

Cop brutality report calls for Gates to step down

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Despite agreement among the city's rulers that it is time for Police Chief Daryl Gates to go, the chief seems determined not to leave quietly.

The recent moves to oust Gates were kicked off with the July 9 release of the Christopher Commission report on police brutality.

The commission was set up by Mayor Thomas Bradley in the wake of international outrage over the March 3 cop beating of Rodney King, a young construction worker who is Black.

Headed by Warren Christopher, a veteran figure in capitalist political circles, the commission is composed of prominent business executives, corporate lawyers, judges, university administrators, and others. Their proposal that Gates withdraw reflected a consensus among the city's rulers that this is a necessary step to salvage the already damaged credibility of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

What report shows

The Christopher Commission report found that the use of "excessive" force was well entrenched in the LAPD and linked the brutality to racism among the cops. To buttress its findings the commission drew on the testimony of members of the LAPD.

Among those testifying was David Dotson, an assistant chief of police and, reportedly, a contender to replace Gates.

Dotson told the commission that under the Gates stewardship, LAPD officials failed to invoke discipline against cops who engaged in brutality.

When Dotson's testimony was made public, Gates swiftly retaliated, stripping Dotson of his command of the LAPD's International Affairs Division.

Cops' computer talk

The public ire generated by Gates' punishment of his whistle-blowing assistant was compounded by the chief's shameless defense of the crudely racist, sexist, and antigay messages exchanged by cops on their patrol car computers. A number of these anti-working-class messages, taken from police logs, are included in the commission report and present a powerful picture of the reactionary face of the LAPD.

Gates brazenly declared of the messages:

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African Nat'l Congress says continue sanctions

Demands end to violence; freeing of prisoners

BY RUTH HASWELL

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress and religious and trade union organizations here immediately responded to Washington's lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa, calling the move "premature."

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) spokesperson Neil Coleman said, "The move was high-handed and could only complicate the South African situation. We don't believe the terms of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act have been met."

South African Council of Churches leader Frank Chikane said U.S. President George Bush "had been irresponsible, as the [South African] government clearly had not met one of the requirements, the release of all the political prisoners."

Barney Desai, information secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), said, "It was too soon to lift the sanctions because the democratic process has not been set in place."

Conditions not yet met

In a press conference hours after Bush's July 10 announcement that he was scrapping the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA), African National Congress Secre-

tary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said that because the conditions for lifting sanctions have not been met by the apartheid regime, governments around the world should not move yet to end the punitive measures.

While the South African government has met three conditions — the unbanning of organizations, lifting the state of emergency, and the repeal of various apartheid laws — it has not yet released all political prisoners or entered into negotiations in a climate of free political activity.

Ramaphosa said continuing violence against anti-apartheid forces, "which has resulted in many deaths," is one of the key reasons there is not freedom of political activity in the country.

An ANC press statement said that "the process of change can only be deemed irreversible when the people can defend their gains through democratic means: one person, one vote. This is still denied to Black South Africans today."

The CAAA banned trade between the U.S. and South Africa on a wide variety of goods, including gold, computers, steel, coal, oil, and agricultural products. It also barred U.S. investment in South Africa and direct air links

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Militant/Ruth Haswell
Nelson Mandela at African National Congress conference.

Paris endorses U.S. threat to bomb Iraq

BY JAMES HARRIS

French President François Mitterrand joined U.S. President George Bush July 14 in threatening to bomb Iraq.

In the context of the growing unpopularity of the embargo against Iraq, and the failure of Washington and its allies to achieve their goals during the war, the U.S. rulers are claiming that Iraq is a nuclear threat as a pretext to salvage their war aims — chief among them the ouster of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

"If it's a question of protecting people who are martyred, persecuted, or massacred by the government of Saddam Hussein, if it's a question of seeing this country, Iraq, arming itself with nuclear weapons, then military intervention will be just," said Mitterrand.

He assured the media that the French government was willing and able to intervene

with troops. He reminded the audience that there were already French troops stationed in Turkey that could be called upon.

On July 11, Bush approved a list of 20 targets that are to be attacked if Iraq does not comply with U.S. demands.

Despite the argument that Baghdad's nuclear capabilities are the problem, Washington has not chosen nuclear sites as targets.

The *New York Times* reports that a senior Pentagon official said the administration has

Continued on Page 6

Iowa authorities demand socialists disclose names of campaign donors

BY TED LEONARD

DES MOINES — In a serious attack on First Amendment rights to privacy and free political association, Iowa officials have directed the Socialist Workers Party here to disclose the names of financial contributors to its local mayoral campaign.

On June 26 the Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission demanded that the SWP election campaign committee "file disclosure reports in the same form as other city candidates, with itemization of contributors in excess of \$25 in a calendar year and expenditures of \$5 or more in a calendar year."

Sara Lobman, SWP candidate for mayor in the November 3 election, denounced this directive. "This is an attack on the rights of all working people to organize independent of interference by the government and the employers," she stated. "We are appealing

to the Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission to reverse this decision."

Lobman, a 29-year-old packinghouse worker and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, replaced Nan Bailey as the SWP candidate for mayor in June. Bailey has moved to Newark where she continues to help build the socialist movement.

Campaign supporters plan to collect signatures on nominating petitions in September to place Lobman's name on the ballot.

Chris Remple, treasurer of the Socialist Workers 1991 Campaign, stated, "Socialist Workers campaign committees have never given the name of a single contributor to the government and we do not intend to do so now!"

Remple pointed to a Federal Election

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Eyewitness Reports

"National Liberation, Stalinism, and Communism: African National Congress Fighters Face the Coming Struggles"

by Greg McCartan, editor of the *Militant* newspaper, attended July ANC national conference in Durban, South Africa Friday, August 9, 7:30 p.m.

"The Cuban Revolution Faces a Changing World: Rectification at a Crossroad"

by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New International* magazine, just returned from reporting trip to Cuba Saturday, August 10, 7:30 p.m.

"Youth, the Working Class, and Capitalism: Sharpening Class Polarization in U.S. Politics"

by Jack Barnes for the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party Saturday, August 10, 1:00 p.m.

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Complaints show daily violence meted out by Los Angeles cops

BY JAMES HARRIS

LOS ANGELES — The volume of complaints of police brutality at a referral center here highlight the daily violence meted out by cops to working people.

In the wake of the March 3 videotaped beating of Rodney King, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has come under increasing public scrutiny for its racism and brutality against working people. Past crimes of the department are resurfacing, and victims of police abuse are showing an increasing readiness to fight back.

Karol Heppie, executive director of the Police Misconduct Lawyer Referral Service (PMLRS), is in contact with victims of police violence and abuse on a daily basis. PMLRS helps them get legal aid and win damages. It was founded in 1981.

While interviewing Heppie in PMLRS' cramped, busy offices, the phones were constantly ringing in an adjacent room. "We get 30 to 40 calls a day," Heppie said.

She reported that the success rate in prosecuting cases of police abuse had risen since 10 years ago when "the chances of winning these cases was almost zero."

"Because of the Dalton Avenue raid and the Don Jackson incident," Heppie pointed out, "juries are seeing police brutality and they are seeing it in a different way."

Long Beach assault

On Jan. 14, 1989, two Long Beach, California, cops were videotaped pushing Don Jackson's head through a plate glass window. Jackson, a former police sergeant who is Black, had set out with a TV camera crew to conduct a sting operation on the cops and expose the racism of the Long Beach Police Department.

The video shows the cops stopping Jackson for no apparent reason, as he drove into the city, and then brutalizing him.

Two police officers were criminally charged for the incident. The jury deadlocked

11 to 1 in favor of acquittal. The only Black on the jury cast the dissenting vote.

"The officers involved were immediately put on disability leave," said Heppie. They were eventually given lifetime disability leave with half pay, for the emotional stress they supposedly suffered.

The Dalton Avenue raid took place Aug. 1, 1988. Until the King beating it was Los Angeles' most notorious case of police abuse (see story below).

While a high proportion of the victims of police brutality are Black or Latino, "it's not just a race issue, it's a class issue," said Heppie. "There are a lot of white people who are victims of police abuse. But we are talking about those who live in lower-income neighborhoods."

After the Rodney King beating, Heppie testified before the Christopher Commission, the panel appointed to probe police brutality that has just released its report recommending that Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates step down.

Heppie told the commission that the "LAPD was only second in the nation in 1990 in civil settlements and judgments against their officers. With \$11.3 million paid out in Los Angeles cases only Detroit surpassed the LAPD with \$20 million. The New York Police Department, with over three times as many officers, paid out \$10.6 million. Los Angeles paid out almost twice as much as Chicago, which has 4,000 more officers."

"The historical increase in civil settlements and judgments should also be noted," Heppie said. "In 1970 the City of Los Angeles paid out \$11,000. In 1983 the amount had increased to \$4.5 million. Between 1984 and 1988 the city paid out \$13 million and in 1989 the city paid out \$6 million."

Operation Hammer

In her testimony Heppie cited many examples of police abuse:

- In a police action called Operation Hammer in 1990, she reported, "25,000



Police Chief Daryl Gates

people, mostly young African-American and Hispanic males, were arrested in indiscriminate sweeps. Only 1,300 were charged. On television Police Chief Daryl Gates referred to gang members as 'rotten little cowards' and said of the massive sweeps: 'I think people believe that the only strategy we have is to put a lot of police officers on the street and harass people and make arrests for inconsequential kinds of things. That's part of the strategy, no question about it.'

- During one five-year stretch, twice as many Los Angeles residents died after suffering police chokeholds as in the 20 other largest U.S. cities combined.

- "LAPD statistics show that dogs are most often deployed in the lower income, African-American and Hispanic neighborhoods," Heppie testified, "even though the crimes for which the dogs are most often deployed occur with equal regularity (if not with more frequency) in wealthier Caucasian neighborhoods. Moreover, research to date shows the overwhelming bulk of those bitten by the dogs (more than 90%) are of African-American or Hispanic descent."

Charges of criminal vandalism dropped against L.A. officers

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Three city cops were cleared of criminal vandalism charges June 19 in the "39th and Dalton" case.

In 1988, 80 cops had smashed into four apartments there in a drug bust. They virtually gutted the homes and didn't find the narcotics they said they were looking for.

Furniture, TVs, and other appliances were smashed. Toilet bowls were ripped out, mattresses and furniture torn apart, and walls broken.

On an outside wall, the cops scrawled, "Gang Task Force Rules."

Members of the jury, which included six people who are Black, later indicated that

they had not been persuaded that the particular policemen being tried were the guilty ones in the raid, even though they believed that many of the cops who testified were lying.

The jury had deliberated nearly three weeks. Earlier, a lawyer for the cops said he felt, in presenting its case, the prosecution "just threw in the towel."

A number of the tenant victims have filed civil damage suits. Several of these have already been settled out of court for a total of \$3.4 million.

Responding to the acquittal, Police Chief Daryl Gates said he was "pleased with the outcome."

AFL-CIO to sponsor Solidarity Day on August 31 in Washington, D.C.

