 1959 popular insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship in Cuba. He explains how the struggle transformed the men and women of the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement led by Fidel Castro. And how these combatants forged a political leadership capable of guiding millions of workers and peasants to a political leadership capable of guiding millions of workers and peasants to open the socialist revolution in the Americas. **\$23.95**

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The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara

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This book is a firsthand account of the military campaigns and political events that culminated in the January 1959 popular insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship in Cuba. He explains how the struggle transformed the men and women of the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement led by Fidel Castro. And how these combatants forged a political leadership capable of guiding millions of workers and peasants to a political leadership capable of guiding millions of workers and peasants to open the socialist revolution in the Americas. **\$23.95**

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Defend abortion rights!

Continued from front page
science-driven religious belief."

The bombings in Atlanta and Tulsa are not isolated incidents, as police and government officials keep trying to insist.

In 1994 a doctor, two clinic workers, and a volunteer escort were killed by rightists at clinics that provide abortions. Last year, nearly a third of clinics providing abortion around the country reported acts of violence directed against them. Between 1977 and 1994 there were 1,700 acts of violence against abortion providers, including numerous bombings.

These violent actions are a sign of weakness, not strength, on the part of those who would push women back to the days of deadly back-alley abortions. Their attempts to roll back abortion rights with clinic blockades in the early 1990s failed, as supporters of women's rights mobilized to defend them. And they have been unable to reverse majority support, particularly among working people, for women's right to choose. A vocal, public response to the most recent attacks can serve to isolate and

push back opponents of women's rights.

There is a stepped-up ideological campaign against women, particularly targeting the right to abortion, in the United States, Britain, and elsewhere today. As the capitalist economic system continues its downward spiral, the employing class must try to roll back, or at least slow down, some changes in consciousness about women's place in society. The goal of the bosses and their government is to undermine workers' political self-confidence and class consciousness in order to drive down the value of labor power, by increasing divisions in the working class.

The struggle for women's liberation is a form of the class struggle. Labor must include support for women's rights, and the fight for a woman's right to an abortion, in its demands. This is necessary as part of the transformation of the organized labor movement into an instrument of revolutionary struggle and the development of a class-struggle leadership of women and men.

Working-class fighters should take the lead today in defending abortion rights and demanding the government prosecute those responsible for the clinic bombings.

Say no to bosses' death penalty

Three men were executed in three hours on the night of January 8 at a penitentiary in Arkansas. The U.S. president's home state has executed three men on the same day once before, in 1994. Clinton set the example for the boss class, while Governor of Arkansas in 1992, when he cut short his campaigning and flew to that state to personally witness the execution of Ricky Ray Rector, a mentally ill man who died through capital punishment. The recent state-sanctioned murders were conducted in the midst of much media fanfare about the heinous crimes that were committed and the nightmares of victims' relatives. After the executions, prison officials made phone calls to the families to inform them of the killings.

At one point during this sickening episode, inmate Kirt Wainwright, was left strapped to a gurney with needles in his arms for 45 minutes, while the Supreme Court pondered his appeal.

This was an example of torture and how the death penalty is used to dehumanize inmates and portray them as violent beasts with no rights. The capitalist class uses its media to inundate working people with these images as they prepare their executions while acclimating us for more repression.

The death penalty is used as a weapon of terror aimed at working-class fighters. It's no coincidence that the single-year record of 199 executions was set in 1935, just after the Great Depression and as working-class resistance mounted. In 1934, some 700,000 workers were involved in strikes that paved the way for the founding of the Con-

gress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). In that decade, 1,667 people were put to death — accounting for nearly 41 percent of all executions from 1930 to 1993. Democrat Franklin Roosevelt, who took office in 1933, was president for the rest of the 1930s and led Washington's entry into the interimperialist slaughter of World War II.

