

Killer found guilty in death of Black youth

A second leader in racist mob attack acquitted



May 16 demonstration outside court trial of Joseph Fama, one of those accused of leading a lynch mob in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn that murdered Yusuf Hawkins on Aug. 23, 1989.

BY ED WARREN
AND MAREA HIMELGRIN

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — The name of Yusuf Hawkins, a 16-year-old Black youth gunned down last summer by a racist mob, has come to symbolize the outrage and growing intolerance by Blacks and others to racist violence

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and police killings of Black and Latino youth. For the past three weeks the trials of Joseph Fama and Keith Mondello, two of seven charged in the Hawkins murder, were the focus of intense discussion and action here.

On May 17 Fama, charged with firing the gun that killed Hawkins, was found guilty of second-degree murder and six other charges. The following night Mondello, charged with organizing the gang, was found not guilty of murder, but convicted on four lesser charges.

Fama and Mondello were accused of leading a lynch mob in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn that murdered Hawkins on the night of Aug. 23, 1989. A crescendo of indictments, 17 against Fama alone, came following protests and actions that took place after the murder. On August 31 a demonstra-

tion of more than 7,000 people, mostly Black youths, marched through Brooklyn protesting the killing.

Deliberations of the separate juries for Fama and Mondello stretched out over 10 days, and crowds of people, predominantly Blacks and in the course of a day numbering near a thousand, gathered at Cadman Plaza outside the Brooklyn courthouse to express their determination that justice be done and

Hawkins' killers be jailed.

On the night of the Fama verdict word had spread that the jury had reached a decision and 100 people, soaked in a rainstorm and holding up sheets of paper that read, "Guilty, guilty, guilty," gathered in the plaza.

Extra police arrived to join the scores guarding the courthouse. Just as the skies cleared a woman shouted, "Guilty! They

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Three cops in Texas guilty in murder of Black

BY CHUCK GUERRA

HOUSTON — On May 4 a police chief and two county deputies from the small East Texas town of Hemphill were found guilty of murder in the death of Loyal Garner, Jr. Garner, a 34-year-old Black truck driver, was beaten in the Hemphill jail on Christmas Day 1987. A jail guard found him comatose on the cell floor the next morning. He died December 27.

Garner, a Hemphill resident, was on his way to a nearby town with two buddies to pick up a car he was going to overhaul. Hemphill Police Chief Thomas Ladner pulled him over and arrested him for drunk driving. Garner was given no alcohol test and laboratory reports after his death did not confirm he had alcohol in his body. He and his two friends were thrown in the detoxification cell, and Garner was beaten with a blackjack by Ladner after demanding to make a phone call.

He was then taken into the jail "processing room" where the beating continued with deputies James Hyden and Billy Ray Horton present.

'Not asleep anymore'

Blacks make up some 20 percent of Hemphill's population of 1,350. After Garner's murder, protest marches were organized for the first time, and Blacks founded a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "Sometimes it takes death to bring life," said Hemphill pastor Will Smith. "We're awake now. We're no longer asleep."

The three officers were first indicted for violating Garner's civil rights, then later for

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Fort Madison, Iowa, union gathering learns of Curtis' fight for justice

BY NAN BAILEY

FORT MADISON, Iowa — One hundred fifty people participated in the May 19 "Great Midwest Labor Jam" that took place here in this southeast Iowa town. The event featured musical performances and cultural presentations by workers from across Iowa and from as far away as Washington, D.C.

Organizers billed the event as an opportunity for union singers and labor activists to

exchange experiences and socialize. United Food and Commercial Workers Local 617 in Fort Madison, United Steelworkers of America Local 67 in Granite City, Illinois, and the Lee County Labor Council of Iowa were among the event's sponsors.

Catherine Tompa and Tora Smith of the Daughters of Mother Jones spoke. Their group was formed as an auxiliary to the United Mine Workers of America during the miners' strike against the Pittston Coal company in Virginia.

Wayne Schumacher, an international representative of the United Auto Workers union, told participants about the Fort Madison strike of UAW Local 1492 against General Services Co. The employer, he explained, is trying to break the union by having forced the strike in February and closed the plant with the aim of reopening it later with a lower-paid scab work force.

Curtis committee representative

"We are finding out today that the Eastern and Greyhound strikes are not over and that if we stand together we can beat back the Frank Lorenzos and Fred Curreys of the world," Ted Leonard, a spokesperson of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, told the crowd. "It's in the context of the labor movement's need to close ranks, to stand together, to break down divisions among us

that Mark Curtis' fight takes place."

Leonard, one of four speakers invited to address the event, explained Curtis' frame-up by Des Moines police and the Polk County prosecutor's office. Curtis, a Des Moines unionist and political activist, is currently serving a 25-year jail term on a trumped-up

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Eastern strikers in New York target June 12 Lorenzo award

BY SUSAN LaMONT

On June 12 Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines and other unionists from the New York area will be demonstrating outside the New York Public Library at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue from 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. The target of their protest? Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo.

On that day "the John Jay Associates, an alumni group at Columbia University, is hosting a dinner dance at the New York Public Library to honor, among others, Frank Lorenzo of the class of '61," explains a recent letter to New York strikers

from Leroy Washington, general chairman of International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 100. "This outrage cannot go unanswered. Along with the New York City Central Labor Council, we will be organizing a major protest at this event. This rally will not only protest Lorenzo, but will also make it clear to everyone that the IAM continues to fight around the slogan: *No contract, no peace!*"

The award is being given to Lorenzo and five other recipients for "distinguished professional achievement." The announcement

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Pathfinder Bookstore in Chicago vandalized

On May 22 the glass in the front door of the Pathfinder bookstore in Chicago was broken by vandals. Supporters of the bookstore believe this was a politically motivated act. The store windows display books and posters covering a wide range of political topics: writings by Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, Fidel Castro and titles on Black history, women's rights, socialism, and labor history. No other windows in the street were broken.

Messages protesting the attack and calling for a full investigation should be sent to the office of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley.

Seattle: opportunity to win youth to socialism

"We should run a candidate who speaks the truth. It's important that socialists get these views across to the public, make a stand — even if we don't win." This is how Rick, a member of the Seattle Young Socialist Alliance, expressed his support for the Socialist Workers Party cam-

heard of her before," he explained. "But it stated in her profile what the goals of the Socialist Workers Party were — enforcing affirmative action and so on. So I called up and here I am."

Elizabeth, another YSA member, also learned about communist ideas

The Seattle YSA is beginning to discuss its involvement in the 1990 congressional campaign. Initial ideas range from organizing campus speaking engagements and speaking before union meetings to distributing the *Militant* newspaper so young people can learn more about the fights going on in the world that the campaign is a part of. "It's good to bring these ideas to some level of visibility," said YSA member Geoff, "so people can realize there's a choice."

The first speaking engagements for the 1990 campaign were sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in Portland, Oregon, and Seattle. The subject was the debate raging in the Pacific Northwest on how to protect jobs and the environment. Scherr participated in a panel with woodworkers and environmentalists.

"This debate is taking place as capitalism moves deeper into crisis worldwide," said Sibyl Perkins, the YSA chairperson and SWP campaign director. "The capitalist system can only offer more layoffs and more destruction of the world's natural resources."

"During this campaign, we plan to distribute the pamphlet *An Action Program to Confront the Coming*



Militant/Eric Simpson

Seattle SWP candidate for Congress Robbie Scherr (center) with youth supporters. Young Socialist Alliance is making plans to reach out with socialist campaign.

CAMPAIGNING FOR SOCIALISM



paing of Robbie Scherr for U.S. Congress in Washington State's 7th C.D.

Scherr, a rail worker and member of the United Transportation Union, was the SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle last year. Rick is one of several YSA members who were won to socialism during that race. He feels his experience can be duplicated, winning other new members to the revolutionary youth organization.

Rick joined the socialist movement soon after getting out of the navy. "Last year I saw Robbie Scherr in the voters' guide. I'd never

through Scherr's campaign. "I was visiting Seattle last year and saw an article about Robbie in the Seattle newspaper. The next day I met some campaign supporters at a demonstration. I liked what they had to say," she explained. "So when I moved to Seattle, I decided to join." She is from New York.

Richard, who joined the YSA in April, had voted for Scherr in the last election. Several months later he met YSA members at a demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. He decided to join the socialist group.

Economic Crisis," Perkins explains. "It offers a perspective on how working people can fight to defend ourselves in the face of this crisis."

The next event planned for the campaign is a "meet the candidate" dinner where members of the YSA and other young people can discuss defending Cuba and other ideas raised by the socialist candidate.

Through the SWP campaign, said Rick, "more people will find out

who we are and will want to become active."

The Action Program of the Socialist Workers Party is available in English or Spanish for \$1 and in French for \$2. Write to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Marina Rogers from Seattle contributed to this column.

S. Africa protests win desegregation of hospitals

BY GREG McCARTAN

The South African minister of national health announced May 16 that the government would open the country's segregated hospitals to all.

The move is another step away from "petty apartheid," in which public facilities and institutions are designated for "whites only" under the apartheid system. Schools, housing, jobs, industry, commercial enterprises, and every other aspect of the lives of the Black population are strictly segregated by the regime.

In her announcement to parliament in Cape Town, Health Minister Rina Venter said all beds in public hospitals would be accessible to both Blacks and whites. Many private hospitals already accept Black patients.

Some 240 "whites only" hospitals will be immediately affected by the announcement. The equipment and facilities in these well-staffed hospitals compare with the best in the world.

Hospitals designated for Blacks are overcrowded and poorly staffed and equipped. In the nominally independent "homelands," Black patients are often treated by white army

conscripts learning to be medical corpsmen.

Blacks have also been turned away at segregated facilities or refused transport in ambulances because they are for "whites only." Infant mortality rates for Africans is 80 per 1,000 live births, according to 1985 UNICEF figures. For Coloureds it is 59; Indians, 18; and whites, 14. Malnutrition is the cause of death among 55 percent of Black children who die under the age of five.

The Department of National Health's desegregation order comes after major protests and strikes at some of the country's hospitals.

Last July anti-apartheid protesters targeted Johannesburg Hospital as part of a campaign of defiance against segregated facilities. Black patients appeared at the hospital and demanded treatment.

A full 50 percent of the Johannesburg Hospital's beds are vacant, yet the hospital in the nearby Black township of Soweto routinely has patients sleeping on the floor.

Throughout South Africa there is a surplus of 11,700 hospital beds for whites.

In addition, a massive strike by Black workers in Cape Town last March shut down that city's hospitals. The workers demanded

a pay increase, a 40-hour workweek, recognition of the union, and an end to the privatization of the hospitals. The 6,000 health workers won support from nurses and physicians for the walkout.

The decision by the government to open the segregated hospitals "is a step in the right direction in making an equitable health service available to all South Africans," said the head of the Medical Association of South Africa, which represents white physicians.

The National Medical and Dental Association, a nonracial group, pressed the government to desegregate the ambulance service as well.

The deputy minister of education and development aid, which supervises the segregated Black educational system, said that the government was also prepared to discuss a single educational system. The regime maintains four separate segregated systems for those it classifies as whites, Africans, Coloureds, and Indians.

A government plan announced in early March would allow a local community to privatize a school or decide, pending a 90 percent vote by the school children's parents in favor, to integrate.

The Pretoria Supreme Court also ruled in late March against the Boksburg Town Council's 1988 decision to reintroduce petty apartheid at the town lake and tennis courts.

The council's decision was met by a boycott of stores by Blacks and a suit, filed by the deputy principal of a local school, Buchanan Jantjes. The council's decision was reminiscent of a past "which we had hoped had been consigned to the less reputable pages of our history books a long time ago," Jantjes said upon filing the suit.

In his decision the judge countered the town council's claims that the boycott was politically inspired, saying instead it was "the spontaneous reaction of people who felt humiliated." The judge added that the segregation of certain public facilities was "grossly unreasonable."

South African President F.W. de Klerk has told parliament that the Separate Amenities Act, legislation that allows local governments to establish "whites only" facilities, would be repealed. Other major pieces of apartheid legislation remain in place, including laws classifying people by race, enforcing segregated neighborhoods, and prohibiting purchase of land by Blacks.

'Over the past three years the *Militant* has been a major source of news in my life. It allows me to get real news, instead of the propaganda of the national media.'



BOBBY SINGLETON
youth activist, Greensboro, Alabama

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Editor: DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: RONI McCANN

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein (Nicaragua), Seth Galinsky (Nicaragua), Yvonne Hayes, Arthur Hughes, Susan LaMont, Roni McCann, Greg McCartan, Selva Nebbia, Peter Thierjung.

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Village on outskirts of Transkei "homeland" in southern Natal. "The people themselves have said the homelands have no future," said Brig. Gen. Bantu Holomisa, head of Transkei.

'We are fighting for one South Africa'

BY GREG McCARTAN

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Driving south along the rich coastal agricultural land near Durban, with miles of green waving sugarcane fields, the road heads up into the highlands of the Transkei.

"We grow maize and other crops up here," an unemployed mine worker said. Standing in front of his round, traditional mud hut, he

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

pointed across the valley to other small clusters of huts in the nominally independent "homeland." "We suffer though, because we cannot grow enough for our families."

He, and others in the Transkei who labored in South Africa's gold mines, "were dismissed after we went on strike in 1985. The company sent us back here. Even now we can't get work because we have no identification cards," he said.

Some progress has been made in fighting apartheid, he said. "When you talked about Nelson Mandela under the previous Transkei government, you went to jail." In 1987 the pro-apartheid homeland regime was ousted in a coup.

Esther Madlebe, a worker at a nearby hospital, said, "I'm not afraid anymore since Mandela is out. We have been fighting for everybody, for one South Africa."

As with hundreds of thousands who have protested recently against the homeland system, Madlebe said the Transkei "should be taken back into South Africa. Then we will get work. We are starving here," she said, pointing to her small plot of corn and other vegetables. "We don't have the land or implements to farm."

Brig. Gen. Bantu Holomisa, head of the Transkei homeland, led the 1987 coup. He explained, "the people themselves have said the homelands have no future."

'Militant' supporters preparing big sales effort for Mandela visit

In the 10 days June 20-30, hundreds of thousands of working people, farmers, students, and others opposed to apartheid will welcome African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela at mass rallies, parades, meetings, and other events in seven cities in the United States. Mandela will also visit Britain and Ireland in early July.

Supporters of the *Militant* in each area Mandela visits will be mobilizing to sell the paper, as well as copies of *The Struggle Is My Life* by Mandela and *New International* issue No.5.

The *Militant* has printed the full texts of recent speeches by Mandela. The paper also sent a three-person reporting team to South Africa in March and April.

Since Mandela's release, thousands of copies of a collection of his speeches and writings published by Pathfinder in *The Struggle Is My Life* have been sold. *New International*, a Marxist magazine published in New York,

In the Transkei, "We are now using the radio to broadcast speeches of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress," Holomisa said. The trade unions, the ANC, and other democratic organizations are beginning to organize and "the youth are holding workshops day and night," he added.

The police are also being shaken by the rising anti-apartheid struggle. Black policemen and prison guards have formed the Police and Prison Civil Rights Union (Popcru). Guards in several cities went on strike, and hundreds have been fired.

Popcru organizer Sgt. Thokazine Madondo, a guard with 11 years at a prison here in Johannesburg, said, "We have been serving the apartheid system. The regime uses us to shoot at our people. Now we feel that we have to serve in the interests of all the people, especially the most oppressed."

Prison guards often lived in the prisons, in cells little different than prisoners themselves. The *Weekly Mail* reported the only way to tell the guards' and the prisoners' cells apart was that a guard's cell would have political posters on the wall.

Popcru is demanding the end to discriminatory practices within the police and prison system, a halt to the mistreatment of Black prisoners, and union recognition.

A leading figure in the anti-apartheid struggle is Patrick Lekota, publicity secretary for the United Democratic Front (UDF). He has recently been appointed to head up the African National Congress' southern Natal region.

"It's just incredible," he said in an interview following an ANC rally, "how many people are now joining anti-apartheid organizations."

In many cases "the people have organized themselves already and they tell us, 'We want to join the UDF. What are the procedures?'" Lekota said. In other cases activists "want us to come and talk to the people and explain to them how to build local organizations. This

is a trend you will find everywhere.

"The challenges facing us are just tremendous," he added. "We have to reorganize structures which were smashed by the state of emergency, and by the detention, arrest, death, or exile of leading activists."

The anti-apartheid movement must also make up for the "many years the government had the movement banned, which made it hard to continue to educate the masses. We have to catch up on political education."

At Lucas, a British-owned auto parts plant outside of Johannesburg, workers went on strike April 6 demanding a wage increase of 2 rand an hour [R1=US\$0.38]. "We are demanding a living wage," one of the striking members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa said. "We are really crying for a piece of bread."

Workers quickly pointed out that after working 20 years at the plant they still only make R5 an hour. "We can't live on what we make right now," one worker said.

Shop steward Ishmael Salmoto explained that while change for the better is "happening outside the plant, inside it is still like the 1950s."

Eva, who has 19 years at the company, said, "the company expanded on our blood, sweat, and tears. We are telling them if they can't afford to give us a raise they should pack up and go. They have no interest in us," she explained, "except for the profits we can make for them."

Another striker said that Lucas, and other companies, "used apartheid to make more money. Even though Lucas is a British company, they use apartheid even more than some companies from here!"

The workers are confident they can win their demands, which also include paid maternity leave and additional holidays. "We will break them," Eva said to nods all around. "We are their bread and butter."

Across South Africa vast tracts of land stretch out on either side of the highways. Sunflower, corn, sugarcane, and other crops are tended by Black farm workers. Many fields are used for grazing cattle. While some Blacks illegally farm scraps of land, or fight to hold onto a few remaining plots worked by generations of African farm families, most have been driven from the 87 percent of the country reserved for whites.

In a large field south of the company mining town of Libenon, Jonas Sethare and his family hoe weeds and tend the crops.

Sethare has worked on the farm for 22 years. He lives on the farm and earns R250 (\$100) a month. "Getting my own farm is something that I want," he said. "But I cannot own land, and even if I could it takes a lot of money."

"When I hear Mandela talk, it is beautiful," he added. "To go to school, to get work, land, and everything else he talks about — I believe that is how it should be."

"This can happen," he said, "when freedom is won."

In the eastern part of the Orange Free State a small one-room school sits across a dirt road from a modern, well-tended farmhouse. The white farmer owns a large tract of land surrounding the school. Some of the children

of the Black farm workers attend the school.