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

Tens of thousands of trade unionists and supporters are expected to turn out for an AFL-CIO-sponsored Solidarity Day August 31 in Washington, D.C.

The event will include a march down Washington's Constitution Avenue to the Capitol, ending with a rally.

Traditional Labor Day celebrations in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities have been canceled to increase participation in the August 31 action.

The AFL-CIO News reports the labor federation is seeking support for the event from civil rights organizations and consumer and religious groups.

"The AFL-CIO also is working for participation by trade unionists and government representatives from other countries, especially Eastern Europe," the paper states.

Many unions are coordinating transporta-

tion to provide maximum turnout from cities and communities located throughout the Midwest and East Coast, the paper reports. A number of unions in the West and from the West Coast are planning to send delegations to participate.

Most major U.S. unions, including United Food and Commercial Workers, United Mine Workers of America, and United Auto Workers, have carried news stories and advertisements in their newspapers and magazines announcing the event and encouraging attendance by their union membership.

According to the AFL-CIO News, the goals of the day-long event are "legislation banning the permanent replacement of strikers, national health care reform, and full freedom of association abroad and at home — including full collective bargaining rights for public workers."

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Militant Labor Forums discuss Yugoslavia

BY CINDY JAQUITH

A working-class approach to the crisis in Yugoslavia was the topic of Militant Labor Forums in Newark, New Jersey, and New York City July 12 and 13. Nan Bailey of the Socialist Workers Party spoke in Newark and George Buchanan, a staff writer for the *Militant*, addressed the forum in New York. The presentations prompted lively discussion on the class struggle in Yugoslavia today.

Both speakers said that learning about the 1945-46 Yugoslav revolution was key to charting a course in the country that advances the interests of working people.

Under the German occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II, the National Liberation Army, known as the Partisans, led workers, peasants, and many who had been part of the different nationalist forces in the region to establish a workers' and peasants' government. Through this struggle national divisions among workers and peasants, imposed by imperialism and the local capitalists, began to be overcome. This unity was crucial to the revolution's victory and embarking on the socialist revolution.

Central to this was the Partisans' campaign for equality and mutual respect between nationalities and religions, and against national chauvinism. After their victory, ambitious

where Stalinists and bourgeois nationalist forces in various regions of Yugoslavia are promoting their own narrow nationalism as a means to defend and advance their competing social and material interests in face of the country's growing economic and political crisis.

Workers pushed out of politics

Bailey and Buchanan explained how today's events result from the degeneration of the revolution under Stalinist misrule, a cornerstone of which was driving working people out of political life and decision-making over the years, and resulting in their steady depoliticization. This usurpation of the toilers' political rule by the Stalinist caste was so thorough that today there is no clear, class-conscious working-class leadership that can speak for the toilers and point the way forward.

But one example of the workers' hostility to the conflict they have been drawn into is the fraternization between troops on both sides in the Slovenia confrontation.

Both speakers explained that class-conscious workers around the world should point to this, and other examples that may develop, and emphasize the prospects for forging broader working-class unity between the different nationalities in Yugoslavia as the answer to the bankrupt nationalism of the Stalinists.

The discussion period at both forums focused on the relationship of national divisions to class oppression in Yugoslavia.

One participant in Newark asked whether independence struggles and the break-up of Yugoslavia was the best road to the workers gaining political space.

Several other participants in the forum took this up. Bailey responded that the key question working people face is organizing a struggle to rid the country of the privileged ruling caste. It is this social layer in Slovenia and Croatia that had declared "independence," she said. "Workers and their allies are the victims of the conflict that has opened up."

Stalinists' demagoguery

Another participant said that he saw no real evidence of broad support by working people for the independence calls. The bureaucracy was demagogically trying to draw the workers behind these calls, he said. "The fight for unity of the workers and farmers in Yugoslavia today is the way forward. That fight includes unconditionally opposing all forms of national oppression and discrimination. It includes an internationalist approach to fellow workers around the world. The Stalinists' call for independence runs counter to this course. Taking a stand against repression of the proindependence forces by the Yugoslav army is not the same thing as supporting independence," he said.

"The independence rhetoric of the Stalinists in Slovenia, Croatia, and elsewhere is largely a fake thing," said another participant. "These bureaucrats lived through, and some helped lead, the fight in which workers swept away national chauvinism in Yugoslavia, yet now they are draping themselves in ancient flags and seeking to revive national antagonisms. They are doing this purely so they can get their hands on more of the social surplus, the loot."

At the New York forum, one questioner said, "Slovenians face a very powerful army, led by the Serbian officer corps, and the struggle for national self-determination is their response to decades of national oppression."

Buchanan responded that it was necessary to look at these situations very concretely. "It is not a fact that the Slovenian masses have suffered 'decades of oppression,'" he said. The "national" struggle here is a conflict between the caste in Belgrade and the caste in Slovenia. "Nor is it accurate to say that 'Serbs oppress Slovenians.' The regime — the cops, the secret police, and the jailers in Slovenia — is largely Slovenian, and the Stalinist caste centered in Belgrade which betrayed the Yugoslav revolution was multinational."

Washington's position

Another participant said that Washington was opposed to the breakup of Yugoslavia and thus to Slovenia's independence. "This tells us what side workers should stand on," he said.

"Class-conscious workers cannot simply put a plus where Washington seems to be putting a minus," replied Buchanan. He referred to the internationalist approach taken by communists who campaigned against the war in Iraq. They learned to "place themselves in the shoes of the workers in another country" and use their imagination to understand how to move forward, to see what class forces the workers in Kuwait and Iraq were confronting, and who their potential allies were.

Another participant said that today's events in Yugoslavia were the unwinding of the Stalinist counterrevolution. "Any serious fight that broke out between the nationalities in Yugoslavia would be a bloodbath, a disaster for the workers," he said. He pointed out that the voluntary federations of different nationalities, which were established by both the Russian and Yugoslav revolutions, were ended

by the bureaucratic caste. "In the case of Russia this caste was led by Stalin — a Georgian, not a Russian. And in Yugoslavia by Tito — a Croat, not a Serb."

How would communists act?

A questioner asked how communists in Slovenia, or in one of the republics in the Soviet Union where independence struggles have occurred, would act in relation to these fights.

Buchanan replied that communists would place at the forefront of their campaigning the fight for the unity of workers in the region with workers of all nationalities, including in the "oppressor" nation, if one existed. At the same time they would oppose and expose the bourgeois nationalist and Stalinist leaderships of the national struggles "who are the political force that most immediately oppresses the workers."

Police brutality report calls for Gates to leave office

Continued from front page

"What they show, and I think only a police officer understands this, is a very dark-sided humor."

"It's very, very black humor," he added. "I think you're going to find, and we have already found, that some of the most racist comments are being made by Black officers in that same kind of dark police humor."

"Hispanic officers, women officers — you're going to find that's going to be the case, self-deprecating in many cases."

With such declarations, supporters of Gates on the city council began to take their distance from him. A number of them declared their support for the proposals of the Christopher Commission, including its proposal that the term of office for the chief of police be limited to a maximum of 10 years. (Gates has served 13 years.)

Changing the tenure requires a change in the city charter and would have to be placed on the ballot for voter approval.

In announcing their deal for Gates to withdraw, Councilmen John Ferraro and Joel Wachs said they had the chief's agreement that the proposition be put up for a vote before the end of the year and, at that time, Gates would retire.

Now Gates is suggesting he may not quit until after the vote is in.

In addition to limiting the tenure of the chief, the commission proposed that the members of the civilian police commission resign and that a new panel start "fresh," with greater authority to review cases of police misconduct.

But the main avenue of such review would remain within the LAPD. The commission proposed that all brutality complaints be investigated by the department's Internal Affairs Division rather than at the stationhouse level.

A problem group?

At the news conference where the commission report was released, Warren Christopher argued for its main point — that violence-prone "bad guys" are a minority in the police force.

Christopher asserted that "the vast majority of officers are working with skill dedication — and without excessive force — to protect and serve us."

In the report itself, it is asserted that "a problem group of officers — 44 in a department of more than 8,000 — are most frequently named in brutality complaints. A complex series of charts intended to prove this is provided."

Despite the attempt to cover-up, the report shows that the brutal practices are endemic throughout the department.

According to the report itself, over a four-year period 5,976 cops were cited once or more in brutality complaints.

The commission checked out 39 cases in which cops violated formal guidelines in shooting at people. In four of these cases, the victim was killed.

The most severe departmental penalty imposed in these 39 cases was a 10-day suspension.

Prior to the release of the commission report, the *Los Angeles Times* found that in the

past decade the district attorney's office had probed 319 cases of cops accused of beating people with their fists, clubs, flashlights, pistols, blackjacks, and other weapons.

Of the 319 cops accused, the district attorney prosecuted 41. About half were convicted. Similarly, the office said that in the past decade it had investigated 678 shootings by members of the LAPD.

It did not prosecute one of them.

The Christopher Commission was established to defuse the deep public anger at the cops and to cope with the problem of the badly battered credibility of the LAPD. The commission concluded that the ouster of Gates was necessary to achieve this.

But the mounting demand to get rid of the police chief, coupled with Gates' digging in his heels to extract a maximum price, means the current political battle around the LAPD is far from over.

L.A. cop: 'My shooting policy is based on nationality and looks'

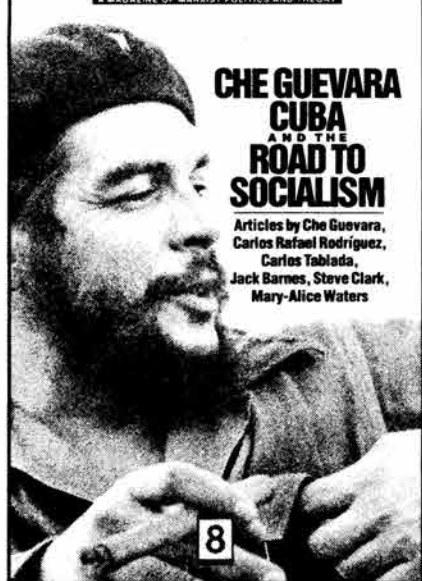
BY JAMES HARRIS

The Christopher Commission reviewed messages typed by Los Angeles police officers to and from computer terminals in patrol cars from November 1989 through February 1991 and reprinted some of them in its report. The messages graphically expose the arbitrary, anti-working class brutality of the department. Below are excerpts:

- "Capture him, beat him and treat him like dirt."
- "Did U arrest the 85yr old lady or just beat her up."
- "We just slapped her around a bit . . . she's getting m/t [medical treatment] right now."
- "Sounds like a job for the dynamic duo . . . after I beat him what do I book him for and do I have to do a use of force [report]"
- "They give me a stick they give me a gun they pay me 50G:s to have some fun."
- "Did you really break his arm"
- "Along with other misc parts"
- "I would love to drive down Slauson [a street in the Black community] with a flame thrower . . . we would have a barbecue."
- "... I almost got me a Mexican last nite but he dropped the dam gun to quick, lots of wit"
- "U wont believe this . . . that female call again said susp [suspect] returned . . . I'll check it out then I'm going to stick my baton in her"
- "The best wife beating I've ever seen . . . looks like a whipped slave."
- "Did your fag have Aids . . . probably they all do jail is the perfect place for him . . . hes around all those males . . . boy is he lucky."
- "My shooting policy is based on nationality and looks."
- "Nothing but wetbacks no speaky English and ugly."
- "I hope there is enough units to set up a pow-wow around the susp so he can get a good spanking and nobody c it . . ."