The capitalist bosses will resort to rougher methods to control society when masses of working people mobilize to defend their rights and living standards. As if anticipating big class battles ahead, the "antiterrorism" bill signed by Clinton last April, deepens the rulers' assault on workers' rights. This law restricts the rights of inmates on death row by shortening the appeals process. At the same time, the U.S. government has been eliminating funding for centers that provide legal representation for working people who land on death row.

Prison authorities executed 56 people in 1995, the largest number of legalized murders in the United States since 1957. Of the 4,089 executions carried out from 1930 to 1993, 2,154 of these involved killing Blacks — almost 53 percent.

Some 362 people have been executed since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976. Of these, 174 were carried out during the Clinton administration — nearly 50 percent! These figures reveal how the rulers will step up their repressive apparatus to stifle working-class resistance to their austerity measures. The labor movement should oppose the death penalty and throw its weight behind any protests against these state-sanctioned murders.

Refinery blast in California

Continued from front page
cidents only learned of the explosion from the sheriff's department, and they were unable to reach the refinery by phone for half an hour.

Company officials have remained quiet about the cause of the explosion, and investigations by the company, county officials, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) have begun. Tosco could be fined or subject to criminal penalties should violations of OSHA rules be found. The company has also not announced the names of the workers who were killed and injured.

Workers arriving for the day shift the next morning took care to check on one another's morale, and tried to learn the facts of what had happened. Many called co-workers elsewhere in the plant or stopped by control rooms and maintenance shops. Discussions on deteriorating conditions at the refinery, and whether or not union power could actually be used to fight the company over safety, took place throughout the day. Some expressed resentment at local news media coverage on the Tosco explosion, which has highlighted the large number of serious refinery and chemical plant accidents of the past few years and reported sympathetically on environmental and community groups pressing for improvements in refinery safety. As of this writing, no statement has been issued from officials of

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 1-5, the union at the plant.

At the Unocal refinery in Rodeo, some 10 miles away, the company announced that all Bay Area refineries would observe a 2:00 p.m. moment of silence to commemorate the worker killed at Tosco. No such announcement was made at Tosco.

Meanwhile, the Tosco Corporation has rapidly expanded its refining operations. The company is set to buy Unocal's West Coast refineries in February. It has been touted in the big-business press as the "low cost" refinery that can make it in the face of falling profit rates and intensified competition. In 1996, workers at what had been British Petroleum's Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania, refinery were locked out for eight months when Tosco bought the plant, in order to force sharp concessions from OCAW members. Now, workers at Unocal's California plants have been told they will not all return to work under Tosco, and that they will be "offered" jobs without regard to plant seniority.

Jim Altenberg is a member of OCAW Local 1-5 at Tosco's Avon refinery in Martinez, California. Jim Gotesky, a member of OCAW 1-326 at Unocal in Rodeo, California, contributed to this article.

Korean workers end strike, continue protests

Continued from front page

lished in *WIN*, a monthly news magazine, showed less than 17 percent support for Kim's party — a substantial drop from the already low 30 percent figure recorded before the strike. "Many people are angry at what they see as the cold-hearted manner in which the Government has brushed off the workers and the undemocratic way in which the law was enacted," stated a January 19 *New York Times* article. The poll also said 73 percent disagreed with the new law and the way it was passed — in a secret National Assembly meeting without opposition legislators present. This is also shown by the number of people who participated in actions that are not members of unions on strike, and the jeering of riot cops by bystanders.

Under growing pressure to resolve the conflict, president Kim gave a few concessions. Kim agreed on January 21 to have the parliament "reconsider" the new law, including opposition party members in the discussion this time. He also agreed to suspend arrest orders for 16 union leaders declared "fugitives" for leading an "illegal" strike.

The Kim regime has not backed off from its fundamental aim, however, which is to impose on workers the measures needed by the employing class in Korea and in the imperialist centers. Last October, John Pinkel, head of research at HG Asia Securities in Seoul, told the *Financial Times*, "Korea will have to go through a painful adjustment period... if it is to recover its competitiveness."