"Many of the children here must walk seven miles to attend," the school's only teacher said. He teaches math, health education, religious education, English, and Afrikaans to the children of various ages.

Commenting on the farmhouse across the road, he said, "the whole country is for whites, not for us. While the white farmers have plenty of land, equipment, and cheap labor, we can only grow things in our yards."

Various independent groups are attempting to address the lack of educational facilities for Blacks and the denial of literature on African and working-class history.

Learn and Teach, based in Johannesburg, sponsors literacy classes and maintains a small library of books and magazines. "Books are very hard to get for most people," one of the group's staff people said.

"In addition, most Blacks must walk a long way in order to get to school. In the homelands they must pay up to R70 for four months of secondary school. For whites, education is free."

Learn and Teach estimates the illiteracy rate among Blacks is 65 percent.

The Workers Library, also in Johannesburg, is part of a network of resource centers that carry books, newspapers, video tapes, and documents of the liberation struggle not otherwise available in public institutions.

Librarian Shenid Bhayroo said 300 workers belong to the library. A 50 cent membership fee allows members to check out books, decide new purchases, and set library policy.

The library focuses on the history of the workers' movement internationally, carries titles on Marxism, the anti-apartheid struggle, and liberation movements. "Only two books have been pinched since we opened," Bhayroo said.

"Don't be too quick to take the dust cover of your old science handbook off your treasured copy of *Cry Freedom*," read the opening sentence of an article on censorship in one South African paper.

Some 100 statutes govern what can be read, distributed, and imported into the country. At least 35,000 publications are banned. The publications are locked away in Room 19 of the national library.

Although organizations, like the ANC, have been unbanned, their publications have not. *The Struggle Is My Life*, a collection of writings and speeches by Mandela, was recently unbanned. But the book's publisher, the International Defence and Aid, is still proscribed. A special provision had to be made to allow the book into the country.

Some books by leaders of the communist movement such as Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky, and others have recently been unbanned. Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint* and John Irving's *The World According to Garp* can also be purchased and read without fear of imprisonment.

The photocopier has become an essential tool of the liberation struggle as a result of the restrictions. Books are smuggled into the country, photocopied, and distributed. Sections of several Pathfinder Press books our reporting team took into the country were copied off by activists anxious to read them.

'L'Humanité' interviews Kaku, tells Curtis' story

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year jail term at the John Bennett state prison in Fort Madison, Iowa, on a frame-up conviction of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international

fore the Committee for the Defense of Liberties and the Rights of Man in France and the World. Georges Marchais heads the committee. He is also the secretary-general of the Communist Party. Below are excerpts from the article:

Mark Curtis worked in a meat-

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695.

If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

"This man is dangerous," was the main headline of a feature article in the May 3 *L'Humanité*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of France. Michel Muller, a reporter for the daily, interviewed Kate Kaku during her recent tour of France April 25-30.

Kaku, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife, won important support there for Curtis' defense effort. *L'Humanité* reported that Kaku testified be-

packing plant. The plant he worked in was owned by Swift, a powerful multinational trust in the food industry.

"My husband earned the equivalent of 30 francs an hour. His job was to pull the stomachs out of carcasses that passed by at the rate of one per second. The annual rate for accidents on the line is 80 percent. Few workers last more than four months. To fill 600 jobs, more than 3,000 workers have to be hired each year. The workers are simply 'used up' and then fired after they are worn out and can no longer keep up with the hellish pace of the line."

Management uses threats, sexism, and racism among the different communities to block a united union response. "Mark, on the other hand, tried to take on the divisions and to develop a sense of brotherhood among the workers, no matter what their origin," Kate Kaku continued.

"On March 1, 1988, the plant was raided by immigration police, backed by the local police and company security guards. Seventeen workers were arrested on the pretext of being illegal immigrants." Sixteen were from El Salvador, and Mexico.

Three days later, the afternoon of March 4, despite the opposition of the bosses, Swift workers organized a meeting in solidarity with those who had been arrested. It was at this moment that the steps to "get" Mark Curtis were put into place.

"Mark went to the meeting at 5:00 p.m.," Kate said, "and he spoke in Spanish. After the meeting he met some friends in a bar to discuss organizing more actions. He stayed there until 8:30. He went home and then left again at 8:45 to run some errands. We had guests coming that night, friends from Nicaragua who were coming to speak at a public meeting on the situation in that country."

"When he stopped at a red light a young Black woman jumped in front of the car in an apparent panic and begged him to accompany her home. A man was bothering her, she said. Mark agreed to help. A little later, as he waited in front of the house where the young woman said she lived, as she had asked him to do while she checked to see if everything was okay, a policeman ap-

peared. He handcuffed Mark and then pulled down his pants. At the station Mark was forced to strip completely. He was beaten (his cheekbone was broken) to try to force him to "confess," and he was charged with rape."

On Nov. 18, 1988, Mark Curtis was sentenced to 25 years in prison by an all-white jury. The only member of the panel of prospective jurors who was an industrial worker, a Mexican-American, was dismissed on a peremptory challenge by the prosecution.

No proof of any "crime" was ever submitted by the prosecution. The supposed rape was said to have occurred at 7:35, a time at which Mark was with his friends. The supposed victim, a young girl of 15, was not the same woman he had given a ride home. No proof of sexual attack was detected by medical experts.

Before the trial the judge issued a ruling forbidding Mark's lawyer from mentioning his trade-union and political activities. Nor was the lawyer permitted to point out that the police officer who arrested Mark had been found guilty just a while before of providing false testimony.

In reality the FBI had kept tabs on Mark for years. He had been "targeted" for his activity in support of the rights of Blacks, Latin American immigrants, and women. Another "crime" was his work as an

activist in opposition to U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and in solidarity with the Salvadoran guerrillas.

An accompanying article in *L'Humanité* told about other frame-ups in the United States reported by Kaku.

"There are thousands of political prisoners in the United States today," Kate Kaku told the newspaper. "To be sure, none of them were openly sent to prison for political or trade union 'crimes,' *L'Humanité* said. "The charges are based instead on trumped-up violations of the penal code, on the alleged commission of crimes such as rape, attempted extortion, theft, or armed assault."

Kaku then went on to explain to *L'Humanité* the case of four union coal miners, including Donnie Thornsby who was sentenced to 35-45 years on federal felony charges, and of the many Pittston coal miners who had charges filed against them by the police during their strike. She also explained how some Greyhound bus drivers on strike have been framed on weapons charges.

"This gives you an idea of the seriousness of the attack on human rights in the United States," Kate Kaku told the paper. "The campaign to free Mark Curtis can and must become a way to raising broader questions of political and trade union rights in the United States."

Fort Madison labor gathering hears about Curtis

Continued from front page

conviction on rape and burglary charges. His frame-up stemmed from his defense of 17 Latino coworkers who had been arrested on the job by U.S. immigration agents.

"Together we can fight back against all the attacks by the employers and their agents, whether it be on the shop floor or in the courtroom," Leonard said, appealing for support for Curtis' fight.

A singing group of UFCW members Jill Baxter and Susan Howard and USWA member Eddie Starr dedicated their version of the Woody Guthrie song "Deportee" to Curtis. Supporters signed up new endorsers for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, sold several copies of *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle, and collected financial contributions at a literature table.

On May 16, just three days before the Labor Jam took place, Curtis was moved from the state prison in Anamosa, Iowa, to the John Bennett Correctional Center in Fort Madison. The Bennett jail is a medium security prison and is part of a complex that includes the maximum security Fort Madison penitentiary.

Curtis' request to warden

Curtis, who learned of the labor event from his supporters, filed a request with the warden to allow Tompa of the Daughters of Mother Jones, Larry Ross of USWA Local 67, and Leonard to visit him after the festivities. This request was denied. Tompa and Ross nevertheless went to the prison and asked to see Curtis, but were turned away by prison authorities. Ross' local union president, Dave Dowling, is an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Supporter Héctor Marroquín was able to visit Curtis, however, and informed him of the day's events. Curtis' spirits are high, Marroquín reported. Curtis told Marroquín that since he's been at the new prison he has eaten his first fresh tomato in a year. Curtis was incarcerated in September 1988 and spent time in five jails.

In another development in Curtis' fight for justice, George Eichhorn, one of his attorneys, told the *Militant* that resistance to a motion for summary judgment in a civil lawsuit has been filed in Iowa District Court on Curtis' behalf.

Curtis is being sued by Keith and Denise Morris for punitive damages they claim were inflicted by him on their daughter. They are also asking that they be awarded any monies Curtis may receive for the "commercialization of his acts." Their attorney Stuart Pepper

filed the motion for summary judgment in the civil suit. It asks the court to enter Curtis' frame-up conviction as evidence of his guilt in the July 9 jury trial in the civil suit. A ruling on the motion against Curtis would limit the jury to deciding what kind of monetary award Curtis would have to pay.

Eichhorn said that a hearing before Iowa District Court Judge Arthur Gamble to decide the motion could be held in mid-June.

Leaders of the Mark Curtis Defense Com-

mittee maintain that the lawsuit fits in with efforts to shore up the police and prosecutor frame-up against Curtis, to smear the political activist as a rapist, and to cripple his defense effort.

The Workers League, an antilabor outfit that peddles the cops' story against Curtis as truth, has been spearheading an international campaign along these lines. It has publicized and circulated a letter by Keith Morris pushing the Des Moines police frame-up and

slanders against Curtis' supporters.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee continues to call on supporters around the world to write Curtis at the new prison. Letters should be addressed to Mark Curtis #805338, Box 316 JBC Dorm, Fort Madison, Iowa, 52627. The sender's full name and address must be on the upper left hand of the envelope, with the name signed in full at the end of the letter. Greeting cards are permitted, as are photos, but not larger than 8 1/2"x11".

Killer found guilty in death of Black youth

Continued from front page

found him guilty!" She was followed by a reporter holding up a copy of the Fama verdict.

"I'm happy — no — I'm elated," said Amid Debarron, a Somali-born college student. "Justice has been served," said Nicole McGirt, a city receptionist. Why "should one neighborhood be closed off to Black people?" Another commented the challenge is now "to make sure he stays in jail."

After the Mondello acquittal the next day, anger spread through the crowd of several hundred outside the courthouse. "I can't believe it! I can't believe it!" repeated a young Puerto Rican woman. Two hundred youth marched to a nearby mall and back shouting, "Yusuf, Yusuf!"

A New York *Daily News/Eyewitness News* Poll conducted after the verdict reported 61 percent of New Yorkers disagreed with the jury and said Mondello was guilty.

The murder

Hawkins, a Black youth from East New York, had gone into the white enclave of Bensonhurst last August with three friends — Troy Banner, Claude Stanford, and Luther Sylvester — to look at a used car advertised for sale in a newspaper.

They innocently walked down a street where a mob of 30 to 40 teenagers from Bensonhurst were lying in wait, armed with baseball bats and hand guns, to attack Black and Latino youth they expected to attend the 18th birthday party of area resident Gina Feliciano.

The young woman, a key prosecution witness, testified that she was told by Mondello and others not to "bring those monkeys into the neighborhood." Feliciano had invited Black and Latino friends to her party then later decided to warn them away fearing there would be trouble.

When the gang spotted Hawkins and his

friends they chased them and beat them. Four shots were fired, two of which shattered Hawkins' heart. Witnesses testified that some of the gang went to watch videos and others went out for hot dogs after the lynching.

The case

Then-mayor Edward Koch condemned the protest marches through Bensonhurst that erupted in response to the murder and was booed by participants attending the wake for Hawkins. David Dinkins, facing Koch in the 1989 Democratic primary elections, campaigned as a "peacemaker" who could "bring the city together."

A demonstration planned for the day after the September 12 primary, which Dinkins won, was canceled when the election results were announced. Several organizers of the antiracist march took positions in the Dinkins campaign.

Since then the protests became narrower and pressure on the city administration to back a strong prosecution weakened. Prosecution attorneys claimed endless difficulties in building their cases against the seven indicted youth. No murder weapon was ever found and the key prosecution witness — John Vento, a participant in the racist mob who made a deal to testify — disappeared and then for a time decided not to cooperate. Stephen Murphy, Mondello's defense attorney, had successfully defended two of the white youth charged in the killing of Michael Griffith, who was fatally struck by a car while running from bat-wielding thugs in the Howard Beach section of Queens in 1986.

Murphy stated that his strategy would be to put Feliciano on trial, whom he called a "crackhead and a prostitute." In his summary to the jury he said it was Feliciano who "put this whole thing in motion" by inviting Black and Latino youth to the neighborhood. He argued Mondello had a baseball bat because he "feared Feliciano's junkie friends."

The prosecutors began using the term "Bensonhurst amnesia" in describing the inability of neighborhood residents to remember what they had seen. The big-business press labeled the case against the defendants as "weak."

Many people began to express the fear that neither Fama nor Mondello would be found guilty.

Five more trials to come

After the Mondello acquittal the streets of Brooklyn were filled with police. Vans covered with surveillance equipment cruised slowly up and down the main avenues. At a press conference with New York Police Commissioner Lee Brown, Dinkins warned that anyone engaging in violence or destruction would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

On May 19 some 600 people gathered at the Slave Theater, headquarters of the United Afrikan Movement headed by Alfred Sharpton in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Yusuf Hawkins' younger brother Amir, 15, told the rally that all the defendants "should have been charged with murder. We are going to keep marching until they are all charged and convicted of murder."

After the rally, participants boarded buses headed for Bensonhurst where they marched. The protesters, chanting "Yusuf, Yusuf!" were met by several hundred jeering residents holding up watermelons and chanting, "Joey Fama for president!"

The racist crowd had originally gathered outside the Mondello apartment but were asked to disperse by the family. One Bensonhurst resident held up a sign that read, "Let's call a truce."

The trial of John Vento charged with being part of the mob that murdered Hawkins is scheduled to begin June 11. The four other youths charged with murder will go on trial in the fall.

Nicaraguan unions assess gains in strike against gov't

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Just forcing the Chamorro government to sit down and negotiate with us is a political achievement," said Mario Malespín, president of the national union at the state-owned post office and telephone company. The union is affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST).

Malespín was referring to the results of a six-day strike by government employees, which ended when an accord was signed on May 16 with representatives of President Violeta Chamorro's regime.

The settlement included a 25 percent wage hike for May, on top of a 60 percent raise previously decreed, and a government pledge to negotiate future cost-of-living increases.

The agreement also called for the rehiring of workers fired over the past several weeks and committed the Ministry of Labor to negotiate with the unions as to which categories of government workers will be protected by civil service legislation against dismissal.

Job security, particularly for supporters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), was a central issue in the strike.

The agreement, in effect, recognized the National Union of Public Employees (UNE) and other CST unions as representatives of state employees.

Union leaders are now charging the government with violating the accord. They report that dozens of high-level functionaries have been dismissed without any negotiation with union officials.

Workers see gains for union

Most public workers think their unions emerged stronger from the strike. The agreement was "positive," government employee Valentina Cortés stated. "The government arrogantly thought they could do anything and they found out that wasn't true."

The wage increase won "isn't really enough," phone worker Gilma Hernández said, "but it keeps us from drowning."

According to UNE organization secretary Ernesto Espinoza, the strike proved the government "cannot proceed on measures of importance to the workers without consulting the union leadership."

The Sandinista Front daily *Barricada* wrote in an editorial that the union leaders gave "the government a lesson in maturity and flexibility by accepting a reasonable agreement, knowing that it does not fully satisfy the demands of the ranks." In spite of slanders and provocations by government officials, the paper stated, the unions "demonstrated a legitimate concern for the stability of the country."

Some union participants in the negotiations say that part of the settlement was a private commitment by the labor officials to a "truce" with the government for the next four or five months. The union representatives reportedly agreed there would be no strikes over political issues such as the refusal of the contras to disarm or government moves to reverse expropriations of capitalist farms made following the 1979 revolution.

"The government has complained that they've only been in power a month," Malespín explained. "We want to give them time and space to carry out their program so that people will become convinced that this is a capitalist regime."

The walkouts began with office workers at some ministries on May 10. The next day several thousand more workers joined the stoppage.

When strike leaders arrived for negotiations with Minister of Labor Francisco Rosales on May 12, they found representatives of the Permanent Workers Council (CPT), a coalition of progovernment unions, sitting in a room. Members of the CPT had already condemned the strike and had been conducting raiding operations on the CST-affiliated unions.

The strike representatives refused to continue negotiations with the progovernment council present. Rosales backed down, and negotiations continued without the CPT. But little progress was made.

With negotiations stalled, the strike spread. On May 14 workers in the banks, phone company, and airport joined. Teachers also walked out.

The government's response was to step up its pressure, probing for divisions and weakness among the workers that might make it possible to break the union at one or more of the workplaces.

Rosales declared the walkouts "unlawful, illegal, and nonexistent." He called on the police to remove strikers from government buildings they occupied.

"The government tried to divide the working class," said Ronaldo Membreño, a leader of the CST.

Some progress was made by opponents of the strike in organizing scabs, particularly among workers in the municipal bus system in Managua. In some other workplaces, such as the central bank offices, the strike got only limited support.

Nonetheless, many government activities were paralyzed. Shows of police force failed to intimidate strikers into giving up their blockades of building entrances.

This opened the door to the settlement, announced at a news conference held by union and government officials.

In addition to the concessions on wages, the government agreed to "the participation" of union delegates in its review of contracts signed with public workers in the period between the electoral defeat of the FSLN in February and the inauguration of the Chamorro regime in April.

Importance of trade unions to struggles of working people is explained in new book

The following is an excerpt from the new Pathfinder book *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* by Leon Trotsky, to be published July 1.

The selection, "Trade unions in the transitional period," is from the chapter "Trade unions and factory committees," written in April 1938. It is one of a number of articles and documents on the trade unions written by Trotsky in the 1920s and '30s that will appear in the book. The new volume also includes Karl Marx's "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future."

Leon Trotsky was a central leader of the Russian revolution, the Communist Party of Russia, and the Communist International.

In the revolutionary government that was brought to power in Russia by the October 1917 revolution, Trotsky was head of foreign affairs and then led the organization of the Red Army in the civil war of 1918-20.

The following selection is from "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," adopted in 1938 by the founding conference of the Fourth International. The complete text is available in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* (New York: Pathfinder, 1977).