New International

A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY



New International no. 8

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Socialist Workers Party gathers for 36th constitutional convention

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

CHICAGO — "Gathered here are workers, youth, and others from around the world who are fighting against the rulers' offensives at home and abroad," said Socialist Workers Party Political Committee member Kate Kaku, opening the 36th Constitutional Convention of the SWP.

"All of us in this room fought against imperialism's war against Iraq," she continued. "We helped organize and build protests against the war. We campaigned on the job with fellow trade unionists."

"We all became not only more political and effective fighters — we transformed ourselves and our party. We transformed our work in industrial unions and strengthened our branches. We won more respect and opened up more political space to carry out politics on the job, and to go more deeply into our unions, so that we can be more effective in struggles wherever they break out in the world."

The nearly 800 delegates and observers present at the June 26–30 convention came from dozens of cities and trade unions in North America, as well as from 12 different countries. They spoke a total of 24 different languages. They included members and supporters of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, as well as of Communist Leagues in Australia, Britain, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, and Sweden, and the Communist Organizing Committee in France.

The majority were industrial workers; 42

were students. Two of those present, introduced to the convention after having joined the Young Socialist Alliance, are currently serving in the U.S. Air Force near Omaha.

A class on the rights of GIs as citizen-soldiers was given during the convention by Edward Copeland, general counsel of the Socialist Workers Party and a member of the law firm Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky, and Lieberman.

Special guests present were Jorge Ruiz from the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., and Puso Leonard Tladi, president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and a member of the provisional national committee of the African National Congress youth league.

Sharpening class tensions

Summarizing the convention in a final report, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes pointed to political events that occurred in the four days while the convention met, as examples of the sharpening class tensions in the world.

- Civil war in Yugoslavia had broken out — the latest development in a crisis that is unresolvable under either Stalinist or bourgeois leadership or through imperialist intervention. This was the inevitable result of the course of Stalinism and the bureaucratic caste in Yugoslavia, Barnes said.

- Comecon, the economic pact between the workers states of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Vietnam, and Cuba had just dissolved itself.

This organization was ending its days in a petty squabble between bureaucrats over ownership of its various real estate assets, Barnes said.

- The Warsaw Pact, the military pact between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European workers states, was due to be disbanded the day after the convention.

- The U.S. Supreme Court handed down rulings aimed at making possible further restrictions on abortion rights and on the rights of prisoners on death row to appeal and set a hearing before the High Court.

- The U.S. government had made clear that it was about to drop its sanctions against South Africa.

- The U.S. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation announced that it was \$25 billion deeper in debt than previously announced.

These events underlined how workers and their exploiters are confronting each other more extensively than ever throughout the world, Barnes said. It increasingly becomes clear it's not the world that's "messed up" — it's capitalism. "Our class' opposition to capitalist exploitation and its consequences in war, racism, and sexism will grow."

Barnes also noted the stepped-up probing by the bosses in the United States on the job, in society, and through the courts and cops. "We should be very alert to the accumulating court rulings and other attempts to increasingly chip away at the social and political gains of the working class and seek out those

within the working-class movement who fight against oppression and exploitation," he said.

Important period in party history

The convention delegates heard, discussed, and voted on a series of reports, the first two being political reports given by Barnes and James Mac Warren.

Barnes placed the document "The Opening Guns of World War III," which is contained in issue no. 7 of the magazine *New Internationalist*, before delegates for a vote. He described the previous 10 months as among the most important in the history of the SWP, when the party waged a working-class campaign against imperialism and its war drive against Iraq.

For much of this period, he said, communists looked at the world through the eyes of the war against Iraq, fighting to see how the war reflected the class currents, and contradictions unfolding in the last part of the 20th century.

"Now we make a shift, as we have been doing for the last few weeks," Barnes explained, "to see the class struggle and political battles in the Arab-Persian Gulf as part of the world. We see it through the world and not vice versa." Barnes noted that the world would see many more such wars and conflicts before the workers are able to bring this system to a halt.

The aim of the convention, he said, was to take the party's gains in understanding and organization achieved in the fight against the war and "make them permanent acquisitions." As an aid to this, meetings of the party's national industrial union fractions were held in the midst of the convention proceedings. These fractions include all party members who work in specific industries organized by 10 major industrial unions (see box).

Each of these industrial fractions had met twice during the war period. Barnes described these meetings as "the most important internal meetings we organized during the war — the ones that changed us most."

Turning to address some of the central political questions in the world, Barnes emphasized the need to place all political events in the context of the particular segment of the curve of capitalist development the world is now in.

The capitalists' falling average rate of profit and stagnating mass of profits cause them insurmountable problems, said Barnes. Massive expansion is ruled out as an option for them. They cannot reverse the crisis. Competition among the imperialist powers will get more intense, as will exploitation of the semicolonial countries and the exploitation of and political conflicts with the working class. Attempts to mount sharper assaults on the wages, working conditions, and social and political rights of workers and farmers will lead to more conflicts.

"None of this guarantees revolutionary victories," Barnes said. "But what it does guarantee is resistance and fights. Fighters by the tens and hundreds of thousands will keep coming forth, each one of whom can become a revolutionist, and the vanguard of whom can become communists. It is toward this that our entire activity is oriented as we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with fighters around the world."

Obstacle crumbling

The break up of the Stalinist regimes and ruling parties in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union must be seen as the inevitable crumbling of the great obstacle to building the working-class vanguard of the socialist revolution, Barnes said. He explained that the depoliticization of the working class over many decades in these countries had precluded the immediate possibility of the workers themselves making a political revolution. But the weakening of the bureaucratic rulers and the workers' own struggles have opened space for them to practice politics, and the political revolution will come on the agenda as sure as the other battles of the socialist revolution throughout the world.

Barnes described the debate over free trade and protectionism as an example of the continual attempt by the capitalists and their agents in the workers' movement to divert

Cuban revolution helped forge SWP

CHICAGO — "The Socialist Workers Party is a product of the Cuban revolution, just as we are a product of the Russian Revolution, the Paris Commune, and the nascent communist movement that recruited the young Marx and Engels in the 1840s," said SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters, introducing Jorge Ruiz from the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., a special guest to the SWP's national convention. Ruiz received a standing ovation.

Waters described how the Cuban revolution had transformed the Socialist Workers Party, which, she emphasized, "has not

"We have great tasks and responsibilities ahead of us," the message continued, "but we know that we are not alone. To those like yourselves who have made clear their solidarity with the Cuban revolution, we express our gratitude."

Cuba 'not a satellite'

In his greetings to the convention, Ruiz emphasized that the Cuban revolution was the product of five decades of capitalism, and it was not about to return to it.

"The enemies of Cuba said Cuba was a satellite, but recent events have demonstrated how independent we are. No country had a clearer view of the Gulf conflict than Cuba," Ruiz said to applause.

"We are aware that working people across the world have their eyes on our island. Cuba would rather be sunk in the Caribbean than return to capitalism," he concluded.

Another special guest who addressed the convention was Puso Leonard Tladi, president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

Tladi was designated by the national preparatory committee of an African National Congress Youth League, of which he is a leader, to assume the WFDY post of president.

The convention also received a message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and from the Iraqi Democratic Youth Federation.

A message from the convention to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba read in part: "The 800 delegates and guests at the 36th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago, June 26–30, were honored to receive greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba."

"Your party, government, and international-minded people have set an example of uncompromising struggle against imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation. The course you have charted in domestic and foreign policies continues to stand on the principles announced to the oppressed and exploited of the world nearly three decades ago in the Second Declaration of Havana; it echoes and advances the world-shaking socialist perspective announced at the founding of the Communist International."

"The delegates reaffirmed our commitment to the fight to lift Washington's embargo, end the travel ban against Cuba, and withdraw U.S. occupation forces from

Guantánamo. We join with you in our common determination to struggle for the only road forward for humanity — socialism."

For sovereign and unified Korea

The convention also addressed a message to the Workers' Party of Korea and "to the fighting people of Korea. At our convention, we reaffirmed our commitment to do our best to get out the truth to working people in the United States and the world over about the struggle to end the 46-year division of your country imposed by U.S. imperialism against the will of the Korean people, and your fight for a sovereign and unified Korea," the message said in part.

The convention's response to the Iraqi Democratic Youth Federation expressed "our solidarity with all those fighting for political rights, for national liberation, and against imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation in Iraq, the Middle East, and throughout the world."

To the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the convention noted how it had benefited from the participation of WFDY President Tladi. "We look forward to ongoing fraternal relations with WFDY in a common effort to advance the international struggle for national liberation and socialism and bring the truth about this struggle to workers, farmers and youth in the United States and around the world," the message concluded.

G.B.

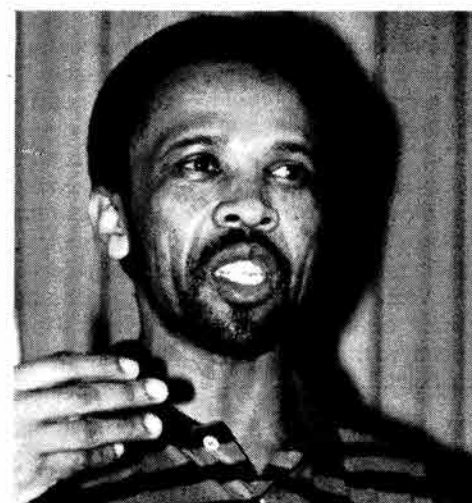


Militant/Arthur Hughes
Jorge Ruiz of Cuban Interests Section

ceased for one moment to place defense of the Cuban revolution at the center of its fight in the United States."

One of the tasks of this convention, she said, was to think out how to more effectively carry out the party's work to explain and defend the Cuban revolution, "to help working people see emulating the Cuban revolution as the way forward for humanity."

Waters also read out a message to the convention received from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. The letter denounced imperialism's attempts to "form a 'new world order' based on unilateral military-technological blackmail, on the limiting of national sovereignty, on international deals orchestrated by an elite group of developed capitalist countries, and on perpetuation of the misery and poverty of the great majority of the planet."



Militant/Arthur Hughes
World Federation of Democratic Youth President Puso Leonard Tladi.

the working class from organizing independently.

"Marx insisted that what's called free trade and what's called protectionism are simply two different names given to the oscillations in aggressive capitalist trade policy — with attendant military implications," Barnes explained.

Lenin had pointed out, he noted, that it was under the banner of "free trade" that Britain had conquered its colonies, consolidated monopolies, and mounted blockades against competitors as the imperialist epoch was brought into being.

