

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Subscription drive heads into final stretch —716 to go!
— PAGE 5

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE VOL. 59 NO. 43 NOVEMBER 20, 1995

'Shepherd of Peace' is misnomer for Rabin

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Reeling from the assassination of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin by an ultrarightist Jew, the Labor Party administration now headed by Shimon Peres is striving to stabilize the political situation by proceeding with the recent accords on Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank. It was the first time an Israeli leader was killed since the state of Israel was established in 1948.

Rabin, who in 1967 led Israel's armed forces to seize the West Bank and other territories from neighboring counties, and who played a central role in the Israeli regime for three decades, was killed November 4 at a large political rally in Tel Aviv. Police arrested Yigal Amir, a rightist opponent of the accords signed between the Rabin government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

In response to Rabin's assassination, "all the main parties in Israel are working hard to create an atmosphere of 'national unity,'" reported Michel Warschawsky, director of the Alternative Information Center, in a telephone interview from Jerusalem.

The big-business press in Israel and internationally has lavished praise on the late prime minister, with such labels as "Shepherd of Peace" and "Determined Peacemaker." Close to 2,500 capitalist politicians from around the world flocked to his funeral, from German chancellor Helmut Kohl to President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

PLO chairperson Yasir Arafat condemned the killing and expressed his condolences, but did not attend the funeral under pressure from Israeli officials.

U.S. president Bill Clinton flew in accompanied by cabinet members, former presidents and secretaries of state, and three dozen members of Congress. At the funeral Clinton exalted Rabin as "a warrior for his nation's freedom and now a martyr for his nation's peace."

Despite these orations, however, the Israeli leader's obituaries leave no ambiguity about his record. Rabin himself, in his

Continued on Page 14

Picket lines at Boeing: 'It's worth it to strike'

BY SCOTT BREEN

SEATTLE — "It's worth it to strike," explained Marilyn Johnson, a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at the Auburn Boeing facility. "We worked long and hard for our benefits; we're not going to give them up. 'I think we're going to win,'" she added.

Union members here are gearing up for the November 12 "Mass Rally for Machinists" to support striking members of the IAM who are up against the aerospace giant, Boeing Co. In the final few days before the march, support for the action, called by the International Association of Machinists District Lodge 751, is gaining momentum.

The rally at Everett Memorial Stadium has the backing of the Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO; the King County, Snohomish County, and Pierce County Labor Councils; and Washington State Jobs with Justice.

John Sweeney, newly elected president of the AFL-CIO, will speak, along with the other top officers of the labor federation. George Kourpias, IAM international president, and others will also be on the platform.

"The strike by 23,500 Machinists at Boeing [in Washington State] is critically important to every wage earner," says a



Militant/Bob Bruneau

Demonstration in support of Boeing workers held in Seattle October 11.

leaflet being distributed by IAM District 751. "The striking Machinists have 'drawn a line in the sand' to stop the loss of decent family-wage jobs. Join us to win a New Day for Workers."

The strike began October 6 after union members rejected Boeing's "last and final offer" by a 76 percent majority vote. With some 32,000 production workers rep-

Continued on Page 11

500 march in Philadelphia to demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal

BY JOHN STAGGS AND GLOVA SCOTT

PHILADELPHIA — Students and activists from around the country marched in Philadelphia on Monday, November 6, to demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The demonstration marked a growing identification among young people, particularly college students in the Northeast, with the campaign to stop the execution of Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty. For many among the 500 protesters, this was their first political demonstration.

Abu-Jamal, a broadcast journalist and Black political activist, was convicted of the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. The judge in that trial, Albert Sabo, was forced to issue a stay of execution on August 7 of this year after a worldwide campaign of pressure to stop Abu-Jamal's killing. Sabo has a reputation as a racist "hanging judge." He has sentenced twice as many people to death as any other judge in the country — 32 inmates, 27 of whom were Black.

Despite compelling evidence from witnesses contradicting cop testimony in the earlier trial, Sabo rejected an appeal for a new trial. Abu-Jamal remains on death row as Sabo's decision is being appealed to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

Some of the 50 students who came from Antioch College in Ohio carried a huge, 30-foot-high sail, proclaiming "Justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal, Condemned to Death." It was built by Bread and Puppet Theater from Vermont. Several students said the issue of freeing Abu-Jamal and stopping the death penalty was so important it was worth driving all night and missing class to be here. They got organized to come after a couple of meetings initiated by the Third World Alliance on campus with speakers from Abu-Jamal coalitions in Philadelphia and New York.

Three weeks ago Pam Africa, representing the International Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal, spoke at a meeting at Rutgers University in New Jersey. Student organizer Cynthia Crob said that the meeting was organized by the Committee of Diverse Interests, 100 Black Men, and the Student Action Union. Crob said that 35 Rutgers students then chartered a bus and came to the march.

Students also came from Rowan College and Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. Marie LaForest from Temple University in Philadelphia said her social studies professor had gotten inspired by the struggle and dismissed his class so that they could attend the march.

The protesters weaved through city streets making stops at Benjamin Franklin High School, offices of city prosecutor and death penalty advocate Lynne Abraham, and the Philadelphia Inquirer building before ending at City Hall.

Many city workers stepped out from office buildings to view the march and express their support.

Evelyn Sanders, who works at Benjamin Franklin High School, took flyers to pass out to fellow workers. "I knew

Continued on Page 5

Letters urge Iowa board to parole activist Mark Curtis

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — "We are pleading to your sense of human rights and justice to free Mark Curtis from prison," Don Timmerman wrote the Iowa State Board of Parole November 2, on behalf of Adoption Group #106 of Amnesty International in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. "Mark is a political activist who was arrested on March 4, 1988, after he was beaten by police and charged with rape and burglary and has served seven years in prison."

Curtis is a union activist and member of the Socialist Workers Party. He was framed up by Des Moines cops while in the middle of a public campaign to defend 17 of his co-workers at the Monfort meat-packing company in the city. They had been seized by federal immigration cops in a raid on the plant. Hours before his ar-

rest he had spoken out in Spanish in their defense at a public meeting.

Hundreds of supporters of human rights, union activists, and others have written to the Iowa parole board this fall to urge Curtis's release. For the first time in three years, the board has agreed to convene a hearing, on November 21 at the Iowa State Penitentiary where Curtis is being held, and allow him to make a presentation about why he should be freed.

Curtis's attorney, William Kutmus, will be present to explain how Curtis meets all the requirements under Iowa law to be released on parole. In addition, nine of Curtis's supporters will be able to attend the hearing as a demonstration of the widespread public support for his release.

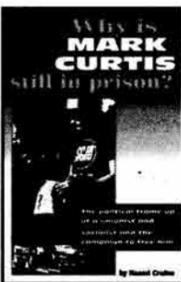
Nick Castle, Hollywood writer, directed

Continued on Page 7

Why Is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?

The Political Frame-Up of a Unionist and Socialist and the Campaign to Free Him

by Naomi Craine

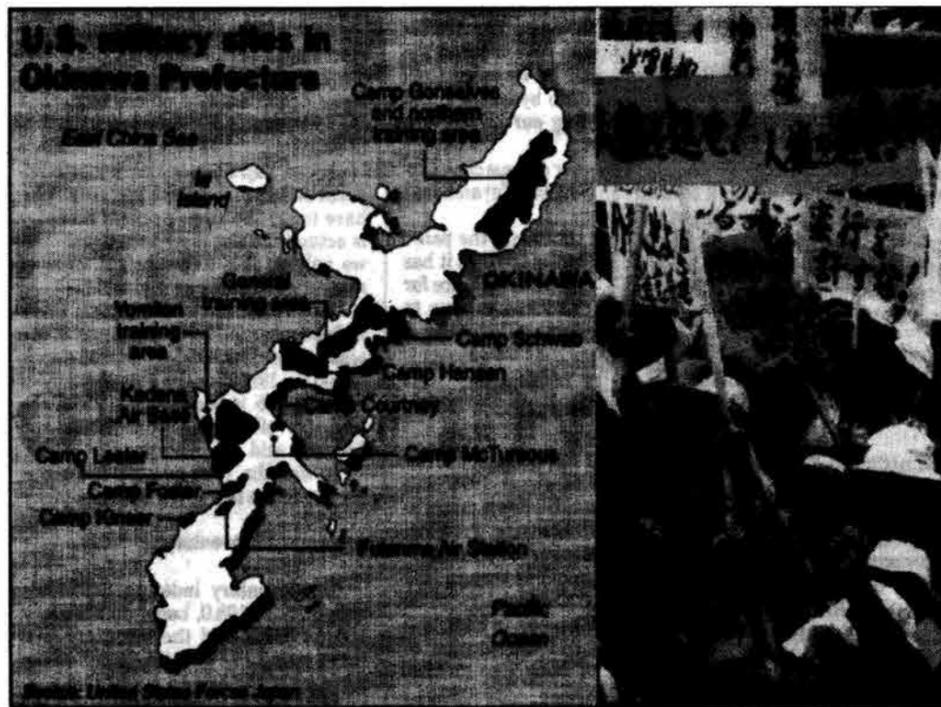


Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. Or contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

Okinawans: U.S. bases must go

Opposition to U.S. military bases in Okinawa is mounting as a result of the outrage stemming from three U.S. servicemen charged with raping a 12-year-old girl there in September. Attorneys for the soldiers are discussing financial compensation for the young woman and her family, as a way to diffuse the storm of protests that involved tens of thousands of people demanding U.S. troops leave the island. "I would like the bases to just disappear," Tamotsu Tokeshi, a home owner near an air base, told the *New York Times*.

U.S. defense secretary William Perry, following behind other White House officials, offered an apology for the assault and said that the Clinton administration would consider shifting some GIs out of Okinawa to calm the outrage. Seeking to maintain Washington's imperialist outpost in the Pacific, Perry declared, "this is where we have to be to provide a security umbrella for the region." With imperial arrogance, Perry admonished Japanese officials for questioning the military setup stating, "you will be very glad they are there." Nearly half of the 60,000 U.S. soldiers in Japan are stationed in Okinawa.



Opposition to U.S. military bases on Okinawa continues to mount after three U.S. servicemen were charged with the rape of a 12-year-old girl there.

Sri Lanka army prepares assault

More than 30,000 Sri Lankan troops are preparing a new offensive to take the northern town of Jaffna from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam after two weeks of bloody fighting. Jaffna is the center of a Tamil separatist movement, which is seeking to establish an independent state in northern Sri Lanka.

The regime of Sri Lankan president Chandrika Kumaratunga seeks to crush the rebels who have run the city and much of the area for the past four years. A diplomat in Colombo, the nation's capital, told the *Financial Times* that the loss of Jaffna would be a "significant" blow and force the Tigers to retreat to "a guerrilla movement on the run."

Philippine maid spared death

Sarah Balabagan, a Philippine maid sentenced to death for killing a man who raped her, was spared execution by an Islamic court in the United Arab Emirates.

The court sentenced her to 100 lashes, a year in prison, and deportation after she pays a fine of \$41,000 to the dead man's family. The judge said the 15 months Balabagan had already spent in jail would not count toward her sentence.

GM wins \$1 billion China deal

Officials from the Chinese government and the General Motors Corp. announced October 30 that the Shanghai Automotive Industry Corp., China's leading auto maker, has selected GM for a \$1 billion project to build 100,000-180,000 Buicks a year. The Shanghai company projects plans to ultimately build 300,000 vehicles a year, targeting Chinese company fleets.

Shanghai Auto also has a 10-year-old joint agreement with Volkswagen AG of Germany, which will assemble 175,000 sedans this year. Volkswagen has captured nearly one-half of China's car market. GM could begin to challenge VW's dominance in the Chinese market by the turn of the century.

Nigerian given death sentence

Ken Saro-Wiwa, a founder of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People in Nigeria, was sentenced to death October 31 by a military-appointed court. Saro-Wiwa was charged with the murders of four local politicians in Ogoniland who were killed when the Nigerian military swept through the area in May 1994.

Saro-Wiwa led a campaign among the Ogonis, who have been fighting for several years for rights to petroleum revenues and compensation for environmental damage by Royal Dutch Shell. The Niger delta, where the Ogonis live, is an oil-producing region that provides more than 90 percent of the country's exports and 80 percent of the regime's revenue, but most Ogonis remain impoverished, living in mud huts.

Autoworkers rebel in Russia

The ITAR-Tass news agency reported that riots erupted October 31 in the Russian city of Bryansk when autoworkers demanded payment for over five months back wages at the Automobile Works. The mayor of Bryansk said that the city was loaning the plant \$335,000 to help it pay the nearly \$1.5 million owed to the workers. Coal miners and other workers have organized strikes and demonstrations also demanding back pay. The Russian government has accumulated massive debts to hundreds of enterprises in attempting to adhere to a budget arranged with the International Monetary Fund last spring.

Divorce debate stirs in Ireland

A November 24 referendum to legalize divorce in Ireland has fueled debate. The Catholic Church hierarchy has criticized the measure and has instructed priests to

promote views extolling the sacrament of marriage. A similar referendum failed in 1986. The government says that divorce should be available for 75,000 people who are in broken-down marriages but are legally separated. An article in Ireland's 1937 constitution declared, "No law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage."

Crisis advances in Argentina

The Argentine government has issued \$2.28 billion in international bonds in the past three months and entered several loan arrangements with local and international banks secured against future tax revenue and the sale of government-held shares. The moves have provoked nervousness among international investors like Morgan Stanley, Inc. "If they keep up this pace of borrowing, next year they'll have a tough time," said Ernest Brown, a company official.

The Argentine economy is in recession, and the government will barely meet 1995 tax and spending agreements made with the International Monetary Fund, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. Meanwhile the jobless rate has jumped to 18.6 percent, and bankruptcies are climbing.

5,000 protest cuts in Hawaii

Some 5,000 people participated in a "Death of Education March" October 31 in Honolulu, Hawaii, to protest cuts totaling \$50 million over two years. Gov. Benjamin Cayetano, who was shouted down by protesters, told University of Hawaii faculty members and students that the state administration had no choice but to slash the school's budget.

FBI seeks massive wiretapping

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is proposing to establish a national spy system that would allow cops to simultaneously eavesdrop on as many as one out of every 100 phone lines in cities throughout the country. Minimally the plan would give the secret cops the ability to snoop on 74,250 phone lines at once, more than 10 times the number of surveillance orders in 1993. "These are staggering numbers," said Mark Rasch, an official with the Science Applications International Corporation in McLean, Virginia. "Either they do a lot more wiretaps than they now admit, or they plan on a significant larger number of wiretaps in the future."

Cabbies issued racist directive

Officials at the Lincoln Yellow Cab Company headquarters in Springfield, Illinois, posted a notice warning cab drivers not to "pick up any black males unless you feel it is safe." The sign, alluding to some robberies, emphasized that "they have all been by BLACK MALES." The company manager, Earl Reno, anticipating a potential discrimination lawsuit, removed the sign November 1 after his lawyer advised him to do so.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

Defend women's rights

Why are abortion rights key to the fight for the full emancipation of women? Does biology condemn women to remain the "second sex"? What are the roots of women's oppression, and what is the road forward to liberation? The *'Militant'* takes up these and similar questions. Don't miss a single issue!

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

\$10 for 12 issues

\$15 for 12 weeks

RENEWAL

\$27 for 6 months

\$45 for 1 year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____ PHONE _____

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

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

The Militant

Vol. 59/No. 43

Closing news date: November 9, 1995

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Laura Garza, Martin Koppel, Paul Mailhot, Argiris Malapanis, and Maurice Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in December and three weeks in July 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

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Second-class 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: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. **Latin America, Caribbean:** for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. **Asia:** send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. **Canada:** Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to *Militant*, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. **Britain, Ireland:** £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to *Militant* Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. **Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East:** £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to *Militant* Distribution at above address. **France:** Send FF300 for one-year subscription to *Militant*, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. **Belgium:** BF 1,900 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of IMei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. **Iceland:** Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to *Militant*, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. **Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark:** 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to *Militant* Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. **New Zealand:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. **Australia:** Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia. **Pacific Islands:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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

UN condemns U.S. embargo on Cuba

BY LAURA GARZA

UNITED NATIONS — For the fourth year in a row, the Cuban government used the platform of the United Nations to blast Washington's economic war and called for an end to the U.S. embargo of the island.

It presented a resolution titled "The Necessity of Ending the Economic, Commercial and Financial Blockade Imposed by the United States of America Against Cuba." The resolution passed 117 to 3 on November 2, with 38 abstentions. Only the representatives of Israel and Uzbekistan joined Washington in voting no.

"The Cuban population, especially our children, pregnant women, senior citizens and the ill, are the daily victims of the continuation and strengthening of the blockade against Cuba," said Bruno Rodríguez Parrilla, Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations. He noted the total damage to the Cuban economy for 1994 was estimated at one billion dollars.

Rodríguez cited the Torricelli Act of 1992 as one measure that furthered the difficulties Cuba encounters. That law bans ships docking in Cuban ports from entering U.S. ports for 180 days. Companies operating such vessels charge higher rates to Cuba.

The three previous resolutions called on member states to refrain from applying unilateral measures limiting free trade and navigation. Despite this, the new resolution stated, UN member states should be concerned that "new measures of this type continue being promulgated and applied, leading to reinforcing and broadening the economic, commercial, and financial blockade against Cuba, and [we are] concerned also by their negative effects on the Cuban population and Cuban nationals resident in other countries."

K.Z. Mbatha, representing South Africa, said his country was indebted to the people of Cuba for the selfless contribution they made to the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle in southern Africa. He stated that his government rejected "the notion that the people of Cuba should be starved into ideological submission."

Votes in favor of previous similar resolutions were 59 to 3 with 71 abstentions in 1992, 88 to 4 with 57 abstentions in 1993,

and 101 to 2 with 48 abstentions last year.

The wider margin in favor of the resolution this year largely reflected opposition to the continuing attempts by Washington to impose its will on the trade relations with other countries.

The Helms/Burton bill further tightening the embargo recently passed both Houses of the U.S. Congress, though it is not yet law. It was specifically condemned by representatives of several nations.

Spain's UN ambassador Juan Yanez Barnuevo, speaking on behalf of the European Union, stated, "The European Union cannot accept that the United States unilaterally determines or restricts the European Union's economic and commercial relations with any other State."

The resolution ends by calling for a point to be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly this year on the need to end the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

East Timor refugees fight deportation

BY JOANNE KUNIANSKY

SYDNEY — Some 1,300 East Timorese refugees are currently being held in detention centers while they seek asylum here. Less than 20 have been released, pending the outcome of their asylum applications. In October the Australian government recommended to the Refugee Review Tribunal that refugee status be denied on the grounds that they are Portuguese citizens. East Timor was formerly a Portuguese colony.

Challenging government policy, Sister Mary Cresp, Congregational leader of the Sisters of St. Joseph, announced at a news conference November 5 that the Christian Sanctuary Network of Australia will offer sanctuary to East Timorese refugees if they are threatened with deportation.

The sanctuary network includes Catholic churches and other religious institutions in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and Western Australia.

Sister Cresp said, "In making this statement we take a clear stance against the government's recommendation ... these East Timorese people have fled a geno-

cide which our federal government has done little to prevent at diplomatic, economic, and military levels."

The sanctuary announcement was made in the month leading up to protest actions to support East Timor's independence. Mobilizations will be held throughout Australia on the anniversaries of the November 12, 1991, Dili massacre of 200 East Timorese by Indonesian troops; and of the December 7, 1975, Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

The Indonesian army, using 30,000 soldiers, invaded East Timor in December 1975 after receiving a green light by Canberra and Washington. More than 200,000 Timorese out of a population of 700,000 have died since due to the occupation.