The Fourth International was set up by communist fighters who had continued carrying out the Marxist course of the Communist International during its early years under Lenin's leadership. They had refused to buckle to the repudiation of this communist perspective by the bureaucratic caste that developed in the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin.

In 1940 Leon Trotsky was assassinated by an agent of Stalin in Mexico, where he had found asylum.

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* * *

In the struggle for partial and transitional demands, the workers now more than ever before need mass organizations, principally trade unions. The powerful growth of trade unionism in France and the United States is the best refutation of the preachments of those ultraleft doctri-



Militant/Larry Seigle

Line of cops holds back some 3,000 unionists as they rally outside offices of Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro May 11.

morro regime in April.

Some union officials say that several of those contract provisions are unrealistic given the country's economic problems and will have to be changed. Negotiations are under way at many ministries.

The government also agreed that there would be no reprisals against strikers and no dismissals of government workers until a commission of union and government representatives completes a review of the job categories to be accorded civil service protection.

The accord concluded by stating that "both sides commit themselves to maintaining open and permanent communication about the economic situation with the goal of contributing to the country's economic recovery."

However, two days after the settlement was announced, the National Assembly, act-

ing over FSLN opposition, amended the civil service law to allow the dismissal of supervisors and functionaries without regard to seniority or union protection. UNE officials denounced the move as "a provocation" and a "betrayal" of the accord.

The National Assembly action "violates the strike settlement," CST leader Membreño said. "The government had agreed to discuss all measures that would affect workers before carrying them out."

"Right now we are demanding that the president respect the accords," he added. "We are going to defend our bargaining rights. The strike will be our last resort."

After an all-day meeting May 19, union leaders decided to file a lawsuit asking the courts to declare the amendments unconstitutional.

naires who have been teaching that trade unions have "outlived their usefulness."

The Bolshevik-Leninist stands in the frontline trenches of all kinds of struggles,

NEW FROM PATHFINDER

even when they involve only the most modest material interests or democratic rights of the working class. He takes active part in mass trade unions for the purpose of strengthening them and raising their spirit of militancy. He fights uncompromisingly against any attempt to subordinate the unions to the bourgeois state and bind the proletariat to "compulsory arbitration" and every other form of police guardianship—not only fascist but also

"democratic." Only on the basis of such work within the trade unions is successful struggle possible against the reformists, including those of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Sectarian attempts to build or preserve small "revolutionary" unions, as a second edition of the party, signify in actuality the renouncing of the struggle for leadership of the working class. It is necessary to establish this firm rule: self-isolation of the capitulationist variety from mass trade unions, which is tantamount to a betrayal of the revolution, is incompatible with membership in the Fourth International.

At the same time, the Fourth International resolutely rejects and condemns trade union fetishism, equally characteristic of trade unionists and syndicalists.

(a) Trade unions do not offer and, in line with their task, composition, and manner of

Continued on page 12

TRADE UNIONS IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALIST DECAY

BY LEON TROTSKY

includes *TRADE UNIONS: THEIR PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE* by KARL MARX

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

— Karl Marx

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Strikers back Pan Am workers' protest in Miami

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news date, Wednesday, May 23, the

When hundreds of Pan Am workers staged a protest at the company's annual meeting in Miami May 8, they were joined by three dozen Eastern strikers from Machinists Local 702, including its president, Frank Ortis.

The Pan Am workers are members of the International Brother-

rate meeting, Pan Am workers and Eastern strikers started chanting. Outside the room, other Teamsters shouted "Open the doors" drowning out parts of Plaskett's speech. William Genoese, the Teamsters airline division director, was cheered when he took the mike to demand that the workers outside be admitted.

Protesters who couldn't fit into the meeting were eventually forced to leave by fire and police officials, however.

Plaskett finally allowed some of the unionists to speak. "How can you stand there and not give us a raise in 10 years?" asked Henry Triano. "You tell us we are professional, loyal employees. Why don't you take care of us?"

Four of the five unions that represent Pan Am workers signed concession contracts in 1988, but the Teamsters refused.

Pan Am has lost nearly \$2 billion since 1980.

festival held in Wellington, New Zealand, April 29 were able to find out more about the Eastern strikers' fight.

The festival was organized by the Wellington District Council of the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions, the country's labor federation. The theme of the event was international solidarity, and there were stalls from organizations in solidarity with struggles from South Africa to Palestine to the Philippines.

Members of the Engineers Union, who had one of the stalls, distributed information about the Eastern strike.

A petition urging support for the Eastern Machinists featured a statement from the Engineers Union President Rex Jones. Fifty-five unionists and others signed the petition, including Angela Foulkes, vice-president of the Council of Trade Unions.

United Auto Workers Local 325 in St. Louis is sponsoring a "Fund-raiser in Solidarity with the Eastern

and Greyhound Strikers" for June 3, between 11:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. at their union hall, 9144 Pershall Road, in Hazelwood, Missouri.

"Please join with unionists from around the area in an afternoon of barbecue and music to benefit these strikers in their fight against union-busting. Their fight is our fight," says the leaflet for the event. Tickets cost \$10. There will be free admission for children under 12 and Eastern and Greyhound strikers.

The May *Localizer*, newsletter of Machinists Local 949, which represents Eastern strikers in St. Louis, features a picture of UAW Local 325 member Andrea González presenting a check for \$877.56 to Eastern strike coordinator Don Spruell. The check was from a recent collection taken for the strikers by Local 325 members at the Ford assembly plant where they work. "A thank you goes to all the brothers and sisters who gave generously to the Eastern cause," reads the caption.

Dean Baxter from Wellington, New Zealand, contributed to this column.



SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

strike was in its 446th day.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, Canada, Bermuda, Sweden, New Zealand, France, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

hood of Teamsters Local 769. The IBT represents reservation agents and clerical workers at the airline.

Not only have the 6,500 IBT members at Pan Am not had a raise for nine years — they've been working since 1988 under an imposed contract that included an 8 percent wage cut.

When Pan Am Corp. Chairman Thomas Plaskett opened the corpo-

Workers who attended a May Day

New York labor rally will target Lorenzo award

Continued from front page

that Lorenzo would get the award was made on April 17, the day before his removal from Eastern management by the federal bankruptcy court and Martin Shugrue's appointment as trustee to run the airline.

Eastern has been in bankruptcy proceedings since five days after the strike by the airline's ramp workers, cleaners, mechanics, and other Machinists union members began on March 4, 1989. Lorenzo, who led the drive to break the unions at Eastern after Texas Air acquired the airline in 1986, has been a special target for the striking IAM members and their supporters.

The unions that organize Columbia University workers, including United Auto Workers District 65 and the Transport Workers Union, are providing a bus to bring union members to the demonstration. And they are circulating a petition directed to Columbia University officials demanding that the

award be canceled. Last year protests by Columbia students, faculty members, and unionists, and Eastern strikers forced cancellation at that time.

The New York City Central Labor Council is also hosting a May 24 meeting for labor officials to plan participation in the event.

Strikers fight for contract

Since Lorenzo's removal from Eastern management, the strikers' focus has shifted to the fight to win a decent contract and return to work — goals which had seemed precluded as long as Lorenzo remained in charge of the airline.

While there was some initial optimism among strikers that a settlement could be reached fairly rapidly with Shugrue, after five weeks it has become clearer that only by continuing their fight will any motion in the direction of a settlement be made. The IAM

District 100 strike bulletin explained May 14 that, with Lorenzo's removal, the strikers' approach continues to be "No contract, no labor peace, no passengers."

When Shugrue came to New York's La Guardia Airport on May 18 to meet with Eastern flight attendants, strikers from IAM Local 1018 organized an expanded picket line throughout the day — "to let him know we're still out here," said one striker.

A May 16 message from IAM District 100 President Charles Bryan to strikers said that reaching a settlement with Eastern "will take time. It is a difficult and complicated process involving many parties, including the unions, the trustee, the creditors, the court, and several parties who are interested in acquiring Eastern."

"We can report to you that negotiating sessions are planned," Bryan continued, "but because of the high media visibility of our struggle and the sensitivity of these discussions, there will be no announcement of the time, place, and content of these negotiations until it is timely and appropriate to do so." Informal discussions between Shugrue and Bryan have been taking place for several weeks.

On May 23 Eastern's creditors are meeting with Shugrue in Miami.

The creditors, who include General Electric, Boeing, Airbus Industrie, and other suppliers, are owed \$1 billion by Eastern. It was

pressure from the creditors — who finally became convinced that their chances of being repaid under Lorenzo's "reorganization" plans for Eastern were growing slim — that pushed the bankruptcy court judge to make the trustee appointment last month. This time, they will be meeting with Shugrue to see if their prospects have improved under the changed management.

Although Eastern reports higher advanced bookings due to its low fares, the passenger load for much of May remained low, adding to the struck airline's losses of more than \$1.2 billion since the strike started. The IAM's May 22 strike bulletin reported that passenger loads between May 8 and May 21 averaged only 53 percent — well below the 60 to 65 percent considered necessary in the industry to make a profit.

Strikers in Miami are planning a "No contract, no peace" protest during the creditors' meeting.

Meanwhile, Eastern announced that American Airlines will take over Eastern's Latin American routes in four phases, beginning June 30 and ending in August. American announced it was buying the routes last December as part of a \$471 million deal that also included other Eastern routes and assets. Completion of the route transfer will mean an end to Eastern's major operations in Miami.

March backs bus strike



Militant/Salm Kolis

ATLANTA — Some 150 striking Greyhound workers and supporters held a spirited march at the bus station May 3. Leading the protest were United Mine Workers of America President Richard Trumka, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union President Jack Sheinkman, Hospital and Health care Employees Local 1199 (New York) President Dennis Rivera, and Jesse Jackson. Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines, Pittston Coal miners, and farmers from North Carolina and Tennessee joined strikers. Nine thousand Amalgamated Transit Union members went on strike March 2, fighting Greyhound's union-busting drive.

Cincinnati phone workers beat back demands for health cuts

BY VALERIE LIBBY

CINCINNATI — Workers on strike at Cincinnati Bell returned to work at 12:01 a.m. May 23 after a 10-day walkout, following a tentative agreement on a new three-year contract. They will be voting by mail ballot on the agreement, which includes a 7 percent wage increase over the life of the contract. The company dropped its main demand that workers pay for part of their health insurance premium.

Three thousand members of Communications Workers of America locals 4400 and 4401 went on strike at Cincinnati Bell on May 13 after their old contract expired. Negotiations broke off over the health insurance premiums' issue. The strikers were clerical workers, information operators, splicers, linemen, installers, and repair personnel.

More than 250 CWA strikers and supporters rallied on May 21 at the downtown Cincinnati Bell offices to demand no cuts in their health-care coverage.

"There are reasons we are unified," strike coordinator Chuck Givin told the rally. "This is a company whose stock split three times in the last four years. They are making money."

"Every time they get in trouble — like when there's a storm — we come through for them," he continued. "We're tired of watch-

ing them make money and then give Dwight Hibbard a \$400,000 wage increase, while they try to take back from us." Hibbard is the head of Cincinnati Bell.

"They asked for a fight, and we'll give them a fight," said Givin to loud cheers.

Dan Radford, executive secretary-treasurer of the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council brought greetings to the rally "on behalf of 80,000 AFL-CIO members in this area."

"We're seeing solidarity at work around the country," Radford explained. "And if we stick together, we can win."

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.

Int'l subscription drive goes over projected goals

BY RONI McCANN

The nine-week international circulation drive to win 7,500 new readers is over the top!

In the last week alone, supporters won 1,162 new readers to the *Militant*, for a total of 5,033 new subscribers to the paper, and went over the international goal of 4,950. All told, 1,201 new readers signed up for the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* during the drive, and 1,640 copies of *New Internationalist* and the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale* were sold, putting all three publications over the top.

An especially big gain was winning 540 new subscribers to the French-language quarterly *Lutte ouvrière* — more than double the projected goal!

In the last few weeks of the sales campaign, supporters of the socialist press took the offensive and drove to make their goals on time. In cities around the world "subscription drive fever" took hold and opportunities to reach thousands of workers, students, and political activists were maximized.

As a result big gains were made in a short period of time. In the United States, 979 new readers of the *Militant* signed up in the last week of the drive. Supporters in Britain and Australia made more than one-third of their total sales drive goal in the final week of the campaign.

Supporters in several cities in the United States reported substantial efforts were made to win new subscribers during the final days of the sales drive. In the last week, 65 new readers were won in San Francisco; 76 in Morgantown, West Virginia; and 125 — including 71 new subscribers to the *Militant* — in Newark, New Jersey.

Supporters in many cities took advantage of activities organized in honor of Malcolm X's birthday. In Washington, D.C., for example, 31 participants at the 19th annual Malcolm X Day, attended by more than 10,000 people signed up to get the *Militant* for 12 weeks. Some \$500 in Pathfinder literature was sold, including more than 50 titles by Malcolm X. Pathfinder Bookstore represen-

tative Sam Manuel addressed the crowd, urging young people present to "do the hard work of studying the ideas of Malcolm X," as it is only by applying his ideas "that we can move forward today in solving the problems of our people."

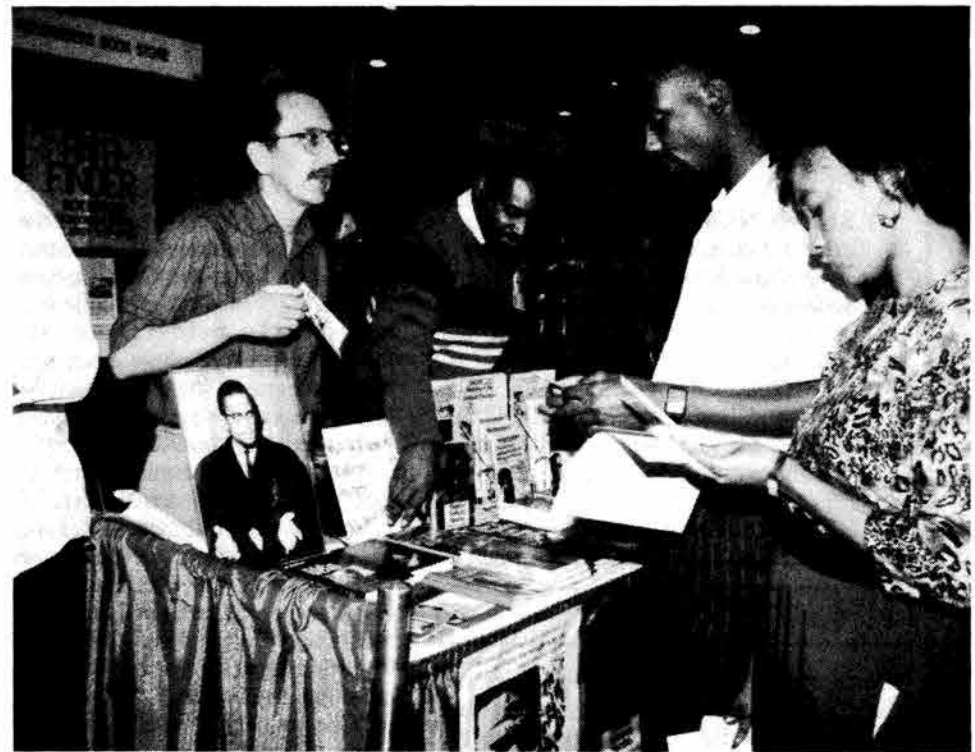
Efforts by supporters to introduce the *Militant* to striking workers, unionists, and co-workers stepped up during the last weeks of the sales campaign. In Atlanta, supporters signed up seven coworkers in the last few days of the drive. In Boston, supporters ended the sales campaign having won 18 workers on strike at Eastern as new readers of the *Militant*, along with 10 other airport workers. In Sweden 19 union auto workers at the Saab-Scania plant outside of Stockholm bought subscriptions to the paper as did seven union food workers.

In Iceland supporters took a trip outside Reykjavik to introduce the *Militant* to sheep farmers. Family farmers in Iceland have been driven off their land in ever-increasing numbers in the last decade — the highest rate in any Nordic country. One farmer decided to get the *Militant*. And a worker who lives on a farm, and who had followed the case of framed-up political activist Mark Curtis in some of the daily papers there, also subscribed.

Renew today

We are confident that the thousands of new readers of the *Militant* — from farmers in Iceland, to coal miners in Utah, will appreciate the political news and analysis the paper has to offer. The fact is that the *Militant* is unique in its commitment to get out the truth about the struggles of working people the world over. More and more working-class fighters, along with activists fighting against apartheid and in defense of Cuba and youth, are finding the *Militant* to be a necessary tool for understanding and participating in the fight for social change.

As these introductory subscriptions begin to expire, we want to urge all readers to renew right away so as not to miss a single issue!



Militant/Salm Kolis

ATLANTA — Supporters of the socialist press here pulled out the stops in the last week of the international subscription drive, winning 52 new readers. In March, at Black Expo '90 (above), supporters sold seven subscriptions to the 'Militant.'