Andrew Pollack, a *New York Times* reporter in Seoul, wrote in his January 21 assessment of the strikes, "To the extent that they [executives] have made their position known, it has been to urge the Government to defend the new labor law." He said that even though more than \$3.1 billion has been lost from the strikes, plus an additional \$480 million in lost exports — figures that are greater than all other strikes combined in 1996 — "business executives say the new law will help their competitiveness and profits in the long run, even if they have to endure the short-term pain of a strike."

The Seoul regime is also under pressure from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), made up primarily of imperialist powers, which recently admitted south Korea into its ranks. Last year Seoul set up a presidential commission on industrial relations reforms, charged with making recommendations for the new labor law, as part of its bid for OECD membership. Shortly thereafter Kim abolished the commission due to "insurmountable differences" between labor and management representatives. Labor officials from the OECD are portrayed in the press as siding with the strikers in countless articles. Now there is talk of the possible censuring of the south Korean government by this body.

However, the *Financial Times* writes, "It is still unclear whether a strong majority of members opposes Korea's move" to impose the new labor laws. The article also notes that "labor standards are not normally an issue for OECD entry."

An article in the *Christian Science Monitor* offered an idea of the genuine concerns of the OECD. "Membership will require Seoul to adhere to the OECD's philosophy of free trade and economic openness." Providing the basis for capital to "move freely in and out" of south Korea is the goal.

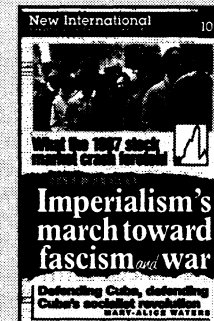
Kim told the parliamentary opposition that antilabor measures will not be repealed, though opposition parties could try to revise the law. He also did not invite union leaders to the meeting. Earlier the government had challenged union officials to a debate, which they refused to participate in. According to the January 19 *New York Times*, Kwon Young Kil, head of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, later agreed to the debate. The government then backed out, saying it would not talk with someone wanted for arrest for leading an illegal strike.

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Hexcel workers in Utah end two-month strike

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or

insisted that five strikers were not coming back due to picket line incidents.

The agreement which ended the strike does not bring the five back, but the company offered \$5,000 to each to settle and sever their relationship with Hexcel. Two workers took the offer, another two the company and union agreed to take to arbitration. The company refuses to take one worker back, but leaves the \$5,000 settlement offer open for

ON THE PICKET LINE

other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

SALT LAKE CITY — By a vote of 74 to 15 striking members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), Local 2-591 ended their strike against Hexcel Corp. The vote took place on January 4, the day after the membership debated what to do at a special union meeting.

The workers went on strike November 2 to protest deep cuts demanded by the company in wages and benefits. On December 23 a big majority voted against ending the strike because the company

him, which he is still considering.

The strike originally involved 143 members of the union. Thirty-one are scheduled to return to work on January 20. The 43 scabs hired during the strike will all stay on the payroll. Some 30 more union members will be recalled in June. The remaining workers have no date to return and only get one year recall rights, which means some may never return.

The new contract slashes wages from \$1.50 - \$2.00 per hour and cuts benefits drastically — from medical coverage, pension plan, and sick leave.

Many strikers found other jobs during the strike including four who



Dan Fein/Militant

Hexcel union members on strike picket in Kearns, Utah, November 1996.

work with this reporter at the Kennecott Copper smelter. Two of them plan to return to Hexcel when called back and two plan to stay at Kennecott.

Movie projectionists face lockout in Toronto

TORONTO — Ninety projectionists of Local 173 of the International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees (IATSE) have been locked out of their jobs by Cineplex-Odeon since October 26. They had been working without an agreement since the start of 1995. The company is demanding a combination of pay cuts and reduction in working hours which would reduce the salary of an average projectionist by 80 percent, and has already rejected a 12 percent wage reduction offer by the IATSE. In their previous contract, the projectionists took wage concessions of up to 33 percent.