Workers always go to the wall

This must be remembered when looking at questions like the proposed U.S.-Canada-Mexico "free trade" pact, Barnes explained. Demands the workers should make may coincide with a partial step by the capitalist government in a semicolonial country. "But we always have to add what Marx says, that under either free trade or protectionism, the workers will go to the wall."

What class-conscious workers in the United States must do, Barnes stressed, is orient to the *workers* in the country concerned, from the standpoint of preparing to replace capitalist rule with that of the workers and farmers, and building a communist party of workers.

Potential for struggle

James Mac Warren, a member of the United Steelworkers of America and of the SWP National Committee, discussed the 19-hour nationwide rail strike in April, which had been called off by the union officialdom the moment Congress passed a law declaring it illegal.

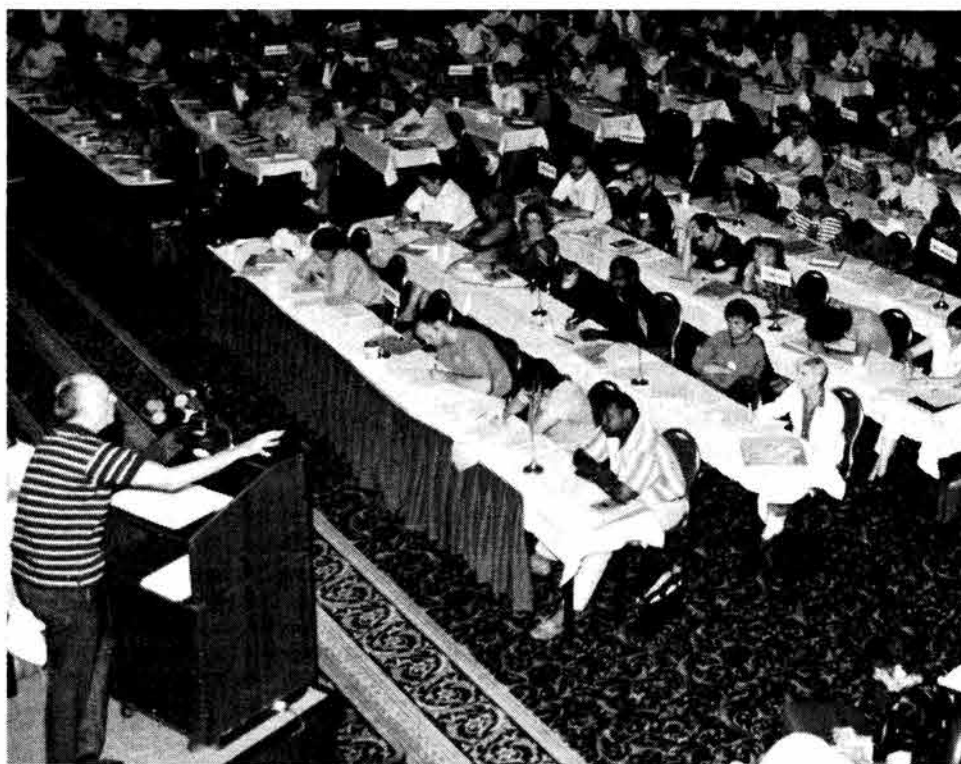
He drew the lesson from the buildup to the rail strike of how important it was to "not take your eyes off the ranks even for a minute, or you would miss the potential for struggle."

Warren noted that workers had been ready for a fight, and that support for the strike, when it occurred, had been very strong, including among other workers who were rail commuters.

"But the rail bosses and the government got this victory cheap," Warren said. "They could have been made to pay a price for their intervention, but the union officialdom sent the ranks back to work when they were ready for a fight."

Warren noted the coming together on domestic policy in recent years between the two major U.S. capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans. "This bipartisan domestic policy is significant, because the union bureaucracy has based its entire perspective for many decades on the idea that there's more to be gained from the Democrats running the government, as opposed to the Republicans," he explained.

This is the same problem faced by the middle-class leaders of the fight for women's rights and for Black rights, who have relied equally on the idea that electing Democrats



SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes told delegates that previous 10 months, when party campaigned against war on Iraq, were among most important in SWP history.

is the way forward, said Warren.

"What this poses to us is the opportunity to win a wider hearing for independent working-class political action, beginning with the fight for a labor party based on the unions," he emphasized. "We can and will get a hearing for this perspective, and the 1992 presidential campaign will be the perfect opening to do this."

In his report on "The Proletarian Party and the Trade Unions," Ernie Mailhot continued the discussion on the union bureaucracy and its political perspectives. Mailhot is the SWP's national trade union fraction leadership coordinator.

He noted that, despite a dozen-year offensive by the bosses and largely indirect government support for that assault, the labor movement, while weakened and battered, has not been driven from the center of politics.

"Working people continue to resist and give solidarity to any worker anywhere who fights back against the attacks," Mailhot said. He gave the example of the Giant Eagle grocery workers' strike in Pennsylvania, the struggle against the eight-month-old lockout at Ravenswood Aluminum in West Virginia, the demonstrations against police brutality in Los Angeles, and abortion rights protests by young women.

Unions weakened

"But the unwillingness of the trade union officialdom to organize the ranks of labor to fight back, has led to the rolling back of our

rights and our living standards, and the weakening of our unions — the only organizations that the working class has to fight back," he said.

Union membership continues to decline by hundreds of thousands every year, and the labor movement retreat continues, Mailhot pointed out.

"The labor officialdom has a very clear perspective," he said. "They don't look to the ranks; they look to the boss. They work with the boss against the companies' competitors. They do everything they can to get onto the boards of companies. They do everything they can to make what they call 'our' company profitable. They work with the boss to keep foreign-born workers super-exploited."

"The one thing we can never do," Mailhot emphasized, "is confuse the shape of the union leadership with the willingness to fight of the membership, who, due to the misleadership, haven't been able to find their way to the fight."

Mailhot said that the SWP "has the strongest, most homogeneous, self-confident and self-acting trade union fractions that we've had in four decades." This resulted from the years of work before the war to establish experienced industrial fractions, which then acted to meet the test of the war. All fraction members were challenged to "not only look for those who agreed with us but go to where the vast majority of our class and our co-workers were, and enter into debate and discussion over how wrong imperialism's

\$1 million pledged to expansion fund; new target set at \$1.6 million

BY RONI McCANN

A feature of the Socialist Workers Party convention was a report on the \$1 million international Expansion Fund launched last August and the decision to raise the goal of the fund to \$1.6 million.

By the end of the convention the original goal of raising \$1 million in pledges had been met and contributions toward the new goal were under way. The fund now stands at \$1,077,300 pledged and \$649,300 collected. Contributions varying from \$1,000, the minimum amount that can be given to the fund, to \$200,000 have been made by 94 people.

The capital-raising fund makes possible major expenditures that have long-term benefits in strengthening the communist party propaganda apparatus by reorganizing, reconstructing, and upgrading the print shop and offices housed in the Pathfinder building in New York City.

This is where Pathfinder books and pamphlets and the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *L'internationaliste* periodicals are produced.

This apparatus proved decisive over the past year as class-conscious fighters organized to oppose the imperialist war against Iraq.

Books and newspapers in many languages that present the facts and a communist perspective are becoming even more important as world capitalism sinks deeper into crisis and workers in struggle seek solutions.

The fund rally celebrated the expansion of this communist arsenal with the publication of the Spanish-language, inaugural issue of *Nueva Internacional*. A magazine of Marxist politics and theory, *Nueva Internacional* is part of the *New International* series. Two reprinted issues of the French-language edition, *Nouvelle Internationale*, were also newly available at the time of the convention.

To better prepare for the opportunities ahead by strengthening the potential and capacity for producing these weapons, the big construction and upgrading projects planned for the Pathfinder Building have begun.

The decision to raise the goal of the Expansion Fund was based on the need to catch up on overdue long-term maintenance of the Pathfinder building and carry out the full scope of the projects projected. This includes remodeling the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party, the upper floors of the Pathfinder Building that house the offices of the *Militant* and Pathfinder, and the capital expansion and reorganization of the print shop.

A volunteer work brigade has completed the preparatory work needed and has started a new stage of the construction project.

The success of this massive project over the next several months depends on the Expansion Fund. Readers who want to contribute or would like more information may write to: The Expansion Fund, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 or call (212) 243-5530.

onslaught on Iraq was."

Carved out space

"Today, we've gained more respect, and have carved out more space in which we can function politically among fellow workers than we had before last August," Mailhot said. "After the war ended, we knew we had to use the space to take our working-class politics deeper into the unions or we would lose it. That's what we did, and we took a little bit more."

Mailhot's report served as the basis for the deliberations of the industrial union fraction meetings, which were held prior to the discussion on his report by the conference delegates.

In the fraction meetings, members discussed the challenges confronting them in different union situations.

Broadening the campaign to demand parole for Mark Curtis was projected as a central campaign of the fractions. Curtis, a union activist and SWP member, was framed up by the cops for defending the rights of immigrant workers in a Des Moines packing house, and has now served almost three years of a 25-year jail term.

The final report was on "Organization of the Proletarian Party," by Political Committee member Mary-Alice Waters.

The report had been preceded by a slide-show presentation depicting the accomplishments of the SWP and Communist Leagues internationally during the campaign against the war: from joining the debate on the war drive on the job, building antiwar demonstrations, and carrying out regional and international work, to the papers, books, and other propaganda weapons that were produced and circulated.

The presentation set out further necessary steps in improving the party's apparatus and printing equipment, and made an appeal for donations to a \$1.6 million capital expansion fund to make this possible.

'Nueva Internacional'

A central achievement celebrated in the slide-show presentation was the appearance for the first time of the Marxist magazine *Nueva Internacional*, the Spanish-language edition of *New International*, as well as reprinted editions of the French-language edition, *Nouvelle Internationale*.

Luis Madrid, editor of *Nueva Internacional*, noted how this magazine enables communists to "reach out to an entire new section of our class around the world."

He added, "The package of documents contained in this magazine has relevance everywhere; the fundamental questions taken up in them are the questions facing young people, workers and peasants — from South Africa to Korea, from Latin America and the Caribbean, to the toilers of Eastern Europe."

Strengthening branch institutions

Waters pointed out in her report that the strengthening of the party apparatus and the industrial union fractions, through the fight against the war, laid the foundation for improving the institutions of the party branches.

The campaign against the war drive posed the possibility and need to strengthen these

Continued on Page 6

Industrial union fractions

The SWP has organized fractions in the following 10 industrial unions:

- Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU)
- International Association of Machinists (IAM)
- International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU)
- International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE)
- Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW)
- United Auto Workers (UAW)
- United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)
- United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)
- United Steelworkers of America (USWA)
- United Transportation Union (UTU)

Convention workshops

The following workshops were held at the convention:

- Active supporters of the SWP
- Candidate members' education program
- Mark Curtis defense work
- Militant Labor Forums
- Militant worker-correspondents
- Party finances
- Pathfinder bookstores
- Plant-gate sales of the *Militant*
- Union fraction-building jobs committees

Convention launches party-building fund

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

CHICAGO — They were standing on chairs and tables. Some hoisted others on their shoulders. They stomped their feet on the floor, clapped their hands together, and yelled at the top of their lungs.