Subscription Drive FINAL SCOREBOARD

DRIVE GOALS		Total		Militant		New Int'l		Perspectiva Mundial		Lutte ouvrière	
Areas	Goal	Total Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES											
Boston*	205	263	128%	125	143	25	54	40	47	15	19
Austin, Minn.*	100	128	128%	65	81	10	14	23	32	2	1
Greensboro, NC	115	134	117%	90	96	15	20	8	16	2	2
Brooklyn*	400	461	115%	200	206	60	96	60	72	80	87
Newark, NJ	385	442	115%	210	216	95	106	65	75	15	45
Salt Lake City	190	218	115%	138	142	30	54	20	20	2	2
Atlanta	165	189	115%	117	122	30	49	15	15	3	3
Des Moines, Iowa*	190	213	112%	145	167	20	20	23	24	2	2
Washington, DC	145	162	112%	100	102	20	29	20	26	5	5
Los Angeles	400	442	111%	210	230	75	86	110	121	5	5
Omaha, Neb.	110	121	110%	80	86	15	15	13	20	2	0
Philadelphia*	170	187	110%	108	109	25	36	35	39	2	3
Price, Utah	75	82	109%	53	56	10	10	10	15	2	1
Miami*	280	305	109%	125	125	55	75	30	33	70	72
Baltimore	150	161	107%	112	113	25	30	10	14	3	4
Charleston, WV*	130	138	106%	98	100	20	26	10	10	2	2
Morgantown, WV	150	159	106%	113	114	30	36	5	7	2	2
Portland, Ore.	100	106	106%	75	80	13	15	10	11	2	0
Oakland, Calif.	185	196	106%	120	127	25	26	35	37	5	6
New York*	625	656	105%	280	286	115	127	110	117	120	126
Twin Cities, Minn.	210	220	105%	162	165	30	34	15	18	3	3
St. Louis	200	209	105%	162	161	25	36	10	11	3	1
Phoenix*	95	99	104%	53	54	10	11	30	34	2	0
Birmingham, Ala.*	172	178	103%	145	149	20	21	5	6	2	2
Seattle*	200	205	103%	115	116	30	31	52	55	3	3
Kansas City*	122	125	102%	78	80	32	34	10	9	2	2
Cleveland	110	111	101%	78	65	20	34	10	9	2	3
Pittsburgh	140	140	100%	113	100	20	31	5	7	2	2
San Francisco	220	188	85%	150	118	30	41	35	27	5	2
Detroit	250	209	84%	200	156	30	38	15	12	5	3
Chicago	280	196	70%	185	125	45	37	45	32	5	2
Houston	145	80	55%	98	45	20	22	25	13	2	0
Anamosa, Iowa	15	7	47%	12	7	-	-	3	0	-	-
Cincinnati	7	3	43%	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Las Vegas, Nev.*	12	4	33%	12	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisville	10	10	100%	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	34	-	-	30	-	3	-	1	-	-
U.S. TOTAL	6,458	6,781	105%	4,144	4,089	1,025	1,297	912	985	377	410
AUSTRALIA											
BRITAIN	50	53	106%	25	32	8	4	15	17	2	0
Sheffield	107	128	120%	65	75	30	39	10	12	2	2
Cardiff	59	65	110%	40	48	10	16	7	1	2	0
Manchester	74	81	109%	50	55	20	23	3	3	1	0
London	162	170	105%	105	126	30	36	25	7	2	1
Other Britain	-	58	-	-	11	-	47	-	-	-	-
BRITAIN TOTAL	402	502	125%	260	315	90	161	45	23	7	3
CANADA											
Montréal	170	218	128%	65	66	20	37	45	33	40	82
Toronto	190	207	109%	120	121	30	33	30	43	10	10
Vancouver*	120	130	108%	75	78	25	27	15	20	5	5
CANADA TOTAL	480	555	116%	260	265	75	97	90	96	55	97
FRANCE	40	55	138%	10	11	5	12	5	7	20	25
ICELAND	41	53	129%	35	38	3	12	2	2	1	1
NEW ZEALAND											
Auckland	100	113	113%	80	92	15	12	4	9	1	0
Wellington	70	70	100%	54	56	11	13	4	1	1	0
Christchurch	55	52	95%	45	46	6	5	3	1	1	0
Other N. Z.	14	9	64%	10	9	4	0	-	-	-	-
N. Z. TOTAL	239	244	102%	189	203	36	30	11	11	3	0
SWEDEN*	98	110	112%	55	58	7	7	35	42	1	3
PUERTO RICO	20	16	80%	2	3	1	0	16	13	1	0
Int'l teams	155	36	23%	75	15	25	20	50	0	5	1
Other Int'l	-	9	-	-	4	-	-	-	5	-	-
TOTAL	8,414	112%	5,033	1,640	1,201	540					
DRIVE GOALS	7,500		4,950	1,200	1,100	250					

*Raised goal during drive

Texas cops guilty of murder

Continued from front page

murder. A trial was set for July 1988 in nearby Tyler, Texas, where Garner had died in a hospital. An earlier trial, in May, was then set in Hemphill on lesser charges.

Eleven whites, including some who had attended a benefit fish fry for the indicted officers, and one Black, a housekeeper who worked for one of the whites, made up the Hemphill jury. A local physician who attends to the jail and had posted bail for Deputy Horton testified that Garner had alcohol and valium in his body and could have died from the mixture. On July 15 the officers were acquitted.

Hemphill authorities then moved to dismiss the Tyler trial but were unsuccessful. On May 4, 1990, a Tyler jury found all three officers guilty of murder. The jury sentenced Ladner to 28 years in prison, Deputy Hyden to 14 years, and Deputy Horton to 10.

Series of cop convictions in Texas

Four days before the Hemphill officers were found guilty in Tyler, police officer Alex Gonzales from Houston, convicted of voluntary manslaughter, was sentenced to seven years in prison for the shooting death of Ida Lee Shaw Delaney, a 50-year-old Black janitor.

As in the Hemphill murder, the shooting of Delaney evoked widespread indignation.

The shooting occurred on Oct. 31, 1989, when Gonzales, certifiably drunk at the time, chased Delaney, who was on her way home from work, for several miles in a car with two other off-duty Houston cops. They claimed she had cut them off in traffic.

When she pulled over to seek help from a construction crew, Gonzales ran up to her

truck waving his gun, punched her, and tried to drag her out of the vehicle, said one of the construction workers who witnessed the attack. Delaney, fearing for her life, reached for her own gun, and in the ensuing exchange of shots, she was killed.

In the wake of protests, the three cops involved were fired from the force and Gonzales was indicted for murder. On April 30, after a trial in Dallas, Gonzales was found guilty of manslaughter.

Supporters of justice for Delaney welcomed the guilty verdict, but there was widespread sentiment that the sentence was too lenient. Nonetheless, it was seen as a step forward that Gonzales received time in jail. Gonzales is free on bail pending his appeal. Antiracist activists in Houston have now turned their attention to the case of Byron Gillum, a 24-year-old Black security guard who was killed on Nov. 15, 1989, while on his way home from work.

Houston officer Scott Tschirhart shot Gillum eight times — four times in the back — after Gillum was stopped for a traffic violation. Tschirhart, who is white, has a history of violence against Blacks, having killed two other suspects and beaten a third in handcuffs.

On May 7, after a previous grand jury decided not to bring any charges against Tschirhart, another grand jury called for reopening the case and recommended the appointment of a special prosecutor. The May 7 decision followed a series of protest actions, including a march by 200 people in downtown Houston, called by the Ida Delaney/Byron Gillum Justice Committee.

Tschirhart, who was fired from the police force, also faces a civil suit filed against him by Gillum's family.

'Guevara's ideas are relevant for v

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Carlos Tablada, author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* published in English by Pathfinder in 1989, has just concluded a six-week tour of nearly three dozen U.S. cities.

While Tablada has visited several Latin American and European countries and last year toured Canada, this was the Cuban author's first visit to the United States.

"This tour has been very important for me," Tablada told the *Militant* on May 13.

INTERVIEW

"Not only have I had the chance to visit more than 28 campuses and meet with students and professors, but the tour has given me the opportunity to come in contact with other social groups. One that I cherish a lot has been the contact that I was able to establish with U.S. workers.

"I have come to realize that workers in this country think very similarly to workers in other countries I have visited," Tablada pointed out. "In a way they also think the way Cuban workers do."

During his tour Tablada met with Eastern Airlines strikers in several cities, farm workers in California, garment workers in the Boston area, and many others.

The thing that struck the Cuban author most during his visit was the deep polarity that exists in the United States between wealth and abject poverty.

"I never thought things would be so extreme," he explained, "because in my country there are no beggars, there are no people sleeping on park benches.

"Those conditions existed in Cuba before the revolution. Capitalism was never able to solve those problems there," he added.

Cuba began dealing with these social problems right after the triumph of the revolution in 1959. Before 1959 Cuba was like the rest of Latin America, a society suffering from centuries of colonial and imperialist oppression, Tablada explained. But in 1959 the Cuban people overthrew the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, and within two years had eliminated capitalist economic domination and begun taking steps toward the socialist transformation of their society.

Today many of the problems that plague countries dominated by capitalism — hunger, joblessness, high infant mortality, and homelessness — have been practically eliminated in Cuba.

"I never imagined so many in the United States would have no access to health care, to education, to a job. This has hit me very hard," said Tablada.

The Cuban author was surprised at the number of Latinos and other immigrants who are part of the U.S. working class.

"I thought that maybe most of the Latinos would be concentrated in big cities such as New York," said the Cuban author, "but I found Latinos and other immigrant communities present everywhere I went. This is very important because these communities become integrated into U.S. society without losing the culture and the idiosyncrasies of their respective countries."

The tour helped confirm for him the fact that "the world is in a moral crisis."

That is why, Tablada said, Ernesto Che Guevara's ideas and the Cuban revolution today are so relevant for young people, workers, and others in the United States and around the world. "People have a need to advance towards a superior type of society, towards a more humane society."

"Che not only believed capitalism was not going to solve the problems of the Third

ings provide us with the ideas we need to fight and move forward. They give us a vision that it is possible to fight, possible to believe in and have confidence in ourselves."

Capitalism, "especially during the '60s and '70s, was very successful in drumming into working people the notion that it was impossible to fight against the establishment, that it is impossible to move forward."

Following the victory of the Cuban revolution, Guevara became a central leader of the new revolutionary government. During the early years of the revolution, he undertook various responsibilities that included heading the Department of Industry of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, the National Bank, and the Ministry of Industry.

In April 1965 Guevara left Cuba to participate directly in revolutionary struggles abroad. He spent several months in the

this system can even increase it," Tablada added, "because the head of the factory begins to act as the owner and the workers begin to function as mere wage earners."

Both Guevara and Cuban President Fidel Castro, "showed that revolutionaries have to constantly engage in struggle," said Tablada. This is "because the transformation of people — socialism and communism — means you have to fight against all the individualistic ideas that have been drummed into us by centuries of class society."

The two leaders of the Cuban revolution came to realize that it was "precisely after taking power that the real battle began."

"This battle was — through education, not through coercion, through consciousness, not through bureaucratic methods — to lead the transformation of society, the people, and the leaders themselves who participate in the



Militant/Jon Hillson

May Day 1990 demonstration in Havana, Cuba. Cuban youth returning from internationalist missions in Africa come back to play a leading role in the revolutionary process.

World," explained the Cuban author, "but he stated that it was incapable of solving the problems of the men and women in the developed capitalist societies either."

By presenting Guevara's political and social ideas, not only his economic views, the book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* gives workers and youth in the United States a way forward in their struggles, Tablada said. "Che's writ-

Congo, where a struggle against a neocolonial regime was under way. In November 1966 he went to Bolivia to help lead a guerrilla detachment fighting Bolivia's military dictatorship. In October 1967 he was murdered by U.S.-trained Bolivian counterinsurgency troops.

'Economic accounting system'

Guevara was the first of the Cuban leaders who after 1959 visited the socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

"Che came back very impressed with what he had seen of the economic progress made in these countries," said Tablada, "but he also came back convinced that Cuba should not apply the methods being applied there."

What Guevara found was being practiced in those countries, Tablada pointed out, was "a very particular interpretation of socialism that was based solely on economic development and disregarded the education and the consciousness developed through the real participation of the mass of people in the revolutionary communist endeavor."

The method applied in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe was known as the "economic accounting" system.

"Che realized that this system was not simply an innocent economic system," explained Tablada, "but that with it came a philosophy." The economic accounting system, like the system used in capitalist societies, utilizes money as the main vehicle to motivate people, the Cuban author said.

While workers are the owners of the means of production, under the economic accounting system, Tablada explained, workers don't have a real say in the management of their factory or of their enterprise or of society as a whole. Guevara concluded that this system created a layer of technocrats and bureaucrats that usurped the real power that rightly belonged to the working people.

"Instead of lessening capitalist alienation,

revolutionary process," Tablada explained.

He noted that Guevara also sought to apply the most advanced accounting and other financial techniques from the multinational corporations that had been established in Cuba before 1959.

Voluntary labor was established to carry out social programs. During this period housing, schools, and hospitals were built through voluntary labor.

Voluntary labor — work done without pay either after regular work hours and on weekends or by special brigades that took extended leaves from their regular jobs — was also used to perform heavy agricultural work, which had not been mechanized yet.

"But after Che left," Tablada said, those measures that he had begun implementing were stopped and the "bureaucrats and technocrats who were trained in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe prevailed in running Cuba's economy.

"The technocrats then began to give money for that labor that had been done voluntarily," the Cuban author pointed out. "They began to corrupt the trade union leaders, the heads of factories, and the working class. The goods they were making began to lose their social content and profits became the main motor force of the economy."

Building schools, hospitals, and child-care centers were no longer a priority. "The construction of housing slowed down," Tablada said. "Housing up until that time was being built by a minibrigades system, where workers from other industries such as chemical workers, sugar workers, and mechanics, together with doctors and engineers, in a voluntary manner would take a year or two build housing."

But the bureaucrats let this system die, saying that these social problems would be solved through state enterprises and with money. "Thus they began to undermine the social consciousness gained by the Cuban

Che Guevara:

Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism

by Carlos Tablada

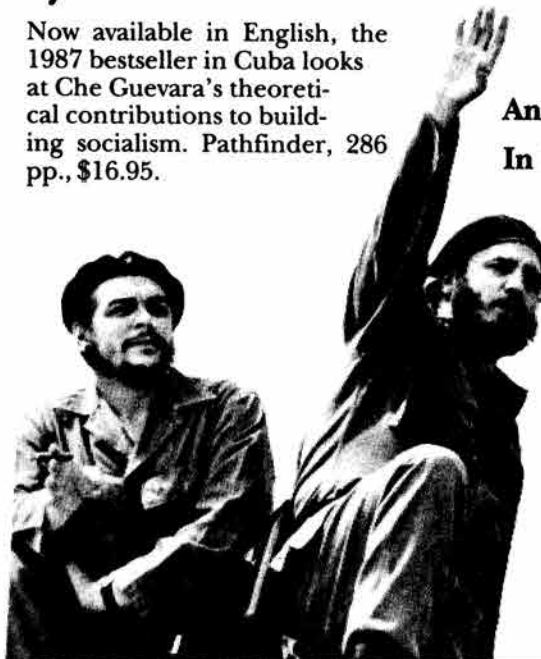
Now available in English, the 1987 bestseller in Cuba looks at Che Guevara's theoretical contributions to building socialism. Pathfinder, 286 pp., \$16.95.

And by Fidel Castro:

In Defense of Socialism Four Speeches on the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Castro explains his views on the lessons of 30 years of building socialism in Cuba; the prospects for socialism in today's world; internationalism; and many other topics. 142 pp., \$7.95.

"Cuba Will Never Adopt Capitalist Methods" Excerpts from Castro's July 26, 1988, speech. 32 pp., \$1.95.

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 for postage and handling.



Workers in the U.S. today'

people through their participation in the minibrigades."

Certain layers got richer. A farmers' market was set up in 1982, for example, that led to the creation of wealthy middlemen. A visual arts market was created that in a matter of months enriched a layer of dealers, Tablada added, as well as to the corruption of some government officials.

"This gave rise to feelings of apathy and discontent among Cuban working people and a decline in their consciousness," Tablada underlined.

Brake on liberation of women

The methods used by the technocrats were corroding many of the gains made during the early years of the revolution, said Tablada. For example, a brake was put on the struggle towards the emancipation of women and against racist oppression opened up with the 1959 triumph.

Why? "Because the technocrats did not think that building child-care centers was 'profitable,'" Tablada explained. "So during those 12 or so years, they built only about nine child-care centers."

But by 1986 there was a need for child care for 23,000 children and, at the rate of the economic plan established by the technocrats, it would take 100 years to build the child-care centers needed to accommodate these children.

One reason the technocrats gave for the delay was the lack of materials and construction workers to build these centers.

"So Castro went to the construction materials industry and he appealed to the workers there to work extra hours on a voluntary basis to produce the things needed to build the child-care centers," Tablada noted. Castro then went to the Cuban people as a whole and explained to them the need to integrate women into the work force, which the child care would make possible.

"Thousands joined the voluntary work brigades and in two years built 107 centers, something that would have taken 100 years to build under the plan set up by the bureaucrats," Tablada explained. The centers constructed in Havana met the needs of the 23,000 children.

These work brigades are also building housing, hospitals, and other social projects all over the country. This is what the rectification process is all about, Tablada noted. Through this process initiated in 1986, the Cuban people have undertaken the mobilization of the whole of society through consciousness and political education to correct the errors of the past and to move forward in the building of socialism.

Racial discrimination

Tablada discussed how the fight against racial discrimination has been stifled by the technocrats.

"One of the characteristics of capitalism in Cuba and in the rest of the world, especially the Third World, is the concentration of their investments mainly around the major cities," explained Tablada.

"In 1959 in my country, for example, with the exception of the sugar industry, 70 percent of Cuban industry was concentrated around the capital of Havana.

"The technocrats began to invest mainly in the major urban centers and neglected the countryside," Tablada noted. This was a departure from what was set up in the early years of the revolution under the leadership of Castro and Guevara.

During the period of Spanish colonial rule, Blacks were forcibly brought from Africa to work as slaves in the sugar plantations and other agricultural projects. After slavery was abolished in the 1880s, Blacks continued to be concentrated in the countryside under the poorest and most abject conditions. "Capitalism enslaved the Africans and did not provide them with adequate housing nor education," Tablada explained.

This was the legacy the revolution inherited from capitalism and that the new government at first attempted to overcome. "So when the technocrats began to reverse investments from the countryside to the cities, they reinforced the inequalities that existed before the triumph of the revolution and put a brake on the process of eliminating the vestiges of racist discrimination in my country."

Institutional, legal discrimination was outlawed in 1959, but the technocrats set back the fight against the subjective and economic aspects of racial oppression, Tablada said.

"It is important to note that while during the years that Che's ideas ceased to be applied to the economic system, Fidel and Che's ideas did guide Cuba in what became the most heroic pages written by Cubans in the history of international solidarity," stated Tablada.

It was during this period, from 1965 to the present, that "the internationalist sentiment of the Cuban people reached its highest peaks," he explained.

Some 150,000 Cubans participated in civilian missions in the Third World as doctors, teachers, construction workers, and so on. And 400,000 volunteers, taking up where Guevara left off, participated as soldiers in the fight against imperialist aggression in Africa, Tablada said.

"This was very significant," he continued, "because while during those 16 years the role of our people was being downplayed and corrupted in the economic sphere, the leaders and the workers themselves were making tremendous advances in human solidarity in the international arena."

"Today," Tablada said, "the money allocated for international aid represents 10 percent of our national budget. Almost \$100 a year per Cuban is given with no strings attached and free to some 100 countries around the world."

Role of youth

"These missions gave youth a chance to see firsthand how people live under capitalism," Tablada said.