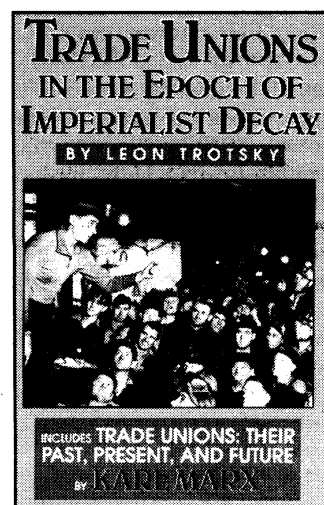
During the lock-out, the company has been using cinema management to run the projectors. Cineplex-Odeon is attempting to justify this by claiming that the technology used to project movies has simplified the job of the projectionists, making them "barely more important than fast-food employees," according to a December 28 article in *Globe & Mail*. Dave Callaghan, a member of Local 173 who has

worked at the Hyland theater in Toronto for 13 years, said this was not the case. There have been frequent reports of damaged films and spoiled screenings caused by improper operation of the projection equipment.

The projectionists are seeking public support. "The best thing you can do is to boycott Cineplex-Odeon," said Bob Hilder, a spokesman for the projectionists. "If you want to help, just don't go." Picketing projectionists have also been asking movie-goers to not patronize the snack bar and to demand a cash refund in the event of a spoiled screening. Solidarity rallies have taken place outside popular cinemas, closing them for brief periods of time. Members of IATSE have also been present at solidarity rallies for other fighting workers. A team of six projectionists were present at a recent rally to support strikers at S.A. Armstrong.

Dan Fein, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 4347 in Salt Lake City, and Greg Yardley, member of the Young Socialists in Toronto, contributed to this column.

More titles from Pathfinder on the labor movement

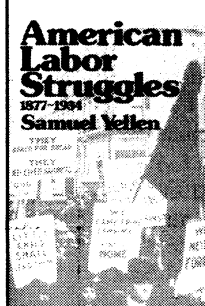


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LETTERS

Bad rail tracks

I enjoyed your article in *The Militant* "Discussions with workers in Havana." (Vol. 61/no. 2)

You wrote that on a train trip ".... The train slowed to a crawl because of the poor conditions of the tracks." If you can recall when and where this happened, I'd like for you to let me know. Was it in the U.S.? on Amtrak?

I do not have a car (stolen) and use public passenger rail often. This sort of thing needs to be addressed. *Willard Saunders*
Washington, D.C.

'So goes the class struggle'

Deborah Kott, 40, and her husband, Ronald, 43, of Johnstown went on trial January 6 in a Cambria county court for assaulting three policemen during a labor struggle by dairy workers in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, on August 1, 1995.

One of the policeman, Reginald Floyd, punched Mrs. Kott in the face during the battle, breaking her jaw.

According to Floyd, who testified at the trial, Mrs. Kott was punched "because she kept coming at me like a madwoman."

Of course, the workers had every reason to be mad on the night of August 1.

Sani-Dairy, the company where

the strike occurred, was attempting to break the union by using replacement workers to drive the trucks. The striking dairy workers had no alternative but to attempt to prevent the scab drivers from leaving the Sani-Dairy premises.

The police were called to the scene by the Sani-Dairy bosses to clear a path for the scabs.