This was the scene June 29, when Socialist Workers Party leader Craig Gannon led off a rally to launch the Socialist Workers Party 1991 Party Building Fund. The event took place the final night of the party's convention here.

Gannon called for pledge collectors to stand and identify themselves in the audience. Dozens of collectors appeared in the aisles and donned red hard hats. The hats are usually worn by a crew of volunteers, headed up by Gannon, who are preparing several floors of the Pathfinder building in New York City for remodeling. The building houses the business and editorial offices of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder; Pathfinder's print shop; and the national offices of the SWP.

The team of collectors were members of the construction crew and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Gannon, sporting a hard hat himself, first asked for pledges of \$1,000. Collectors throughout the large ballroom responded by waving envelopes with funds and pledges from individuals in the audience. From there, Gannon slowly made his way to pledges of \$800, \$500, and down to lower denominations.

By the end of the rally, more than \$131,000 had been pledged toward the fund's goal of \$150,000.

The fund, which officially begins August 15 and ends December 15, helps finance the daily work of building the socialist movement. Another fund featured at the convention is set up to raise contributions above \$1,000 for long-term capital expansion projects for the party. (See article on page 4).

It was noted throughout the five-day convention that the current economic and political situation in the world will lead to sharpening class conflicts both in the United States and internationally. The \$150,000 fund will make it possible to respond quickly to any such developments. It will help pay for field-

ing teams to take the *Militant* and *New Internationalist*, a Marxist magazine now available in English, Spanish, and French, to workers locked in battles with their employers; to defenders of abortion rights; to fighters against police brutality; and others in struggle.

These teams will distribute the Spanish- and French-language publications *Perspectiva Mundial* and *L'Internationale* to working people, farmers, and youth throughout the United States who are thirsty for political literature and looking for a way to fight the anti-working class offensive by the owners of big business and their government.

Immediately after the convention, a team of *Militant* correspondents headed for South Africa to cover the historic conference of the African National Congress.

Militant correspondent George Buchanan and *Perspectiva Mundial* staff writer Selva Nebbia are attending the July 19-21 congress of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Managua, Nicaragua, to report on the discussions and debates at that meeting, as well as on the political situation facing workers and farmers in that country.

Trips like these are made possible through the party-building fund.

The fund will also be used to finance the



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

At June 29 rally, more than \$131,000 was pledged toward \$150,000 goal.

SWP's leadership school, which enables leaders of the party to be released from daily party-building responsibilities to spend six months studying the political writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Militant readers are encouraged to send in contributions to the fund.

I pledge: _____ \$1,000 _____ \$500
_____ \$250 _____ \$100 _____ \$ _____ other to the
Socialist Workers Party 1991 Party Building
Fund

Send checks or money orders to Socialist Workers Party 1991 Party Building Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Paris endorses U.S. threat to bomb Iraq

Continued from front page

"concluded that punitive strikes on Iraqi leaders would inflict more pain on Hussein and his high command than strikes aimed at sites where Baghdad is suspected of hiding equipment and materials used to develop nuclear or chemical weapons."

Washington's war threats are being made in the context of waning support for sanctions against Iraq as the devastating effect of the embargo on working people in Iraq becomes better known. Sanctions have been Washington's main means of applying pressure on the Iraqi regime since the end of the war.

On June 12 the head of the United Nations

mission in Iraq called on the UN Security Council to ease the embargo. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan argued that "sanctions were never designed to make people suffer the way they are suffering now. We need to design an acceptable formula for easing them."

Sadruddin proposed that Iraq be allowed to sell some of its oil to acquire funds for the purchase of food and supplies.

"The United States will not have improved nor normalized relations with Iraq as long as Saddam Hussein is in power," Bush said. "I will not have our people voting to lift sanctions as long as he is in power."

The failure of Washington to establish a

subservient regime in Baghdad or increase stability in the region fuels an ongoing bitter debate in ruling-class circles.

In his July 12 *New York Times* column, A.M. Rosenthal wrote:

"We should now recognize a whole series of coalition mistakes, misjudgments and delusions. They add up to one huge historic error, uncorrectable until understood, acknowledged and rectified: allowing a beaten dictator to stay in power, slaughter his domestic enemies and prepare for renewed struggle with foreign enemies, which means most of us."

Rosenthal criticized military decisions made by the U.S.-led coalition in the war, "... they underestimated the military strength with which the cease-fire would leave [Hussein]. He got part of his Republican Guard and its armament out of the 'closed' trap to which Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf thought he had herded them."

"The U.S. expected Iraqi generals to move quickly to kill Saddam Hussein.

"Many Americans who had supported the war are left wondering what it was all about," Rosenthal concluded. "Is that a triumph for Mr. Bush?"

Socialist Workers Party holds convention

Continued from Page 5

branch institutions. Workshop sessions were held, where members of branches that had registered advances in these areas could share their experiences and generalize the gains for the entire party.

At the workshop on Militant Labor Forums, for example, participants noted that new layers of youth were attracted as regular forum attendees during the course of the war. Discussion took place on the need to politically organize each forum; to measure its success by how many new people bought subscriptions to the *Militant*; what literature was sold; how many of those attending returned to a subsequent forum; and how recruitment to the SWP and YSA was organized.

One topic which received particular attention in Waters' report and in the discussion that followed was the challenge of meeting goals which the party and its branches set in circulation drives for the *Militant* and other periodicals.

In her summary on this agenda item, Waters noted that the discussion had concentrated on the challenges facing the branches, from the subscription drives for the *Militant* to education programs for candidate members. In this discussion the party was starting to zero in on a whole new round of challenges in branch organization, she said.

Several educational classes were also held during the convention, including a class on the constitution of the SWP; the Mexico-U.S.-Canada "free trade" talks; Malcolm X and the fight against imperialism and war; the myth of "Swedish socialism"; attacks on the working class and the fight for affirmative action; Marxism and the fight for women's emancipation; and the crisis of Canadian capitalism and the fight for Québec's national rights.

Discussion in these classes was lively. In the class by Malmud Yavari on "Communist Continuity and the Iranian Revolution," for example, discussion focused on the course

carried out by communists seeking to build a party in Iran — one proletarian in composition, rhythm, and norms — after the overthrow of the shah.

Broadening leadership

The final day of the convention saw the election of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. The National Committee is the body that guides the work of the party between its conventions.

This year's election registered a substantial broadening of the party's leadership through the campaign against the war, during which younger party members in industry increasingly took on major political responsibilities. This broadening was also reflected in elections to the steering committees of the party's industrial union fractions, which saw 33 people brought forward in these elected leadership bodies.

One third of those elected as regular members of the new National Committee had not previously served as regular members, and 65 percent of the alternate members of the committee had not been elected to the previous committee.

In his summary Barnes explained that the political space party members fought to defend and expand during the war does not depend directly on the monthly ups and downs of the political pressures in capitalist society. "Space is a social relationship between the communist workers and the resisting working-class vanguard. It depends on the openness of workers to consider communist ideas and to defend those who express these ideas because they have come to know and trust them. How much space we get right now depends in large measure on how much we take," he said.

During the convention, five people signed up as members of the Young Socialist Alliance, seven joined the Socialist Workers Party, and one person was enrolled as an active supporter of the SWP. More than \$5,000 worth of Pathfinder literature was

sold, topping sales at the June 1990 party convention.

As convention participants returned home they looked forward to bringing as many fighting youth as possible to the Young Socialist Alliance convention and socialist conference to be held in Ohio August 9-10.

Truces signed in Yugoslavia; workers speak out against war

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

Twelve days after the regime in Slovenia declared its independence from Yugoslavia, a truce was signed in fighting between the Yugoslav army and militias loyal to the Slovenian government. Two days later, on July 10, Slovenia's parliament ratified a peace agreement suspending the declaration of independence for three months.

This followed defeats suffered by the Yugoslav army, which had unsuccessfully sought to retake control of Slovenian border posts from the militias. Fraternization between workers in uniform on the two sides played a big part in the crumbling of the Yugoslav army, as did appeals to Yugoslav army soldiers not to attack, and sentiment within the country against civil war.

The Yugoslav army's soldiers are drawn from throughout Yugoslavia.

A report in the *New York Times* July 16 recorded that when the army went into combat "conscript forces surrendered under fire, and many of its reserve troops were unwilling to accept mobilization if it meant shooting at fellow Yugoslavs."

Thousands of soldiers, particularly those from Croatia and Slovenia, deserted since the fighting began. In many cases mothers have gone to army bases to encourage their sons to leave.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported

that on one such base, in Croatia, "relations among the different nationalities ... seem good." A Croatian soldier sat with his friend, a Serb. "There's no nationalism here," one soldier explained. "He comes to my house in Belgrade, I go to his house in Zagreb."

In other reports, a Yugoslav army corporal who had fought in a skirmish where some of his fellow soldiers were killed thought that the attempt to stop secession by Slovenia was "a mistake." And a 21-year-old shoe factory worker in a Slovenian uniform stressed: "This was a war against the generals in Belgrade, not against the Yugoslav nation."

In parts of Croatia tensions have remained high, despite the Croatian regime's agreement to a similar suspension of its independence declaration for three months. According to the Croatian government some 43 people have died between last August and July 11, 29 of them policemen, in armed clashes between Serbs (who make up 11 percent of Croatia's population) and authorities.

Many in Croatia have spoken out against these clashes. A 26-year-old bartender, Gavran Blazen, of mixed Serb and Croat parentage and living in a mainly Serb village, thought that Serbs in Croatia should be allowed to go their own way, perhaps by joining up with Serbia. But "this [violence] must stop," he said. "We can finish this only with conversation. With guns, you settle nothing."

How '45 Yugoslav revolution forged working-class unity

BY SETH GALINSKY

In coverage of recent events in Yugoslavia, the revolution of 1945-56 is often ignored by the big-business news media. This massive revolution, which took power out of the hands of the landlords and capitalists, overcame national and ethnic divisions and united workers and peasants regardless of their language or particular cultural heritage.

Yugoslavia did not exist until 1918. Before that the regions of Croatia and Slovenia were ruled by the Austro-Hungarian empire. Bosnia-Herzegovina, for centuries under Turkish rule, was taken over by Austria-Hungary in 1878.

Serbia, which had been a principality of the Turkish Ottoman empire, was established as an independent kingdom in 1878. In 1913 Macedonia was ceded to Serbia.

At the end of World War I the Austro-Hungarian empire disintegrated and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was established. It was renamed Yugoslavia, Land of the Southern Slavs, in 1929.

King Alexander I, a Serb, ruled the country ruthlessly in the interests of the feudal landowners and capitalists. He tried to impose Serbian dominance over the whole country, exploiting national divisions to maintain his power. For example, Macedonians were forbidden by law to publish books or newspapers in their native language.