Having been born or grown up after 1959, many of these youth knew of life under capitalism only through their parents, or through movies or videos. "Through these international missions they see the hunger, the backwardness, the exploitation, the cruelty that colonialism and neocolonialism is

imposing on the Third World," Tablada added.

Cuban youth returning from these missions come back to play a leading role in the revolutionary process.

One of the first proposals Castro made at the beginning of the rectification process was to open up the doors of the Communist Party to the youth. Thousands of youths between 19 and 23 years old have over the past few years entered the Cuban Communist Party directly.

Previously only those over 27 were eligible for party membership, explained Tablada. "Young workers and students under 27 could choose to join the Union of Young Communists, but the doors of the party were closed to them. This new influx of youth brings to the party fresher and more combative ideas."

In Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the youth are protesting what has been passed on to them as socialism and communism, "and rightly so," said Tablada. "In my country youth ask for more socialism. What they ask is for us to eliminate privilege and the aberration of what we implanted when we copied the system of the East European countries and the Soviet Union."

The rectification process has not taken place without a certain amount of resistance, explained Tablada. "There were those who as a result of the rectification process have lost privileges and — whether consciously or not — they have resisted the process," Tablada noted.

One of the characteristics of "our rectification has been that it is not a fight against individual people but rather a fight against ideas," he explained.

Prior to the congress of the Cuban workers' federation in February, for example, Castro "sent a call to the trade union leaders who were tied to the previous system, to change," Tablada pointed out. "But they didn't, so when the time came the workers replaced them."

"But like others, they were given a chance



Militant/A. White
Cuban author and economist Carlos Tablada

to change," Tablada added. During the past four years 20 ministers have been replaced also. "Others remain in their posts, because they either did not make any errors or because they decided to change."

It's important to note, Tablada stressed, that the people as a whole are gaining more power. "The leadership of the revolution is taking the necessary steps to give the people more power."

Since finishing his book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, Tablada, who is a professor at the University of Havana, has been working on a book on Guevara and the banking system. "This book will take up Che's work during the period 1959-61," Tablada explained. "This will be the second in a series of five books on Che's writings that I plan to work on."

Tablada has been invited to tour several Latin American countries. The Cuban author has accepted invitations to tour Britain and Sweden later this year.

Tour by Cuban economist stirs lively discussion on Cuba among students

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Most of those who heard Cuban economist and author Carlos Tablada during his six-week U.S. tour were young people on campuses in many parts of the country.

Common features of all these meetings were both the good attendance and the fact that these had been the largest political meetings held on these campuses in a long time.

"I just transferred to Bard this semester," said Rena, 19, "but after Tablada spoke here,

people were saying it was the biggest political event they had seen in years. Usually the normal number for a speaker or a film is 20 or so people, but 100 came to hear Tablada."

Tablada spoke at Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, on May 7. "The student population here is under 1,000," said Rena.

"After the talk there was a long discussion period," the Bard student pointed out. "Even after he left, a group of students continued informal discussion till midnight. People wanted to talk about what is going on in Cuba and Angola and about politics in general. It was very exciting."

Defending Cuban revolution

"Since then," Rena said, "several people have approached me on campus to find out how they can go to Cuba." This tour has opened up a lot of possibilities for doing work in defense of the Cuban revolution, she continued.

"It has also brought many people closer to the Young Socialist Alliance here," Rena pointed out. "They see it as the organization that is doing something in defense of Cuba and they like that." The Young Socialist Alliance was one of the campus groups that sponsored the meeting at Bard and at colleges around the country.

Next semester the YSA chapter at Bard is planning to show a video on the role of Cuban troops in the defeat of South Africa at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in 1988.

"The thing that struck me most," said Lisa Ahlberg from Los Angeles, "was the many young people from various countries that would come up to Tablada after his talk. Students from Ethiopia, Mexico, El Salvador, South Africa. I think this points to the impact of Cuba in the world and the interest young people from these countries have in Cuba."

Ahlberg was the tour coordinator in the Los Angeles area.

Several people came to hear Tablada more than once, Ahlberg explained. "Six students who heard Tablada speak at California State University-Los Angeles, for example, attended the closing reception Pathfinder hosted here for Tablada," she said. "One young woman, a domestic worker from Mexico, came to hear him four times."

Continuing discussions

At California State, 100 people heard Tablada's talk. "After the meeting about 30 students hung out for an hour to talk politics," Ahlberg said. "And after that a group of 17, including some members of the YSA, continued the discussion further over a pizza."

The YSA at California State is building a meeting for Ahlberg to talk about her recent two-week trip to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade, a U.S. organization in solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

Seventy students at Tufts University in Massachusetts attended Tablada's talk on April 30. "Awesome" was how one student described the event.

"After Tablada spoke, one of the students told me the talk helped him to rethink everything he had thought about Cuba in the past," said Claudia Kaiser-Lenoir, a professor at Tufts who introduced Tablada at the meeting.

"For me the meeting was great," said another Tufts student. Tablada's "great energy and knowledge coming from Cuba is a view you never hear. It gave me hope in keeping socialism alive and what the rectification is accomplishing. I'm reading his book."

At every campus meeting Tablada's book, *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, was prominently displayed. Many bought the book and had the Cuban author autograph it.

Good book sales spurred by tour

One measure of the impact of Carlos Tablada's tour was the number of people who bought his book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*.

A total of 508 copies were sold over the course of the six-week tour, 358 in English and 150 in Spanish.

The largest number of books were sold in Los Angeles (125), New York-New Jersey (65), Boston (60), Washington (58), and San Francisco Bay Area (44).

Bill Jungers, a volunteer at the Los Angeles Pathfinder bookstore, reports that many of those who attended the Tablada meetings were also interested in a broad range of other Pathfinder titles.

In all, Jungers reports, more than \$2,000 in revolutionary literature was sold at meetings Tablada addressed. With this boost, sales for the store for the month hit a record \$5,800.

Irish activists face Europe-wide frame-up

BY GRETÁR KRISTJÁNSSON

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — The governments of at least five European countries have become involved in the frame-up of two Irish political activists who are in a West German prison awaiting trial. Belgian, Dutch, Swedish, Icelandic, and West German authorities have all played some role in preparing the case against Gerard McGeough and Gerard Hanratty, two supporters of the struggle for a free and united Ireland.

The story begins with the arrest of McGeough and Hanratty on the border between West Germany and the Netherlands in August 1988. They were held because a weapon found in their car was allegedly used in the shooting of a British soldier in Ostend, Belgium.

After a week at the maximum security

prison in Frankenthal, located in the state of Rheinland-Pfalz, new charges were added. McGeough was taken from his cell and driven to the chief police station at Wiesbaden, about an hour's drive from the prison. "Dishevelled, unshowered, and disoriented," he explained in a letter later, "I was stood alongside four spruced-up German policemen. From behind a reflective glass partition, a number of people viewed us. The outcome of all this was that a Dutch second-hand car dealer 'positively' identified me as the man who bought a car from him 18 months earlier. Apparently, this car was subsequently used in a bomb attack, and on this 'evidence' I have been charged with the bombing."

McGeough and Hanratty were also charged with an attack on the quarters of

British army officers in Duisberg, West Germany, in 1988. This charge was subsequently dropped for lack of evidence.

In attempting to make the frame-up stick, the West German police sought the help of cops and governments in other European countries.

The coroner of Brugge, Belgium, who was investigating the shooting of the British soldier joined the effort by requesting that the Swedish police in Malmö, a major city in southern Sweden, conduct a raid on an apartment where McGeough had lived for several years until 1987. Nothing of substance was found during the search.

Subsequently, another search was made and this time the cops claimed they found confidential documents missed in the first raid. The materials allegedly include ref-

ugee protocols and accompanying documents related to political asylum applications McGeough made while staying in Sweden.

According to Swedish law, political asylum applications are subject to 50 years confidentiality. But the Swedish government brushed legal concerns aside and promptly sent the papers to Belgium. Within a short while they had worked their way to police authorities in West Germany, the Netherlands, and Britain. Icelandic police interrogated a political activist who had lived in Sweden for several years about McGeough. His name had appeared in McGeough's notes.

According to McGeough's lawyer, 90 percent of the "evidence" marshaled against him for the upcoming trial stem from the documents obtained in Sweden.

McGeough is concerned that handing over the documents sets a dangerous precedent. "I happen to believe asylum and other refugee documentation are a matter of the utmost confidentiality. There are millions of terrified, insecure refugees throughout the world," he said, "seeking political asylum and protection from despotic and tyrannical regimes; hundreds of thousands of these refugees have fled to Europe and tens of thousands can be found in Sweden. Their lives, in many cases, depend on their personal files being treated with discretion and confidentiality. Once, as appears to be the proposition, a precedent is set by using alleged confidential files (procured by the most unacceptable methods) as 'evidence' in a law court, then the fates of millions of helpless, frightened people are sealed."

McGeough is an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, which is organizing support for the political and union activist serving time in an Iowa state prison on frame-up charges.

McGeough urges that messages of protest be sent to Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson demanding the withdrawal of the Swedish documents as evidence in the frame-up trial. Messages can be sent to Carlsson at: Sveriges Riksdag, Rosenbad 4, S-103 33, Stockholm, Sweden. For further information contact: Ireland Solidaritet, c/o Infoladen, Suedanlag 20, 6300 Gissen, West Germany.

Britain's new law shows gov't caution in broader attack on abortion rights

BY MARY DONNELLY
AND MARCELLA FITZGERALD

LONDON — In a marathon series of votes April 24, the British Parliament overwhelmingly passed a reduction of the legal period during which abortions can be performed from 28 to 24 weeks. This restriction was included in an amendment to the Human Fertilization and Embryology Bill.

In practice, however, this will do little to change the availability of abortions. The new reduction of time limits for abortions by four weeks codifies what has existed in practice for some time due to licensing restrictions on abortion clinics.

Moreover, the law was actually liberalized in some respects. Abortions are now permitted up to term, if it can be shown that there would be grave permanent injury to the woman and substantial risk of total handicap to the child. Previously, no abortions at all were permitted after 28 weeks.

Significantly, doctors who terminate pregnancy in accordance with the new act will not be guilty of any offense. This removes a common objection of doctors in okaying late abortions.

Doctors were also reluctant to perform late abortions for fear of prosecution under the Infant Life Preservation Act. In 1988 only 23 abortions out of 183,798 were carried out after 24 weeks and then only for fetal abnormality or urgent reasons involving the life and health of the woman.

Despite these limited liberalization mea-

Poll prior to voting showed 80 percent think decision should be left to woman and her doctor.

sures, making abortion part of the law on embryo research has further reinforced the medical profession's control, rather than the woman's, over access to abortion. Moreover, it has tied abortions to spurious philosophical debates about when human life begins rather than placing it in the framework of women's rights.

This combination of changes reflects the government's caution in opening up a full-scale attack on abortion rights. Veteran pro-choice campaigner Dr. Wendy Savage revealed that an opinion poll conducted just prior to the voting showed that 80 percent of the public think that decisions on abortion should be left to the women and doctors involved. Small-scale, but widespread, demonstrations were organized in the weeks lead-

ing up to the vote.

A prochoice march on the evening prior to the vote was endorsed by the Trades Union Congress. Prominent women trade unionists in the national leadership of some 12 unions — including the two largest, the Transport and General Workers Union and the General and Municipal Workers Union and headed by TUC President Ada Maddox — made a public appeal to stop the proposed amendment.

To launch an attempt to take away the limited access to legal abortion established in 1967, which a whole generation has grown up with and viewed as a right, would bring new layers into struggle against the government and into political activity. It is a fight Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government no longer has the social support necessary to carry out, as the massive protests against the Poll Tax show. Although there was no governmental proposal on the new law, Thatcher and the majority of members of her government voted for the 24-week limit rather than the 18-week limit demanded by the reactionary "pro-life" lobby.

Coal miners win victory in 2-year fight

BY DOUG HORD

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — Union coal miners at Duquesne Light Co.'s Warwick No. 3 mine in southwestern Pennsylvania registered a victory when they ratified a new contract April 26.

Some 200 members of United Mine Workers of America Local 6310 were locked out in January 1988 when the company refused to sign the national coal bargaining pact negotiated between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. Soon after the company shut down operations entirely.

The new contract is the standard BCOA pattern agreement that includes the wage increases, health benefits, and safety provisions that other UMWA miners have. The pact also requires Duquesne Light to provide jobs at its power plants for miners it does not call back. The new contract expires the same time as other BCOA contracts in the East.

Solidarity held their local together in the two-year fight, explained UMWA Local 6310 President John DiBiase. "We became professional picketers. Wherever we were needed, we went."

The Duquesne miners saw the importance of solidarizing with the Eastern Airlines and Pittston Coal strikers early on in their battles last spring. The miners helped organize a tour of Eastern and Pittston strikers in the weeks leading up to a June labor solidarity rally that took place in Charleston, West Virginia, attended by 10,000 unionists and strike supporters.

A week later, during the six-week walkout by tens of thousands of union miners in solidarity with the Pittston fight, Duquesne miners, along with others in the area, organized a 5,000-strong solidarity rally in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

In July the Duquesne miners created quite a stir when they showed up in force at the Greater Pittsburgh International Air-

port in solidarity with Eastern strikers. And as recently as a week before voting on their new contract, Duquesne miners staffed a nearby picket line for local Steelworkers while they held a general membership meeting to discuss a contract offer with Freuhauf.

UMWA officer DiBiase said some 30 miners are now scheduled to picket Aloe Coal, a strip mine near the airport in Pittsburgh.

Many miners are confident that with the contract signed at Duquesne, they can help win the contract at Aloe.

UMWA miners there were replaced by scabs when they participated in the 1989 walkout supporting the Pittston strike. They had been working without a contract since January 1988. During the Duquesne lockout, Aloe shipped scab coal to the company's power plants.

Striking tree trimmers face felony charges in W. Virginia

BY MINDY BRUDNO
AND DONALD THOMPSON

FAIRMONT, W. Va. — Eight striking tree trimmers, arrested on felony charges of "malicious wounding" and "aiding and abetting" after a confrontation with scabs, face possible sentences of 2-10 years in prison. Since the arrests more than a month ago, the city, county, and state police have continued to harass the strikers, and the local media has portrayed the confrontation as an unprovoked attack by the tree trimmers against scabs. The strikers point out that the incident occurred when a foreman pulled a club out of his truck to provoke pickets.

Some 700 union tree trimmers were forced out on strike throughout the state of West Virginia in January when Asplundh Tree Expert Co. attempted to slash wages and benefits, change their seniority system, and introduce a probationary period for new hires. The tree trimmers are members of the International Union of Electronic workers locals 756 and 732.

Asplundh is one of two contractors that vie for agreements with Monongahela Power, an electrical utility, to trim trees along the

power lines. The work is difficult and dangerous and the average wages earned by tree trimmers in West Virginia is about \$2 an hour less than neighboring states.

The attacks on the union began in earnest after Asplundh won the 1990 contract with Monongahela Power by underbidding its competitor by \$2 million. Then the contractor announced that the savings necessary to make the competitive bid would have to come from the workers.

In February the National Labor Relations Board cited Asplundh for unfair labor practices. No action has since been taken by the board to enforce the ruling against the tree-trimming contractor.

Since January, three unionists have been struck by vehicles driven by scabs and shots were fired into the home and car of another striker. Scabs have repeatedly brandished weapons at strikers. When these violations are reported to the police, no action is taken.

Shortly after the strike began, U.S. District Judge Dennis Knapp issued a restraining order limiting the number of pickets to five at any one site. Asplundh responded by increasing the scab work crews to 20.



G.M. Cookson

Abortion bill reduced legal period for abortion, liberalized other aspects of law.

Worker and peasant uprisings sweep Eastern Europe after World War II

BY PETER THIERJUNG
(Sixth of a series)

Beginning in 1944, a social revolution swept east and central Europe. By the end of the decade the economic and political power of the capitalist ruling classes had been destroyed from Poland in the north to Yugoslavia and Albania in the south. Social relations were fundamentally transformed.

Mass uprisings of workers and peasants smashed the capitalist police and armies. Capitalist property relations were later overturned. Basic industry and banks were nationalized. A state monopoly on foreign trade was instituted. These social relations continue to exist today.

In the last four articles in this series we examined the October 1917 Russian revolution and the bureaucratic counterrevolution led by Joseph Stalin that followed. The next articles will outline how these two historical developments marked the overturn of capitalism in Eastern Europe.

Soviet Union in World War II

In June 1941 German imperialist armies commanded by the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union. They penetrated deep into Soviet territory and laid siege to the cities of Leningrad and Stalingrad. Germany's imperialist rulers were determined to crush the resistance of the Soviet workers and peasants and carry out a capitalist counterrevolution to exploit the country's labor and resources.

Stalin's reactionary foreign and domestic policies had substantially weakened the Soviet Union, leaving a question as to whether the country's nationalized property relations would survive the imperialist onslaught. These policies included the disastrous forced collectivization of agriculture, the reversal of Lenin's policies toward the oppressed nationalities, the state terror against workers and peasants, and the elimination of some 25,000 military officers in bloody purge trials, effectively decapitating the Soviet army on the eve of the war.

Despite the Stalinist bureaucracy and with overwhelming odds against them, the Soviet workers and peasants, waged tremendous battles against the fascist invaders. Beginning with its defeat at Stalingrad in January 1943, the German army was driven back. This

victory was won at enormous cost. More than 20 million people in the Soviet Union perished in World War II, and many more were maimed or injured.

The Soviet army drove German military forces out of the Soviet Union and in 1944-45 moved into Eastern Europe. This inspired workers and peasants in other countries that had been occupied and brutalized by German troops. Everywhere Soviet forces were initially greeted as liberators.

Soviet victories spark uprisings

In Bulgaria the advance of the Soviet army sparked a massive uprising that swept the existing government from power in September 1944. "Soldiers' councils have been set up, officers have been degraded, red flags hoisted, and normal saluting abolished," the Oct. 7, 1944, London *Economist* reported. Other dispatches reported red flags flying over government buildings and thousands of homes. Armed militias arrested fascists, huge demonstrations were held, and a railway strike paralyzed all activity.

What happened "was not a mere change of ministries, but a change of government," wrote Ilya Ehrenberg in *European Crossroad*. "The whole governmental apparatus of the fascists was destroyed. . . . In Bulgaria, 11,000 fascists, including diplomats, courtiers, glamour girls, and profiteers, were handed over to the tribunals as war criminals."