The government of Indonesia currently stations 5,000 troops in East Timor. In September and October, anti-Indonesian riots in Dili were met with a fierce crackdown by the occupiers. Indonesian troops rounded up, imprisoned, and tortured hundreds of youth.

Two recent refugees from East Timor, Filipe and Jacob da Silva, attended the

November 5 press conference.

Fernanda Soares, representing the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), and Harold Moucho, representing the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN), read a joint statement thanking the church for the offer.

They explained that 98 percent of the Timorese people are Catholic and that churches in East Timor often serve as sanctuaries from repression. In fact, they pointed out that the Dili massacre took place at the funeral of Sebastiao Rangel, who was killed by Indonesian soldiers as he sought refuge in the sanctuary of the Motael Church in Dili. Indonesian troops opened fire on the funeral procession killing over 200.

Moucho said that the "stance of the church will set a precedent in Australia giving others strength to stand up to the Australian government's position. The stance of the church will inspire the Timorese to continue their resistance."

Joanne Kuniansky is a member of the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union.

With four weeks to go, drive picks up steam

BY BERNIE SENTER

During the last week, supporters of the *Militant* made the most progress yet since the beginning of the Militant Fund drive. \$14,649 was sent in, indicating that the campaign to raise \$125,000 is picking up steam. With four weeks left to go in the 10-week drive we have raised \$62,704, just over half the goal.

The Fund will provide the financial resources necessary to maintain and continue publication of the paper. The fund drive ends December 3.

Hosting Militant Fund rallies that are widely publicized and feature a cross-section of those who appreciate the *Militant* is the main reason for the acceleration in payments and increases in pledges.

"Now that momentum is picking up," Fund director Martin Koppel said, "we need to reach out even more."

This is what *Militant* readers in many cities are doing.

A program to support the *Militant* was held in Salt Lake City November 5. A panel of speakers told why they appreciate a working-class paper that tells the truth.

Lawrence Oliver, vice president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1332 in Window Rock, Arizona, sent a message to the Salt Lake City meeting.

The letter said, "The *Militant* is our only source of news on the struggles of the working class in this remote area.

"It gives you a sense of satisfaction that you are not alone in your fight for dignity, justice, and that your continuing battle for fairness is not in vain. As such, The *Militant* reported on our one-week strike back in May 1995.

"The *Militant* is our eyes, voice and ears. It gives us a heightened perception of what may yet be hurled our way and that we may be better prepared for it.

"The *Militant*, . . . for it to die . . . we would have to tread in darkness."

Members of UMWA Local 1332, most of whom are Navajos, scored a victory in their strike last May against Pittsburgh and Midway Coal Mining Co. Miners preserved the eight-hour work day and made other modest gains.

Militant reporters and sales teams have traveled to the Navajo reservation for more than 15 years reporting on the strikes miners have waged and other issues facing Native Americans.

Cyd Crue who is active in the Salt Lake City Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba also spoke at the meeting to raise money for the Militant Fund. Crue explained how the *Militant* was a workers voice to counter the bourgeois media that tries to shape and control our ideas and what we know about the world.

Thabo Mzilikazi discussed his fight for justice at the benefit. Mzilikazi, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa and student at Weber State University, was arrested by the cops in June on sexual abuse charges. In September he was cleared of a felony sex abuse charge but convicted of a misdemeanor.

Twenty people attended a rally for the Militant Fund in Cleveland, including two students from Oberlin College, an abortion rights fighter, and an activist involved in a local fight against police brutality. More than \$400 was raised at the meeting, pushing *Militant* supporters in Cleveland closer to their \$2,100 goal.

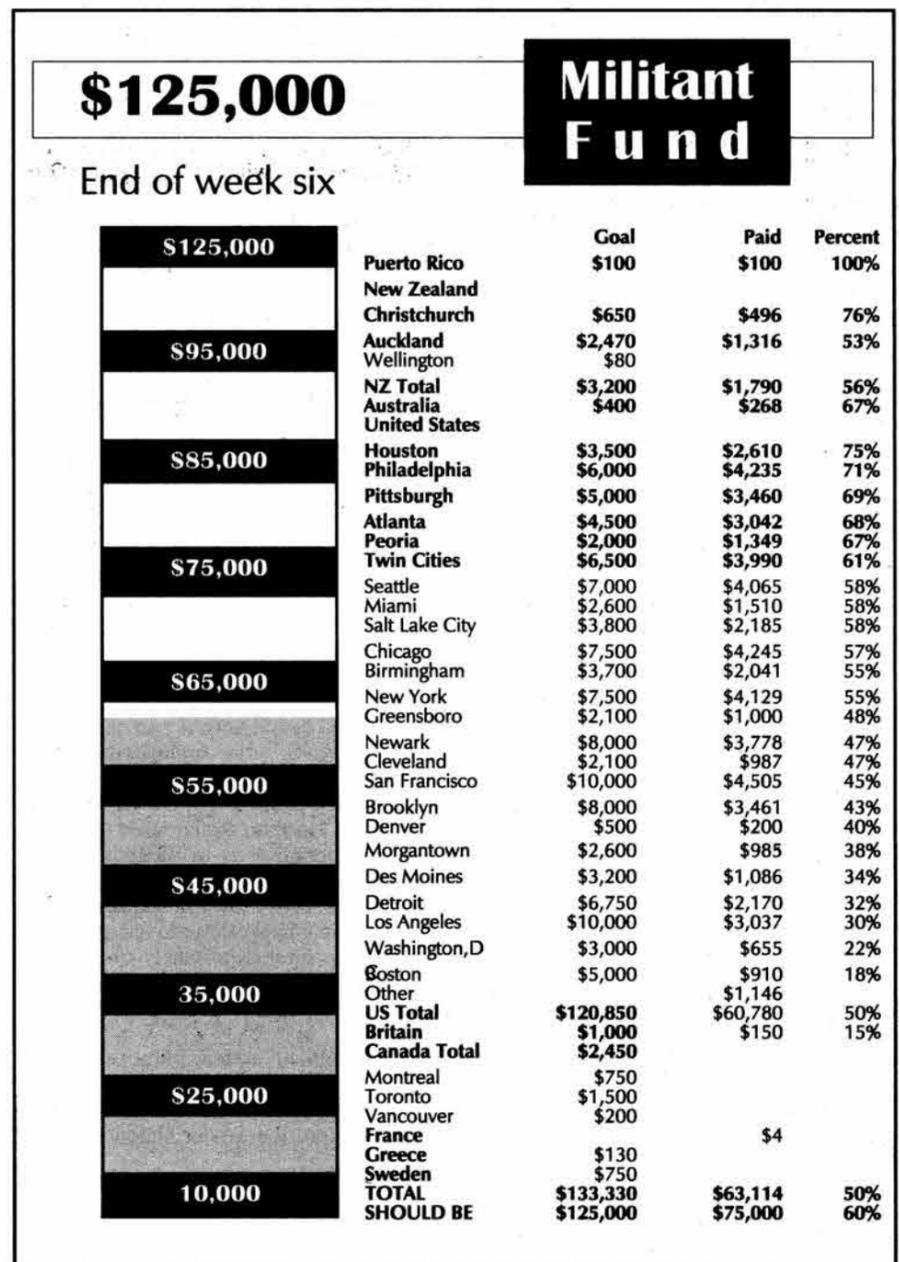
San Francisco has obtained a total of 54 pledges. "We have just begun to scratch the surface," said Joan Radin, who is coordinating the fund drive there.

This week we also welcome readers in Denver who joined the campaign. They took on a goal of \$500 and made an initial payment. With the addition of goals from *Militant* supporters in Canada and Britain, we now have \$130,830 pledged toward the fund, which is actually the amount needed to help meet the paper's financial needs for the year.

Corrections

An error appeared in the front-page article on the Quebec referendum last week. The article incorrectly lists the October 29 rally in Longueuil as being against Quebec sovereignty; it was a rally for the "Yes" vote.

In the same issue on page 15, the dock workers reported on strike are in Liverpool, not London.



Enclosed is \$ _____ I pledge \$1,000 \$500 \$100 Other _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____ Country _____

Send contributions to The Militant, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

ANC wins big in S. Africa elections

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Millions of South Africans went to the polls November 1 in the country's first nonracial local government elections. With approximately 90 percent of polling stations reporting, the African National Congress had received 71 percent of votes cast.

With the election of nearly 700 metropolitan, urban, and rural councils, the remnants of the hated local structures of apartheid have been swept away. National and regional elections were held in April 1994, in which the ANC won a solid majority with 63 percent of the vote. Transitional town councils were then established in many local areas, charged with organizing democratic local elections.

The newly-elected local governments will administer combined areas that under apartheid were separated by law on the basis of "race." "Whites-only" cities were administered — and funded — separately from Black townships. Now Soweto, for instance, has been merged with parts of Johannesburg, which lies just a few miles to the northeast.

"Our country is today a democracy in the complete sense of the word," said ANC and South African president Nelson Mandela at a November 3 victory celebration in Johannesburg. "The people of South Africa have spoken. They have shown their resolve to unite the nation."

Directing his remarks to newly-elected local councilors, Mandela said that "a great responsibility now rests on your shoulders to ensure that you reciprocate the trust of the people by immediately establishing efficient and accountable government. Now is the time to roll up your sleeves and work with the communities to build a better life."

An important advance for the ANC was the broader support it won from those classified under apartheid as Coloured, especially in the Western Cape region, previously said to have been a center of support for the National Party. The ANC won

electoral majorities in all major cities, with the exception of central Pretoria.

For the past year, ANC leaders have emphasized need for democratically-elected and authoritative local governments in order to address the economic, political, and social legacy of apartheid. These structures are essential in implementing the Congress's Reconstruction and Development Program, which was subsequently adopted by the Government of National Unity.

Reconstruction program

Speculation was rife in the big-business press that the elections would register declining support for the ANC, due to a "failure to deliver" widespread improvements in the standard of living and quality of life across the country for the impoverished majority.

Despite the slow pace of transforming basic conditions of life for most working people, however, the anticipated backlash did not arise. The vast majority of rural and urban toilers see the ANC as their own.

Local authorities that were holdovers from the days of white rule have held decision-making power over the allocation of the most basic resources — including roads, electricity, and water. If roads exist at all in black townships, few are paved. More than 10 million people in South Africa have no access to running water or electricity.

In Upington, a town on the banks of the Orange River in the Northern Cape province, for example, water rights were to play a prominent role in the election. ANC campaigners pointed out that the former town council had favored white farmers along a thin strip of green land while denying water to thousands of blacks.

"When the ANC gets into power... we'll introduce our plans to pipe water deep into the Kalahari to assist those in need," said ANC election coordinator Jan Piet.



Elmond Jiyane/Center for Democratic Change

Nurses strike rally in Soweto, September 1995. Local elections showed strong support among working people for the African National Congress. "We expected the liberation euphoria to have petered out," complained a National Party leader.

"You can't just pump water anywhere," responded Stoffel Lombard of the Northern Cape Agricultural Union, an organization of capitalist landowners. "There are rules and regulations."

"If farmers don't have enough water, then the local people can't have jobs," said National Party spokesperson Johannes de Klerk.

Maid runs against her boss

While a breakdown of its candidates was not available at press time, ANC local slates in various urban and rural areas included working people. In Morgan's Bay, a small town on the coast of the Indian Ocean, Ntombizodwa Nonqayi, a maid, challenged her boss for a seat on the town council.

Nonqayi works for Pebs Saunders, a real estate agent decked out in a five-bedroom house, who pays her maid \$80 a month. Nonqayi lives in a hut without electricity or water, and is determined to fight to improve housing and living conditions for the region's impoverished blacks.

Preliminary results showed capitalist

parties collectively garnering about 30 percent of the vote. The National Party of South African deputy-president F.W. de Klerk won about 20 percent, the Democratic Party 1 percent, the rightist Freedom Front 5 percent, the pro-apartheid Conservative Party 1.5 percent, and smaller parties taking the rest.

Voting in Cape Town was put off until next year due to a dispute over election boundaries. Similarly, in KwaZulu-Natal province, the political base of the reactionary Inkatha Freedom Party, a political fight took place over when elections would be held. They have also been postponed until next March.

With no voting in KwaZulu-Natal, Inkatha received less than one percent of the vote. The Pan-Africanist Congress got about one percent as well. The ultraright Afrikaner Resistance Movement boycotted the poll.

In the Eastern Cape, where the ANC polled about 83 percent of the vote, National Party leader Tertius Delpport complained that "we expected the liberation euphoria to have petered out. The support we expected from black voters did not materialize."

The makeup of the councils has yet to be announced, since a "stacking arrangement" that favors minority parties is in force. This was negotiated during multi-party negotiations leading up to last year's nonracial national election. An ANC statement said this would mean "that in the majority of cases a significant number more votes will be needed to win a seat in the black areas, than in the former Indian, Coloured and white areas."

Magnus Malan, generals are arrested

On November 2, former South African defense minister Magnus Malan and five other generals, along with six other former senior military officials were arrested. They included former defense force chief Gen. Jannie Geldenhuys, army chief Gen. Kat Liebenberg, spy master Gen. Neels van Tonder, along with a senior official of Inkatha. Malan was defense minister from 1980 to 1991.

Charged with the 1987 murder of 13 blacks in KwaZulu-Natal in what was to have been an assassination of a local ANC leader, the indictment says that Malan and his generals organized an Inkatha hit squad, which was trained, paid, and deployed by the South African Defense Force.

The charges brought howls of protest from deputy-president de Klerk and other former apartheid officials, who insisted Malan should receive amnesty. But KwaZulu-Natal attorney general Tim McNally said he was acting strictly according to the law.

"The only way now that somebody can get amnesty is through the Truth Commission," set up to expose apartheid-era crimes, said ANC spokesperson Carl Niehaus. Malan has insisted on his innocence. To win amnesty, someone appealing to the Truth Commission must confess his or her crime.

Under the state of emergency imposed by the apartheid regime in the 1980s alone, at least 30,000 people were detained without trial. Thousands of others were murdered, disappeared, or tortured.

Puerto Rico protest defies U.S. Navy

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Tens of thousands of people marched here October 29 to protest a proposal of the U.S. navy to build an enormous radar in Puerto Rico. While most of the marchers were supporters of independence for this U.S.

colony, the demonstration also included many people who support the status quo or statehood for Puerto Rico.

The march took place only eight days after some 80,000 marched against the U.S. military in the Japanese colony of Okinawa. Puerto Rico and Okinawa are two of the biggest concentrations of U.S. military bases outside the United States.

The Roosevelt Roads Naval Station in Ceiba, Puerto Rico, is the most important training site for the U.S. navy in the world. The base includes parts of several islands and covers more square kilometers of land than any other U.S. navy base worldwide. Two-thirds of the island of Vieques, with some 7,000 inhabitants, is part of the base. Puerto Ricans have organized protests against the U.S. naval facility for decades.

The navy plans to build a Relocatable-Over-The-Horizon Radar with the transmitter on its property in Vieques. The receiver would be 200 kilometers (120 miles) west in the town of Lajas, which is on the main island of Puerto Rico. The site in Lajas is currently privately-owned farm land. A similar radar is operating in Virginia and a unit in Texas is soon to be operational.

The original stated purpose for the radars was to monitor the movement of Soviet aircraft. The radars were never installed before the Soviet Union shattered in 1990.

The navy is now trying to justify its budget by saying that its resources must be put into the fight against the movement of illegal drugs. The area covered by the radar would extend as far south as Bolivia. The navy claims that the mission of the radar is solely to spy on aircraft carrying drugs and that there is no military objective.

Opponents of the radar are raising several concerns. The Yabucoa Committee for Quality of Life marched behind a banner that read "No to electromagnetic radiation." Farmers and others oppose taking

land away from agriculture and making the island even more dependent on imported foods. There is also opposition to the expansion of the U.S. navy presence in Puerto Rico.

The October 29 march was endorsed by more than 80 groups including political, environmental, labor, religious, student, and professional groups. Twenty eight labor organizations endorsed the action including the AFL-CIO and independent federations in Puerto Rico. Two groups that endorsed the march were Vietnam Veterans and Families and *Vieques en Santa Cruz contra el radar* (Vieques in St. Croix against the radar). Several Vietnam veterans marched wearing their military medals.

In the 1950s, when the Navy was evicting people from their land in Vieques, many people moved to St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands to find work. Puerto Ricans make up a significant layer of the working class of St. Croix.

The mayor of Ponce, Rafael Cordero Santiago of the Popular Democratic Party, which favors the status quo for Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States, attended the march as did a number of legislators. Prominent statehood activist Myriam Ramirez de Ferrer has opposed the radar but did not attend the march, stating that the Puerto Rican Independence Party was using the protest for its own purposes.

The march began at the Sixto Escobar Park and proceeded past the Capitol into Old San Juan, where a rally was held in the Plaza de Colón. Of the marchers who had identifiable opinions on the status of Puerto Rico on their banners or T-shirts, virtually all were in favor of independence.

Many marchers wore environmental or labor movement slogans. On the eve of the referendum vote in Quebec, one supporter of independence in Puerto Rico had a Quebec T-shirt in solidarity with the pro-sovereignty forces there.

Socialist arrested

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN — While selling Pathfinder books and socialist periodicals here October 21, this reporter was arrested for obstruction of justice and selling without a vendor's permit.

The arrest came as I was staffing two tables on a public sidewalk in Barrio Obrero, a working-class neighborhood with many immigrants from the Dominican Republic. In response to a call from the manager of a nearby supermarket, the police arrived in a joint patrol with the Puerto Rico National Guard, with three guardsmen toting semi-automatic AR-15 rifles.

I immediately began taking notes of the names and badge numbers of the policeman and guardsmen. At one point the police officer and one of the guardsmen physically ripped the notes from my hand and destroyed them. The cop then put on a bullet-proof vest covering his badge.

I agreed to leave but after asking the police and guardsmen to identify themselves I was arrested.

A National Guard member said, "I'm the law and you have no rights."

At a probable cause hearing October 23, I was represented by attorney Arturo Hernández. Three members of the Political Formation Workshop attended the hearing in solidarity. A trial is set for November 10. The newspaper *Claridad* has run a story about the case.

Reach out for new readers!

Join the *Militant* subscription drive

Militant 1,950
Perspectiva Mundial 525
New International 750

Sold 63%
 Should be 75%

S E P T E M B E R 2 3 - N O V E M B E R 1 9

Two weeks and 716 subs to go; every day counts!

BY LAURA GARZA

Every day counts! To meet the target of 1,950 new readers of the *Militant*, we have to sell another 716 subscriptions. To reach this goal, it will take maximum effort by each reader interested to help every day that remains until November 19, when the drive ends.

Supporters of the *Militant* in a number of cities picked up steam in the last week, with teams spending all day at campuses, work places, and on community sales. Six areas are now on or ahead of schedule, one more than last week.

In London, now on target for the first time, *Militant* distributors surged ahead with the help of socialist workers who took days off to hit campuses within a few hours drive of the city. Such special efforts in every area can bring us to the finish line with all the goals met.

In another encouraging sign, *Militant* supporters in a couple of areas raised some of their goals. In Boston they raised all their goals. In New York and Newark, after unexpected success in selling *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, readers raised their local targets for the Spanish-language magazine just to keep up with the pace of actual sales.