Alexander banned all political parties, dissolved the parliament, suspended the constitution, banned trade unions, and introduced rigid press censorship.

The Nazi invasion

In April 1941 a combined force from Nazi Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Italy invaded Yugoslavia. The royal family fled and in 11 days resistance was crushed. An "independent" fascist regime run by the Ustashi was set up in Croatia, while the occupying army ruled directly in the rest of the country. Imitating the Nazis, the Ustashi killed tens of thousands of people, mostly Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies.

Two guerrilla forces began organizing against the invaders and fascists. The Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland, known as the Chetniks, favored the return of the exiled king. The other was the National Liberation Army or Partisans, headed by Josip Tito, leader of the Communist Party.

The Chetniks, based on the Serbian landlords and capitalists and backed by Washington and London, fought against the fascists less and less as the war went on. They instead focused their attacks on the Partisans.

Although the Partisans received no significant aid from the Allied powers in World War II — including the Soviet Union — until near the end of their strug-

gle, they rapidly outpaced the royalist Chetniks and won broad support from Yugoslav workers and peasants. They were able to cut across ethnic divisions with their slogan, "Death to the fascists, liberty to the people."

The Partisan fighters organized around a straightforward program:

- South Slavic unity on the basis of equality and mutual respect for all national groups and all religions.
- Fight against the domination of one nation over others.
- Down with chauvinism.
- Economic and social advances for the masses of people.

The liberation army brought together workers and peasants of Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian descent. They won over Bulgarian, Romanian, Italian, and German prisoners of war and deserters. Their campaign was so effective that members of the Croatian Air Force and supporters of the Chetniks were won to their ranks.

By 1943 the Partisans had liberated half the country despite pressure from Moscow, which wanted the Yugoslav Communists to forge an alliance with the Chetniks and downplay their "extremist" policies. They grew to an 800,000-strong army and set up schools, hospitals, newspapers, and a postal service in the areas they controlled. They also began to confiscate the property of Nazi collaborators. Popular committees governed in the liberated zones.

By May 1945 the liberation of Yugoslavia was complete. More than 2 million Yugoslavs died in the war.

Death blow to capitalism

The League of Communists was the dominant force in the new government and abolished the monarchy soon after taking power. By November 1944 some 82 percent of the country's industry had already been taken out of capitalist hands.

An August 1945 land reform law paved the way for confiscating the property of large landowners without compensation and gave 95 percent of the cultivable land to small peasants. There was no forced collectivization of agriculture as there had been in the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin. In Yugoslavia much of the land was distributed in individual plots. By the end of the year the new government had dealt a death blow to capitalist and feudal relations.

The new government began planning the economy. The first five-year plan was inaugurated in 1947 and a policy of allocating additional resources to the more economically backward regions of the country was adopted. As a result, while industrial output



Workers and farmers in Partisans, who defeated fascist occupation of Yugoslavia, opening door to socialist revolution.

in the more developed regions of Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia increased 9- or 10-fold from 1939-1970, in less-developed Macedonia the increase was 31-fold and in Montenegro almost 50-fold.

But instead of moving to deepen the self-confidence, political consciousness, organization, and mobilization of the working class, Tito's party modeled on the Stalinists in Moscow, developed in power as a self-serving bureaucracy.

Conflicts between Tito and Stalin led to a break between Moscow and Belgrade in 1948. The dispute did not involve a difference over fundamental international political perspectives, but over defending the national material interests of their respective bureaucratic castes.

Tito did not lead the Yugoslav workers state toward linking up with fighting workers and peasants around the world. He increas-

ingly sought an accommodation with imperialism. His subservience to Washington, for example, led to branding the North Koreans as the "aggressors" in the 1950-53 Korean War.

In the early 1950s and 60s, the Yugoslav government began implementing "self-management," introducing capitalist methods in the economy, under the guise of "stimulating" the plan. State-owned factories more and more competed against each other for resources. Investment was decided not on the basis of social need, but more and more on profitability.

The use of capitalist methods exacerbated problems caused by the growth of the ruling parasitic, bureaucratic caste. Economic stagnation developed, unemployment reappeared, and initial gains toward equality and unity among various nationalities were eroded.

For further reading . . .

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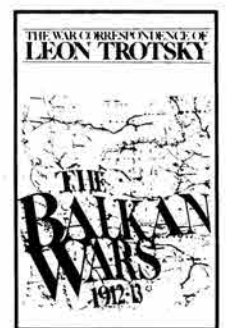
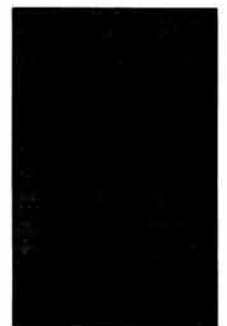
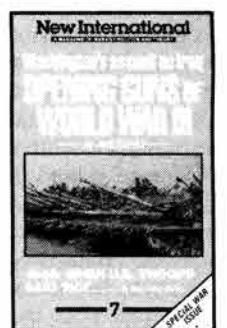
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Shabazz, Pathfinder file lawsuit to defend literary legacy of Malcolm X

BY JAMES HARRIS

Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, and Pathfinder Press have filed suit in federal court against Writers and Readers, Inc., and Abdul Alkalimat.

At the end of 1990, Writers and Readers published a book titled *Malcolm X for Beginners*, authored by Alkalimat. The book reproduces substantial portions of writings, speeches, and interviews of Malcolm X previously published by Pathfinder, without acknowledging the copyright for this material held by Shabazz.

Articles on the lawsuit have appeared in the *New York Times*, *New York Newsday*, and the *Daily News*.

Harry Rand, the attorney for Shabazz and Pathfinder, told the *Times*, the book contains "a large amount of material without permission and without acknowledging the copyright of Dr. Shabazz."

The material used without permission includes the typographic design and cover photo from the book *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*.

For several months, Shabazz and Pathfinder have sought to come to an agreement with Writers and Readers and Alkalimat. A federal court action was initiated in July after the repeated failure of such efforts. "We are still hoping this matter can be resolved out of court," stated Shabazz and Steve Clark, editorial director of Pathfinder, in a press release. "That's our goal."

Since the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965, Shabazz has collaborated with Pathfinder Press to get in print, keep in print, and make accessible in accurate form the speeches, writings, interviews, and other works of Malcolm X.

"During this 26-year period Dr. Shabazz and Pathfinder have never failed to respond to a request to reproduce excerpts from this material by Malcolm X with proper acknowledgement and permission," Shabazz and Clark explained.

"We are committed to the broadest possible distribution of Malcolm X's works to the millions in the United States and around the world who want to read them," they said.

Apartheid regime's hand in township violence, killing

BY DEREK BRACEY
AND RUTH HASWELL

- The wife, daughter, and grandchild of Ernest Sotsu, a pastor and an ANC educational officer, were gunned down with AK-47 rifles the night of July 3 in the Natal township of Bopatong. The family's house was also burned to the ground. Sotsu was at the ANC's 48th National Conference in Durban when he was told of the attack on his family and home.

- Inkatha Freedom Party supporters ambushed ANC members on their way to an ANC rally in Durban July 7. Three ANC supporters were killed and 11 seriously injured. There were further attacks when ANC supporters returned from the rally.

- Five men died and 10 were hospitalized at the Erick Tavern in Sebokeng after two gunmen sprayed bullets from assault rifles at about 100 patrons. The 10-minute attack occurred July 8.

- Michael Mapongwana, the chairperson of the Western Cape Civic Association, was assassinated July 7 when the car he was riding in was attacked by four assailants. Mapongwana — whose wife was killed in an attack at their home in October — had survived four previous attempts on his life. His murder has been linked to a feud between rival taxi associations. An ANC member, Mapongwana was a leading figure in the peacemaking efforts between the associations.

- The South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) reported 12 deaths recently in the Midlands area.

SAMWU explained its members were approached by the Inkatha-linked United Workers Union of South Africa as part of a recruitment drive and told to join it in order to be protected from the violence. Those refusing to join are being harassed and threatened.

NDALENI, South Africa — The above incidents of violence against supporters of the struggle against apartheid are just a few of those that occurred over the past week.

Nearly 300 international guests and members of the press attending the ANC National Conference visited this township and got a firsthand look at what the continuing assaults mean in the daily lives of tens of thousands across the country. Ndaleni, located outside of Durban, has been the scene of repeated attacks this year by vigilantes and forces linked to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

One of the most recent occurred June 23, when 16 youths were killed. They were to have met with others from a nearby township the following day in an attempt to resolve the violence.

The attacks on Ndaleni have been a part

of the violence waged against supporters of the ANC by government forces and Inkatha that has claimed more than 10,000 lives since 1984.

Fifty thousand residents have evacuated Ndaleni since January as a result of several large-scale attacks on the township. Few residents remain, and most of the abandoned houses have shattered windows and gunshot holes. A few have been burned by gas bombs.

Thousands have occupied churches and other shelters in the area. Others are staying at their workplaces in Durban or on the farms around nearby Richmond.

The tour visited a refugee camp of several hundred. Mostly women and children live in tents supplied by the Red Cross. The men are living out in the bushes, protecting the camp day and night. "Right now we are just waiting to hear that we can go home. We want peace so we can leave here," one resident said.

There are 100,000 refugees, a majority of them ANC supporters, who have been displaced recently.

The violence here takes different forms — some are night attacks by large groups of Inkatha supporters and others are daytime attacks by small gangs of youth from within the townships or hostels.

Apartheid regime's responsibility

The ANC has pointed to this violence, which until recently was confined to the Natal region, as a central obstacle to negotiations for a new government. The ANC charges that the apartheid regime has the main responsibility for the violence, which has claimed 1,000 lives this year, and demands that the government move to stop the attacks before negotiations on a new constitution and government can begin. ANC leaders have also organized meetings with Inkatha in an attempt to work out a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

It is the government which stands to gain the most from the violence. The regime and the big-business press portray the attacks as fighting between "rival" Black organizations. Such activity, they contend, shows that moving to a new government quickly is inadvisable. It is one of the regime's main political weapons in justifying continued minority rule.

A resolution passed at the ANC conference noted the thousands killed by "apartheid sponsored violence carried out by Inkatha, askaris, Bantustan death forces, and others whose aim is to weaken and destroy the ANC and other democratic forces.

"This violence is taking place in a counter-revolutionary context directed by agencies of the state, and its surrogate forces in the form of counselors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads and certain right-wing elements."

Recent documentation from within the government's security apparatus itself has shown that it is supplying arms and training to some Inkatha members. Many township residents spoken with during the tour and in subsequent interviews point out that heavy weapons used by the assailants are also supplied by the KwaZulu police, itself a government-created and -funded repressive force.

The regime is attempting to benefit from the divisions it created within the South African population over the past decades. Through forcible removal of Blacks to barren Bantustans, policies of complete segregation and denial of rights, and attempts to break moves toward establishing trade unions and democratic organizations, the apartheid government pursued a policy of "divide and rule."

ANC program

Through its program and activities the ANC has sought to unite all peoples in the country in a struggle for a democratic republic. It points out that only through this battle can a true South African nation of both Blacks and whites be forged.