Reports of similar upsurges came from Romania and Hungary. "None of the old town councils or municipal assemblies remained; the new political order substituted for them . . . 'national committees,' with unlimited power," Ferenc Nagy, the Hungarian prime minister in 1946-47, wrote. "The national committees managed the scant food supply; few aspects of daily life escaped their control. This situation was not peculiar to Hungary."

Czechoslovakia in May 1945 was the scene of a "revolution," the Feb. 9, 1946, London *Economist* reported. "Councils were established in every town, village, and hamlet." Workers committees took control over almost all factories in the country. "The councils and committees possessed, in reality, far more actual power than did the central government," the *Economist* said. Capitalists who had failed to oppose the Nazis were expropriated, leaving the majority of banks, mines, and factories without owners. Estates and land holdings of Nazi-collaborators were confiscated without compensation.

In East Germany, where the Nazi propaganda machine sought to incite fear of the Russian forces, Soviet troops were greeted by mass demonstrations. Workers seized factories and settled accounts with Nazi managers.

In Yugoslavia and Albania, guerrilla forces with popular support, known as "partisans," had organized resistance to the German occupiers and led popular revolutions. Before the end of the war in 1945, the partisans had indisputable control in both countries and headed provisional governments.

Kremlin aims to derail revolts

For the Kremlin, however, these revolutionary uprisings were a threat to Stalin's policy of accommodation with the Soviet Union's wartime allies — the imperialist governments of the United States and Britain. This policy was based on deals struck between Moscow, Washington, and London to divide Europe into spheres of influence, with the goal of preventing revolution and the overturn of capitalism.

Moscow hoped that such a trade-off would secure the Soviet Union's borders. When the working classes of France and Italy rose up in revolt at the end of the war, the Stalinist Communist Parties rejected taking power and leading workers and peasants in overturning



Czechoslovaks atop a tank greet Soviet troops in Prague on May 9, 1945. A revolution swept the country. Workers committees were established in almost all factories and in towns and villages.

capitalism. Instead they shored up capitalist governments with their support.

The Stalinist bureaucracy also feared the potential challenge postwar revolutionary uprisings across Europe posed to its power inside the Soviet Union. Throughout Eastern Europe the prestige of the Communist Parties, which had often led the underground resistance to the Nazis, and the Soviet army were used by Moscow to derail the uprisings, disarm workers and peasants, and establish coalition governments with capitalist forces.

In Warsaw, Poland, an insurrection against German occupation troops occurred on Aug. 1, 1944. With improvised weapons and homemade hand grenades, the men, joined by women and children, fought. A coalition, including the Communist Party, led the revolt. Within two days the German troops lost control of most of the city. On August 15 the Polish Council of National Unity announced the goals of the insurrection: agrarian reform, nationalization of key industries, participation of workers in management of enterprises, and workers' control of industrial production.

Soviet forces were, however, deliberately held back and were not allowed to aid the insurgents, even though they were within 50 miles of Warsaw and able to provide air support and supplies. After 63 days Warsaw fell. German troops destroyed the city house by house, and 240,000 of its residents were slaughtered. Another 630,000 were deported by the German authorities.

Despite the betrayal, workers took over factories and peasants seized land once Soviet troops took Warsaw in 1945, ending the German occupation of Poland.

'No Balkan repetitions of 1917'

Moscow's reaction was similar throughout Eastern Europe.

"If certain Communists continue their present conduct, we will bring them to reason. Bulgaria will remain with her democratic government and present order," Vyacheslav Molotov, in charge of Soviet foreign affairs, told Bulgarian rebels. And to make things clear, he added, "You must retain all valuable army officers from before the coup d'état. You should reinstate in service all officers who have been dismissed for various reasons."

The Bulgarian minister of war followed up with an order to his country's troops to "return immediately to normal discipline, to abolish soldiers' councils, and to hoist no more red flags," the *Economist* reported. Soviet Marshal Feodor Tolbukhin, who had "no patience with Balkan repetitions of 1917," was placed in supreme command of these troops, the newspaper added. On Sept. 21, 1944, a *New York Times* correspondent in Sofia, Bulgaria, reported, "Communist leaders are doing everything they can to prevent extremists in the party from agitating for Sovietization of the country."

Faced with a mass revolt on one side and the avenging Soviet Army on the other, Romanian capitalists and landlords organized a government coup on Aug. 23, 1944, under the leadership of King Michael, the Roma-

nian monarch.

The king suddenly appeared in the guise of a great "democrat." He denounced the previous pro-German government policy and set up a new coalition "People's Front" cabinet, composed of capitalist parties and headed by a reactionary army general. The Stalinists scrambled to enter the cabinet and helped provide the landlord-capitalist government with a new lease on life. Rebel workers were quickly suppressed with the help of the Soviet Army.

Romanian capitalists who had collaborated with the Nazis were initially left untouched. The minister of justice, a leader of the Communist Party, even drew up a law that allowed these industrialists, business men, and bankers to escape punishment as war criminals.

In Czechoslovakia, Bohumil Lausman, a Stalinist who became minister of industry, argued with representatives of the workers' factory committees that their control over production should be limited. Upon his return from a trip to Moscow he told them that they were exceeding their authority and pointed out that in the Soviet Union the factory manager was supreme.

The Czechoslovak government also instituted chauvinist policies that included deporting 3 million Germans, as well as some of the Hungarians who were living in the country. They were scapegoated as the source of Czechoslovakia's problems.

The Soviet army's pillage and plunder of Eastern Europe contributed to the difficulties workers and peasants faced. As much as 20 percent of Czechoslovak industry, 30 percent of Polish industry, and a third of the industrial equipment of East Germany was hauled to the Soviet Union. This stirred outrage, forcing Moscow to withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia and in some cases to return industrial installations.

Despite Stalinist treachery, the workers' and peasants' uprisings in Eastern Europe had dealt serious blows to capitalism by 1946. Much of the old ruling classes had been rooted out for collaboration with imperialist Germany and Nazi occupation forces. Most factories and mines held by capitalists who aided the Nazis had been nationalized. Capitalist armies and police forces had been broken up.

The Stalinists and Soviet army had demobilized workers and peasants across Eastern Europe. They succeeded in patching together governments under their control with the remaining capitalist elements. They operated nationalized factories within the framework of capitalist economies. But they were not able to buy long-term stability. Within a short period a sharpening conflict with world imperialism rocked these jerry-rigged regimes and led to the complete expropriation of the capitalist classes in Eastern Europe.

In our next article we will examine the cold war launched by the imperialists, the overturn of capitalism in Eastern Europe in the late 1940s, and the consolidation of bureaucratic castes there.

(To be continued)

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CALIFORNIA

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Report from South Africa. Talk and slideshow by Greg McCartan, *Militant* correspondent who recently reported on the upheaval in South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

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Report from South Africa. Talk and slideshow by Greg McCartan, *Militant* correspondent who recently reported on the upheaval in South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave., Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (415) 420-1165.

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Report from South Africa. Talk and slideshow presentation by Margrethe Siem, *Militant* photographer and correspondent who recently covered upheaval in South Africa. Sat., May 26. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. Donations: dinner \$3, forum \$5. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

How to Fight Racist and Anti-Semitic Attacks: From Maryland Skinheads to Bensonhurst, New York. A panel discussion. Sat., June 2. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donations: dinner \$3; forum \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MICHIGAN

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Stop Poisoning the Environment! Activists discuss the fight against corporate and government polluters. Speakers: Sue Weaver, Riga Citizens Action Commission; Kim Maxwell, Freeland; representatives from Evergreen Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m.

5019½ Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Socialist Campaign Hog Roast and Picnic Fund-Raiser. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Minnesota governor. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 27, 2-8 p.m. Farm northwest of Dexter. Donation: \$5, children \$2.50. Sponsor: Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For directions and more information call (507) 433-3461.

Defend Translation Rights for Workers Who Don't Speak English. Speakers: Alfredo Lares, co-coordinator Community Equality Action Committee of Albert Lea; Gale Shargold, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 9; Henry Zamarron, member United Auto Workers Local 2125 and Citizens Alliance for Racial Equality in Rochester; Dale Chidester, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 9. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 3, 7 p.m. 407 ½ N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Speak Out Against Police Brutality. Panel with Rev. Helen Saunders, Christlove Community Church; Carolyn Booker, mother of victim of police brutality; Lee Oleson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Nebraska governor. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 2. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation requested. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Tear Down the Korean Wall! U.S. Troops Out of South Korea! Speakers: Seung Yoon, Young Koreans United; Peter Thierjung, *Mili-*

Role of unions in workers' struggles

Continued from page 5

recruiting membership, cannot offer a finished revolutionary program; in consequence, they cannot replace the party. The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth International is the central task of the transitional epoch.

(b) Trade unions, even the most powerful, embrace no more than 20 to 25 percent of the working class, and at that, predominantly the more skilled and better-paid layers. The more oppressed majority of the working class is drawn only episodically into the struggle, during a period of exceptional upsurges in the labor movement. During such moments it is necessary to create organizations ad hoc, embracing the whole fighting mass: strike committees, factory committees, and finally, soviets.

(c) As organizations expressive of the top layers of the proletariat, trade unions, as witnessed by all past historical experience, including the fresh experience of the anarcho-sindicalist unions in Spain, developed powerful tendencies toward compromise with the bourgeois-democratic regime. In periods of acute class struggle the leading bodies of the trade unions aim to become masters of the mass movement in order to render it harmless. This is already occurring during the

period of simple strikes, especially in the case of the mass sit-down strikes, which shake the principle of bourgeois property. In time of war or revolution, when the bourgeoisie is plunged into exceptional difficulties, trade union leaders usually become bourgeois ministers.

Advancing militant leaders

Therefore, the sections of the Fourth International should always strive not only to renew the top leadership of the trade unions, boldly and resolutely in critical moments advancing new militant leaders in place of routine functionaries and careerists, but also to create in all possible instances independent militant organizations corresponding more closely to the tasks of mass struggle against bourgeois society; and if necessary, not flinching even in the face of a direct break with the conservative apparatus of the trade unions. If it be criminal to turn one's back on mass organizations for the sake of fostering sectarian fictions, it is no less so to passively tolerate subordination of the revolutionary mass movement to the control of openly reactionary or disguised conservative ("progressive") bureaucratic cliques. Trade unions are not ends in themselves; they are but means along the road to proletarian revolution.

CHICAGO

Rally to Demand Justice for Mark Curtis

Hear:

Kate Kaku

leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife who just completed a tour of seven European countries and Canada and attended this year's session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva

Paul Chalmers

education and training officer, Northern Hotel, Hospital, Restaurant and Related Trades Employees, Industrial Union of Workers, Auckland, New Zealand

and others

Saturday, June 9, 7:30 p.m.

Bismarck Hotel, Pavilion Room, 171 Randolph

Donation: \$5

Sponsor: Chicago supporters of Mark Curtis Defense Committee

tant staff writer. Translation to French and Spanish. Sat., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

Support the Domsey Strikers! The mainly Haitian and Latino workers on strike at Domsey Trading Corp. want to be represented by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Show the bosses that New York stands with the strikers. Rally Thurs., May 31, noon to 1 p.m. at the Domsey garment shop, 431 Kent Ave. Sponsor: ILGWU Local 99. For more information call Ed Vargas (212) 929-2600.

The Fight for Justice for Yusuf Hawkins. Speaker: Ed Warren, Socialist Workers Party, activist in the fight for justice for Yusuf Hawkins and member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 174. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Current Stage in the Struggle Against Apartheid. Speaker: Solly Simelane, deputy representative, African National Congress of South Africa observer mission to UN. Sat., May 26. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

BRITAIN

Cardiff

One World: Marxism and Environmental Issues. Speaker: Frank Alexander. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

London

Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose. Fri., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 71-928-7947.

Manchester

Africa: "The Roar of Women's Silence." Celebration of the publication of the new Pathfinder pamphlet *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* by Thomas Sankara. Speaker: Pam Holmes. Wed., May 30, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield

The Poll Tax. Speaker: Ruth Haswell, Communist League. Wed., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Montréal

Eastern Airlines and Greyhound Strikes: Workers Fight Union-Busting. Panel discussion. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto

Germany Reunited? Which Way Forward for Working People? Speaker: Margaret Manwaring, Communist League Central Committee, member Canadian Auto Workers Local 1967. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver

Defend Framed-Up Unionist Mark Curtis. Speakers: Kate Kaku, leader of Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife; Clair Culhane, Prisoners' Rights Group; Pam Frache, former British Columbia chairperson Canadian Federation of Students; George Lai, African National Congress; Frances McQueen, member, Amnesty International; Mike Barber, member Provincial Executive of Hospital Employees' Union. Sat., June 2. Reception, 7 p.m.; meeting, 8 p.m. Langara Student Union Building, Vancouver Community College, 100 W 49th Ave. (southwest corner of campus, access through west doors). Donation: \$5. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

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SWEDEN

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

British beef? Nyet — It was to be a classic British roast beef dinner when Gorbachev and Thatcher dine at a trade festival banquet in Kiev. But Soviet security was nervous



Harry Ring

about the reports of meat from brain-diseased British cattle turning up in the markets. The menu will feature Argentine beef.

Mental and social giants —

Five Boston stockbrokers periodically do lunch together and take turns paying the tab. The rule is that each check must be bigger than previous. The last was \$3,600, mostly for wines. One of the five advises, "We work hard and we play hard, but we do it in such a fashion that it keeps us big mentally. That's the bottom line, keeping ourselves big mentally."

Sheer coincidence — A study found that flour mill workers who handle pesticides are nine times more likely to get cancer than their coworkers. The director of the study cautioned, "We have a suspicion that it's the result of pesticide exposure, but that isn't proven yet."

Law 'n order, Israeli style — Israeli military authorities in the West Bank ordered the people of al-Shawamreh to destroy a one-room mortuary in the village cemetery on the ground that it was built without a license.

But the care is so good — Chief execs in the health-care industry were the highest paid of all bosses last year. Their median income (half above, half below) was \$1.42 million.

Piece-work quota — In Winnipeg, Ontario, Robert Brown got hit crossing the street. A cop rushed to the scene, and gave him a \$27 jaywalking ticket. Brown, who was

bruised and bleeding, says, "So I asked the policeman why he was giving me a ticket, and he said if he didn't, he'd get in trouble with his sergeant."

Color me green — Alpo pet foods said its cat food will only contain tuna caught with nets that don't snare dolphins.

Not to hurry — For 15 years, the New York legislature did nothing about a 40-mile stretch of toxic PCB sludge in the Hudson River. Now it's voted to continue doing nothing until the feds review the problem. That will take 18 months minimum. If cleanup then begins, it won't be done until the end of the century.

GE: Bringing good things to life — That do-nothing vote by New York legislators was prompted by General Electric, which had been dumping the poisonous PCBs into the Hudson for 30 years and frets that it might be billed for the cleanup. But GE does have a plan: Leave the stuff lay there and, over time, assertedly, it will become harmless.

Sociology dep't — Noting that personal debt has doubled in the past decade, a British study established that rich people have the most credit, and that poor people with children are at the greatest risk of running up debts they can't pay.

Boycott of Korean stores damages antiracist fight

BY RONI McCANN

NEW YORK — After Ghislaine Felissaint, a 46-year-old Haitian woman, refused to let clerks in the Family Red Apple market inspect her shopping bag on January 18, she was assaulted. Store owner Bong Jae Jang was charged with a third-degree misdemeanor in the attack and is currently awaiting trial.

But that didn't end the matter. A boycott was initiated of Family Red Apple, located in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn, and another Korean-owned store across the street

NEWS ANALYSIS

where Family Red Apple clerks ran after the attack. The protest, which continues today, has drawn a handful of demonstrators during the weekdays, more on the weekends, and a few hundred for special rallies.

The actions are organized by the Flatbush Coalition for Economic Empowerment and the Frontline Collective, a group made up of Flatbush residents and members of the Brooklyn chapter of the December 12 Movement, including Sonny Carson, who plays a leading role. A new group supporting the boycott, the Committee for a Cohesive Flatbush, was formed May 19.

The protests have escalated into a full-fledged anti-Asian campaign that does nothing to advance the fight against racist attacks, like the one Felissaint suffered. In fact, it does grave damage to that fight.

The mistreatment of Felissaint at the Family Red Apple market occurred at a time when racist abuse, racist attacks by vigilantes, and racist violence by police — ongoing occurrences — are increasingly being met with widespread indignation, disgust, and protests. Growing layers of working people — whites, Blacks, Latinos, Asian-Americans, and others — are outraged by this violence and can be drawn into an effective fight against it — on the job, on college campuses, and in the community.

In New York City recent protests of the murder of Yusuf Hawkins stand on the gains made when three whites were convicted of manslaughter in the 1986 lynch-mob killing of Michael Griffith in the Howard Beach neighborhood in Queens.

After the August 1989 murder of Hawkins in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn, thousands of people, mostly Blacks and Latinos, took to the streets demanding and winning indictments of the racist killers.

In April tens of thousands of Haitians poured into the streets of New York protesting a racist federal ban on their donating blood. This action forced the government to reconsider and inspired and set an example for all working people.

Victories such as these help break down racist attitudes and practices, increase the confidence of Blacks and other victims of racist abuse, and strengthen the struggles of the working class as a whole.

As victims of racist violence reach out and win allies — in a fight to demand justice — their action generates resistance from those who want to maintain their white enclaves such as Howard Beach and Bensonhurst. The more gains that are made and the stronger the protests, the more those who are a minority get pushed back and isolated.

Racist abuse anywhere — whether it be on the job, at recreation sites, in hospitals,

government offices, or at school — is intolerable.

This includes mistreatment and racist abuse and harassment by shopkeepers, such as the one who assaulted Felissaint in Flatbush. Perpetrators of these acts should be prosecuted and penalized.

Rulers sow divisions

In order to counter attempts at organizing an effective fight against racist attacks and abuse, the capitalist rulers foster divisions among working people along many lines, including racial.

In the case of the boycott of two Korean-owned stores, the ruling rich take advantage of the anti-Asian character of the protests and use it to fan the flames of what they label "racial tensions" among working people. And they attempt to divert the line of fire away from them and their government by pushing the line that everybody is racist, even Blacks.

On the Brooklyn picket lines protesters at the Korean markets hand out leaflets that warn Blacks not to shop "with people who do not look like us." Slogans chanted include, "Fortune cookie say no money today," "Blood-suckers," and "Don't buy from Koreans!"