We now have 63 percent of our goal for sales of *Militant* subscriptions, 78 percent of our goal of 525 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, and 53 percent of the target we set for selling 750 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

These goals can be met with a day-by-day application of what we've done up to now: door-to-door sales, getting to political and community events, weeknight teams, weekend mobilizations, and special teams of several days with supporters taking off work or

school to pitch in.

Jonathan Silberman reported from London that sales teams he was part of visited the University of Essex, University of Sussex, and the University of Kent. One universal question students asked

Salt Lake City has fielded several teams to speak with coal miners in Arizona. Most recently, miners at Peabody's Black Mesa and Kayenta mines near Kayenta, Arizona, bought 25 single copies and 3 subscriptions to the *Militant*.



Militant sales at October 21 march on Cuba in New York

was, "Are you coming back?" The team sold subscriptions to many international students, including a young Greek who also bought a copy of *New International* no. 10, with the article "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War," and the book *The Truth About Yugoslavia*.

At the University of Kent in Canterbury, students from a local Cuba Libre club were happy to see people who supported the Cuban revolution and the *Militant's* regular coverage on Cuba. Several subscribed. A table was also set up at a conference on Third World First. Going door-to-door on Sunday netted three more subscriptions.

At the P&M mine in New Mexico 22 copies and 2 subscriptions were sold. Both mines are on the Navajo Reservation. Due to a successful fight for affirmative action, the overwhelming majority of the miners are Navajos.

Jill Fein reported that miners were particularly interested in the articles on the national convention of the United Mine Workers of America and the demonstrations in California in defense of affirmative action. The team also sold a subscription to a rail worker at the Santa Fe yard in Gallup, New Mexico.

Supporters from New York City and Albany joined together over four days visiting the SUNY Albany campus and selling in the Black community. The team won 14 new readers to the *Militant* and 1 to *Perspectiva Mundial*. A debate on affirmative action had just been held on campus. Students gathered around the table to continue discussing the issue. Later that evening, four people attended a meeting to find out more about the Young Socialists.

In Miami, Young Socialists and other *Militant* distributors traveled to a community fair in Tampa, attended the Florida state convention of the National Organization for Women, and set up tables at several area campuses. They sold 17 *Militant* and 3 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, and 9 *New Internationals* in a week. They are now busy building a November 11 rally against the Klan in North Miami.

With this spirit, let's organize the maximum number of *Militant* readers every day for the next two weeks to make all the goals in full and on time.

Mumia Abu-Jamal rally

Continued from front page

Mumia," she said. "He grew up with my younger brothers and sisters. This is about railroading an innocent man."

Several young workers joined the rally at the high school. "I don't think he got a fair trial," one said. "We want to hear more about the case."

Speaking from a flatbed truck, Pam Africa urged everyone to "keep the pressure on, don't let the stay of execution lull you into inactivity." She announced an economic boycott of Pennsylvania, including Philadelphia's tourist hotels and the convention center. She also urged people to attend a December 9 conference in Philadelphia to discuss strategy to win Abu-Jamal's release.

Other speakers included Mark Taylor, coordinator of the 500-member Academics for Mumia

Abu-Jamal, drawn from college faculties from around the country. Marie-Agnes Combesque, a freelance journalist from France announced the publication of a French-language edition of Abu-Jamal's book, *Live from Death Row*. Combesque participated at a Paris press conference of writers earlier this year to build the international defense campaign on Abu-Jamal's behalf.

Deborah Liatos, Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia, also spoke pointing to the need to continue broadening the support for Abu-Jamal's case on campuses and in the unions.

Protests took place in other cities, including a teach-in of more than 100 in New York City and a student rally at the Borough of Manhattan Community College there.

END OF WEEK SIX

City	Militant goal	Militant sold	%	PM goal	PM sold	NI goal	NI sold
United States							
Indiana	10	8	80%	0		0	
Peoria, IL	32	25	78%	2	3	8	5
Salt Lake City	50	39	78%	15	8	15	8
Los Angeles	120	90	75%	75	58	75	40
New York	120	90	75%	75	56	50	31
Brooklyn	160	117	73%	50	36	50	47
Atlanta	55	40	73%	18	12	15	9
Des Moines	50	36	72%	25	14	20	9
Birmingham, AL	49	34	69%	5	1	15	2
Boston ^	45	31	69%	13	9	21	10
Seattle	70	47	67%	15	11	20	13
Chicago	65	43	66%	20	18	25	12
Philadelphia	75	49	65%	15	5	15	9
Twin Cities, MN	70	45	64%	12	7	20	7
Detroit	65	41	63%	10	5	20	1
San Francisco	98	61	62%	30	15	60	26
Miami	60	37	62%	20	15	30	10
Houston	55	33	60%	20	13	16	2
Cleveland	40	23	58%	10	8	15	3
Albany	7	4	57%	1	1	5	
Denver	7	4	57%	3	4	3	
Greensboro, NC	55	29	53%	10	7	10	
Morgantown, WV	48	23	48%	2	2		
Washington, DC	45	21	47%	15	9	20	5
Pittsburgh	65	30	46%	5	1	15	1
Newark, NJ	130	59	45%	45	39	40	22
New Haven	5	2	40%	1		2	
Tucson	5	2	40%	2		2	1
Cincinnati	8	1	13%	2		2	
Total U.S.	1664	1064	64%	516	357	589	273
Greece	5	3	60%	1		4	3
Britain							
London	35	31	89%	10	6	25	24
Sheffield	12	6	50%	1		3	1
Manchester	40	14	35%	1	2	20	10
Total	87	51	59%	12	8	48	35
Canada							
Vancouver	45	32	71%	6	4	20	7
Montreal	50	27	54%	12	8	30	12
Toronto ^	50	25	50%	10	7	25	12
Total	145	84	58%	28	19	75	31
New Zealand							
Auckland	18	11	61%	1	1	15	13
Christchurch	8	3	38%	1		3	1
Wellington	2		0%	0		1	
Total	28	14	50%	2	1	19	14
Puerto Rico	2	1	50%	6	4	4	2
Sweden							
Stockholm	20	10	50%	15	14	20	23
Malmö	2	0	0%	2	1	1	
Total	22	10	45%	17	15	21	23
Australia	15	5	33%	3	3	12	8
Iceland	10	1	10%	1		3	
France	6		0%	5	1	20	11
Other		1					2
International Total	1984	1234	63%	591	408	795	402
Goal/Should be at	1950	1463	75%	525	394	750	563
^ increased goal							
IN THE UNIONS							
Australia							
AWU-FIME	2			0		0	1
Canada							
CEP	4			1		2	1
IAM	1					1	
USWA	5	9		0		2	1
Canada total	10	9	90%	1	0	5	2
New Zealand							
EU	2						
MWU	2			0		0	
New Zealand total	4			0		0	
Sweden							
Metal union		1			1		4
United States							
UMWA	9	7	78%				
UAW	65	42	65%	10	3	17	7
OCAW	20	12	60%				
IAM	59	23	39%	9	1	17	5
UFCW	6	2	33%	10	6	2	4
UNITE	20	6	30%	19	3	8	1
UTU	58	10	17%	3		17	2
USWA	28	4	14%				
U.S. Total	265	106	40%	51	13	61	19

Peltier continues to resist FBI frame-up

BY NORTON SANDLER

LAWRENCE, Kansas—Entering a driveway leading to a few businesses here on the morning of October 27, we knew we were at the right place when we saw "In the Spirit of Crazy Horse" lettered on the front of a small office. For the next hour, in between fielding phone calls, Lisa Faruolo talked to us about Peltier's case. She is a leader of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee and editor of the committee's bi-monthly newsletter.

Now 51, Native-American activist Peltier was convicted in 1977 and given two consecutive life sentences. He was framed up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on charges stemming from the death in 1975 of two FBI agents in a shoot-out near Oglala, a small community on the Pine Ridge, South Dakota, Indian reservation.

The siege at Oglala had been precipitated by a reign of terror directed at the American Indian Movement (AIM) by the FBI, South Dakota authorities, and goons organized by the Pine Ridge Tribal Council headed by Dick Wilson. This operation was part of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program), which grew out of its attempts to disrupt the labor movement prior to World War II.

The particular program named COINTELPRO was initiated in 1956 and marked for disruption groups that protested Washington's policies at home and abroad. Objects of disruption programs during the next two decades included civil rights fighters, anti-Vietnam War protesters, socialists, and women's rights organizations, in addition to AIM.¹

The Pine Ridge reservation was at the center of the struggle between Indian activists and the U.S. government. For 71 days in 1973, the town of Wounded Knee became the battleground in the struggle between Native-American rights fighters and the U.S. government. A meeting of activists in the town, including several AIM members, called to address accumulated grievances, was surrounded by hundreds of cops, federal marshals, and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) thugs.

The government tried to defend its actions claiming that the activists were holding hostages in the encampment. At times during the siege, heavy gunfire was exchanged between government sharpshooters and the Wounded Knee fighters who were defending themselves.

The siege ended in May 1973 with sev-

eral AIM leaders—including Dennis Banks, Russell Means, and Clyde Bellecourt—facing charges. Banks and Means were acquitted of the charges in 1974. The charges against Bellecourt were dropped.

FBI war on Indian movement

But the FBI's disruption operation against AIM intensified. In one weekend alone in 1975, 28 AIM leaders and activists were arrested in various parts of the United States.

Several activists and others who refused to go along with the terror campaign of Tribal Council leader Wilson were murdered or beaten on the Pine Ridge reservation in the area near Oglala.

Native-American activist Della Star Comes Out explained this point in Peter Matthiessen's book *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*. "For a long time, every time we start having a bingo or something the goons and the BIA police would start coming around, and you know, start shooting around," she said.

"And they'd start some kind of trouble and we'd have to break up...They were even shooting at our houses, and there's a lot of kids, you know, in some of these homes. The goons really done a lot of harassing, but there was nothing that could be done; we couldn't go to the BIA police because they were right with them. So finally, the traditional, the elderly people, got together and asked, you know, that we'd have our own security around the Oglala area so we can have at least a little protection."

This was the context in which Leonard Peltier and others came to Oglala.

The shoot-out that led to the deaths of two FBI agents began on the morning of June 26. Using the pretext of looking for a man whom they accused of theft and assault, FBI, BIA, South Dakota cops, and federal marshals descended on Oglala and began firing. At the peak of the assault, more than 250 armed attackers surrounded the Oglala compound. Native-American activists explain that the bulk of this force was in place before the two agents who died came within the vicinity of Oglala.

The Indians in the compound, including Peltier, escaped, before the final siege took place.

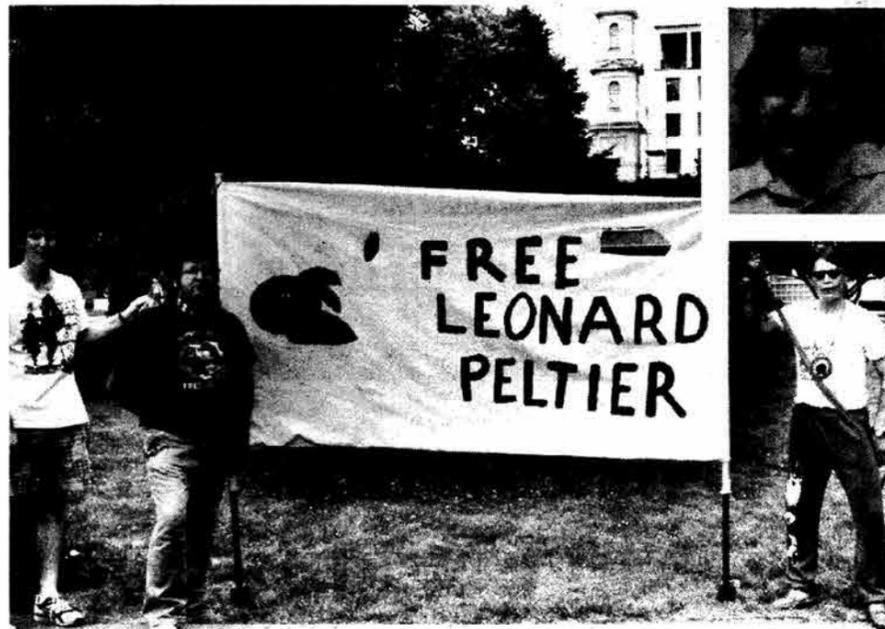
Joseph Stuntz, a young Native man, was killed. No one was ever charged in his death though Peltier and two other Indian activists were charged in the deaths of the FBI agents. Dino Butler and Robert Robideau were acquitted.

Peltier was eventually arrested in Canada and extradited to the United States. He was tried separately from the other two and convicted. The presiding judge allowed the government wide latitude to present a circumstantial case that included many unsubstantiated innuendoes designed to present a portrait of Peltier as "violent." Among the evidence the presiding judge excluded, was the fact that two other activists had been acquitted of the murders in an earlier trial. Nor was any mention allowed of the FBI's COINTELPRO operation against the American Indian Movement.

Peltier has been incarcerated since 1985 in the Leavenworth Federal Prison, a short distance from Lawrence.

Faruolo explained that Peltier has had three appeals of his convictions rejected by the courts. His lead attorney is now Ramsey Clark. The Peltier defense committee and his attorneys are pressing for the release of FBI documents that have been withheld for nearly two decades and for U.S. president Bill Clinton to issue an executive pardon for Peltier. Retired FBI agents and other cops continue to campaign against the Peltier defense effort and against his release from prison.

Peltier's attorneys filed a Freedom of Information Act Petition (FOIA) in the early 1980s and another more recently, Faruolo said, because "thousands of pages" have been withheld by the government. "Under its guidelines, under the FOIA, the FBI is not supposed to be able to withhold documents if they don't concern national security," she said, "and this has nothing to do with national security." Faruolo displayed some documents re-



Militant/Brian Williams; inset by Steve Marshall
June protest in Washington, D.C. commemorating 20th anniversary of cop attack in Pine Ridge, South Dakota, that led to frame-up of Leonard Peltier (inset).

leased recently to emphasize why the FBI and the U.S. attorney general want this material kept secret. "At Leonard's trial the government claimed that an FBI agent was killed at 12:15 p.m. In the trial transcript they said they didn't find out about the death until after 3:00 p.m.," she said.

"And for years," she continued, "the South Dakota attorney general denied that they had transcripts of radio reports from the day of the shooting. We now have one of those transcripts which shows that as early as 11:55 a.m. they were claiming on the radio that they had agents under fire, and at 11:59, they said they had an agent shot."

"We believe they have exculpatory evidence—that is material that will exonerate Leonard—in their possession. It may take a little while, but we are going to get these materials," she stated.

Citing widespread FBI doctoring of evidence against Peltier, columnist Jack Anderson recently wrote, "While Congress investigates governmental abuses in cases ranging from Waco to Randy Weaver, it is also time to reopen the 20-year-old case involving Leonard Peltier."

Presidential pardon

In 1993 Peltier filed a petition for commutation of his sentence with the Pardon's Attorney office in Washington, D.C. Faruolo explained that for nearly two years Leonard's clemency petition has been "sitting at the Justice Department." Faruolo said she doesn't expect anything to happen soon. "We're not going to see any real movement on this until after the U.S. presidential election," she said.

"Clinton has options on clemency," she continued. "He can say the sentence is finally commuted. Leonard has served 19 years and that's enough. Or he can say the sentences now run concurrently instead of consecutively. Either of these options could be a basis for a pardon or parole."

In 1993 Peltier went before Federal parole officials who told him that, because of his consecutive life sentences, it would be another 15 years before they would consider him for parole. He has another hearing scheduled for later this year. The Peltier committee is requesting that letters be sent to the United States Parole Commission requesting that he be granted parole (see accompanying box).

Amnesty International sent a letter to U.S. attorney general Janet Reno in June saying, "Amnesty International is not able to take a position regarding Leonard Peltier's guilt or innocence of the crime, and he has not been adopted as a prisoner of conscience. However, we continue to have serious concerns about the legal process which led to Leonard Peltier's conviction and sentence of two consecutive terms of life imprisonment."

The letter continues, "The fact remains, however, that Leonard Peltier's numerous appeals have failed to dispel substantial and lingering doubts about the fairness of his treatment." The Amnesty letter urges a special executive review of Peltier's case.

Cop agencies remain active in spreading misinformation about the case and campaigning against Peltier's release. According to Anderson, a 1992 article in the FBI's in-house newsletter states, "Keep the Vigil: Peltier is a Murderer." The article accuses Peltier of being guilty of "cold-blooded execution." Faruolo said that in 1994, just prior to activities in support of Peltier in Washington, D.C., a Virginia newspaper printed a story about Peltier that contained glaring factual inaccuracies.

When telephoned, Faruolo says the paper's editor told her that FBI agents had come by and given him information about Peltier and urged the man to write a story. Leonard Peltier Defense Committee (LPDC) literature also explains that the FBI has been lobbying to have any action on Peltier's clemency petition delayed.

In October, the LPDC organized a vigil and rally in Leavenworth near the prison in support of Peltier. Similar actions were also held in several cities around the country. Next March, Faruolo said, Peltier supporters will be organizing civil disobedience protest activities in support of Peltier in Washington, D.C. and other cities.

Faruolo, 28, explained that she got active in Peltier's defense as a college student in New Jersey after reading Peter Matthiessen's book. She started a Peltier support group at Kean College. At Peltier's urging, she moved to Lawrence in 1991 and has worked in the Peltier defense committee office since then.

Stephen Bloodworth from Peoria, Illinois, contributed to this article.

¹A detailed account of the FBI's war on Leonard Peltier and the American Indian Movement can be found in Peter Matthiessen's book *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*, distributed by Penguin Press; and in the readily available video *Incident at Oglala*. For further information also see Pathfinder's *COINTELPRO: The FBI's War on Political Freedom* by Nelson Blackstock; *The FBI on Trial* edited by Margaret Jayko; and the article "Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation" in *New Internationalist* no. 6.

How you can help

How you can help Leonard Peltier's fight for freedom:

- To obtain information on Leonard Peltier's fight for freedom and on upcoming activities: Contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, at Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044, or phone (913) 842-5774.
- You can write Leonard Peltier, #89637-132 Box 1000, LVN, KS 66048. Peltier can receive letters, postal money orders, soft cover books, and photographs (excluding Polaroids).
- Request that U.S. president Bill Clinton grant executive clemency for Leonard Peltier. Write President Clinton, White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C. 20500.
- Write to the Parole Board demanding Peltier's release: the address is United States Parole Commission, Air World Center, ste 220, 10920 Ambassador Dr., Kansas City, MO 64153.

From Pathfinder

New International No. 6

- The second assassination of Maurice Bishop by Steve Clark
- Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation by Larry Seigle
- Land, Labor, and the Colonial Revolution by Michel Dugré
- Renewal or Death: Cuba's Rectification Process Two Speeches by Fidel Castro \$15.95

Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom

Nelson Blackstock

The FBI's spying and disruption against socialists and activists in the Black and antiwar movements. Includes FBI documents. \$15.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail, please add \$3 to cover postage and handling.

Jury: Pittsburgh cops killed Black man

BY BILL SCHEER

PITTSBURGH — Hundreds of people of all ages and nationalities rallied here November 1 demanding justice for the killing of Jonny Gammage, a 31-year-old Black man, as an inquest into his death while in police custody began.

Chanting "No justice, no peace," "What do we want? Justice! When do we want it? Now!" and "Racist cops you can't hide, we charge you with homicide," 50 demonstrators set up a picket line outside the court house where the inquest was held. Dozens more filled the court room and overflowed outside into the hallways. The picket line was called by the Million Man March Mobilization Committee.