The conference decided to campaign to demand that the government act immediately to stem the violence, or allow the formation of an interim government that will. This needs to be at "the top of the agenda of the ANC and the democratic movement," the resolution stated.

The conference also decided that more

steps needed to be taken to encourage the formation of self-defense units in the townships. ANC spokespeople say that little progress has been made in setting up the community-based defense units since a call was made to form them last May.

The resolution also endorsed an effort by church and business leaders to create codes of conduct for the security forces and political organizations in the country. They are working on proposals to be accepted by the ANC, the apartheid regime, and Inkatha, as well as discussing the creation of an independent body that can enforce the codes.

This comes as several agreements between Inkatha and the ANC have had no impact on abating the violence.

Inkatha perspectives

Inkatha Freedom Party leaders maintain that their members are victims of the violence and that they play no role in creating it. They claim that the violence is born out of the desire of the ANC-led forces to eliminate the Zulu nation.

Inkatha's leader, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, has long opposed the politics of the ANC and the organizations that support its program, such as the former United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

While opposing some aspects of apartheid, Inkatha now focuses its political fire at the ANC. It counterposes the struggle for a unitary, democratic, and nonracial South Africa to a federation of ethnic groups, each having political control of their own areas.

In an interview with the *New Nation* newspaper, Humphrey Ndlovu, chair of the Inkatha Freedom Party in West Rand, was asked Inkatha's position on the ANC demands for a new government.

"The present government was democratically elected," he said. "What we demand as Black people is to have full South African citizenship and the right to vote. The question of a constituent assembly and the interim government is a waste of time and energy.

"We should not embark on processes which will delay the attainment of citizenship rights. It is high time we consider becoming full members of the present parliament," Ndlovu stated.

Echoing government and big-business demands, Buthelezi continues to red-bait the ANC, saying that Mandela is constrained by "hardline elements" in the liberation movement. He says the ANC should expel members of the South African Communist Party.

In the mid 1980s as the international anti-apartheid movement began winning fights to impose sanctions on South Africa, Buthelezi went on a series of tours around the world arguing that apartheid should be opposed without sanctions, and tried to encourage more investment in South Africa.

In a recent interview he stated that the violence is endemic to the country. When asked about the possibility of a civil war in South Africa, Buthelezi replied, "I think we have the makings of it. If we don't succeed [in talks] things may really flare up into a serious civil war. I am very concerned about that."

Attacking the struggle for an interim government he said that the ANC always demanded power be handed to it "and one cannot brush away the suspicion they want to create a situation that would make it easy for them to seize power."

"I am saddened and often have sleepless nights at the extent of the chasm between myself and the ANC," he continued.

KwaZulu Police

Many point to the relationship between Inkatha, the KwaZulu Police (ZP), and the KwaZulu government, all of which are headed by Buthelezi.

KwaZulu is one of ten Bantustans that was set up by the apartheid regime as it drove Africans off the land and sought to relegate them to the position of a vast migratory pool of cheap labor. For millions these barren "homelands" were the "country" in which they were forced to live. Four have been granted "independence" from South Africa, though only the apartheid government recognizes them.

There are many reports of the ZP giving



Militant/ Margrethe Siem
Inkatha rally in Natal. ANC charges South African government bears main responsibility for violence. Regime arms some Inkatha forces and shelters them from prosecution for attacks on ANC supporters.

immunity to Inkatha members involved in assaults and murders. On July 8, Buthelezi had to repudiate a statement by his own police commissioner, Gen. Jac Buchner, that the homeland police were biased toward Inkatha members. Buchner had stated that "to a certain extent," KwaZulu police were biased toward Inkatha and that many had been Inkatha members when it was still promoted as a cultural movement.

In response, Buthelezi said that the ZP is not biased and that such partiality would not be tolerated. "Gen. Buchner assures me that members of the KwaZulu police are taught and regularly urged to act at all times in an unbiased and fair manner."

Despite those political differences and evidence of Inkatha participation in the attacks, the ANC has kept its fire on the government, demanding it end both its complicity in arming and organizing the assailants and its continual refusal to apprehend those involved.

The ANC has reached out to Inkatha and encouraged it to enter a joint campaign for a new government. The ANC is pulling together a Patriotic Front of all organizations supporting the call for the interim government and a constituent assembly. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) have agreed to be part of it, but Inkatha has not.

Buthelezi also turned down an invitation to attend the ANC conference as an observer.

Trade unions, the ANC, and other organizations have also organized national, regional, and local meetings in an attempt to come to some resolution to the violence. Mandela had two meetings with Buthelezi in January and in April, out of which there was some common ground on moving toward peace.

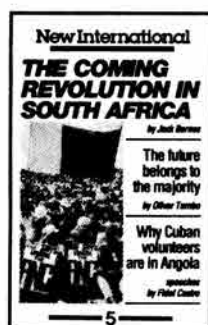
But reports across Natal indicate that the violence goes on unabated. Many of the local Inkatha leaders state they are not bound by any national agreements, and will continue to function as they have.

In his closing address to the ANC conference Mandela raised the question of the continuing violence. "Whilst we deliberated here our membership in the Vaal area and this province have been attacked by vigilantes and it is believed that some elements of the security forces were also involved," he said. "We will have to make certain that the resolutions taken here on violence are implemented and that we reaffirm our resolve to defend our country from attempts being made to destabilize the peace process."

Mandela praised a statement by South African President F.W. de Klerk condemning the attack on the family of Rev. Sotsu. But he continued, "If he had done this right from the beginning, this violence would not have intensified to the state that it has. We must defend our people at the same time as we push forward the process of leading to the transfer of power to the people. We have to move faster on the question of achieving a constituent assembly. The power of the organized masses will outweigh any attempts to destabilize us."

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Recently released political prisoner says long struggle is ahead in South Africa

BY GREG McCARTAN

DURBAN, South Africa — Another victory in the fight to free all political prisoners was registered here on the final day of the African National Congress' 48th National Conference.

Fifteen ANC members serving long prison terms for their participation in the armed struggle against the apartheid regime were released July 6. Six of them were flown to the conference where they received a hero's welcome.

While the government contends it has released all those imprisoned for political activity, the ANC and the independent Human Rights Commission estimate some 900 remain behind bars. This includes 133 in the several Bantustans that the Pretoria regime calls "independent states."

In announcing the release of the 15, ANC President Nelson Mandela said, "We expect many more to be released soon." Although the government has said these and others are in jail because of "unrest-related matters" — and therefore not covered by the regime's pledge to release political activists — Mandela said the ANC has "insisted that they are political prisoners and that they must be released."

He also rejected recent press reports that an agreement had been reached with the regime on the disposition of the remaining cases. Saying "the resolution of this obstacle is not completely out of sight," he emphasized that the issue has not been resolved.

One recently released prisoner attending the conference was Rafiq Rohan. A journalist and formerly an editor of the *Natal Post*, 37-year-old Rohan recounted in an interview his decision to join the ANC army Umkhonto we Sizwe, his arrest, and the subsequent fight to win his release from jail.

Learned about apartheid as youth

Badly burned in a fire as a youth, Rohan said he became aware of apartheid in the whites-only hospital where he was sent to recover. Hospitals for Blacks did not have the facilities to treat his wounds. Kept in a segregated area, he said that a white youth he befriended was punished for spending time with him.

As a student and later a teacher he said he came "face-to-face with the treatment of Blacks by the police force. Killings, beatings, and other forms of repression were commonplace."

Fired for his political activity he became a journalist where he saw his role "as a means of promoting the struggle in this country, writing about these injustices, and informing the people about the struggle." Rohan soon decided that writing was not enough, joined the ANC, and subsequently its armed wing.

Rohan was arrested in 1988 and spent a year and a half in solitary confinement. He was charged with 27 counts, including membership in a banned organization, receiving military training illegally, possession of weapons, and carrying out attacks against police and the South African Defense Forces headquarters.

His case came to trial in the spring of 1990 shortly after the South African government unbanned the ANC and freed its central leaders who had been imprisoned on Robben Island.

"Because the ANC was now legal, charges of belonging to a banned organization were dropped. But I was convicted on the weapons charges and for carrying out the attacks," he said.

"Despite this, the judge in the case said that I acted with a genuine sense of altruism and my acts were politically motivated," he said.

Rohan received a 27-year sentence. He was moved to Robben Island on April 14, 1990.

The most difficult part of prison life for

all the political prisoners then was "coping with the uncertainty of whether or not we would be released soon," he said. "Many suffered a lot, several had nervous breakdowns."

"It was difficult not to be caught up in all the euphoria of the changes going on and the expectations of early release," he recalled. One action taken early on was a hunger strike demanding improved conditions, better food, and the ability to communicate with other prisoners for more hours during the day.

Despite the judge's statement, Rohan's conviction did not include any mention of the ANC. Because of the weapons and other charges, the regime tried to deal with his case similar to its treatment of those convicted where no political motivation was involved.

Although South African President F.W. de Klerk had agreed to free the prisoners by April 30 of this year, few had walked out of

apartheid's jails by the end of March. During April there was a slight increase in the number released, Rohan said. But it became apparent that the regime would not meet the deadline.

The prisoners resolved that they would begin a hunger strike if the government refused to free them.

On May 1 the 28 remaining ANC prisoners at Robben Island, and several hundred more in prisons around the country, began fasting.

After 13 days many were in life-threatening situations and were transferred to the prison hospital. There they were shackled to their beds until protests from inside and outside the country forced the government to comply with international accords on the treatment of hunger strikers.

On May 14 the prisoners were moved off Robben Island, most going to Pollsmoor Prison. The government intended to break the strikers up and confine them with other

prisoners in order to defuse the protest.

These were the last political prisoners to serve time at Robben Island, an institution that has become a symbol of the apartheid regime's attempts to brutally repress the democratic aspirations of the majority in South Africa.

Growing protests inside the country and the world finally forced the regime to free Rohan on the 24th day of his hunger strike, May 24.

"That was the first time I had broken down and cried," he said. "The hardest part was leaving my comrades still in bed and on the hunger strike. Some were soon released as well."

"There is a long struggle ahead," he said in conclusion. "The government still views us as the enemy. The moves it has made are the result of our struggle and what we have fought for."

South African regime unleashes dogs against trade unionists, arrests 61

BY GREG McCARTAN

JOHANNESBURG — Police loosed dogs on a peaceful protest by members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) July 4, then arrested 61 participants.

The demonstration, held outside of John Voster police headquarters, was part of a national day of action to protest the trial of four COSATU leaders on charges of kidnapping and assaulting a police officer.

Jay Naidoo, Moses Mayekiso, Sydney Mafumadi, and Bob Schalk are the COSATU leaders standing trial. Last August they brought a man who had been spying on the union federation's headquarters into their offices. They later found out he was a policeman. The four said they apprehended the man because of a spate of attacks on COSATU leaders and would have released him if they had known he was a member of the South African Police.