Not all residents of Flatbush support the boycott and a small number of working people who are disgusted with the action have made a point to enter the store. One elderly Black woman said protesters called her "Aunt Jemima" and threatened her. Fred McCray, a Black high school teacher that works just a few blocks from the Family Red Apple, led his class into the store to protest the boycott. Since then he has requested to be transferred saying he and his family had received death threats.

And the *City Sun*, a Brooklyn weekly oriented toward the Black community, editorialized against the course that the boycott has taken. "This is no longer a boycott," the editors wrote, "this is a political payback, a scandalous settling of scores with the 'system' by a small clique within the leadership ranks who would supplant just about any legitimate issue in furtherance of their closet agenda."

The anti-Korean campaign goes in the opposite direction of what is needed to fight racist attacks and advance the struggle of all working people today: striving for a united fight that can bring the greatest possible weight to bear on the capitalist rulers and their government, including the weight of labor unions.

A campaign that tries to pit Blacks against Asians and others who suffer abuse and discrimination based on the color of their skin only hurts the fight against racism and for Black rights.

"It is unfortunate and sad to see two races who have suffered so long, hurting each other instead of helping," said John Kim of the Human Rights Committee, Korean Association of New York at a May 22 rally of 5,000 initiated by Mayor David Dinkins.

"We too have suffered," he said, "we lost our freedom long ago to colonialism and we suffered through the bloody Korean War."

Korean shopkeepers, or any other shopkeepers for that matter, are not the enemies of working people nor are they responsible

for the oppression of Blacks. In targeting the wrong enemy, the real culprit of racist violence is let completely off the hook — the ruling rich who run this country and the representatives who serve them in the federal, state, and local government. It is their system of capitalism that reinforces economic exploitation and racist oppression.

By waging a reactionary fight against potential allies — such as small shopkeepers — the working class is disarmed of its best weapons — clarity and unity.

Potential fighters against racism, and working people in general, are mostly repelled by the anti-Asian campaign. It sows confusion about what is really needed to wage a successful struggle against racism and confusion about who our main enemy is.

Exploited by banks, landlords

Moreover, the Korean-owned grocery boycott serves to divide wage workers from shopkeepers, who are also exploited.

Small merchants are exploited by the banks, landlords, and big food and produce monopolies that rig prices.

Kim Sung Soo, president of the Korean-American Small Business Service Center of New York, Inc. estimated that last year rent increases for stores averaged 43 percent. "We feel like we are being extorted," said Kim, adding that the small merchants are "completely unprotected by the rent system in New York City."

Making ends meet for most shopkeepers means working long hours every week. A 1988 Office for Economic Development study in New York City reported the typical Korean grocer employs two other family members and each of the trio works 11 hours a day, six days a week.

The ruling capitalists seek to fool shopkeepers into believing they are more like them — businessmen and women and prop-

erty owners whose interests are completely contrary to the working people who frequent their stores.

But of course neighborhood shopkeepers — whether they are Korean, white, Black, Puerto Rican, or Arab — are in a completely different boat than the big-business owners of industry and the banks. The more small store owners buy into the illusion that they are like capitalists, however, the more they place themselves in sharp antagonism to working people.

Instead of fighting against shopkeepers, working people should attempt to forge a united struggle against the worsening effects of a capitalist system in crisis. Small shopkeepers need access to low-interest loans and reduced rents. Waging a fight for these demands can help unite wage workers and small store owners.

Fuels anti-Semitism

Anti-Korean and anti-Asian campaigns are part of a general campaign against shopkeepers and, as often happens with campaigns against small merchants, the one in Brooklyn fueled anti-Semitic attacks.

The New Afrikan People's Organization, for example, distributed a leaflet for Malcolm X's birthday — May 19 — that states there are opportunist "political pimps who buck dance to the tune of the Jewish/zionist gang who control 'Jew York.'"

This nefarious, reactionary propaganda — which has absolutely nothing to do with Malcolm X's views — only enhances efforts by the ruling rich to maintain prejudices and divisions in the working class in an attempt to successfully thwart any common struggle.

The fight against racist violence, which is a fight in the interests of all working people, can only be successful if the broadest layers of workers, youth, and other antiracist fighters are mobilized.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSLETTER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

May 30, 1980

MIAMI, May 21 — Thirty-six hundred National Guard troops and an equal number of cops have occupied this city's Black community for four days. Sixteen people, almost all Blacks, have been killed. Three hundred have been wounded, 1,000 arrested.

The exoneration of the cops who killed Arthur McDuffie last year was what triggered a rebellion here May 17. A Black insurance sales executive, McDuffie died in a coma December 21 after having been bludgeoned by a pack of Dade County cops. He was riding his motorcycle when cops set after him. McDuffie tried unsuccessfully to out-distance them.

The cops caught him, threw him to the ground, cut off his crash helmet, and clubbed him to death.

Saturday, after an all-white Tampa jury freed the cops who murdered McDuffie, youth here poured into the streets immediately. At eight o'clock that night, in response to a call by the NAACP, 7,000 people gathered at the County Justice Building for a protest demonstration.

The outraged crowd carried placards that declared "Justice in America is a damn lie"

and "Where is justice for the Black man in America?"

From the Justice Building the crowd marched to the nearby Dade County Public Safety Building. There people smashed in the plate glass window of the police building.

Squads of SWAT cops appeared from behind. They charged in with clubs, tear gas, and attack dogs. Miami's rebellion was on.

Fires raged through the sprawling Black community for three nights.

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
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The Supreme Court unanimously upheld the suit of Corliss Lamont against the postmaster general of the United States. The court held unconstitutional a federal law that requires persons sent "Communist political propaganda" from abroad to make a special request for its delivery. In this test case of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Lamont, who is ECLC's chairman, was represented by Leonard Boudin, the general counsel of the committee.

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Jail all Bensonhurst attackers!

The May 17 conviction of Joseph Fama of second-degree murder in the racist killing of Yusuf Hawkins is a victory for all working people and antiracist fighters.

Fama, a 19-year-old white youth from the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn, in addition to being convicted of murder with "depraved indifference for human life," was found guilty of six lesser charges. He faces a jail term of 25 years to life.

Fama was part of a lynch mob of 30 to 40 youths, seven of whom were indicted, who chased, beat, and fatally shot Hawkins, a 16-year-old Black youth, last August 23 in Bensonhurst. Hawkins and three friends had gone to the neighborhood to look at a used car advertised in a newspaper.

The victory in winning conviction of Fama, however, was partially offset by the acquittal of Keith Mondello on murder charges the next day. He was accused of being the ringleader in the lynching, but convicted only on lesser charges. This means that a redoubled effort is necessary to win murder convictions against every one of the attackers who still face trial.

The potential to score such victories in the fight against racist violence today is greater than it has been for some time. The majority of working people are outraged and disgusted by such assaults and could be won to effective mobilizations demanding that perpetrators of racist abuse and murder be sent to jail.

Over the last year, opponents of racist violence have mounted numerous protests demanding action be taken in cases of racist assault, including those by killer cops.

On December 7 Miami cop William Lozano was convicted of two counts of manslaughter in the January 1989 killing of two young Black men and is now serving a seven-year sentence. Lozano shot at the youths as they were riding a motorcycle on Martin Luther King Day. Following the killings thousands of working people in the Black community of Overtown rose up in protest for several days. They kept the pressure on, winning a conviction and rallying when the verdict came down. It was the first time a conviction had been won in a series of killings by cops in Florida in recent years.

In Texas three cops were recently convicted and sentenced in the racist murder of Loyal Garner, a 34-year-old Black truck driver; another cop was found guilty in the

shooting of a Black woman in Houston; and still another cop has been charged in the shooting death of a Black security guard.

In New York City the fight for justice for Hawkins stands on the shoulders of the successful fight that won convictions in the 1986 Howard Beach case. Two Black men were severely beaten by a gang of armed whites and a third, Michael Griffith, was killed by a car while running from the assailants. The racist attack was protested by thousands, forcing the appointment of a special prosecutor. Three of the attackers were convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to five to 30 years in jail.

After Hawkins was murdered, protests condemning the lynching and demanding justice erupted. Thousands of working people, mostly Blacks and Latinos, poured into the streets of Brooklyn. The protests showed the anger and widespread indignation of working people to racist violence — and the capacity to mobilize against such violence.

The fight against racism, which is a fight that is in the interests of all working people, can be won by uniting the biggest and broadest forces — Blacks, Latinos, Asian-Americans, Arabs, other victims of racist oppression, and whites — around demands aimed at the government and their police to prosecute, convict, and jail all perpetrators of racist attacks.

Many struggles today point to the potential for a united fight against racism. There have been mass outpourings of Haitians in New York, Miami, and Boston protesting discriminatory treatment. There is an upsurge of sit-ins, rallies, and other actions across the country by students taking a stand against racist professors and administration policies, racist attacks, and discriminatory admissions practices. In the labor movement, struggles are erupting that are uniting workers of different races and nationalities in a common fight — whether against union-busting at Eastern Airlines or to win union recognition in a New York garment shop.

This all shows that a united fight now that demands justice for Yusuf Hawkins can win the conviction and jailing of every single one of his attackers. The cold-blooded and racist murder of Hawkins is an affront to all working people, youth, and defenders of civil rights. We have a stake in seeing to it that all his assailants are behind bars.

Right of appeal under assault

"Today we have a serious malfunction in our legal system," said U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist recently, speaking before a law conference in Washington, D.C. Few working people and other supporters of democratic rights and civil liberties would disagree.

For Rehnquist, however, the "malfunction" is that the length of time from when a sentence of death is imposed by a court to the date that sentence is carried out is too long — between seven and eight years.

Rehnquist and others in U.S. ruling circles are pushing hard for broader, more rapid use of the death penalty. They want to slash the time between sentencing and execution by changing federal law to severely limit the ability of those on death row to appeal their cases through the federal courts. Now, through what is known as a habeas corpus petition, a prisoner is able to challenge the constitutionality of his or her conviction or sentence. There are no limits on the number of such petitions a death row inmate can file or on the time within which they must be filed.

As a result, more than half of all state court death sentences have been overturned by federal habeas corpus petitions in recent years. This is what Rehnquist and Congress want to change.

The proposed limits on death penalty appeals are part of a package of "anti-crime" legislation now being debated in Congress, much of which — if passed — would move further in the direction of curtailing democratic rights. Both Democrats and Republicans agree on extending the death penalty to seven new "crimes," bringing the total of federal capital offenses to 30. Another provision would permit the use of illegally seized evidence under certain conditions.

Different variants of the basic proposal to curtail the right of federal appeal of death penalty convictions are being debated. One proposal, sponsored by South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond, would prohibit any federal appeal by a prisoner whose case had received a "full and fair adjudica-

tion" in state court. Thurmond is also sponsoring legislation, based on the recommendations of a judicial committee headed by retired Supreme Court justice Lewis Powell, that would allow a defendant only one federal appeal, except on the sole question of guilt or innocence. Another measure, which has bipartisan support, would require federal appeals to be filed within one year of exhausting state appeals.

Rehnquist's drum-beating for more executions follows on the heels of several recent Supreme Court decisions that have already made the death penalty, now on the books in 37 states, easier to implement.

Earlier this year, the court decided to limit certain types of appeals, including of death penalty convictions, from the state to the federal level. In another recent decision, the court found that a new judicial ruling cannot be applied retroactively to someone who received a death sentence under an old law. If a death-row defendant was convicted under a law or procedure that was later changed, he or she cannot now make a new appeal.

Other fundamental constitutional rights, such as the right to bail, are also under attack. In 1987 the Supreme Court upheld the Bail Reform Act, under which people labeled "extremely dangerous to the community" can basically be held indefinitely without bail. Puerto Rican independence fighters, union coal miners, and others have been victims of what amounts to "preventive detention" under this law.

In addition to stepping up the pace of executions, limiting federal appeals of death sentences would also set a dangerous precedent toward limiting federal appeals for those convicted in state courts of non-capital "crimes" as well.

If Congress approves further limits on federal court appeals of death sentences, it will strengthen the U.S. rulers' ability to use the death penalty as a weapon of terror against working people — especially the most oppressed, who are already its chief victims. A vigorous outcry is needed to block this new assault on constitutional and human rights.

Capitalists in Germany set up explosive situation

BY DOUG JENNESS

The subways between East and West Berlin are being reconnected. Some bus routes between the two parts of the city, divided since the end of World War II, are already in operation, and more are planned. If things work out as currently scheduled, the checkpoints between the two sectors will be abolished by July 2 when the West German deutsche mark becomes the sole currency in both East and West Germany.

The currency union treaty, signed by the finance ministers of both parts of Germany on May 18, now goes to the two German parliaments for approval. This will be the first substantial step toward economically reunifying Germany.

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

The reunification of Germany has evoked worried responses from many voices in the United States and other capitalist countries, as well as in Eastern Europe. In an editorial, "New Germany; Old Fears," the *New York Times* noted, "People who remember World War II, and the unlearned lessons of World War I, remain uneasy about the breakneck movement toward unification."

They are entitled to harbor doubts, the *Times* said. "Their question is entitled to be heard, and answered: are they right to fear Germany will revert to militarism, fascism or expansionism, once its unity and sovereignty is fully restored?"

The *Times* attempts to reassure those who are apprehensive about unification that a "self-confident" Germany is more likely to "contribute to, not threaten, the long peace in Europe."

This is both wishful thinking and a reflection of the fact that there isn't a great deal the U.S. ruling families can do about Germany's moves towards unification — except to try to keep some channels open for helping to shape the character of a united Germany.

Germany has moved into the center of European and North Atlantic politics — a position it has held before in the past 125 years. The unification preparations illustrate the strengthening of German finance capital within the imperialist system and the relative decline of U.S. capitalism in Europe.

Increasingly, the German capitalists are attempting to bring their political and military strength more in line with their industrial and trading power. One result is that pressures are mounting for U.S. troops to be removed from German soil. The governor of the West German state of Hesse, for example, has called for a sharp reduction in the 30,000 U.S. troops in the Frankfurt area and a return to German control of the Rhein-Main military base adjacent to the Frankfurt international airport.

There is no doubt that the current trajectory of Germany's capitalist ruling families is toward organizing a much stronger state that increasingly attempts to flex its political and military muscles. This includes complementing German imperialism's powerful economic footing in capitalist Europe by seeking to reestablish the economic domination in central Europe that it had before World War II.

Before assuming that this means a fourth Reich or fascism is inevitable in Germany, it is necessary to look at other consequences of the rapid steps toward economic and monetary union. Most significantly, the German ruling families are now on a direct collision course with workers and farmers of the East as well as of the West, facilitating united action by working people.

The moves around making the West German deutsche mark the only currency have already spurred massive protests by workers and farmers in East Germany. On April 5 hundreds of thousands marched to demand that West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl not renege on his promise that East German ostmarks be convertible to deutsche marks on a one-to-one basis.

On May 10 thousands of workers downed tools and closed classrooms to demand protection from the high unemployment that is expected when many East German factories are closed. Workers are worried that they will be out of jobs without unemployment compensation or state-financed medical care. East German unions have demanded a 50 percent wage increase and a reduction in the workweek to 38 hours from 40 before the deutsche mark becomes the only currency.

Moreover, working farmers joined the protests demanding that they be guaranteed a living income from sales of their produce.

At the same time, in West Germany metalworkers, organized in the country's largest union, threatened strikes for more pay and a shorter workweek despite government pleas for moderation in the face of unification.

All of these protests have occurred even before the currency treaty has gone into effect and before any concrete moves have been attempted to restore capitalist ownership of basic industry in East Germany. The German capitalists are setting up an explosive situation out of which working people will get an opportunity to shape the future Germany in their interests.

The part played by women in 1983 copper strike

Holding the Line: Women in the Great Arizona Mine Strike of 1983 by Barbara Kingsolver. ILR Press, 1989. \$10.95 paper.

BY JIM ALTENBERG

In the summer of 1983, copper miners in Ajo, Clifton, Morenci, and Douglas, Arizona, and El Paso, Texas, struck the Phelps Dodge copper company. The copper giant demanded deep cuts in wages and benefits from the United Steelworkers of America and other copper workers' unions.

By that time the offensive of U.S. employers against workers' wages, benefits, working conditions, and union power had been going on for a few years. In industries such as meat-packing and at Continental Airlines, union contracts

the mines and smelters would be shut down tight at contract time.

In 1983 Phelps Dodge decided that if the union wouldn't agree to their demands, the operation would be opened with scab labor. When the strike began, the company enlisted the aid of hundreds of Arizona state police, as well as compliant judges who dutifully issued antipicketing injunctions.

The company was later to enjoy the protection of the National Guard, complete with helicopters, SWAT teams, and soldiers with automatic weapons. The 1983 strike quickly became a battle pitting the company, state government, and the procompany Arizona news media against the miners' unions, the workers, and their families who live in the small mining towns of the Arizona desert.

Holding the Line: Women in the Great Arizona Mine Strike of 1983 tells the story of the courageous women of the mining towns. Author Barbara Kingsolver paints a picture of the lives, traditions, and struggles of the miners and their families. She discusses the events of the miners' strike: the August mobilization of hundreds of people that closed the mines; the National Guard occupation of Ajo, Clifton, and Morenci; the September flood that destroyed Clifton and left many strikers homeless; the strike rallies and the violent police attacks on them; and more.

The women in *Holding the Line* relate their experiences, their victories and defeats, and their struggles at home and on the picket lines in their own words. Some had been among the first women to work at Phelps Dodge since World War II — women who took advantage of affirmative action agreements among the Steelworkers union, Phelps Dodge, and the government to get the only decent-paying job in the area.

These women had to fight open efforts by the company

and, often, their male coworkers and families to drive them out of the mines. They pressed the union to come to their defense, and some became union activists.

Most of the women Kingsolver talked with were never mine or smelter workers. But they had come to see that Phelps Dodge was attacking their communities and their security. These women, too, pushed their way into the struggle, often against the opposition of husbands and relatives. They kept the picket lines going in the face of injunctions, and violence from police and armed scabs.

They joined the Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, which organized aid for union families, strike support activities of all sorts, and whatever was required to keep people together. They challenged evictions. They stood up to endless police harassment, arrest, and provocation. And they gained confidence in themselves: as workers, as women who stand up for what they believe in, and as the working-class leaders they were becoming.

Although the strike was defeated, many of these women had changed themselves deeply through their experience in the battle. They later sought ways to become better fighters. They sought to learn about the world and to join with others in what they now knew were similar struggles taking place around the globe.