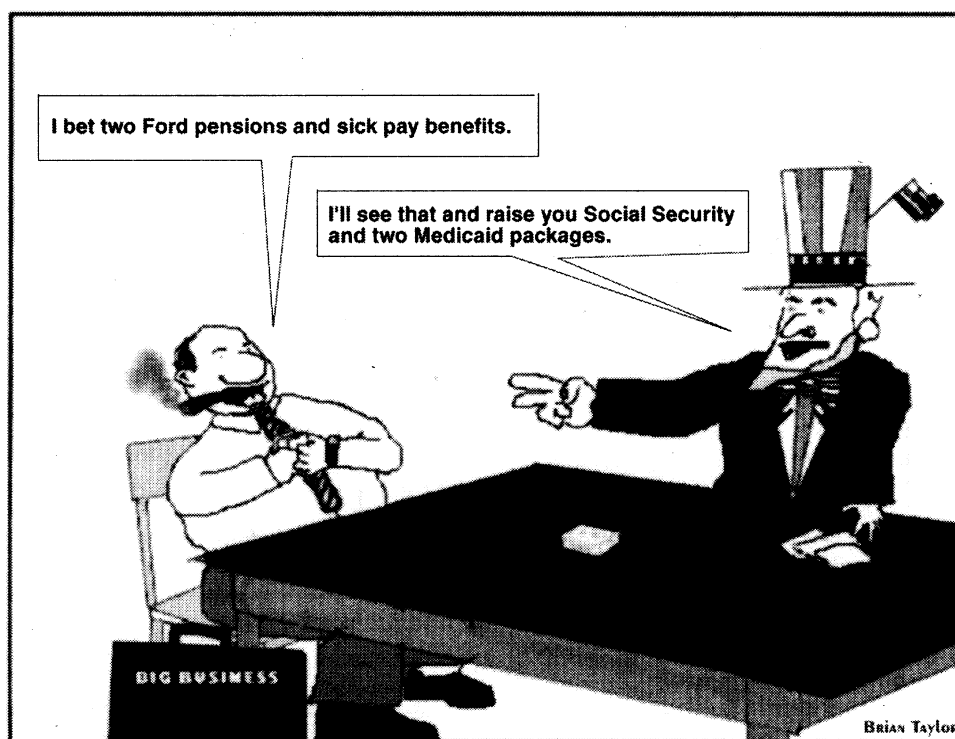
In a January 7 *Johnstown Tribune Democrat* article on the incident, it was stated that officer Floyd claimed that "the Kotts had repeatedly ignored his requests to refrain from walking in front of the vehicles."

So goes the class struggle, officer Floyd! One man carried a sign outside the Courthouse reading, "Workers Have a Right to Defend Their Jobs."

Nicholas Brand
Loretto, Pennsylvania

Remember Crazy Horse

The year 1997 will commemorate the 120th anniversary of the assassination of Crazy Horse, the Oglala Lakota mystic, warrior, vi-



sionary, patriot and folk hero, on September 5, 1877 at Fort Robinson, Nebraska.

The year 1997 will also commemorate the 120th anniversary of the heroic surrender of Crazy Horse for the welfare of his people on May 6, 1877.

The year 1997 will commemorate the 55th anniversary of the publication of Marie Sandoz's classic

biography *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* in 1941.

McArthur Gunter (Tashunka Raven)
Camp Springs, Maryland

Notes from subscribers:

You have interesting critiques of CPUSA — Why not of Workers' World?

T. R.
New York, New York

Great Paper! Renew my sub!! "Keep Left."

R. E.
St. Thomas, Virginia

Your paper has helped me receive news and information that I cannot get elsewhere. Thank you for your courage and perseverance.

S. K.
Norfolk, Nebraska

I currently am receiving the *Militant*, I only have a few weeks remaining so I thought I'd reorder. I look forward to the *Militant* each week, and I've learned a great amount concerning politics that really do effect me through this paper.

C. H.
Ogden, Utah

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.

Abortion debate heats up in Britain

BY CELIA PUGH

LONDON — Opponents of a woman's right to abortion opened the new year with a fanfare of media headlines about moral values and a bid to make abortion an issue for the spring general election. Cardinal Basil Hume, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales, told the GMTV's *Sunday* program December 29, "There are some things which are clearly good. There are some things that are clearly evil.... I am quite convinced that abortion is a great evil in our society."

Hume encouraged "social action" and political intervention to oppose abortion. The leader of the Catholic Church in Scotland, Cardinal Thomas Winning, echoed this appeal. In a BBC interview the same day, he accused the Labour Party of silencing antiabortion members of Parliament (MPs). In October, Winning denounced Labour Party leader Anthony Blair, who he said had "washed his hands" of abortion.