Gammage was killed by the cops October 12, after being pulled over by five police officers in a routine traffic check in a predominantly white neighborhood. The autopsy determined that he died of "compression to the neck and chest," contradicting a police account that he passed away of a heart attack. After viewing the coroner's photographs of his body, Gammage's family said emphatically he was beaten and choked to death.

On November 3, a coroner's jury unanimously agreed. It recommended that all five cops be charged with homicide in the death of Gammage. It is the first time that an inquest jury here has recommended the maximum charge against police officers. The multi-racial jury deliberated for 70 minutes after hearing more than two days of testimony, mostly from the cops involved.

"We felt the police officers lied in trying to cover it up," said Beth Beeler, one of the jurors, in an interview with the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, the city's largest daily. "We felt we needed to send a strong message this type of behavior would not be tolerated. We really felt this was done because he was a Black male," said Beeler, who is white. Beeler said she would have had the same opinion if Gammage had a criminal record or had drugs in his system, which he didn't.

The verdict was seen as a victory by activists who showed up every day for the hearing. Khalid Raheem, a leader of the Million Man March Mobilization Committee, described the jury decision as "a very, very major step for us Black people."

"We are pleased with the verdict," said Eugene Beard, of the NAACP. "Now we hope the District Attorney's office adheres to the recommendation."

District Attorney Bob Colville said that "It's not likely at all" he will disregard the jury's recommendation, but he may decide to reduce the charges against some or all the cops.

The sustained mobilizations throughout

the inquest, which demanded that the cops be prosecuted appeared to have had an impact on the outcome of the case.

In addition to the pickets at the courthouse, a downtown rally of 300 people took place October 31. Participants included union members, professionals, political activists, and Black and white students from several campuses.

Gammage's death has generated widespread outrage among working people in the area. In a poll conducted by the *Post-Gazette*, only 10 percent of those asked said they believed the cops acted properly. "Overwhelming majorities of both white and Black respondents said they believed the police acted improperly," said the *Post* article on the poll's results.

The police are finding it harder to blame the victim in this case. "Jonny Gammage is squeaky clean," Sala Udin told the *Post*. "They can't use the excuse he was a drug addict or a gang member. He was unarmed and had no police record," he stated.

In the wake of this case, other victims of police abuse have come forward, and talked about the racist and brutal conduct of the cops.

The killing of Gammage by the cops has received nationwide media attention as well, in part because his cousin and business associate was Ray Seals, a professional football player for the Pittsburgh Steelers. Seals hired an attorney and an investigator to find witnesses immediately after the killing. Normally, all the witnesses and testimony at a coroner's inquest are provided by the police.

The hearings were conducted by the District Attorney and the coroner. Lawyers for Gammage were not allowed to cross-examine witnesses.

The first two days of the inquest were dominated by the police officers giving

Curtis supporters push for parole

Continued from front page

actor, and film-maker, whose most recent film was *Major Payne*, agreed to participate in the delegation on Curtis's behalf. He will be joined by Frankie Travis, a unionist locked out by A.E. Staley in Decatur, Illinois; Larry Ginter, a family farmer from Rhodes, Iowa; Hazel Zimmerman, secretary-treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee; and others.

The defense committee is urging supporters of Curtis's fight to write to the parole board urging them to free him.

"The increasingly long time that Mark has served, the number of victimizations of Mark carried out by prison authorities, the increasingly untenable refusal of the



Militant/Bill Scheer

November 1 protest outside Pittsburgh court house during inquest on death of Jonny Gammage. The brutal killing by the cops received national media attention.

their side of the story. They maintained that Gammage was out of control and that they only used necessary force to subdue him. Gammage was physically smaller than every one of the five cops on the scene. Officer Michael Albert testified that he applied pressure to Gammage's neck for only 20 seconds.

Two eyewitnesses contradicted the police testimony. Richard Brennan, a security guard, testified that he saw one of the cops kneeling on Gammage's back for four to five minutes.

Before the inquest began many doubted the jury would return a guilty verdict. "I think, by and large, an open inquest is nothing more than an opportunity to put a stamp of approval on police activities,"

stated attorney Gary Zimmerman, who represented the late Lee Morris.

Morris was fatally shot by an off-duty cop in 1994. Since 1980, 21 open inquests have been held into deaths of people involving police officers here. Only twice charges were filed, and in both cases the cops were acquitted.

Activists in the Million Man March Mobilization Committee, the local coalition to demand freedom for Pennsylvania death-row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal, supporters of Socialist Workers candidates Malcolm Jarret and Edwin Fruit, members of the Young Socialists, and others argued that street mobilizations are the best way to put pressure on the authorities to prosecute the cops.

Death row inmate released; Chicago cop admits perjury

BY KRISTIN MERIAM

CHICAGO — "Let us not forget, Rolando Cruz was sentenced to be strapped to a gurney and delivered a lethal injection because of perjured testimony," said Lawrence Marshall, a defense lawyer for Cruz.

On November 3, after twelve years on death row, Cruz was finally found not guilty of the brutal 1983 rape and murder of a ten-year-old Naperville, Illinois, girl.

Although no physical evidence or eyewitness linked Cruz to the crime, he was twice convicted based on a so-called "vision statement." DuPage County sheriff's detectives Thomas Vosburgh and Dennis Kurzawa claimed Cruz told them in 1983 of a vision he'd had, describing details of the murder that were not publicly known. The two did not make a report of the statement, and it was not disclosed to the defense until nineteen months later. Sheriff's Lt. James Montesano corroborated their story in a pre-trial hearing in August this year. On November 3, however, Montesano stunned the court by admitting he'd lied.

"Did Cruz ever make the dream statement?" asked Judge Ronald Mehling in court. "I don't think I have to answer that because I'm going to enter a finding of not

guilty." The defense never presented their case because Mehling ruled the prosecution did not meet the burden of proof.

While the prosecution relentlessly pursued their frame-up of Cruz and co-defendant Alejandro Hernandez they disregarded the likely killer. In 1985 Brian Dugan, who was serving a life sentence for the murders of a seven-year-old girl and a woman, confessed to the Naperville murder and said he acted alone. This year new DNA evidence was produced which strongly links Dugan to the girl's rape and excludes both Cruz and Hernandez.

"I never believed they did it. We never had the evidence," said the arresting officer, former DuPage County sheriff's deputy John Sam. Sam quit his job in 1984 rather than continue the frame-up. Former state assistant attorney general Mary Brigid Kenney also resigned over the case. "I am so firmly convinced Dugan alone killed this girl," she said.

The prosecutors, however, are not dropping their case against Hernandez. DuPage County state's attorney Anthony Pecarelli says the Cruz verdict will have "no impact whatsoever" on Hernandez's upcoming trial, his fourth in the case. Ten years after he confessed to the crime, Dugan has yet to be charged.

parole board to free Mark, all these combine to make it clearer and clearer that the reason Mark Curtis is in prison today is because he remains a political activist," the committee wrote to supporters October 24.

On top of the recent wave of revelations of cop racism and frame-ups, "these factors all combined in pressing the board to grant Mark a hearing," the committee added. "The decision registers the Board's first step toward granting Curtis his release. It opens the process that will ultimately lead to Mark's freedom."

Unionists have been an important component of the parole effort this fall. "On behalf of the 9,300 members of UFCW Local 428 I am writing to respectfully request that you grant parole to Mark Curtis," wrote Ronald J. Lind, director of organizing for the local in San Jose, California. "We have been following the Mark Curtis story since his imprisonment in 1988. We are absolutely convinced of his innocence and given the time that he has served for a crime that he did not commit, and his good behavior while in prison, it is clearly time for his release."

Roger Warren, a gold miner in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, in Canada who was framed up and sentenced to life on charges arising from his participation in a strike battle, wrote: "I am writing to beseech you to parole Mark Curtis."

"The facts are that Mr. Curtis is a model prisoner, from all reports, and has used his time constructively. The further argument for his release is that he has served more time than would be usual in these circumstances. This individual poses no threat to society and the sensible and humane course for the state of Iowa would be his parole so that Mr. Curtis can continue what was once a productive life."

"There is abundant support in Iowa for Mr. Curtis and indeed there are individuals and groups world-wide who stand ready to vouch for him," Warren added.

"Please add my voice to the many others who are urging you in the strongest possible way to grant parole to Mark Curtis at the earliest possible moment," wrote Albert Carson, President of Local 255 of the Glass, Plastic and Molders Workers Union in Birmingham, Alabama.

"On behalf of the University, College

and Research Branch and the District Students Committee of the Education and Science Union (Oberpfalz District, Bavaria) within the German Congress of Trade Unions, we declare our support to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee," began a letter the defense committee received November 6. "The commitment for helping active trade unionists threatened, intimidated and persecuted by state and employers power, is a fundamental duty of every trade unionist. The response to events like the unjust treatment and political persecution of colleague Mark Curtis has to be international in approach."

Support for Curtis is also growing among immigrant and Latino groups.

"I am very familiar with all of the literature pertaining to the Mark Curtis case," wrote Augustine Tujillo, director of the Center for Ethnic Students Affairs at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. "This being the situation I would like to go on record as being a very strong advocate for the parole of Mark Curtis. I should also mention that I am the sponsor of the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano/o de Aztlan (MEChA) at the University of Utah and the Chicano/Latino students are also strongly endorsing the same action on behalf of Mark Curtis."

The letter was also signed by C. Ross Rocha, MEChA president.

"I am writing to respectfully urge you to grant parole to Mark Curtis," wrote Stacy Kono, campaign coordinator for Asian Immigrant Women Advocates in Oakland, California. "Curtis has met the requirements for release on parole under Iowa law for a number of years and it is unclear why he is still in prison. I would appreciate a response. Thank you for your time."

Support continues to grow in Iowa. "From what I've read I do not believe that Mark is guilty. But that is something that cannot be changed, it is in the past," wrote Jakob Breitbach, a 14-year-old student from Cedar Rapids. "What can and should be done is to make Mark Curtis a free man again, that much he deserves. Set Mark free!"

For more information, or to send a letter to be delivered to the Iowa State Board of Parole, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Tel. (515) 246-1695.

'In Defense of Frederick Engels'

The following are excerpts from the essay "In Defense of Engels" by George Novack contained in his book *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy*. Pathfinder just reissued this title with a new cover (see ad below).

George Novack (1905-1992) joined the communist movement in the United States in 1933, and remained a member and leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death.

As national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, Novack helped organize the 1937 International Commission of Inquiry that investigated the charges fabricated by Stalin's Moscow trials. In the 1940s Novack was national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which gathered support for leaders of the SWP and of the Midwest Teamsters strikes and organizing drive who were framed up and jailed under the witch-hunting Smith Act.

He played a prominent role in numerous other civil liberties and civil rights battles over subsequent decades, including the landmark lawsuit against FBI spying and disruption won by the Socialist Workers Party in 1986. He was also active in defense of the Cuban revolution and against the war in Vietnam.

His works include: *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*; *Genocide against the Indians*; *The Origins of Materialism*; *Existentialism versus Marxism*; *Empiricism and its Evolution*; *How Can the Jews Survive? A Socialist Answer to Zionism*; *The Marxist Theory of Alienation*; *Democracy and Revolution*; *Understanding History*; *Humanism and Socialism*; *The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class*; *Pragmatism versus Marxism*; and *America's Revolutionary Heritage*.

Frederick Engels (1820-1895) together with Karl Marx laid the foundations of the modern working-class movement. Various political tendencies throughout the 20th century have tried to separate Engels from Marx and, under cover of attacking Engels only, have abandoned Marxism. The excerpt below is a fitting tribute to one of the founders of the communist movement on the centennial of his death.

The essay excerpted here, written in 1975, is copyright © Pathfinder Press and is reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY GEORGE NOVACK

I will focus upon Frederick Engels and his contributions to the elaboration of dialectical materialism, for the following reason. The cocreator of scientific social-

ism has come under heavy fire in recent years on the ground that he switched Karl Marx's thought onto the wrong track and distorted his teachings on philosophy.

Just as Leon Trotsky is portrayed by the Stalinists as the antagonist of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin after 1917, so Engels is separated by his detractors from Marx and depreciated in a like manner on the philosophical front. He is accused of deforming Marx's method in a mechanistic way, thereby being the progenitor of Social Democratic deviations and Stalinist dogmatism. This fabrication has been broadly



Marx (center) and Engels (right) speaking with dock workers in London in 1870. The false antithesis between the two founders of modern workers movement, pushed by various political tendencies, contradicts the basic facts about their relationship.

accepted and embroidered by New Left ideologists in both East and West because it undermines those elements of dialectical materialism the critics want to discredit and discard.

This variegated grouping applies "salami tactics" to the body of Marxist thought, although they do not all slice it up the same way. The most unrestrained slicers cut Marx himself in half by discovering a contradiction between the young Marx and the mature Marx. He is supposed to have shifted his views in the wrong direction between his early humanistic writings and the publication of *Capital*. They unjustifiably introduce a sharp break in the normal process of growth through which Marx deepened his understanding of many things from one decade to the next.

However, most of the revisionists find

Marx guiltless of misinterpreting himself, or let him off lightly as ambiguous. The other half of the team is singled out as the main culprit and bears the brunt of the attack as the prime falsifier of Marx's real beliefs. The core of the indictment against Engels is that his version of dialectical materialism is essentially different from Marx's historical materialism.

The true, innovative, humanistic Marx is to be found in such writings of the 1840s as the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and the "Theses on Feuerbach" (which, incidentally, Engels

of their method, these classical writings are the prime sources for our knowledge about Marxist philosophy.

From the inventory of previous philosophizing, Marx and Engels retained the materialist conception of the world and dialectical logic, making these acquisitions the cornerstones of their systematic thought. The distinctive character of the revolution they effected in philosophy was to fuse these two disconnected elements into a synthetic world outlook that posed the necessity for the working class to transform society and offered a theoretical guide for this emancipation struggle.

Materialism was extended from natural to social phenomena and to the development of the thought process; the idealist dialectic of Hegel² was turned upside down and given a solid scientific basis in the realities of the universal evolution of matter in motion.

Philosophy linked with class struggle

Marxism redefined and revitalized philosophy by linking it with the class struggle and political activity, by converting it into an instrument to be added to the arsenal of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle to change the world through class action, and by absorbing the results of the growing scientific knowledge about nature, history, and the mind into its principles.

The unfounded allegation that Marx and Engels held divergent philosophical views sets up Engels as a whipping boy for Marx himself. The objections raised against his positions are actually aimed against the tenets of the dialectical materialism they held in common. The detractors ought to come out from ambush and challenge Marx fairly and squarely.

If all the criticisms they make of Engels were accepted as valid, few parts of Marxist theory would be left intact. They begin with nothing less than an abandonment of its materialist foundation.

From its origins in antiquity, the materialist philosophy has been based on a specific interpretation of the nature of reality; its highest expression in dialectical materialism is no exception.

Materialism maintains that nature alone, based on matter in motion, has a self-sufficient existence; everything in human life is derived from and dependent upon the objective world.

Idealism, on the contrary, denies that nature is primary, making it subordinate to mind or spirit. In Hegel's system, for example, nature is the alienated reflection of the logical process — or, as Marx said, the son begets the mother.

These are the two fundamental opposing camps in the history of philosophy. However, their contraposed positions do not exhaust the possibilities in this field. A heterogeneous array of thinkers and tendencies have, on one ground or another, refused to align themselves in a clear-cut manner with one side or the other. They try to combine elements from both the materialist and idealist viewpoints and they oscillate unsteadily between these two poles.

These eclectics commonly skate around the crucial question of whether nature or social and intellectual phenomena come first. The humanist exponents of praxis stand on the left flank of this category. They affirm that neither nature nor thinking but human activity is the essence of reality, and therefore praxis is the fulcrum of Marxist theory.

They consider this intermediate variant superior to vulgar materialism, as they call it, or out-and-out idealism. Yet their standpoint fails to face up to the need to define the fundamental relation of practice to the external world. When hard pressed, most of the praxologists dispose of the problem by arguing that this question really has no meaning and needs no definite answer because nature and thought are inseparably united in and through practice.

While this happens to be true as far as it goes, it leaves undecided whether matter or mind, the objective or the subjective, takes priority in existence. Their ambiguity and evasiveness on this issue is actually a half-concession to idealism, which holds that there is no object without a sub-

recovered and published after Marx's death). This humanity-centered philosophy of praxis, according to the allegation, was disfigured and displaced by the deterministic, mechanistic, positivistic, and scientific rendering of dialectical materialism Engels presented in his writings. (Praxis is a Greek word for human activity, popularized by contemporary philosophers.)

The false antithesis between Marx and Engels contradicts the basic facts about their relationship. It is, bluntly speaking, a hoax; and serious socialists should beware of being taken in by it. When Engels first visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844, he later wrote: "We found that we were in complete accord in all theoretical domains; this was when our joint work began." It continued without letup until Marx died in 1883.

History has rarely witnessed so close, harmonious, and unabated an intellectual and political partnership. Their correspondence testifies to the communion of thought and lively interchange of ideas on a multitude of subjects that found expression in their writings.

Although Engels modestly assigned himself the role of "second fiddle" to Marx, the development of the dialectical method and historical materialism was a collective creation. Engels and George Plekhanov¹ later named the synthesis dialectical materialism. Marx and Engels elaborated its fundamental principles together in the 1840s. Most of what they wrote thereafter, whether in the form of newspaper articles, manifestos, pamphlets, or books was either discussed beforehand or submitted to each other's searching critical scrutiny.

After settling their basic philosophical principles in their own minds, Marx and Engels divided the tasks at hand in the exposition of their common ideas. While Marx immersed himself in the prodigious labor of investigating the problems of political economy, Engels undertook to popularize their philosophic positions.

The most important of these works were *Anti-Dühring*, from which *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was extracted, and later *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy*. These were to be crowned by *Dialectics of Nature*, which remained unfinished at his death. In addition to *Capital*, which stands as the supreme example of the application

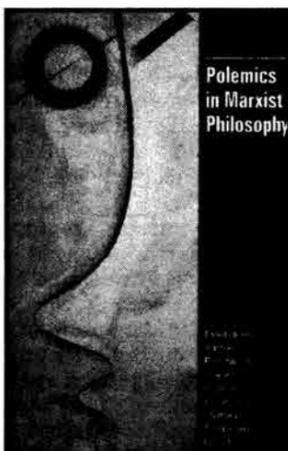
Special offer!

25% off

FROM PATHFINDER

Polemics in Marxist Philosophy

George Novack In these essays, Novack defends scientific socialism—the generalization of the historic line of march of the working class. First advanced by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, it is the toilers' most powerful weapon to use in the fight for a world based on cooperative labor and human solidarity. \$19.95



Democracy and Revolution

George Novack The limitations and advances of various forms of class society, from its roots in ancient Greece through its rise and decline under capitalism. Discusses emergence of Bonapartism, military dictatorship, and fascism, and how democracy will be advanced under a workers and farmers regime. \$18.95



Understanding History

George Novack How did capitalism arise? Why has this exploitative system exhausted its potential? Why is revolutionary change fundamental to human progress? \$14.95

*Special offer good on all titles by George Novack; expires December 31.

For members of the Pathfinder Readers Club only. To sign up for the Readers Club send \$10 for annual membership to Pathfinder (see address below) or contact bookstores listed on page 12.

Available at 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. If ordering by mail please include \$3.00 for the first book and \$.50 for each additional title to cover shipping and handling.

ject and that the object is solely a shadow or "reflective moment" cast by the subject — variously called in the history of philosophy, God, spirit, mind, *nous*, the Word, etc.