As the copper strike went on, these women's experiences began to be repeated, next time in Britain when the National Union of Mineworkers struck the government-owned coal mines in February 1984. As women strikers and strike supporters participate in the resistance developing in the U.S. coalfields and at Eastern Airlines, they too are transforming themselves much as the women in Arizona began to do.

IN REVIEW

were torn up using court-supported bankruptcy and reorganization schemes.

In most cases, workers accepted their union officials' proposals to agree to concessions in hopes that their jobs could be saved. In the face of massive unemployment in the mining communities around the country, copper miners also agreed to concessions in their 1983 contracts.

At Phelps Dodge, however, the workers refused the sharp givebacks company owners demanded. Workers had fought for decades against a company that controlled everything around them: the mines, land, housing, schools, clinics, government. The miners had built unions and acquired some experience using their union power to fight Phelps Dodge and its antilabor practices. Miners firmly believed in their unions' tradition of no contract, no work. Every three years

LETTERS

Blacks in Cuba

Carlos Moore, author of *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*, sparked outrage and controversy at his recent book signing sponsored by the Center for Afro-American Studies at University of California at Los Angeles. His book presents Fidel Castro as a racist and opportunist who has used Afro-Cubans as an entrée to relations with Black people throughout the world.

Moore, an Afro-Cuban who left the island many years ago, contends the 1959 revolution initially produced great advances for the poor — including Blacks — but then Blacks, women, and youth were excluded from power.

When the floor was opened up, Moore refused to respond to a question about Nelson Mandela's recent statement thanking the Cuban people and Castro for their aid in the struggle against apartheid. Moore was asked why, if sending Afro-Cubans to fight in Angola was opportunistic, did all Black African heads of state support and thank the Cuban people for their policies in Africa.

Members of the audience presented statistics at total variance with Moore's contention of second-class status for Afro-Cubans in health, education, and politics.

It became apparent that practically the only Moore supporters

were members of the sponsoring organization. Why did the Center for Afro-American Studies feel obliged to support Moore? Why did the UCLA press choose to publish this book? And why did the Center sponsor a book signing rather than a debate?

Roswell Page
Venice, California

Loves reading 'Militant'

I am an owner-operator from Missouri and presently incarcerated at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory at Anamosa. I would like to subscribe to your paper through the prisoners' fund if I qualify. I make 40 cents an hour and the state takes 20 percent of that.

I am a Teamster driver who retired and bought a truck and trailer. I went to work for a company that steals every penny they can from you. In three years I worked for five different trucking companies and they all stole from me. I quit but there was nowhere else to go.

I will be looking for the paper soon. I love reading it. When I get out, I can help someone else get your paper by contributing to the prisoners' fund.

A prisoner
Anamosa, Iowa

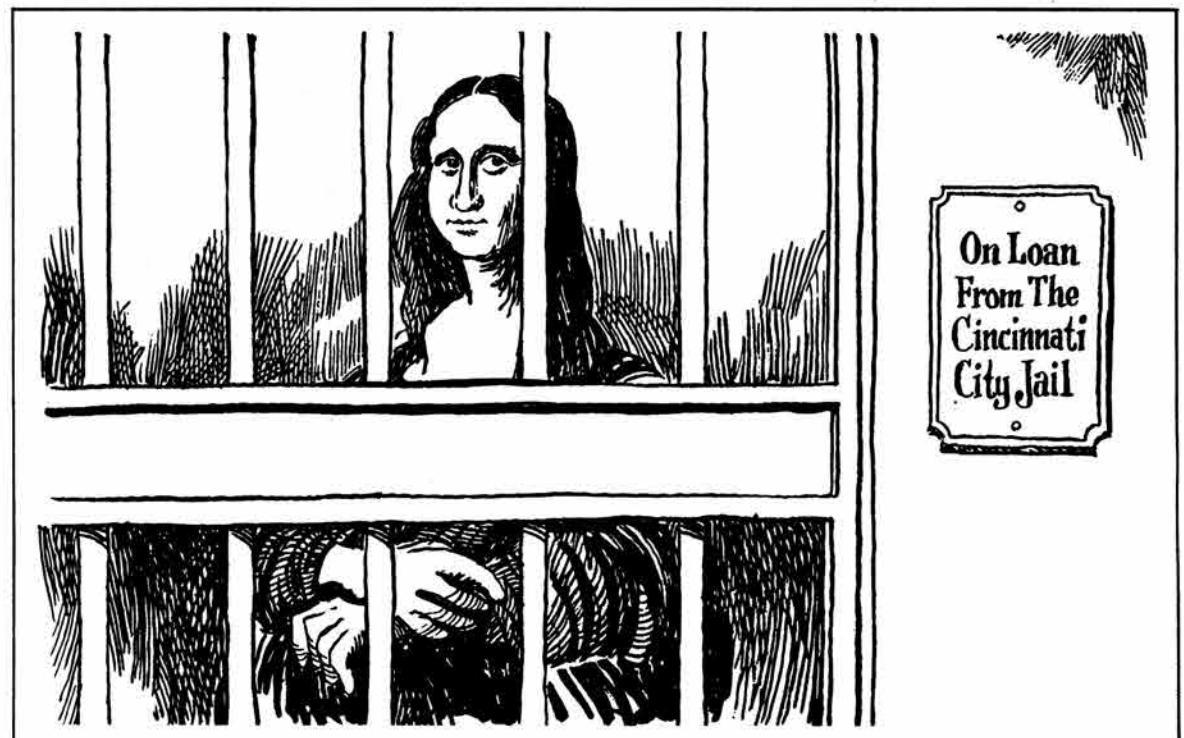
Kent State memorial

I had never been to Kent State before going there May 4, one of 4,000 who came to dedicate a memorial to the four students shot to death by Ohio National Guard 20 years ago. The students were part of nationwide protests of then President Richard Nixon's escalation of the U.S. war in Southeast Asia.

The memorial is on a hill opposite the "pagoda" under which the Guard stood as it fired on the students. Four granite slabs, about waist high, symbolize those killed. Another slab runs along side, jagged on one end — representing the divisions the war caused — and smooth on the other — representing a coming together. The theme is "Inquire, learn, reflect."

Some controversy surrounded the creation of the memorial. An initial design was said to be too costly. Protests forced the inclusion of a marker with the names of the dead and wounded.

This followed years of official callousness. The mother of Allison Krause — one of the students killed — stayed away from the dedication.



She said the only official notification ever received of her daughter's death was an unsolicited check refunding Krause's spring 1970 tuition payment. A court-ordered apology from the governor and National Guard commander stated their "regret at the outcome of the incident."

Another part of the memorial is 58,175 daffodil bulbs, representing the U.S. service people killed in Washington's war.

During the official dedication there was no mention of the fact that the U.S. government today backs the Pol Pot mass murderers in Cambodia.

Michael Pennock
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Prison 'nest egg'?

"Telephone calls create a nest egg for state prisons" — this article in the local press recently stated that the California state prison system gets a "nest egg" of \$2.4 million per year, an amount expected to balloon to as much as \$30 million in a few years. According to the article, "The money comes from commissions that the telephone companies pay the state for providing phones for prisoners."

Since all calls by inmates must be collect calls — the most expensive kind — "there is a minimal financial risk."

By law, the money is to go to the Inmate Welfare Fund for programs that benefit prisoners. But, Paul Comiskey of the Prisoners Rights

Union stated auditors "couldn't track some of the money." Instead of going to the welfare fund, he says, some has been put in the state General Fund. "The correctional officers want it for training money."

So, according to the facts and according to the law, the prison authorities and guards are snatching money that rightfully belongs to the inmates. That, I believe, is a crime.

Paul Montauk
Oakland, California

No-strike pledge

In the May 4 *Militant*, reader Grady Vandiver recalls Harry Bridges as "one of our greatest labor leaders." I worked on the belt line for five years as a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in San Francisco and see it otherwise.

I vividly remember hearing Bridges speak at a huge union meeting at the Coliseum toward the end of World War II when he dramatically proclaimed the no-strike pledge. "We will have no strikes during the war," he said. "And we will have no strikes after the war."

I was appalled. This was the top figure of a union that played a key role in leading the San Francisco workers in a general strike in the 1930s that made the city a union town?

The Stalinist policy of all-out support of World War II, a capitalist bosses' war, had led to this.

As the banner headline in the *Militant* head at the end of the war

proclaimed: "There is no peace until the workers make it!"

Della Rossa
Los Angeles, California

Rally against racism

A rally of 200 in Washington, Pennsylvania, on April 28 was held in response to attempts by the Ku Klux Klan to become active in the area. The racists had begun distributing literature last winter, and opposition had been voiced to a proposed home for Black youths who have been in trouble with the law.

Originally set for December but rescheduled due to a severe snow storm, the rally was built by a coalition of unionists and religious and Black community activists in Washington and Greene counties. Among the speakers was a staff member of the United Mine Workers of America who addressed the links between the fight against racism here and the fight to bring down apartheid in South Africa. Half a dozen Eastern strikers and an equal number of miners on strike at the Aloe coal mine participated in the action.

Louise Halverson
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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.

Correction

In the article where we interviewed Terry Marryshow of Grenada (*Militant*, May 25), we reported that books by Nelson Mandela and Maurice Bishop are included in the Grenadian government's list of banned books.

Books by these two authors, along with others, were seized at the airport from a Pathfinder representative in October 1988 and not allowed into Grenada. After an international protest, the government of Herbert Blaize backed off on a few of the titles, including works by Mandela and Bishop. These were not included in the banning order issued, which remains in effect.

Books still banned in Grenada include titles by Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, and Ernesto Che Guevara.

Palestinians protest new massacre



Israeli forces have killed more than 800 Palestinians since the West Bank and Gaza uprising began in 1987. Palestinians living in Israel, as well as those in occupied territories, have joined protests over murder of seven Palestinians by an Israeli.

BY HARRY RING

The massacre of seven Palestinians by a former member of the Israeli army touched off an explosion of rage among Palestinians.

In the first two days of a military drive to crush the protest, Israeli troops killed 10 people and wounded 722.

The difficulties of the Israeli regime were intensified when Palestinians living inside the "green line," Israel's pre-1967 border, joined the protest.

In East Jerusalem, Haifa, Nazareth, and other towns and villages inside the green line, Palestinians fought the police, and hoisted the Palestine Liberation Organization flag, they shattered store fronts and, in Nazareth, burned an Israeli bank.

Meanwhile, in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, Palestinians by the thousands defied a military curfew. With stones, bottles, and iron pipes, they challenged the Israeli troops, even as helicopter gunships fired into their ranks.

A three-day protest strike was held in the West Bank and Gaza, while Palestinians inside the green line conducted a one-day shut-down.

Ami Popper, the killer who touched off the explosive protest, had lined up several dozen Arab workers on a roadside in the town of Rishon le Zion and opened fire. Initial reports said seven Palestinians died and 16 were wounded, four critically.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called Popper's bloody deed "a shocking act of lunacy."

In East Jerusalem, Faisal al-Husseini, a Palestinian spokesperson, responded, "Even if this man is mentally sick, the atmosphere created by such a government is responsible."

In the first weeks of the Palestinian uprising that began in December 1987, Shamir had declared: The Israeli task is "to put the fear of death into the Arabs." Since then, more than 800 Palestinians have been shot, gassed, or beaten to death.

Husseini and other leaders declared they were going on a hunger strike. They demanded that the United Nations Security Council meet on the killings and that there be an international investigation.

"We will not sit still while they kill us like this," Husseini declared. "Whatever happens will be their responsibility, not ours."

A report on the violence against Palestinian children was released May 16 documenting the findings of a two-year study by the Swedish sector of the international Save the Children organization.

Since the beginning of the uprising in 1987, 159 children under 15 years old have been killed and 6,500 wounded by gunfire. The average age of the victims was 10, with many under five.

The study documented 7,017 cases of children being beaten by soldiers. Nearly a third of these suffered broken bones.

In one case in the Gaza strip in 1989, a four-year-old pointed a toy gun at four soldiers. He was beaten with a club until his arm broke.

The Israeli rulers have also been consistently tolerant of anti-Palestinian violence by Israeli citizens.

The most recent example of this is the five-month jail sentence given to Moshe Levinger, the ultraright settler leader who killed a Palestinian shopkeeper.

Since 1970, Levinger has headed a Jewish settlement created on a hilltop overlooking the West Bank city of Hebron. Armed by the government, the settlers have made numerous vigilante attacks on Palestinians.

In September 1988, Levinger's car was stoned while driving through Hebron. He got out and began shooting at random, killing Kayed Sallah, a shopkeeper, and wounding three other Palestinians.

Initially, Levinger was charged with manslaughter, but the charge was then reduced to death by negligence. On May 1 he was given a year in jail, with seven months suspended.

U.S. pressed to end Philippine bases

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — On May 18 the Philippine and U.S. governments ended five days of "exploratory talks" over the future of the U.S. military bases in this country.

During the talks, in line with a promise made May 13 by President Corazon Aquino, chief Philippine negotiator Raul Manglapus presented the U.S. representatives with a formal notice of termination of the Military Bases Agreement in September 1991. However, at the end of the talks, there was agreement to hold substantive talks in the near future on a new treaty to retain the bases.

The six remaining U.S. military bases in the Philippines include the largest U.S. facilities outside of the continental United States. In addition to 40,000 U.S. servicemen, civilian contractors, and their dependents, some 70,000 Filipinos are employed at the bases, making the Pentagon the largest employer in the country after the Philippine government.

The bases are central to Washington's military operations in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. At the same time, they are the major means through which the U.S. government directly intervenes in the internal affairs of its former colony.

The continuing presence of these instruments of Yankee domination has become a central question in Philippine politics. Forces as diverse as the Young Officers Union, one of the organizers of the December 1989 anti-Aquino military putsch, and the Communist Party-led New People's Army call for the dismantling of the U.S. facilities. The NPA has pledged a unilateral cease-fire in its guerrilla war against the government if Aquino expels the U.S. military.

Anti-bases conference

The "Crossroads 1991" conference "towards a nuclear-free, bases-free Philippines" held here May 14-16 brought together Philippine anti-bases activists with some 30 international delegates from North America, South Africa, Asia, western Europe, and the Pacific. At the conclusion of the conference, the participants marched toward the U.S. embassy to present a resolution that calls for the U.S. military to leave the Philippines. But the demonstration was broken up after plainclothes policemen charged into the demonstration, one with his gun drawn, to arrest League of Filipino Students Chairman Nat Santiago and other student leaders. Fifteen

marchers were arrested and charged with "illegal assembly," including two Japanese peace activists.

Anti-bases demonstrations were a daily occurrence during the talks. Organized mainly by student and union groups, they were usually dispersed violently by riot police the moment they came within a few blocks of the U.S. embassy or the site of the talks. There were some 100 arrests and dozens were injured by police clubs and tear-gas grenades.

There is a broadening consensus within ruling circles in the Philippines that openly advocating retention of the U.S. military presence is increasingly untenable. Only in the cities around the two largest bases — Subic Bay Naval Station and Clark Air Base — is there an organized pro-bases lobby linked to the brothel owners and other capitalists that directly profit from the military presence. Even Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos calls for the phasing out of the bases

over a five to eight year period.

Recognition of this reality was also reflected in the tone of Washington's negotiating panel led by former defense undersecretary Richard Armitage. While privately reported to be pushing for a 25-year extension, Armitage publicly called for a "new partnership" that would enable the bases to remain into the next century while promising to "leave expeditiously" if asked to do so.

For Foreign Secretary Manglapus and other members of the Philippine negotiating panel, the main concern was how much rent the United States was willing to pay. Manglapus complained that Washington had failed to come up with \$222.58 million of aid promised in 1988 as compensation for the bases until 1990. Agreement to begin talks on a new treaty was only reached after the U.S. panel promised a renewed effort to make up this shortfall through donations of surplus military equipment and medicine and new credit facilities for the Philippine government.

Miners' union settles western coal pacts

BY NANCY BOYASKO, TONY DUTROW, AND JUDY STRANAHAN

KAYENTA, Ariz. — The coal miners' union and the Pittsburgh & Midway and Peabody Coal companies — which operate surface mines in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana — recently concluded contract negotiations. The P&M and Peabody miners are organized by the United Mine Workers of America. The companies are two of the largest western coal operators. Several other UMWA-organized mines in the West whose contracts expire this year haven't settled on new agreements yet.

The contracts that had expired were signed in 1987 after the UMWA battled it out with the coal operators who were seeking concessions. The coal bosses' demands at the time centered mainly around miners' benefits — both medical and pension. The bosses wanted miners to begin paying 20 percent of their medical costs. Most union miners' medical coverage is 100 percent paid for by the employers, so this was a big issue. UMWA members at these mines went on strike and were able to beat back any attempts at giving concessions in their 1987 contract.

This year the coal bosses at P&M and Peabody chose not to pick a fight with the UMWA, although P&M made some initial probes.

UMWA Local 1332 officials at the P&M mine in Window Rock, Arizona, turned down several proposals made by company negotiators before the miners voted on their new pact. At the beginning of the bargaining process the P&M bosses asked some givebacks, including having miners pay a percentage of their medical coverage. The local answered these demands by organizing committees charged with mobilizing the membership, keeping miners informed, and preparing to strike if necessary.

In the end UMWA Local 1332 accepted a five-year contract that included a 25 percent wage increase, an increase for each of the five years of the contract, an increased pension plan, and 100 percent medical coverage paid for by the employer.

Mine union locals at the two Peabody mines here in Kayenta on the Navajo Nation recently settled as well by extending their present contract for another two years. Because it is the same pact that was won in

1987, the two Peabody locals' memberships did not vote on the contract extension. Instead the local officials approved it.

Mitch Manley, vice-president of UMWA Local 1924 at one of the Peabody mines here, explained, "We don't see extending our contract for 24 months as a concession — the agreement we won three years ago stands intact."

Manley explained that the new expiration date puts them in sync with contracts organized nationally between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

"We kept Peabody from taking away our 100 percent medical coverage," Manley pointed out. "If we would have allowed that we would be turning our backs on what the Pittston miners and Eastern strikers have fought for."

UMWA miners at Pittston Coal Group mines in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky waged an 11-month victorious strike to save their union. Machinists at Eastern Airlines are in the 15th month of their fight.

With the approved contracts, miners at Peabody will receive a \$2,200 bonus and retirees will receive a \$750 bonus.