None of the main capitalist parties are prepared to make abortion an election issue. But a new party has been set up with that intent. The Pro-Life Alliance will stand around 50 candidates on an anti-abortion ticket. This number will give them the right to an election broadcast, in which they plan to show a late-term abortion. The founder of the party, Bruno Quintavalle, is the 25-year-old son of Countess Quintavalle, a leader of the antiabortion group Life. Mohamed Al Fayed, the multi-millionaire chairman of Harrods department stores, has promised to back the Pro-Life Alliance candidates to the tune of £25,000 (\$US41,500).

When the Pro-Life Alliance announced its plans in November, the London daily *Independent* reported that Janet Anderson, Labour spokeswoman on women's issues, "declined to comment." Labour leader Blair said that he was personally hostile to abortion but that this should not be a party political issue.

John Reid, Labour MP for Motherwell North in Scotland and an opponent of abortion rights, said Winning "is wrong." Reid asserted, "Tony Blair has steadfastly protected the rights of MPs to vote ... according to their conscience."

Labour frontbench MP Clare Short declared that she favored a law regulating the availability of abortion, while leaving it to the individual to make her choice.

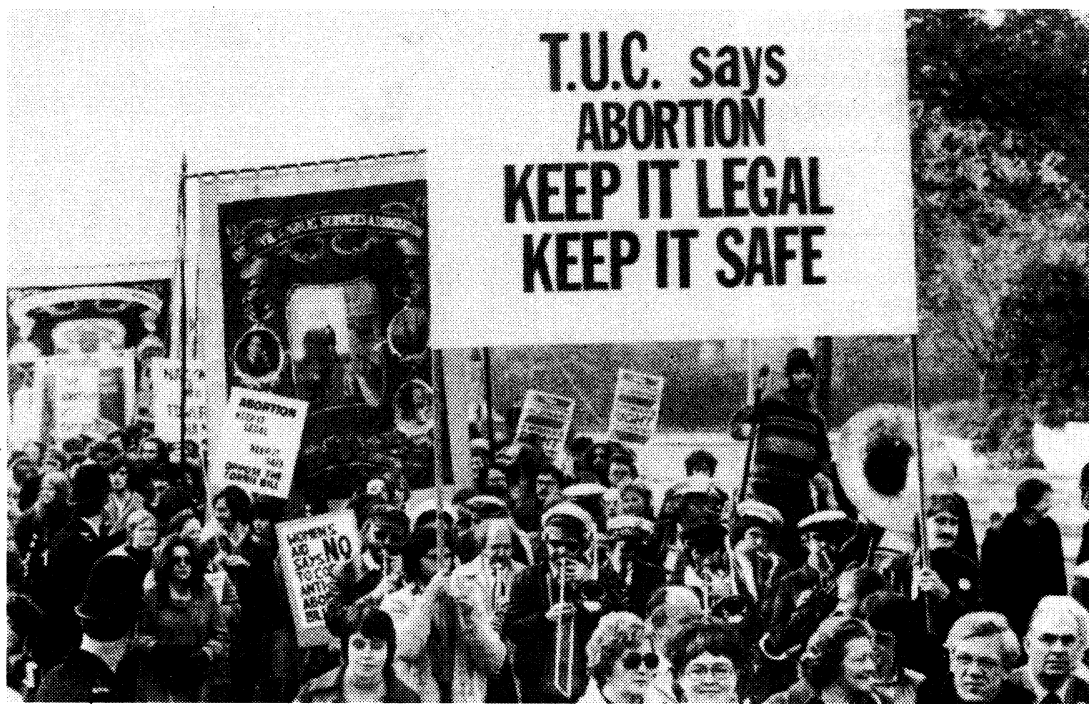
David Nolan of the Birth Control Trust told the *Independent* that the Pro-Life Alliance "ultimately want[s] to see an end to all abortions.... The public does not see abortion as murder, so the pro-lifers want to make it seem more gruesome. They have lost the mainstream argument so they are resorting to shock tactics. They want to show footage of a late term abortion, and yes, that is gruesome, but so is any operation."