The "critical theorists" of the Frankfurt school, as they are known, believe that the objective world cannot be severed from the subject because it is itself a product of human activity. In viewing the object only through the mediation of the human subject and rejecting determinism as a metaphysical aberration, they revert to the standpoint of the left Hegelians, which Marx and Engels, using Ludwig Feuerbach's³ materialism as a bridge, threw off early in their intellectual evolution.

Nature comes before humanity

Materialism teaches that nature has objective reality before and apart from the human subject. This paramount premise has been confirmed by the discoveries of the natural sciences, from astrophysics to biochemistry, showing the evolution of the cosmos over billions of years. The earth and its lower organisms had a prolonged history before humanity came on the scene with its distinctive productive activities.

Practice, to be sure, thereupon became the motive force in *social* history. But it cannot be considered the basis of material being. The praxis school tends to make social life eclipse the natural matrix of which it is an outgrowth. The value we rightly attach to the activities, achievements, and further progress of our species, which is the focus of our attention, should not contract our vision of reality as a whole.

Anthropocentrism is as outdated as the view that the earth is the center of the universe. It is extremely parochial at a time when rockets are invading outer space, researchers are looking for signs of life on remote planets, and scientists are exploring ever deeper into the atom.

Thus George Lichtheim⁴, whom Quinton describes as "one of the most active and enthusiastic exponents of this current of thought," writes: "The external world, as it exists in and for itself, is irrelevant to a materialism which approaches history with a view to establishing what men have made of themselves."

This is in the same vein as the statements by Georg Lukács⁵ in *History and Class Consciousness* that "Existence is the product of human activity" and "nature is a societal category." The discovery of nature is a social-historical category, but not nature itself. Leszek Kolakowski⁶, too, tells us in *Marxism and Beyond*: "The world is a human."

Finally, Alfred Schmidt⁷, a younger member of the Frankfurt school who has devoted an entire book to *The Concept of Nature in Marx*, says: "Nature exists for man only as it is mediated by history." He contrasts Engels with his "naturalized Hegelianism" to Marx, who subordinated nature to its "appropriation through social labor." "Nature," he writes, "only appears on the horizon of history, for history can emphatically only refer to men. History is first, and immediately, practice."

This is a half-truth: it applies to human but not to natural history. As Marx and Engels stated in *The German Ideology*, "We know only a single science, the science of history. History can be contemplated from two sides, it can be divided into the history of nature and the history of mankind. However the two sides are not to be divided off; as long as men exist, the history of nature and the history of men are mutually conditioned."

Schmidt disregards the decisive qualification in the quotation: "as long as men exist." Several million years ago humanity did not yet exist, although nature did. That fact is what the philosophic materialism of Marx and Engels is predicated on. It embraces but goes beyond the horizon of human history as such.

We can agree with other socialist humanists that the problems of human life — and the revolutionary theory and practice of coping with them — are central to the teachings of Marxism. But the point at issue is not the center but the circumference of materialist philosophy, that

which identifies the total field of its concerns. Does dialectical materialism deal only with what is specifically human or with all of reality? Most critics of Engels contend that the broader concern with ontology, the theory of being, is an outworn metaphysical relic of Hegelianism; Marxism limits itself to social experience.

The world and human subjectivity

Their narrow conception of Marxism as historical materialism alone is an unwarranted abridgment of the dialectical materialism Marx and Engels developed. This issue has far-reaching implications.

The world outlook and procedure of science itself was made possible only when its first practitioners cast aside animism, religion, teleology, and other anthropocentric notions. They learned to separate themselves from nature, and nature from themselves, and approach the world objectively, as it really was in its own right, having an independent existence and operating in accord with its own laws.

According to Karl Klare, editor of a collection of articles on the leading figures of so-called Western Marxism from Lukács to Marcuse⁸, their signal achievement has been "to restore human consciousness, human subjectivity to the heart of Marxism." Genuine Marxism does not need any injection of subjectivity.

But these critical theorists, who find the determinism and lawfulness upheld by dialectical materialism to be the source of Social Democratic fatalism and Stalinist totalitarianism, felt that the socialist movement could not be reoriented without it. The trouble is that they gave Marxism such an overdose of subjectivity as to throw it off balance both in theory and in practice.

Marxism was the first system of thought to give a correctly balanced account of the objective and subjective aspects of human activity. It views the object-subject relation as a unity of opposites in which one can be transformed under certain conditions into the other.

In the same process whereby the flint was chipped into a hand ax, thus mingling the physical raw material with the subjective (human) factor of labor, the concept of the tool and its purpose were objectified by the maker in the artifact itself. The idea became materialized as the natural thing was humanized.

The primary basis of the object-subject relation is to be found in the interaction between humankind and nature that is incorporated in productive activity. Here nature is objective to the human subject; this object-subject relationship develops as the forces of nature are converted to social use by labor. The essence of history consists in the progressive modification of nature by the productive activity of humankind, and in the correlative transformation of humankind itself as the powers of production grow.

The early Lukács and the Frankfurt school term the artificial environment in which we live, work, and think "second nature." They focus exclusively upon the phenomena in this domain and try to shove the original and underlying nature into the shade. In doing so they give greater weight to the subjective factors in human history and social life than to the objective conditions of development.

Being determines consciousness

Historical materialism teaches that what is subjective (human) is governed by objective realities, laws, and necessities. This is summarized in the statement that social being determines social consciousness. This does not mean, as some critics contend, that the subjective element is negligible or powerless. Quite the contrary, it is omnipresent in human affairs and can play a more or less influential part, depending upon the material circumstances of the case.

At climactic junctures in the process of historical determination the subjective factor can even be decisive, as I have discussed in the article "The Role of the Individual in History Making."⁹ Recognition of this fact necessitates the building of the revolutionary party, a conclusion that most New Left apostles of praxis refuse to



Workers of Paris rebel in March 1871 and form the Paris Commune, the first workers government. Marx and Engels, who took active part in that struggle, explained that communism is not an ideological doctrine but a social movement. To the degree it is a theory, communism is the generalization of the historical line of march of the working class, and of the political conditions for its liberation.

draw. Their subjectivity shrinks from accepting this objective necessity.

NOTES

¹George Plekhanov (1856-1918) — The founder of Russian Marxism in 1883. Author of many valuable philosophical works, in particular *The Development of the Monist View of History and Fundamental Problems of Marxism*. He remained a central leader of the Russian Social Democracy until 1903, when he sided with the Menshevik faction against V.I. Lenin's Bolsheviks. He became a social patriot in World War I and opposed the Russian revolution of October 1917. Despite this political break, Lenin and Trotsky continued to prize and highly recommend Plekhanov's philosophical writings.

²Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) — The culminating figure of the German idealist school of philosophy that began with Kant. He sought to resolve the traditional philosophical disjunction of mind and matter by postulating a unified, monistic reality in which matter is the "alienated" expression of its own inner organizing force, reason or the Absolute Idea. While reason or mind was predominant in Hegel's system, it viewed reality as undergoing a progressive evolution through the process of dialectical change.

³Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872) — German materialist philosopher. Beginning as a young Hegelian, he discarded Hegel's idealism as well as religion in his 1840 work, *The Essence of Christianity*. Though very influential on the development of the young Marx and Engels, Feuerbach himself developed only a metaphysical, humanistic materialism, stressing the centrality of humanity in the natural order and proposing literary criticism of religion rather than class struggle.

⁴George Lichtheim (1912-1973) — German-born Marxist scholar. Lichtheim was close to the left-centrist Socialist Workers Party of Germany in the 1930s, then became an unaffiliated Social Democrat in exile, first in Palestine and then, from the 1940s, in England. In his book *Marxism* (1961) he advanced the thesis that Marxism and liberalism had been twin products of the Enlightenment, both seeking a means to give conscious direction to society. He considered them outmoded by the rise of centralized bureau-

cratic governments in the 20th century. An opponent of empiricism, he sought a synthesis of Marxist and Hegelian elements in a new theory on the direction of social evolution. In particular he hoped to find a new agency for social change to replace the industrial proletariat.

⁵Georg Lukács (1885-1971) — Hungarian Communist philosopher and cultural critic, best known for his book *History and Class Consciousness* (1923). Principal inspirer of the Hegelian current in 20th century Marxism, stressing the revolutionary will over objective conditions. The young Lukács rejected dialectical materialism as a general theory of reality, while in social analysis he placed major emphasis on alienation and cultural phenomena at the expense of productive relations as determinants of social change. He renounced his views in 1933 and grudgingly conformed to Stalinism. In his later years he became a dissident in Stalinist circles in Hungary and returned partially to the orthodox Marxist teachings on dialectical materialism.

⁶Leszek Kolakowski (1927-) — He joined the Polish Communist Party in 1945 and remained a Stalinist in philosophical questions until the Polish October of 1956, when he went into opposition. In 1968 he left Poland after incessant harassment and has since taught in Western universities in various countries. He has come to reject large parts of the body of Marxism, including its materialist basis.

⁷Alfred Schmidt (1931-) — Succeeded Theodor Adorno in 1971 as director of the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, West Germany (the Frankfurt school). He is the author of *The Concept of Nature in Marx* (English edition, 1972), in which he denies that laws of nature are dialectical.

⁸Herbert Marcuse (1898-) — German Marxist philosopher and longtime staff member of the Frankfurt school (1933-49). His best known works, *Eros and Civilization* (1955) and *One Dimensional Man* (1964), were written after his break with the Frankfurt school, when he moved to incorporate elements of anarchism and Heideggerian existentialism with his previous views. Though known today as a mentor of the 1960s New Left, Marcuse's works in the 1930s and 1940s hold the most interest. Despite an Hegelianizing bent, books such as his *Reason and Revolution* (1941) are valuable Marxist studies.

⁹Article included in the Pathfinder book *Understanding History* by George Novack (see ad p. 8).

from pathfinder

The Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx, Frederick Engels Founding document of the modern working-class movement, published in 1848. Explains how modern capitalism arose as a specific stage in the economic development of class society and how it will be superseded by socialism through revolutionary action by the working class. Booklet \$2.50



Frederick Engels Anti-Duhring

Modern socialism is not a doctrine, but a movement of the working class that arises as one of the social consequences of the establishment of large scale capitalist industry and its social consequences. This defense of materialism and the fundamental ideas of scientific communism explains why.

Dialectics of Nature

Both works in *Marx and Engels Collected Works* Vol. 25. \$25.00

Capital

Karl Marx Marx explains the workings of the capitalist system and how it produces the insoluble contradictions that

breed class struggle. He demonstrates the inevitability of the revolutionary transformation of society into one ruled for the first by the producing majority, the working class. \$14.95

Available at 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. If ordering by mail please include \$3.00 to cover shipping and handling.

Yes vote in Quebec vexes Canada rulers

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — The Canadian government, badly shaken by its near loss in the referendum on Quebec sovereignty October 30, is struggling to reestablish political stability.

In a speech in Toronto November 1, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien lashed out at the sovereignty movement. "I will make sure that we have stability in this land," he declared to cheers from the audience. He was speaking at a \$500-a-plate dinner for his governing Liberal Party.

Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Lucienne Robillard announced that a proposal for a Canada-wide referendum would soon be presented before the Canadian parliament. The question will be designed so that a yes vote would reinforce the government's stand that Quebecois have no constitutional claim to sovereign rights.

At the same time, Chrétien announced that a resolution will be presented to the parliament to recognize Quebec as a "distinct society." This move is designed to placate sections of the population, above all in Quebec but in other provinces as well, who believe that Quebecois constitute a separate nationality and should be granted powers over and above those accorded to other provinces by the constitution.

Such a resolution would accord no new powers to a Quebec government. However, along with a national referendum, it would provide Ottawa with some political and legal cover before public opinion in Canada and internationally for whatever future measures it may take to block the Quebecois' aspirations for national rights.

Few concessions to offer

A big majority of Quebecois favor changes in the constitutional order that would grant Quebec more powers, including the right of the Quebec government to veto constitutional change. They view this as a way to combat the discrimination they face and improve living and working conditions. Even the opposition, anti-sovereignty Liberal Party in Quebec pays lip service to the demand for more powers.

Two recent initiatives designed to placate Quebecois aspirations — the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord — foundered in 1990 and 1992 respectively. Opposition to both accords was strong among working people in Quebec and among Native Indian people.

Sections of the capitalist class who favor a no-concession, hard-line stance against Quebecois national rights also opposed the accords. That opposition

boosted the fortunes of the rightist Reform Party, today the second largest capitalist party in English-speaking Canada.

That party's program proposes sweeping cuts to social services and the elimination of French as a language of federal government services across Canada. It opposes any recognition of the Quebecois as a nationality, still less as an oppressed people.

During the referendum campaign, the federal government and other capitalist forces who oppose Quebec national rights organized reactionary "pro-Canada" mobilizations. The largest brought more than 100,000 into the streets of Montreal on October 27.

But the government drive did not succeed in furthering divisions between youth and workers in the two parts of the country. The fact that the referendum even took place, as well as the gains registered by the pro-sovereignty vote (from 40 percent in 1980 to 49.4 percent today), has significantly advanced discussion and reflection about Quebecois rights among working people. Most discussions in schools and workplaces between those with opposing views on the referendum were civil, and that remains the case after the vote.

That was shown at two national union conventions held during the campaign. The Canadian Union of Public Employees convention in Montreal voted for a report defending the right of the Quebecois to hold the referendum. Although there was no formal discussion on the report, informal discussion throughout the convention reflected widespread support for the position.

In Vancouver, delegates attending the Canadian Policy Conference of the United Steelworkers of America voted to maintain a united union whatever the outcome of the referendum, in order to better fight the continuing attack by governments and employers against their rights.

Several said in interviews that they came into the convention supporting the No campaign, but were rethinking their stand after hearing the views of delegates from Quebec, almost all of whom were pro-sovereignty.

"Anyone who thinks the referendum result can put an end to the drive for national autonomy in Quebec misunderstands the history of Quebec," said USWA Canadian Director Lawrence McBrearty in an address to the union convention the day after the vote.

Capitalist spokespeople also recognize that reality. "One day after the referendum, euphoria gripped the markets. Two days after...the dollar went nowhere.



Militant/Monica Jones

Pro-sovereignty rally in Montreal on October 25. Strong support for Quebec national rights expressed in recent referendum has badly shaken Ottawa.

Profits got taken. The stock market struggled," wrote Peter Cook, the business editor for the *Globe and Mail*, Canada's principal daily newspaper, in an article headlined, "The Markets Fear Another Time."

Crisis of pro-capitalist Quebec leaders

Meanwhile, leaders of the pro-sovereignty movement are facing a credibility crisis of their own following a series of racist declarations by their principal spokespersons.

Quebec premier Jacques Parizeau announced his resignation October 31 following widespread denunciations of the speech he made the night of the referendum, in which he blamed "money and the ethnic vote" for the loss.

Two Montreal hotel workers of Latin American origin went public on November 2 with a complaint to the Quebec Human Rights Commission of verbal abuse they suffered at the hands of Deputy Premier Bernard Landry the night of the referendum loss. Landry entered the hotel late and began berating the two women, demanding to know how they had voted and castigating them for, in his opinion, speaking French poorly. According to another employee, Landry cursed "damned ethnics" as he left the scene.

"He's wrong," said Jean-Stéphane Vachon, an employee at the MacMillan Bathurst cardboard factory in Montreal, about Parizeau's comments. "Everyone has a right to vote the way they feel. The vote was lost because not enough people voted yes, that's all." Vachon pointed to several regions of Quebec where Quebecois make up the large majority of the population and where the vote went

against sovereignty.

Others in the same factory thought otherwise. "Perhaps it wasn't very diplomatic," said one, "but he said what a lot of Quebecois feel in their hearts."

Politicians move to implement cuts.

Both the federal and Quebec governments are on the horns of a dilemma as they try to win popular backing for their respective pro-capitalist programs, while at the same time carrying out attacks on social services and workers rights.

Ottawa is poised to make a new round of highly unpopular cuts in unemployment insurance and to education and health care funding.

"He's pretty constrained," commented Leon Muszynski of the Caledon Institute of Social Policy in Toronto on Human Resources Minister's Lloyd Axworthy's plan to cut \$2 billion in unemployment insurance. "Any changes will hit Quebec pretty hard. It may well be that he won't go as far as he planned."

In Montreal, meanwhile, Luc Malo, the Quebec deputy minister of health, told 250 hospital directors on November 2 that his government would add hundreds of millions of dollars of cuts to the one billion dollars announced earlier this year.

The government has not yet implemented the earlier cuts to health care because of protests that have drawn as many as 10,000 people. Education cuts have also been delayed by teacher strikes and student protests.

Roger Annis is a member of Local 841 of the Communications, Energy, and Paperworkers Union of Canada in Montreal.

French edition of Curtis pamphlet now available

Pathfinder, located in New York, with distributors in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, publishes books and pamphlets by revolutionary and working-class leaders. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Supporters of Mark Curtis's fight for justice have a new tool with which to reach out to French-speaking co-workers, political activists, and young people with

Participants in demonstrations and meetings to defend Cuba purchased hundreds of dollars worth of Pathfinder books, pamphlets, and catalogs during the weekend of October 21-22 and into the following week. Supporters of the publishing house managed to negotiate around a torrential downpour and make available books and pamphlets with speeches by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara at a march and rally held October

in midtown Manhattan, in Harlem where he spoke at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, and in the Bronx, where Castro attended a dinner with Puerto Rican businessmen. Hundreds of people stopped by the tables to discuss politics.

Participants in these events picked up more than 50 books and pamphlets, mostly on Cuba. Books on many other topics such as Yugoslavia, women's rights, and by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and Malcolm X were also sold.

Fifteen copies of *New International* in English, Spanish, and French were sold, including four copies in Spanish and two in English of the issue focused on the theme "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism." Four copies in Spanish of the latest issue, containing the article "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War," and one copy in French of the issue, with the article "The Opening Guns of World War Three," were also sold.

The top selling Pathfinder book was *To Speak the Truth*, with six copies sold. One sale was with the 25 percent off special offer to people purchasing introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*. *To Speak the Truth* contains speeches of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara before the United Nations and its bodies, spanning many years. The book includes an account of the 1960 meeting of Castro and Malcolm X when the Cuban delegation to the UN stayed at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem. A copy of *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara* was also sold as

part of the special offer.

Two copies each in English and Spanish were sold of *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* by Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela, as well as four copies each in English and Spanish of *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Che Guevara.

Following the Frankfurt bookfair, Pathfinder representatives from London made sales visits to bookstores and university libraries in the German cities of Frankfurt, Bremen, Hamburg, Munich, and Berlin.

One hundred forty books and pamphlets were placed, covering a broad range of titles. Ten copies of *The Truth About Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention* were sold, making that title the top seller. Six copies of *New International* no. 10 with the articles "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War" and "Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution" and five copies of *The Jewish Question* were also among the titles taken on by bookstores.

Reporting on the sales trip, Marcella Fitzgerald from Pathfinder Distribution in London writes, "Several people expressed interest in what's happening with the rise of right-wing groups in the U.S."

"One shop in Berlin, near where the wall was, was full of young people. The owner had visited London and come to us to buy books a couple of months ago. He took another good order when we visited him."



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

By Maggie Pucci

the publication of *Pourquoi Mark Curtis est-il toujours en prison?*, the French-language edition of *Why is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?* by Naomi Craine.

The pamphlet, an introduction to the class struggle in the United States and to socialist politics, is now available in English, Spanish, and French. It provides an excellent way to introduce people to the Curtis defense effort and win new backing to his demand for parole. A team of volunteers in Canada undertook the project to translate the pamphlet into French to strengthen Pathfinder's arsenal of books and pamphlets.