'Keep abortion legal, safe'

The National Abortion Campaign is highlighting the slogan, "Abortion: keep it legal, keep it safe" in response to these probes. The 1967 Abortion Act made safe and legal abortion widely available, with free provision through the National Health Service (NHS). Before then a doctor and woman were liable to life imprisonment for abortion except for the most extreme cases where pregnancy threatened the woman's life. Before 1967, tens of thousands of women turned to the backstreets each year for dangerous, illegal abortions.

In 1965, hospital records indicate 3,050 women were treated for post-abortion poisoning. Between 1961 and 1963, some 160 women were recorded as dying as a result of abortion. That number fell to four in the years 1985 to 1987.

The 1967 law was a historic breakthrough for women. It says a woman can obtain a legal abortion if pregnancy poses a risk to her life and in cases of fetal abnormality. Abortion is also legal if a woman's physical



Protests such as October 1979 demonstration above have defended abortion rights in Britain

or mental health, or that of her children, are put at greater risk by continued pregnancy. An article in the January 4 *Economist* noted that formally the law states that two doctors must certify compliance. It states that free NHS provision and delays vary across the country. However the *Economist* observes, "Informally it [the law] is interpreted liberally so that most pregnant women who are adamant that they do not want a child can get safe, legal terminations."

The 1967 Act does not apply to northern Ireland. Thousands of Irish women from the north and south travel to Britain each year for private, often delayed abortions. In 1994, at least 7,000 Irish women traveled to Britain for the procedure. Changes to the 1967 Abortion Act were introduced in Parliament in 1990. Time limits were lowered from 28 weeks to 24 for most cases. Time restrictions, however, were completely withdrawn for late abortions in cases of risk to life, fetal abnormality, or "risk of grave physical and mental injury to the woman." In 1993, 89 percent of abortions in England and

Wales were performed at 13 weeks or less. An estimated one in three women of child bearing age has had an abortion.

A national opinion poll in October 1996 showed 81 percent support for a women's right to choose. Last August another poll recorded that only 37 percent of Catholics supported tighter abortion laws, despite the position of the church hierarchy.

Protests defend abortion rights

Since 1967, members of Parliament have introduced bills five times attempting to restrict the abortion law. Each was met by street protests and failed. The biggest demonstration, in October 1979, was supported by the Trades Union Congress and drew 80,000 people.

The gains of the 1967 act have not been reversed, and the main political parties are unwilling to launch a frontal attack on abortion rights. But the high profile abortion debate and a battle between the Conservative and Labour parties for the banner of "family values" are part of an ideological

campaign against women's rights.

Prime Minister John Major made a new year pledge to put home life and family values at the top of his campaign in the 1997 elections, which must be called by May. Major declared "at the core is my strong belief in the family and our national institutions as the foundations of a free, caring and decent democratic society."

In recent months sensational headlines blamed a breakdown of "parental responsibility" for crime and other social problems. The *Evening Standard* October 28 ran an article titled, "So, do working mothers damage their children?" It reported a study by the Institute of Economic Affairs which claimed that preschool child care damages children and causes bad behavior.

Other articles try to extend this "caring parenting" to the womb, with reports claiming "pioneering research" proving fetal pain, complete with multicolor pictures of developed fetuses.

Discussion in the media has also focused on calls for freely available abortion up to 12 weeks, but tighter restrictions after that.

Tory MP Elizabeth Peacock recently introduced a bill to outlaw "partial birth abortion," though the procedure is rarely, if ever, used in this country. The bill stands no chance of passing, as time will run out before the election. Last summer, the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) obtained a court injunction to delay a woman receiving a selective abortion of one of two twin fetuses. This was moot, as the woman had already had the abortion. Both it and the Peacock bill mark legal probes to restrict women's rights to abortion, however.

The National Abortion Campaign has called a picket for 12 noon, February 1, outside the Harrods store in London's Knightsbridge district to publicly challenge the Pro-Life Alliance and defend a women's right to choose.

Celia Pugh is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union.

London admits rightist violence in Ireland

BY ROSE KNIGHT

LONDON — Talks between the British government and various parties in northern Ireland resumed January 13 in Belfast. London continues to exclude Sinn Fein, the leading party opposing British rule in the north of Ireland, demanding that the Irish Republican Army call a cease-fire and give up its weapons before Sinn Fein representatives can be seated in the negotiations.

At the same time, the head of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was forced to acknowledge that pro-British paramilitary groups have resumed violent attacks, despite their pretense of a cease-fire. Referring to December bomb attacks on republicans Eddie Copeland and Liam Duffy, RUC chief Ronnie Flanagan said that "extreme loyalist groups" were involved. Despite the murder of a Catholic taxi driver and a series of provocative actions last summer, the British government had refused to say that the loyalist cease-fire was over.

Early in January, the rightist Ulster Defense Association (UDA) threatened that its military organization, the Ulster Freedom Fighters, would resume a campaign against "the general nationalist population."

On January 20, there was a booby trap bomb attack on a Catholic family in Lame, County Antrim. The family said they had no connection with the republican movement. Sinn Fein chairperson Gerard O'hEara has called on Irish nationalists to be vigilant because of the increasing number of loyalist attacks.

Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness told *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, the news-

paper of Sinn Fein, that even though he believed the loyalist cease-fire was over, the pro-British Ulster Democratic Party and Progressive Unionist Party should not be expelled from the talks. But he denounced the "double standards" that allowed loyalists to attend the talks while Sinn Fein is refused admission.

In another provocative move, loyalists have continued to picket outside a Catholic church at Harryville, County Ballymena. On January 18, 200 shouted and jeered as Catholics left mass. They wore Orange Order sashes and carried a banner stating, "Did the paedophile priests ask for consent?" — a reference to recent charges against priests in northern Ireland. The RUC removed the banner. A local Orange Order official said the pickets, who have been harassing churchgoers for 19 weeks, "are not genuine Orangemen."

In early December, London announced that all three of the British Army's Parachute Regiments are due to serve in Ireland in 1997. The announcement comes just before the 25 anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," when British paratroopers massacred 13 unarmed protesters in Derry, northern Ireland. Sinn Fein called for this decision to be reversed and said that at a time when nationalist Ireland was doing all in its power to rebuild the peace process, the British government seemed intent on provocation.

A new book on the 1972 massacre, *Eye-witness Bloody Sunday* by Don Mullan, has provoked a discussion that has brought out differences in the British Labour Party, which like the Tory party does not want Ire-

land to be an election issue. The book has uncovered new facts ignored by the tribunal set up in the aftermath of the events. It claims that soldiers fired on demonstrators not just on the streets, but from the Derry city walls. Relatives of the dead are calling for a new inquiry. Eric Illsley MP, a senior member of Labour's Northern Ireland team, said they would consider whether a public inquiry was needed. A statement on behalf of the shadow Home Secretary appeared to disagree, stating, "Our main aim is not to relive the past, but rather to build for the future."

Meanwhile, London has been unable to stop the campaign to release Roisín McAliskey, who is being held in Holloway Women's Prison in London on charges of alleged involvement with an attack on the British Army base at Osnabruck, Germany. She is six months pregnant and has been strip-searched many times since her arrest last November.

The High Court in London denied McAliskey bail for a fifth time January 22. After the second refusal of bail in mid-December, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams said, "The continued imprisonment of Roisín McAliskey, who is five months pregnant and is quite ill, in the most atrocious conditions, has to be seen as a political decision. The British Home Office, which has a proven vindictive and racist record of abuse towards Irish prisoners, is responsible for this disgraceful decision." He called for McAliskey to be moved to a proper obstetric ward and for the end to "the degrading practice of strip searching." Protests have been held in London, Dublin, Belfast, and New York.