21 in New York City to demand that the U.S. government end its 33-year-old embargo against Cuba and respect Cuba's sovereignty.

Fidel Castro's arrival in New York to address the 50th anniversary of the United Nations heightened interest in Pathfinder books on Cuba.

Socialist literature tables featured issues of the Marxist magazine *New International* and Pathfinder books in English, Spanish, and French in the middle of crowds gathered to welcome the Cuban president at the Cuban mission to the U.N.

Boeing workers prepare solidarity rally

Continued from front page

resented by the IAM on strike around the country, Boeing's production of aircraft is now virtually nil. According to the union, only a few hundred members are crossing picket lines.

The main issues provoking the strike were company demands to force both workers and retirees to pay more for medical benefits, and inadequate provisions on job security.

Many workers were especially angry when they learned that Boeing wanted them to begin paying for their medical and dental plans, just after Boeing awarded company officials million dollar bonuses. "It's a slap in the face," Johnson said.

The strikers remain determined after the first month of the walkout. Tom, a striker

who works at Boeing's giant Everett assembly plant, said, "Solidarity is high right now."

Mike Waters, a toolmaker in the Auburn plant, compared this strike to the 1989 IAM walkout at Boeing. "People are a lot stronger today," he said. "Less people are crossing the picket lines." Another picketer chimed in, "we're more battle-experienced today."

A dangerous chemical spill at Boeing's Auburn facility November 3, which forced the evacuation of 2,000 employees, striking pickets, and area residents, has added to the company's woes. Police closed off traffic in an area 25 blocks east and south of Boeing's buildings.

Company supervisors were transferring nitric hydrofluoric acid, a corrosive

cleaner, into a tank when some escaped and vaporized. The resulting orange cloud caused breathing difficulties, burning eyes and throats, nausea, and headaches for more than 100 employees and nearby residents exposed to the toxic cloud. They were taken to area hospitals, and the facility was closed down. Boeing announced immediate plans to reopen it.

Boeing spokesmen tried to downplay the accident, blaming a leaky tank liner and disregarding the possibility that it was the result of work done by supervisors. Trained union members normally do such work. "An awfully big coincidence," one striker told the *Militant*.

"This accident was unfortunate," Johnson said. "I hope no one is seriously hurt by it. But this is going to happen more of-

ten, as supervisors try to do our work" during the strike.

"Russ Young [a Boeing spokesman] didn't look so cocky last night on TV," Redge Newman, a striking machinist who works at Boeing's Renton plant, told the *Militant*. "He's getting the word that they are going after too much this time." Newman explained that "Boeing has never tried to take away so much. They were surprised by the vote."

Other workers felt like Mike Waters, who said, "Boeing wanted a strike. They definitely wanted us out at least 45 days in order to slide the delivery orders. I feel like I'm a pawn" in Boeing's game.

In many contracts Boeing has with its customers, the company must pay monetary penalties for late deliveries. A clause in those contracts, according to strikers, allows up to a one year delay in delivery of a jet — a delivery "slide" — without penalty if caused by a strike lasting more than 45 days.

One picketer at Everett told the *Militant*, "The real strike begins after 45 days."

Other activities recently have bolstered the picket lines and strengthened the strike. Some members of the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association (SPEEA) are joining the IAM picket lines during lunch breaks or after work. The SPEEA represents 21,000 technical employees who are still working at Boeing. The association has begun negotiations with Boeing on a new contract. The old one expires December 1.

Recently, some 300 motorcycle riders gathered at the Seattle IAM headquarters for a "Solidarity Ride for Striking Machinists!" They caravanned past Seattle picket lines, and then drove 20 miles up Interstate 5 to the IAM pickets in Everett, displaying their support for the strike along the way.

Retirees also join the pickets and help out in the strike headquarters regularly. They hold weekly meetings to discuss ways of supporting the strike and are planning a November 16 retiree march and rally. Boeing had proposed to double the maximum out-of-pocket medical expenses for retirees, to increase their health insurance deductibles, and reduce prescription coverage by 10 percent.

Boeing has also received another setback recently as the regional National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) director ruled against the company in the IAM's complaint. He found that the current dispute has been "an unfair labor practices strike from its inception" on October 6.

Boeing has agreed to meet IAM District Lodge 751 negotiators on November 8 and give them more information about proposed changes to medical and dental coverage. They say, however, that this is not a negotiating session and that they will refuse to release any information about subcontracting and outsourcing.

Scott Breen is a member of IAM Local 289 in Seattle. Chris Rayson, Melissa Harris, Linda Jarvin, Chad Reser, and Bob Bruneau contributed to this article.

Detroit news strikers living up to test

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

Detroit — "There's something about being tested, being challenged, coming to a moment in your life when you have to take a stand."

Susan Watson, a striking journalist from the *Detroit Free Press* was speaking to 600 newspaper strikers and their supporters at a fundraising dinner October 27. A popular columnist before the strike began, Watson received a standing ovation for her brief remarks on what it means to be on strike.

"It frees you in ways you never have been freed before," she said. "Yes, we've been 'liberated' from our paychecks, but we've been liberated from fear too."

The event, hosted by International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 58, featured a menu of roast ox and cajun deep-fried turkeys. Watson was joined by several other speakers and a slide show put together by a striking Newspaper Guild photographer was shown. The evening ended with dancing to a live band and raised over \$5,000.

"It was terrific. Besides raising money and serving great food, it was a way to get our people out so they could relax and enjoy themselves," said Jim St. Louis, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 2040. "The IBEW has been helping us on the picket lines too."

Tickets for the dinner cost \$15, but strikers and their families got in for \$2 a head. One electrician stood at the door for most of the evening and paid the \$2 for the strikers so they could get in free," said St. Louis. "We really appreciate that kind of support." Another big dinner is planned for November 17.

Earlier in the week unionists from newspapers in New York City arrived in town to show their solidarity. They were celebrating the fifth anniversary of their victory against the *New York Daily News*. The members of Graphic Communication Workers International Union Local 2 walked the picket lines at the Sterling Heights plant and in front of the Detroit



Militant/John Sarge
Newspaper workers picket in front of the Riverfront printing plant in September. Other unionists have walked the picket lines with them in solidarity with their strike.

News building downtown.

The end of daylight savings time means an extra hour of sleep for most people, but for five hundred newspaper strikers and their supporters it meant an extra hour on the picket line Saturday night. Six locked-out Staley workers from Decatur, Illinois, participated in the picket line that night October 28, along with members of the United Auto Workers New Directions caucus who were holding their national conference in Detroit.

All-night mass picketing at distribution centers has been a feature of the strike since an injunction prohibited more than 10 pickets at the Detroit *News* and Detroit *Free Press* printing plant in Sterling Heights. The Sunday paper is the most profitable issue of the week and the pickets try to delay deliveries for as long as

possible.

At the Oak Park center October 28, a semi-trailer of papers was turned away by police as pickets arrived. Pickets remained until 6 a.m. Earlier that night six strikers were arrested after confronting two private security guards who were parked near the Carpenters' hall, one of the gathering places for the evening's activities, spying on the pickets. The police alleged that the six attacked the thugs' car, then rammed a police patrol car.

The Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions and the Labor/Community/Religious support committee for the strike have called a mass rally for December 3 in Detroit. The event will be held indoors from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. at the State Fair Coliseum. Participants are asked to bring donations of nonperishable food or Christmas toys for strikers' children.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS AROUND THE WORLD

Boeing strikers welcome solidarity from Young Socialists in Seattle

BY LINDA JARVEN

SEATTLE—In early October members of the Young Socialists here visited the picket line of Boeing workers on strike. Over 32,000 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) went on strike October 6 to defend their health care benefits, pensions, and job security.

One striker reported having to do the job of what used to take five or six people in order meet goals set by Boeing. However, even though workers are being overworked in order to meet growing company demands with fewer workers, the "Fortunate Five" (as one striker referred to Boeing's top executives) received \$14 billion in bonuses and incentives throughout the year.

The strikers we spoke with all agreed that the strike is not about wages but about health care benefits, job security, and "our

dignity." The morale seemed very high, despite the feeling that this is going to be a long strike. "This time everyone is mad," said one striker.

It was moving to hear stories of how a couple of thousand workers marched across the Boeing plant during their lunch on October 5, to vote against the contract and for the strike, with the sound of horns honking in the background in a show of solidarity.

All the strikers we spoke with thanked us for coming to give our support. It was definitely refreshing to see the strength and solidarity of the Boeing strikers and we are looking forward to more visits to the picket lines in the future to show our continued support.

Linda Jarven is a member of the Young Socialists in Seattle

FROM PATHFINDER

The History of American Trotskyism

James P. Cannon

Origins of the communist movement and Socialist Workers Party in the United States, from World War I and the impact of the Russian revolution to the fight against Stalinism and the big labor battles that built the industrial unions. \$18.95

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

James P. Cannon

In a political struggle in the late 1930s with a petty-bourgeois current in the Socialist Workers Party, Cannon and other SWP leaders defended the political and organizational principles of Marxism. The debate unfolded as Washington prepared to drag U.S. working people into the slaughter of World War II. A companion to *In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky. \$19.50

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions



A handbook for workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills, as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism in the closing years of the twentieth century. It shows how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. \$19.95

Available at bookstores, or order in three steps on page 72 in our Pathfinder. 110 West St. And, York Ave. 10014 Tel. 62-27-74. D.R.C. Please include \$2.00 shipping and handling.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Celebrate 67 Years of the Militant. Speaker: Martin Koppel, staff writer for the *Militant* and editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*; author of *The Shining Path, Anatomy of a Reactionary Sect.* Sat., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 2456-C W. Pico Blvd. (near Vermont). Donation: \$5 Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Fidel Castro in Harlem. A video show of the October 22 Abyssinian Baptist Church Meeting, followed by a discussion. Fri., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 137 N.E. 54th St. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Parole for Mark Curtis Now. Speakers: Jeff Rogers, member, United Food and Commer-

cial Workers Union Local 1996 at Hormel; others to be announced. Fri., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 803 Peachtree St., NE. Donation: \$4. For information, call: (404) 724-9759

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Video Presentation: When Ireland starved: The Great Famine. Fri., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Celebrate 67 years of the Militant. Militant Fund Rally. Speaker: Argiris Malapanis, *Militant* staff writer and co-author of the Pathfinder book *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention.* Sat., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6:30 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Tel: (313) 895-7616.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Celebrate 67 Years of the Militant. Speaker: Frank Forrestal, Socialist Workers Party, United Auto Workers Local 551 in Chicago. Sat., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. Reception 6:30 p.m. 2490 University Ave. (east side of Hwy 280, on 16A bus line) Donation: \$5. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

An Evening in Celebration of the Militant. Militant Fund Rally. Speaker: Brock Satter, participant in recent Cuba solidarity confer-

ence in South Africa. Fri., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey. Donation: \$4. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

TEXAS

Houston

Celebrate the Militant. Speaker: Betsy Farley, *Militant* correspondent and participant in 17-month-long strike by United Auto Workers members against Caterpillar. Farley is also a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party and 1995 candidate for mayor of Decatur, Ill. Sat., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. **Feminism and Socialism.** A class with Betsy Farley. Sun., Nov. 19, 11 a.m. Both events held at 3260 South Loop West (corner South Main St. and 610 South). Donation: \$5. Class: \$4. Tel: (713) 349-0222.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

How Violence Against Women Can Be Ended. Panel discussion. Fri., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 147 East 900 South. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Fight for National Rights, Equality, and Dignity in Quebec: Celebrate 67 Years of the Militant Newspaper. Speaker: Carole Caron, participant in struggle for Quebec sovereignty; member of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 712; leader of Communist League in Canada. Sat., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m. Reception 6:30 p.m. 1930 18th St., N.W. #3 (18th and Florida, entrance on Florida). Donation: \$5. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

East Timor — The Struggle for Independence. Panel discussion. Fri., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 281 3297.

BRITAIN

London

Imperialism, the Crisis in Israel, and the Palestinian Struggle. Fri., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 47 The Cut. (opposite Young Vic theater; nearest tube Waterloo). Donation: £2. Tel: 0171-401-2409.

CANADA

Vancouver

Support Boeing Strikers. Report on Boeing Strike and Everett Rally of November 12. Speaker: Bob Bruneau, member of International Association of Machinists on strike at Boeing. Fri., Nov. 17, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Quebec Vote: Sovereignty Remains on the Agenda. Speaker: Tony Gibson, Communist League. Fri., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Christchurch

One Year of the Cease-Fire in N. Ireland — All Party Talks Now. Speaker: Joan Shields, Communist League. Fri., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation: \$3. Tel: 011-64-3-365-6055.

New abortion bill aimed at curtailing right to choose

BY LAURA GARZA

In the first such attempt since abortion was legalized in 1973, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to outlaw a particular abortion procedure, making it a felony for a doctor to use the method. The vote passed with a large bipartisan majority of 288 to 139 after one hour of debate.

The procedure, intact dilation and evacuation, is used rarely for late-term abortions. Opponents of abortion rights projected a graphic description of the procedure, complete with photos, and dubbed it a "partial birth abortion." While abortion foes in Congress tried to portray it as a particularly objectionable medical procedure, the sponsor of the legislation made it clear that the real target of the bill was abortion rights as a whole.

"I think this is a step forward in the battle to protect the unborn in this country," said Charles Canady, the Florida Republican who submitted the bill. "That battle will be waged over an extended period of time. The Supreme Court has in place a legal structure which protects abortion rights in this country, and something has got to be done to change that before we can put in place truly meaningful protection for the unborn."

A similar bill, introduced in the Senate by Robert Smith of New Hampshire, has yet to be voted on. President Bill Clinton has indicated he will veto such a measure as it "fails to provide for consideration of the need to preserve the life and health of the mother."

The legislation is broadly worded and employs the unscientific "partial birth abortion" terminology, leaving open to interpretation exactly what would constitute a violation of the law. This would cast a shadow of doubt over decisions made by doctors performing second- or third-trimester abortions. "I don't want to make medical decisions based on Congressional language," said Dr. Lewis Koplik.

The vote comes as opponents of a woman's right to control her body have suffered some setbacks.

On October 25 a federal jury in Dallas

awarded \$8.75 million to physician Norman Tompkins and his wife Carolyn, who had been subjected to a campaign of terror and harassment. They eventually moved to Florida to escape the threats and physical intimidation. The suit named three organizations, including Operation Rescue, whose director, Flip Benham, was among 10 individuals also ordered to pay damages.

In October, the Supreme Court rejected a broad challenge to federal limits placed on anti-abortion protesters, which include making it a crime to block people from entering abortion clinics.

Recent federal court rulings struck down a Utah law that barred abortions, except in limited cases like rape or incest, and restricted certain abortion methods; and overturned a South Dakota law requiring doctors to notify the parents of minors seeking an abortion. Though 28 states have a version of parental consent laws, the Supreme Court has held that there

must be some mechanism that allows a young woman to bypass the requirement under certain circumstances. Measures similar to the South Dakota law were also struck down in Illinois and Montana this year.

While state and federal legislatures continue probes to further restrict access to abortion, they have not succeeded in any schemes that would ban abortion, or reverse the fundamental conquests of the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court ruling of 1973. The earlier successes anti-abortion thugs, aided by politicians and cops, scored in blocking access to clinics have largely been turned back by the mobilizations of thousands who defended the clinics.

While rightist mobilizations at the clinics have been thwarted, those most successful at imposing restrictions on the rights of women to abortion — mainstream politicians on the local, state, and federal level — have continued the attacks

on women's rights. Democrats and Republicans join together year after year to maintain the restrictions of the Hyde Amendment outlawing federal funds for abortion.

The current moves in Congress are another volley in the ongoing war against abortion rights. The response by supporters of a woman's right to choose will be carefully watched.

Labor news in the 'Militant'

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Mailing address: P.O. Box 11252, Zip 35202. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

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

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 803 Peachtree NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 724-9759.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018. **Peoria:** P.O. Box 302. Zip: 61650-0302. Tel: (309) 674-9441.

INDIANA: Bloomington: P.O. Box 1304. Zip: 47402. (812) 333-6859.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-0100. E-mail: Compuserve 74767,1050.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel:

(612) 644-6325. E-mail: Compuserve 103014,3261.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Mailing address: 1188 Raymond Blvd., Suite 222. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Albany: P. O. Box 2357, E.S.P. Zip: 12220. Tel: (518) 465-0585. **Brooklyn:** 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 399-7257. Compuserve: 102064,2642. **New York:** 214-16 Avenue A. Mailing address: P.O. Box 2652. Zip: 10009. Tel: (212) 388-9346; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (910) 272-5996. E-mail: Compuserve 75127,2153.

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

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

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

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 147 E. 900 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip:

26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

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

BRITAIN

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

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

CANADA

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

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

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

FRANCE

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

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: 552 5502.

NEW ZEALAND

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

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

SWEDEN

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

CALENDAR

GREECE

Athens

Fascism and War, or Socialism. Educational Saturday. 1) **The Cuban Revolution Today.** 12 noon to 2 p.m. 2) **The Roots of the Yugoslav War.** 3 to 5 p.m. 3) **Forum on The March of Imperialism Towards Fascism and War.** 7 to 9 p.m. 171 Alkamenous Street, Platia Attikis. Auspices: *International Forum.*

Pushers, Inc. (I) — “Cigarette manufacturers increase advertising in January and February when millions of smokers are trying to stick to New Year’s resolutions and kick the habit, according to a



Harry Ring

university study....Withdrawal symptoms tend to peak about one month after quitting, studies show.” — Reuters.

Pushers, Inc (II) — “School children who read the *Weekly*

Reader between 1989 and 1994 were treated to an unhealthy dose of tobacco industry views on smoking in articles that were often illustrated with Joe Camel, researchers say. At the time the articles appeared, the *Weekly Reader* was owned by the largest shareholder in RJR Nabisco, Joe Camel’s creator.” — Associated Press.

A truly great society — A Wellington, New Zealand, hospital has a creative approach to the shortage of psychiatric care. Suicidal people are released after signing a contract not to kill themselves. Complaining this makes more work for them, the cops point to at least two cases where people committed suicide soon af-

ter signing the agreement.

Bended knee is better? — Prior to the recent AFL-CIO convention, the *Wall Street Journal* reported, the AFL-CIO’s Labor Institute of Public Affairs issued a guideline memo on the preparation of a convention hall mural: “The viewer should feel a sense of solidarity and determination in the figures without resorting to militancy....Raised fists or angry expressions are...too militant.”

Rumors dep’t — According to the *Toronto Globe & Mail*, Washington, D.C., criminals make their dogs meaner by feeding them gunpowder, which induces stomach aches. But the way we heard it, members of Congress sprinkle the stuff on their breakfast cereal.

Like ‘national security’ — Looking for savings, Virginia Berger, a Florida retiree, was jotting down prices at her local Wal-Mart, but was told this isn’t permitted. Initially, when the media picked it up, a spokesperson explained it’s hard to distinguish a shopper from a competitor. On reconsideration, Wal-Mart said it was all a mistake.

Does Wal-Mart tell K-mart? — Meanwhile, in North Carolina, K-mart was fined \$25,000 after surprise inspections turned up 117 instances of overcharging at five stores.

Educational process — In Norwood, New York, Christopher Ashley, 23, spent three days in jail

for failing to return four library books, assertedly worth \$77.85, which he checked out more than three years ago. To us, his alibi was persuasive. He would have returned the books if he knew where they were, or paid the library if he had the money.

Thought for the week — “The story wouldn’t be that different if it was set in Baltimore. The LAPD has a lot of problems. But the whole idea of police has a lot of problems. My research was simple. It was based on genuine knowledge and my own feelings in dealing with the police.” — Walter Mosely, author of “Devil in a Blue Dress,” in which the central character is worked over by members of the LAPD.

New Zealand military revamped for intervention

BY FELICITY COGGAN AND PATRICK BROWN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — In recent months the government of New Zealand has campaigned against French nuclear testing in the South Pacific, portraying an image of itself as a voice against nuclear weapons and for peace.

This antinuclear stand, endorsed by all parliamentary parties, has become a banner for New Zealand’s capitalist rulers to assert their interests in the world. At the same time, there has been growing participation by Wellington in military interventions around the globe, from the Gulf War to the former Yugoslavia.

Currently some 250 New Zealand troops are stationed in Bosnia as part of the United Nations forces. This is the largest deployment of New Zealand military personnel on active service since the Vietnam and Korean wars.

In the past decade, the New Zealand military has been substantially restructured into a more streamlined force. Army and air force bases have been closed, personnel and training trimmed, surplus aircraft, army vehicles, and naval patrol craft sold, and the naval dockyard in Auckland handed over to commercial management.

At the same time, two new army battalions and an artillery battery were created and military equipment was modernized. The air force has acquired new Skyhawk fighter planes and the government has embarked on a NZ\$1.24-million project to build two new naval frigates as part of a joint venture with the government of Australia (NZ\$1 = US\$0.65).

The modernization of the armed forces began in the mid 1980s under both National and Labour Party governments. The stated aim was to develop a mobile strike force, especially to counter threats to Wellington’s interests in the Pacific and southeast Asia. A “Ready Reaction Force” of 1,000 troops was created, modeled on the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force and trained for operations in Pacific island states.

In 1990, the newly elected National government redrew these perspectives to emphasize the rulers’ wider world interests, not just those in the region.

Central to this is Wellington’s desire to improve relations with Washington, the world’s dominant imperialist power, and with its traditional allies in Britain and Australia. It depends on its alliances with these powers to be able to act with greater leverage on the world stage.

Ties with Washington

From 1951, membership in the ANZUS security treaty, along with the governments of Australia and the United States, made Wellington a formal ally of Washington, and allowed participation in a wide range of cooperative military agreements.

In 1985, however, these ties were cut by the U.S. administration, after the New Zealand Labour government, elected the year before on an antinuclear platform, moved to prevent visits by U.S., British, and other naval vessels that were nuclear armed or propelled. This ban was written into law by parliament in 1987. The visits had been the target of significant street and union protests for more than a decade.

In recent years, however, the New Zealand government has worked to secure a steady thaw in relations with Washing-



Militant/Janet Roth

August 6 rally in Auckland, New Zealand, to mark 50th anniversary of U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and to farewell flotilla of boats set to sail in Pacific to oppose French nuclear testing. Wellington is using anti-French campaign to promote reactionary nationalism and its own imperialist interests.

ton, culminating in the resumption of top-level political and security relations by the Clinton administration in February. This was followed by the visit of New Zealand prime minister Jim Bolger to the White House in March, the first such invitation in more than 10 years.

U.S. officials praised Bolger’s government for its economic reforms, participation in imperialist military interventions, and its chairing of the UN Security Council, during which it presided over the implementation of sanctions against Iraq.

Washington’s insistence that New Zealand’s antinuclear legislation be repealed before full military ties can be resumed notwithstanding, links have been increasing. Commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific military forces Richard Macke visited New Zealand in August and U.S. air force secretary Sheila Widnall traveled to the country in October.

The frigate *Wellington* recently joined the U.S. naval force policing the blockade against Iraq, and an air force Orion aircraft and the naval frigate *Waikato* took part in U.S. “End of the War in the Pacific” celebrations in Hawaii in August. This was the first New Zealand warship to enter Pearl Harbor since 1982.

The first British warship to visit New Zealand in 11 years, the *Monmouth*, arrived for joint exercises in June.

Partnership with Australia

New Zealand’s armed forces, numbering around 10,000 service personnel, are designed to operate in partnership with Wellington’s allies, above all in Australia.

Military ties with the government of Australia were formalized in the ANZAC Pact of 1944, and include a common approach to planning, standardization of equipment, and close collaboration on equipment purchases and training. New Zealand’s dependence on its military ties to Canberra has increased under a 1991 “Closer Defence Relations” agreement.

Wellington participates in a large number of broader military alliances which assist it in pursuing its imperialist interests in Asia and the Pacific, including with the

governments of Britain, Canada, Japan, France, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, South Korea, and the Philippines.

The New Zealand government is responsible for “defense” for two of its for-

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

November 20, 1970 Price 10¢

NEW YORK — Judge John M. Murtagh unexpectedly allowed the film “Battle of Algiers” to be entered as prosecution’s evidence against 13 members of the Black Panther Party on trial here.

This was done by allowing the 12 jurors — among whom are seven Blacks and one Puerto Rican — to see the film in the afternoon session of the trial on November 9.

The 13 on trial are among 21 Panthers under a 30-count grand jury indictment, which charges that they conspired to blow up police stations, department stores, and — of all places — the New York Botanical Gardens in the Bronx. The indicted Panthers were seized in predawn raids April 2, 1969.

Assistant district attorney Joseph Phillips sought to enter the film as evidence on the basis of a statement by a Black police agent that the film was “mandatory” for all Panther Party members.

The agent, detective Ralph White, testified that Lumumba Abdul Shakur, one of the defendants, told a political education class that they were required to see “Battle of Algiers.” After White saw it he went to Shakur’s apartment. He testified hearing Shakur state that the tactics used by the Algerians would be used by the Panthers against the pigs (police).

mer Pacific Island colonies, the Cook Islands and Niue, and for its remaining colony, Tokelau. Through armed forces training and “aid” projects provided under the “Mutual Assistance Program,” the New Zealand armed forces maintain a presence in Fiji, Tonga, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and Malaysia.

Despite the fissure in relations with the U.S. military, New Zealand forces are participating in a growing number of exercises under these alliances, including with Indonesia, a move that has drawn protests because of the Indonesian government’s occupation of East Timor.

As New Zealand’s rulers prepare their armed forces to better serve their interests in the world, they are also preparing working people in this country to accept their use. New Zealand nationalism along with antinuclear and pro-peace motivations are increasingly being used to promote ruling class foreign policy. The government even has a Minister of Disarmament in cabinet.

The government seized on the resumption of French nuclear testing in the South Pacific to mount a chauvinist campaign against Paris, seeking to assert itself on the world stage and to draw working people behind its foreign policy course.

Felicity Coggan is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Auckland. Patrick Brown is a member of the Engineers Union in Christchurch.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

November 17, 1945

British warships and planes on November 10 began blasting the city of Soerabaja, after fighters for the freedom of Indonesia turned down an Allied ultimatum to give up their arms and deliver their leaders to the tender mercies of the imperialist butchers. More than 500,000 civilians in Soerabaja were under the fire of the Allied apostles of “democracy” and “freedom from fear.”

The American imperialists are backing the British. Truman maintained a contemptuous silence to the protests of the Republic of Indonesia against British and Dutch use of American-made uniforms, arms and ammunition.

Meanwhile the role of Soekarno, head of the newly-formed Republic of Indonesia, became more equivocal. Instead of rallying the people of Java to a life and death struggle against the savage foreign invaders, he continued to follow a policy of appeasement. He even made a bid to the Dutch, offering them “preferential rights.”

A youth rally at Jogakarta, which Soekarno was addressing, is said to have broken up when news of the British bombardment of Soerabaja was received. Reinforcements hurried toward Soerabaja. Nationalist leaders whose names were not reported, called for a nationwide uprising, declaring: “It is better to perish than to come again under foreign domination.”

Continued from front page

1979 memoirs, acknowledged his role in driving 50,000 Palestinians out of their homes at gunpoint during the Zionist army's 1948 war of conquest. Later, as Israel's army chief of staff, he led the preemptive Six-Day War in 1967 against Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, and Syria, which seized the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and much of the Sinai Peninsula.

When the Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) broke out on the occupied territories in 1987, then defense minister Rabin bragged about his "iron fist" policy, which included his order that Israeli soldiers break the legs and arms of youthful protesters.

After Israel's capitalist rulers finally recognized they could not suppress the *intifada*, Rabin, who became prime minister in 1992, was forced to negotiate with the PLO, leading to the 1993 accords, which called for giving Palestinians some control in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

Even as a newly anointed "peacemaker," Rabin sparked outrage when his regime officially authorized its cops to torture Palestinian and other detainees. Last year, following a bombing in Tel Aviv by the opposition Palestinian group Hamas, Rabin proclaimed, "We need a separation between [Israelis] and Palestinians, not just for days but as a way of life."

Rabin himself was not one to disavow assassinations. After Fathi Shiqqi, a leader of the Islamic Holy War was gunned down in Malta October 26, in a killing widely believed to have been the work of Tel Aviv's secret police, Rabin declared he "would not feel sorry" about the murder of such political enemies.

Reaction of Palestinians

Not surprisingly, there was little mourning for the Israeli leader among Palestinians. Emad al-Ghoul, a worker at the Walid Seidam garment shop in Gaza, expressed a typical reaction. "Everybody in this shop has had one or more tragedies in their families because of Rabin and his generals," he told the *New York Times*. "We saw our sons, fathers, cousins or other relatives jailed, shot, beaten or rendered unemployed by Israel."

A Hebron resident, noting that the Israeli government has encouraged Jewish settlers — rightists who are virulently opposed to the self-rule accords — to take over Palestinian land in the West Bank, said of Rabin, "He was killed by his own kind.... He planted the settlers here, and they are the ones who have done this."

The confessed assassin, a 25-year-old law student, is reportedly a member of a small ultrarightist group, Eyal, which opposes the accords. Eyal leader Avishay Raviv praised the assassination over the radio. On November 8, Israeli police arrested Raviv on charges of involvement in Rabin's murder. In recent weeks rightists have been holding a series of increasingly strident protests against the agreements.

The right-wing settlers represent part of a growing polarization among Israeli Jews. The capitalist government's inability to crush the Palestinian struggle, combined with a serious economic crisis hitting workers especially hard, has also led large numbers of Jews to favor peace negotiations with the PLO.

The rally where Rabin spoke before his assassination had been called by a coalition of liberal organizations and left-wing parties to support the government's policies and oppose the rightists' street protests.

Among Jewish workers, Warschawsky reported, "many were stunned by the assassination. It shattered some of their illusions and hopes" in the prospect of stability and peace in Israel.

Meanwhile, the government, under acting prime minister Peres, the former foreign minister, "is attempting to rally people around the false idea of 'national unity' and that we are all supposedly 'one family,'" Warschawsky added. Because of the social crisis, he said, "I think this can only be successful for a brief time."

At the same time, government officials are using the assassination to push for legislation to clamp down on those accused of "incitation to violence." While these proposals are being justified as a way to combat the right-wing violence, some capitalist politicians are advocating that such measures be applied against "left-wing extremists" as well.

Negotiations resume

After a three-day suspension, Tel Aviv resumed talks with the PLO on the implementation of the September accords. This agreement was the second stage of the "Declaration of Principles" signed by Arafat and Rabin in 1993. The first stage of this process transferred the domestic affairs of Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho to a Palestinian authority set up by the PLO.

The September 1995 pact will extend Palestinian control to most of the West Bank. Israeli troops are to withdraw by year's end from all populated areas except Hebron, where 450 settlers have set up camp in the midst of 100,000 Palestinians. In Hebron the accord stipulates that 40 percent of the city be run by Israeli authorities. An 82-member Palestinian Council is to be elected January 20, with separate elections for an executive head of the authority, which Arafat is assured of winning.

For several days after the assassination, however, Israeli authorities clamped down on Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, closing off their entry to Israel, where thousands work. "Whenever something goes wrong in Israel, we are always the first to pay for it," commented Saeb Erakat, the Palestinian Authority's minister for local affairs.

No peace in the Middle East

Just a few weeks ago, U.S. president Bill Clinton was crediting his administration with helping to bring "the spirit of peace" to the Middle East. The assassination of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin by a right-wing opponent of the Israel-Palestinian accords, however, was a rude awakening for many to the reality that there is no peace.

And there will be no peace until the fundamental question in the region — the Palestinian people's fight for national self-determination — is resolved.

Despite the campaign by big-business politicians and the media to paint Rabin posthumously as a "peacemaker," his four-decade record was that of a bloody warmaker and a faithful representative of Israel's Zionist rulers in their dispossession and brutalization of the Palestinians. The ultrarightists responsible for his assassination are a direct product of this system of oppression — of the Israeli colonial settler-state. They are not an aberration.

But Tel Aviv's garrison-state brutality has failed to crush the Palestinian struggle, as was demonstrated by the *intifada* (uprising) that exploded in the occupied territories in 1987-92. Arrests, torture, deportations, military rule, bombings of refugee camps, breaking limbs of young protesters, and assassinations by Israeli forces continue to be met with resistance. For the Israeli ruling

class, the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are a migraine headache that they eventually decided to pass on to the PLO leadership. This led to the 1993 accords, which began a process of limited Palestinian self-rule in these territories.

The accords also registered the increasingly bourgeois character of the PLO leadership and the virtual exhaustion of its revolutionary character — the toll of years of continued dispersion of the Palestinian people and the growth of a PLO apparatus dependent on capitalist regimes in neighboring Arab countries.

The imperialist rulers of the United States have a great deal at stake in the Mideast, and they face a nightmare: no matter how close their relations with the surrounding capitalist regimes, there will be no stability in the region until there is a solution to the Palestinian question. This is why Washington, despite its foreign policy differences with Tel Aviv, has strongly backed the self-rule accords for the occupied territories.

Nonetheless, the continued repression against the Palestinian population, the presence of right-wing settlers, and other aspects of Israeli oppression guarantee that nothing will be settled until the Palestinians win their fight for self-determination — for a democratic, secular nation. This fight deserves the support of working people around the world.

Defeat restrictions on abortion

The House of Representatives vote to ban an abortion method is an attempt towards limiting a woman's right to choose, procedure by procedure. Big-business commentators attribute the move to the bourgeois politicians' "distaste for the particular procedure." The delicate sensibilities of the crew in Congress, however, is not the reason for the attempt to restrict abortion rights.

Attacks on abortion rights have been consistently pushed by capitalist politicians from both major parties. The most serious inroads against a woman's right to choose abortion have been made by local, state, and federal officials, who have cut access by women to medical funds for abortions, subjected young women to getting someone else's consent, and forced "counseling" and waiting periods.

These measures are the greatest aid to the campaigns to limit the number of facilities and of doctors who will perform abortions, cutting off women, especially working-class women in rural areas, from access to exercise their choice.

This has always been a bipartisan effort, beginning with the passage of the Hyde Amendment in 1976 restricting the use of federal funds for abortions, which both the Democrats and Republicans have helped to maintain as law.

The current attempt is a probe by the rulers to see if they can get away with undermining the constitutional right codified in the *Roe v. Wade* decision of 1973. This is of a piece with the moves against affirmative action, against funding for Medicare and social security, and stepped up attacks on immigrants, and on the standard of living of the whole working class. The capitalist class is moving steadily to the right in its attempt to make workers bare the brunt of the economic decline of their sys-

tem, and their servants in government follow suit.

These moves provide breathing space to the rightist thugs who blockaded clinics and orchestrated a terror campaign against women in the last few years. The rightists were effectively pushed back, however, when women and men took to the streets in large numbers to defend abortion rights clinic by clinic and demand action be taken to stop the attacks. Now, when the thugs are in retreat and the pro-choice mobilizations are sparse, Congress steps forward to breathe new life into the battle against women's rights.

The answer of those who parade as "friends of women's rights" in Congress has been to parrot Clinton's response that the legislation doesn't take into account allowing the procedure to protect the woman's health. Passage of such a law, whether or not it included such a provision, would constitute a blow to the battle to keep abortion safe and legal.

Clearly, a forthright defense of the right of women to control their body and make all decisions about it, including a late-term abortion, will not be found in the halls of Congress.

It is important to explain this new move for what it clearly is — a step in the direction of overriding the legality of abortion. It is far from settled that the proposed bill will become law. Now is the time to mobilize supporters of women's right in public actions, speak outs, teach-ins, and forums to rally others in defense of this fundamental right.

While capitalist politicians can't be counted on, the recent past has shown that there are tens of thousands of ordinary working people and youth who can be and should be relied on as supporters of abortion rights take up the challenge to beat back this attack.

All out for subscription drive!

"The *Militant* is our eyes, voice and ears," was the way Lawrence Oliver, vice president of United Mine Workers of America Local 1332 in Window Rock, Arizona, put it. "It gives us a heightened perception of what may yet be hurled our way and that we may be better prepared for it."

Many working people sense that what may be hurled our way will require us to put up a fight. That's what socialist workers and Young Socialist members around the country who have gotten out to introduce the working-class press have found. Workers facing attacks on their unions, Blacks and others fighting police brutality, youth rallying to defend affirmative action are interested in how to fight effectively, and in the causes of the economic depression fueling the attacks we face.

The campaign to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* is a key part of taking advantage of the opportunities in big cities and remote towns to reach people who are interested in discussing these issues and acting to change the conditions working people face. With a short time left to reach the goal of winning 1,950 new readers to the *Militant*, supporters of the paper need to mobilize all resources to turn to this effort.

The socialist press is a tool for bringing lessons of battles workers are facing to others; for telling the truth about strikes, and other struggles for justice; and for

bringing the working-class point of view to people on war, racism, and the policies of capitalist governments. People who want to put up a fight are the most appreciative of the chance to read a paper that represents the interests of working people. Organizing to find them is what supporters of the paper will have to concentrate on to bring the campaign to win new readers to a successful conclusion, and meet the goals they set.

There are plenty of opportunities — a rally for Boeing strikers, a local anti-Klan action, mobilizations against police brutality, discussions on the Cuban revolution or on the war in Bosnia, community meetings, and other political events.

Keeping our sights set on what is going on in the class struggle now, from picket lines to protests against Medicare cuts; and visiting campuses, plant gates, and working-class communities every day until November 19 is the way we can find those who will be most interested in the socialist press.

By doing so, *Militant* readers will meet the youth and working people who want to become part of a fight to change the world of growing unemployment, racism, and ultimately fascism and war that the capitalist system has in store for us. We've already met many such new readers. Completing the international sales campaign in full and on time is the chance to meet more.

Chrysler workers win strike at window factory

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

Beef plant in Toppenish, Washington, recently voted 253 to 118 to join Local 1439 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union. The company had thwarted a previous organizing drive begun in 1980.

The meatpackers' determination to bring in the union was bolstered by their anger over poor working conditions, inferior benefits, and lack of pay raises as they overcame management's barrage

1982 and they've earned and deserve this win."

Atlanta airport workers launch fight for union

In the center of the newly constructed \$25 million atrium here at Atlanta's Hartsfield International Airport, 50 airport workers rallied to kick off a union organizing drive October 31.

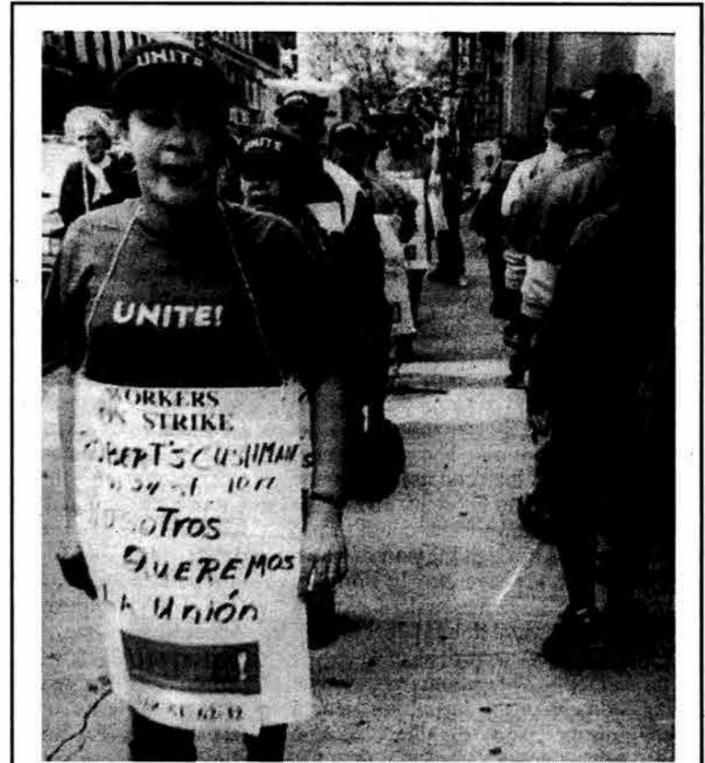
"This is the start of a new generation," said Monreal McIntosh to cheers and applause from the crowd. McIntosh is a service truck driver in his early twenties. More than 200 airport service workers have signed a petition demanding a living wage, health insurance, dignity and respect, job security, and health and safety, according to a leaflet they distributed at the rally.

The airport service workers, most of whom are Black, and many young and female, are paid from minimum wage to \$5.75 an hour, have no benefits and work at a "hectic" pace. They clean and service planes and handle baggage for Delta Airlines. Delta is the "official" airline for the 1996 Summer Olympics and is the major carrier at the Atlanta airport.

During the last several years Delta has laid off thousands of ramp workers who were paid higher wages and had benefits. The company contracted out the work to ARC Airport Services, which employs the current airline workers. The organizing drive seeks to affiliate the workers with the Service Employees International Union.

Gregory Hempville, a 23-year-old security gate worker who helped to organize the rally explained, "Supervisors talk to you any way they want and as soon as you say something they threaten your job. We are not paid enough to put up with all that. There is a 100 percent turnover rate."

Janet Watts and Mary Wiggins



More than 100 members of the Union of Needletrades Industrial and Textiles Employees Local 62-32 in New York City went on strike against Roberts Cushman & Co., Inc., as the bosses refused to recognize their union, in early November. The workers, mostly Latino, are fighting a wage freeze, cancellation of holidays, and suspension of Christmas bonuses.

ON THE PICKET LINE

other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Auto workers at Chrysler Corp.'s McGraw Glass plant went on strike November 2. They returned to work four days later, after the company conceded to union demands. The walkout by 1,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 227 in Detroit began over health and safety issues.

There was also concern among union members about Chrysler's attempts to increase the amount of parts production done by other companies. Chrysler outsources 70 percent of its sub-assembly, a much higher figure than those of Ford or General Motors.

Workers at the McGraw plant manufacture windshields and window glass for nearly all of Chrysler's North American autos. Chrysler has established a "just-in-time" system for the production of glass. After a few days of the strike, the company was faced with the decision of idling a number of its auto assembly plants.

Meatpackers vote union in Washington, Nebraska

Workers at the Washington

of anti-union propaganda. The workforce included a large proportion of Latino workers, and the union prepared Spanish-language literature to counter company misinformation.

"We have people who want to go to the bathroom, and they don't let them go — especially if they have stickers for the union," said Fernando Yanez. "With the union everything is going to change." In another case, a 16-year struggle to win union recognition ended in victory when workers at Monfort's Grand Island, Nebraska, meatpacking plant voted for the UFCW by a margin of two votes out of some 1,500 ballots cast.

The Grand Island plant is the last of Monfort's five packinghouses to unionize, as the company has a long history of blocking union organizing. UFCW Local 22 in Fremont, Nebraska, was declared the winner by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), after the board resolved a challenge of ballots from a representation election conducted in October, 1994.

"This victory is a tremendous achievement for packinghouse workers," declared Local 22 president Rick Saafeld. "I've worked with the people at this plant since

LETTERS

O.J. Simpson

Thanks to your writer for a decent commentary (at last!) on the acquittal of OJ Simpson. Unfortunately, too many people are guilty of the sentiments you attribute to one subscriber — i.e., that OJ was guilty of domestic abuse and therefore he should be found guilty of murder, regardless of whether or not it is proven to a certainty or not.

This was the not-too-veiled message I picked up at the very beginning from Gloria Allred, and now it is the message that is being shouted relentlessly on the mass media by NOW-Los Angeles (not NOW national).

It seems explicitly racist to me. These white feminists pick a case involving a man of African descent who was in an abusive relationship with a white woman, and turn him into a sort of "poster boy" (using the words of a talk show guest heard recently) for the battle against domestic violence.

Consider the scenario they want to convey; the woman is beaten, gets a divorce, and is killed (allegedly) by her ex-spouse anyway. What is needed is not proof of the futility of fighting back, but rather to make it possible for all women in every kind of relationship to have the economic independence and the access to (non-humiliating) social services that allow us to quickly and completely remove ourselves from dangerous situations.

We need to know that we can free ourselves from these relationships. We also need to be working to change laws that hold the woman equally guilty (or even more so) if she uses a deadly

weapon to defend herself from a bare-fisted attacker against whom she otherwise would not have a chance. And we should also take a history of violent abuse into consideration when child custody and visitation arrangements are decided, so that access to the children does not become a means by which the abusive male can continue his campaign of terror, threats, and harassment against a former spouse. Last of all, if single mothers had sufficient earning capacity to support a family without help, many of us could forgo suits for child support and be none the worse off for it.

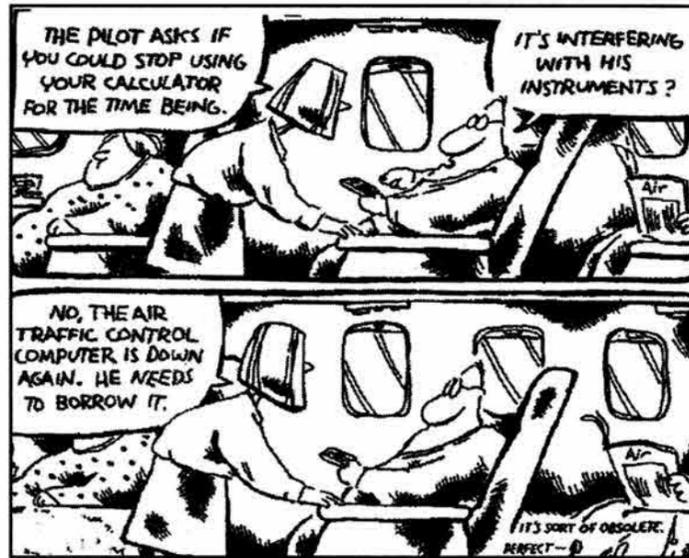
Thanks.
Mufedah Liagin
Aurora, Colorado

Cuba embargo

For any who doubt the ferocity of the U.S. government's enforcement of the trade embargo against Cuba — the recent fine levied against Merck & Co. should make this clear.

Merck is one of the largest pharmaceutical manufacturers in the world with approximately \$15 billion in revenue. According to the "Star Ledger" published in Newark, New Jersey, Merck "has over 800 drugs on the market for consumers and physicians." In the factory in which I work, we are currently producing drugs to lower cholesterol levels in humans, to prevent and treat glaucoma, and a new drug to be used in the fight against the Aids virus, among others.

Quoting the "Star Ledger" article "the U.S. Treasury said Merck ... was fined for contracting with a Cuban laboratory to perform test-



ing work and engaging in unlicensed business activities on the island." The fine of \$127,000 became public, by no coincidence, during Fidel Castro's recent visit to the New York City area where he addressed the U.N., attended a public rally in Harlem, etc.

The difficulty this embargo poses for some U.S. capitalists was shown by Merck's fine since, "The Merck employees were in Cuba as representatives of the Pan American Health Organization" according to a company spokeswoman.

Of those who offered an opinion, coworkers all opposed the U.S. embargo of Cuba. The opinions varied from being in solidarity with Cuba and the revolution to those who were motivated by their immediate job concerns and the effect the fine (along with a larger fine around Medco) would have on their savings plans

who have worked as baggage checkers for five and six years respectively still only make \$4.25 an hour with no benefits. In addition, Janet explained, "I drive 50 miles to work and then I can get bumped and not be able to work that day. I get no show up pay."

Most of the workers are new. Clifford Harris who has worked for ARC just four months said, "I came to see what they're talking about because the company is really dogging us out. It's always ASAP this and ASAP that and that's a safety hazard."

Tiffany, a cabin services worker, said this was only her second day on the job, but she came to the rally because she'd heard other workers talking about it. "It is a dangerous job up in those planes. There's a lot of hazardous chemicals and conditions, and its real hectic. The fumes from the other planes are bad and we don't even have masks."

Derek Bracey from Birmingham, Alabama, and Ellen Haywood in Atlanta, Georgia, contributed to this column.

UMFA members have taken regular pay cuts since 1991. Since that year 45 percent of the total teaching staff (UMFA and teaching assistants) have been laid off. UMFA has proposed pay cuts totaling between \$9 and \$12 million over the next three years.

If the Board gains the ability to "cherry pick" individuals to lose their jobs it will mean those professors who speak out or publish ideas objectionable to the Board or politicians, or whose research leads them to conclusions contrary to "accepted wisdom," or even those with irascible or irritating personalities will be fired.

Rallying cries are "Academic Decisions by Academics, not Administrators" and "Public Institution = Public Accountability." Picket lines have been up since October. Messages of support for UMFA will be welcomed. Send to: Mr. Keith Findlay, Chair, Board of Governors, Scarrow and Donald, Inc., S. Donald St., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3R 3T3; Dr. Arnold Naimark, President, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3T 2N2. Copies to Dr. W.O. Pruitt, Department of Zoology; as well as to UMFA, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, R3T 2N2.

W.O. Pruitt
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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.

Athens lifts embargo on Macedonia

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN
AND BOBBIS MISAILIDES

ATHENS, Greece — The foreign ministers of Greece and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia signed an agreement at the United Nations in New York September 13. The accord, which went into effect at the end of October, specified that Athens would lift its embargo on the republic of Macedonia. The government of Greece slapped the economic and trade ban on its neighbor in February 1994.

Macedonia, a land-locked country, has access to the sea through the port of Thessaloniki on the Aegean Sea in northern Greece. In 1993, 92 percent of exports from Macedonia went through that port.

The September accord also specified that the republic of Macedonia will change its flag and parts of its constitution, which Athens finds objectionable. Skopje pledged to change two articles in the constitution of the republic that refer to the oppressed national minority in the neighboring northern Greek province, which is also called Macedonia. Athens does not recognize the existence of Macedonians as a distinct nationality in Greece.

The dispute has its origins in the Greek civil war and the Yugoslav revolution in the 1940s. The worker-and-peasant rebel army in Greece was defeated in 1949 by the bourgeois regime in Athens. The capitalists were backed by Washington and London and aided by the betrayal of the Stalinist leadership of the popular forces. At the end of the civil war, tens of thousands of Macedonians fled to Yugoslavia. There, they enjoyed protection of their

culture and language at the time, under the Yugoslav workers and farmers regime that came to power in 1945. They fled Greece to get away from the sweeping witch-hunts, national oppression, and in many cases to save their lives.

The government of Greece confiscated the land of these refugees by decree in 1953 and stripped them of their Greek citizenship rights. According to the September 15 *New Macedonia*, Athens pressed Skopje during the recent negotiations to sign a declaration distancing itself from the land claims of these refugees and their families. Athens, however, was unsuccessful in this quest.

The two states are to recognize each other's existing borders. The name of the former Yugoslav republic, which Athens objects to, is to be negotiated in the future.

Since the break up of Yugoslavia and Macedonia's declaration of sovereignty, the capitalist rulers of Greece have been on a campaign to isolate the newly independent republic, claiming the name Macedonia implied territorial claims on the Greek province of the same name. Athens also claimed that the republic's new flag, which includes the Star of



Vergina (the emblem of King Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, in ancient Greece), was an affront to the "Greek nation which was having one of its symbols stolen."

A succession of conservative and social democratic governments, with the open backing or tacit support of the General Confederation of Labor and of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), mounted a nationalist campaign against recognition of Macedonia. It included government-sponsored demonstrations of up to 1 million in Athens and Thessaloniki and

reached a high pitch with the imposition of the embargo.

The neighboring governments of Bulgaria, which claims Macedonia is but a dialect of the Bulgarian language, and Albania, which poses as the protector of the Albanian minority of 12 percent in the new state of Macedonia, also have territorial visions of expansion in the former Yugoslav republic.

Taking advantage of the explosive situation, Washington dispatched 550 soldiers to Macedonia in 1993 as part of a United Nations' "peacekeeping" force of 1,150. To date, it is

the only part of former Yugoslavia with U.S. troops on the ground. U.S. imperialism is using its military intervention in Macedonia to gain an edge over Bonn, Paris, and London in asserting Washington's long-term political and economic interests in the Balkans.

The imperialist rulers of Greece have up to now lined themselves up with Belgrade and Moscow in the Yugoslav conflict. Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic and his hireling, Bosnian Serb chauvinist leader Radovan Karadzic, are presented by the big-business and other media here as heroes preserving Serbian sovereignty from a "German-American" assault. The Greek Orthodox religion, sponsored as the official state religion here, is presented as a main pillar in the alliance between Athens, Belgrade, and Moscow.

With Belgrade appearing victorious until recently, this seemed a sure way to advance Greek imperialism's expansionism and economic interests in the Balkans.

The defeat of Belgrade-backed Serbs in the Croatian region of Krajina this summer, however, the NATO bombings of Bosnian Serbs in September, and the subsequent advances of the Croatian and Bosnian armies in northwestern Bosnia, dramatically altered the political and military landscape. Washington, after standing behind the Croatian and Bosnian regimes and carrying out the bombings, emerged as the main imperialist power intervening in the Yugoslav conflict. It managed to push back Athens among others.

Finally, the embargo on Macedonia hurt some capitalists in Greece who held 20 percent of the market share of imports that republic made before 1993. Greek products have now been replaced by German, French, and Italian goods. Above all, of course, the embargo, a virtual act of war, hurt the Macedonian people. According to the daily *New Macedonia*, unemployment there jumped to 25 percent since 1993. Skopje estimates that the sanctions cost it \$40 million per month.

While a majority among the Greek rulers felt compelled to concede and sign the September accord, the decision by Athens has generated ongoing debate in bourgeois politics. Former Greek president Christos Sartzetakis accused the Papandreou administration of leading a "national surrender." Antonis Samaras, of the right-wing opposition party Political Spring, called the accord an "unprecedented national humiliation." Aleka Papariga of the KKE demanded that the issue of the name of the neighboring republic be settled quickly in a way that it gives Macedonia only a geographic meaning "and not an ethnic one."

Many workers feel relieved that the tensions with Macedonia have eased. "I don't care about the name or whatever," said an airline baggage handler during a discussion at the Athens airport. "I just want the dispute settled and over with. Let them call themselves whatever they want."

Public workers in Turkey make gains as month-long strike provokes gov't crisis

BY BOBBIS MISAILIDES

ISTANBUL, Turkey — Some 250,000 public employees began returning to work after officials of Turk Is, the main union federation, reached an agreement with the Turkish government October 26. The workers took part in the country's longest nationwide strike in more than 15 years.

The walkout — including workers in mining, road construction, public transportation, sugar refining, and in the metal, paper, leather, and textile industries — began September 20. More than 350,000 of Turkey's 687,000 public employees walked out by the third week of the strike.

Thousands of workers took part in demonstrations. They protested austerity measures pushed by the government and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The fightback by working people produced a governmental crisis for Turkey's capitalist rulers. Prime Minister Tansu

Ciller, of the right-wing True Path party (DYP), resigned following the withdrawal of the social democratic People's Republican Party (CHP) from the governing coalition hours after the strike began.

In face of the determined labor resistance, the rulers divided over how far to push their austerity drive against working people, as well as their war against Turkey's Kurdish oppressed nationality.

On October 15 Ciller failed to win a parliamentary vote of confidence. The ballot was over a new, minority government coalition she patched together, which included the fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). Both of these parties, which hold 17 and 10 seats respectively in the country's 450-seat parliament, joined Ciller's ill-fated coalition on the condition that she force an end to the public employees' strike.

The same day, tens of thousands of strikers and their supporters rallied in Ankara's Kizilay square to press their demands for pay increases. The workers also demanded a vote of no confidence for the new government. The main slogans on placards and signs were, "Down with the IMF; For an independent Turkey," and "We are with Turk Is."

The rally took place in an atmosphere of police intimidation. Ohar Tasanlar, Ankara's chief of police, declared the gathering illegal and called on workers not to participate.

The cops set up roadblocks on the way to Ankara, the country's capital, preventing thousands of workers from cities and towns across the country from attending. Car caravans and buses from Izmir, Mersin, Baiman, and Diyarbakir (the biggest city of southeastern Turkey), were prevented from reaching the rally. Thousands of workers from Istanbul and neighboring cities were stopped on the way to Ankara; they protested by staging a sit-in on the highway.

At the demonstration, police arrested 54 workers.

Turk Is leader Bayram Meral addressed the protest rally in Ankara. "The collective bargaining negotiations have been going on for 10 months," he said. "And their latest offer is an annual raise of 16 percent. Is there anyone who would accept this proposal?" Inflation in Turkey runs currently at 90 percent per year. At the beginning of the negotiations, Ciller insisted on a piddling wage raise of 5.4 percent.

On October 16, Ciller announced an agreement to form a second ruling coalition with the People's Republican Party, its ex-partner. In doing so, the prime minister accepted some of the conditions presented by the CHP leadership. These included resignation of Istanbul's police chief, Necdet Menzir, notorious for his defense of the most brutal methods by his cops and of the war against the Kurdish nationality. They also called for a "more fair" settlement for the public employees.

Ciller then moved to put an end to the nationwide walkout. She began by ordering 73,000 strikers at sugar refineries, railroads, docks, and paper and pharmaceutical factories back to work. The government used an antilabor law that halts strike action if it "disrupts public health and national security."

Workers were not cowed, however. On October 17, 300,000 civil service employees joined the public workers walkout for a 24-hour strike also called by Turk Is. The government conceded rapidly. Minister of the Economy Ismet Attila announced that Ankara would grant civil servants a 54 percent increase for 1996.

Despite continued government and police intimidation, more than 250,000 public workers remained on strike until they reached a settlement that approached what they thought they were big enough to get under the circumstances.

They ended the walkout after winning a 35 percent raise for this year, retroactive to January 1, 1995, and a 41 percent increase for 1996.

THE TRUTH ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA

The Truth about Yugoslavia

Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention

GEORGE FYSON,
ARGIRIS MALAPANIS, AND
JONATHAN SILBERMAN

Examines the roots of the carnage in Yugoslavia, where rival gangs of would-be capitalists — fragments of the former Stalinist regime — are fighting a war for territory and resources as the U.S. and European powers intervene militarily to advance their competing interests. \$8.95

Available at 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. Include \$3 for shipping and handling.