According to press accounts of the protest,

some 400 people were marching near the police station when police made an unintelligible announcement over a megaphone. Police dogs were then turned against the unionists, injuring five.

COSATU has encouraged its affiliates across the country to stage short work stoppages to press the demand that the charges be dropped, the harassment of the union leaders be ended, and to protest the government's failure to arrest and prosecute those who have attacked COSATU and its members.

The verdict in the trial is due to be announced next October.

COSATU is also preparing for a national conference here July 24-27. The labor federation is the largest in South Africa, encompassing some 2 million workers in nearly every sector of the economy. A poster produced for the conference reads: "Organize for democracy, economic reconstruction, and socialism."



William Mattala

June 24 protest to support COSATU leaders.

ANC urges maintenance of existing sanctions

Continued from front page

between the two countries. Separate legislation, called the Gramm amendment, is unaffected by the lifting of the CAAA.

Bush explained that the ban on U.S. arms deals, export-import bank loans, and U.S.-government support for IMF and World Bank loans to South Africa is still in force. But he stressed he would encourage states and local governments that have also adopted stiff sanction measures to lift them as rapidly as possible.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the ending of sanctions "is a great day for us," and the "momentous decision would lead to an end to sanctions worldwide."

President F.W. de Klerk welcomed the news and hoped "the momentum created by the termination of the CAAA would soon lead to the removal of the remaining measures."

"It is almost bound to be seen as a green light that gives the go-ahead to everyone else around the world to break out of isolation," said Ron Hayward, deputy director of the South African Chamber of Business (SACOB).

The American Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg agreed with SACOB's response but warned that "there are still more obstacles to be removed," such as the restriction on South Africa's access to vital new loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Governments in London, Tokyo, and Tel Aviv quickly followed Bush's lead and said they too would move to lift remaining punitive measures against Pretoria.

But the Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian governments said sanctions would remain for the time being. "For all the progress being made, the constitutional structure of apartheid very much remains and more

progress needs to take place," said Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

With statements by some city administrations in the United States that they would not follow Bush's advice to drop their trade restrictions, numerous protest statements in the U.S. and elsewhere, and the realization that the Gramm amendment would not be lifted, the ruling class here took a more cautious approach in its assessment of how quickly they could overcome the sanctions obstacle.

For example, an editorial in the *Star* noted, "The most pivotal of all economic sanctions — the restriction on South African access to the International Monetary Fund — remains in place."

Role of sanctions

Since the CAAA was imposed in 1986, South African exports to the United States have plunged by \$745 million to \$1.3 billion annually. Some 270 U.S. companies have disinvested.

The role of international sanctions imposed against South Africa has played an important part in the struggle for a nonracial, democratic South Africa.

Trade union and other mass democratic organizations here have said for some time that isolating South Africa politically, economically, and otherwise was the best means by which opponents of apartheid around the world could hasten the downfall of white minority rule. Job losses and economic hardship for a time for the Black working class was preferable to continuing under apartheid, they said.

The deepening struggle in urban and rural areas inside South Africa, the military and political setbacks suffered by the apartheid regime, and the success of the sanctions campaign forced the regime into a historic retreat.

It was compelled to begin a series of moves in 1989 that registered those victories, including unbanning political organizations, releasing ANC leader Nelson Mandela and many other political prisoners, allowing the return of exiles to South Africa, and other steps.

Delegates at the mid-July ANC national conference took into account indications that many governments, including in Africa, were well along the way to restoring at least some economic and political ties with the Pretoria regime. They began to formulate proposals for the phased lifting of sanctions.

In his closing speech to the conference, Mandela said "sanctions must continue" and that unless an approach of flexibility and a phased perspective is adopted, "we will be left holding a shell and nothing else."

A resolution passed by the conference outlined how it is essential that "the sanctions weapon is not lost. Sanctions must be used creatively in order to arrest the erosion that has occurred, push the peace process forward, and obtain the objective of a democratic South Africa."

A three phase lifting of sanctions would be tied with the removal of obstacles to negotiations, including the implementation of effective measures to end the violence; the installation of an interim government; and the adoption of a democratic constitution and the holding of free and fair elections for a nonracial parliament and a representative government.

The ANC urged "all who cherish democracy and want to see a free, democratic, and nonracial South Africa come into being, to continue to utilize this weapon to maintain pressure on the South African government to ensure rapid movement forward to establish the kind of society so many throughout the world have worked so long and hard to achieve."

Coming next week . . .

Speeches by Nelson Mandela, president, and Oliver Tambo, national chairperson, of the African National Congress of South Africa, to the organization's recent national conference. Don't miss a single issue of the *Militant*. Subscribe today!

National Organization for Women meets

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

NEW YORK — Some 2,000 people, mostly women, turned out for the annual national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) here at the Hilton Hotel July 5-7.

There were young women present, some of whom had participated in NOW's Young Feminist Conference earlier this year. They had come looking for ways to fight government attacks on abortion rights. The majority of those attending were middle-class professionals and businesswomen. There was little visible turnout from trade unionists. A small percentage of those present were Black or Latin.

Supreme Court abortion ruling

Much of the conference centered on the recent ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court that upheld government regulations barring employees of federally funded clinics from having any discussion about abortion with patients.

"The Supreme Court has made it clear that not only women's rights, but all individual rights are at risk at this time in our country. And all Americans have to ask themselves who's next, whose rights are on the chopping block?" said Patricia Ireland, executive vice-president of NOW, in a press conference July 5. She explained that "the backlash against women sounds an ominous warning of a much broader attack against individual liberties."

Under a theme of "we won't go back," NOW leaders emphasized "targeting" members of Congress to urge them to overturn the federal regulations regarding family planning clinics.

A resolution was adopted for a week of intensive lobbying action beginning July 18. NOW will ask prominent business people to join in the lobbying efforts.

The resolution also called for the launching of a "new political campaign that will result in unprecedented numbers of feminist candidates" running for office with the idea of challenging "incumbents who have abandoned the dream of equality."

The perspective laid out in this resolution has already been practiced in Louisiana, where the state legislature recently passed a measure outlawing abortion in most cases. The law was adopted with almost no visible protest action from supporters of women's rights. Since January NOW has primarily focused its activity on supporting some 30 Democratic Party candidates in the state who are women.

Over the last few months, some states have passed antiabortion measures. In the reproductive rights workshop, one participant asked what should be done to oppose these state measures. One of the panelists responded that it was a waste of time and energy to attempt a state-by-state fight and counterposed lobbying for legislation in the U.S. Congress to protect abortion rights.

To bolster plans for getting "friends of women" elected in the 1992 elections, NOW voted to organize a nationwide march in Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1992 to "make the 1992 elections hinge not on disgraceful tactics of racism, but become a national referendum..."

The majority of participants strongly opposed the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court. NOW leaders argued he would shift the "balance" of the court sufficiently to overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion and that his nomination was "an insult to the legacy of Thurgood Marshall."

The organization adopted a resolution in the final session to oppose Thomas' nomination by lobbying "the Senate Judi-

ciary Committee... to oppose his confirmation."

FBI table protested

As with every national NOW conference, space is allotted for groups, organizations, and businesses to display literature and items for sale.

This year, The FBI was invited to set up a recruiting table. Sitting behind the table were three female FBI representatives. The FBI had a full-page ad in the convention schedule book, urging women to sign up for a "career" in the FBI. "Add something unique to your wardrobe... and your life," the advertisement said, featuring photos of a pair of handcuffs, a gun, and a badge.

The official presence of the FBI was controversial. During the first day of proceedings, one participant questioned the FBI's table. From the podium, a NOW representative responded that since the FBI would find a way to be present anyway, it was decided to make it official, and take their money. (NOW charged a fee to set up a table in the exhibit area.)

The explanation was unsatisfactory to those repulsed by the official recognition of the FBI. Some in the Young Feminists caucus began to organize a campaign to have the FBI ejected and, by the morning of the second day, some were sporting handmade badges with a slash across the letters "FBI." Representatives staffing a Pathfinder literature table located

near the FBI's table reported brisk sales of pamphlets exposing FBI spying.

The next day, FBI representatives decided not to show up to staff their table, but the cop literature remained on display. Later that day, the NOW leadership backed down under pressure and dismantled the FBI's display.

After more protests from the floor during the final session demanding clarity on the invitation to the FBI, Ireland responded.

She explained there were several opinions among NOW National Board members including, "Our people are smart, they know who the FBI is. They know about their disruptive tactics, they know they infiltrate groups."

Ireland pointed to the Socialist Workers Party's victory in a lawsuit against the FBI. "The judge hated that he had to rule that way, but the facts in the case were clear." The SWP lawsuit exposed decades of illegal wiretapping, burglaries, and disruption against trade unionists, Black rights fighters, women's rights activists, and socialists.

Ireland explained her own thinking on the matter. "I don't mean to be flip, but I was thinking about the movie *Silence of the Lambs*," she said. "I'm thinking about work on behalf of women who are killed, the serial murders, and the woman agent who took on her supervisor. And I'm thinking we want women in positions of power and authority." But, she concluded, "I will tell you now that it is quite clear beyond a shadow of a doubt it was a serious political error."

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Cuba Va! An evening of solidarity with Cuba for the July 26th anniversary celebration. Speaker: Jorge Ruiz, first secretary, Cuban Interests Section. Program with slide show, salsa music. Fri., July 26, 7:30 p.m. Women's Building, 3543 18th St.

Class Series on Socialism. "South Africa." Mon., July 22, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

Oakland

Cuba and the New World Order. Speaker: Jorge Ruiz, first secretary, Cuban Interests Section. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Church, 14th and Castro St. Donation: \$10-\$12.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Young Socialist Alliance Educational Conference. Sat., July 20. Registration, 2:30 p.m.; Session I: "Malcolm X, Legacy of a Revolutionary." 3:30 p.m.; dinner, 6 p.m.; Militant Labor Forum: "The Fight for Abortion Rights," 7:30 p.m. Sun., July 21. Session II: "Socialism in Action - Cuba Today," 9:15 a.m. Session III: "Young People and the Fight against Imperialism and War," 11 a.m. Post-conference Meltdown at White Bear Lake, barbeque and swimming. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$12 both days, \$8 Sat., \$5 Sun. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

38th Anniversary of the July 26 Attack on the Moncada Garrison. Dance, refreshments. Sat., July 20, 9 p.m. 235 W 23rd St. Sponsor: Casa de las Americas. Donation: \$12.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Cuba: An Eyewitness Account. Slideshow. Speaker: Elizabeth Kealy, Young Socialist Alliance, visited Cuba in 1991. Sat., July 27, 5 p.m. Unitarian Church, 3114 Harney. Donation: \$3. Refreshments. Sponsors: Youth for Peace, Young Socialist Alliance.

OHIO

Cleveland

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Martha Pettit, Kibwe Diarra, Dean Athans, Duane Stilwell, Socialist Workers candidates for Cleveland Board of Education. Sun., July 21. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 1863 W 25th St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Sponsor: Cleveland Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

Hear Cuban Diplomat Bernardo Toscano, third secretary, Cuban Interests Section. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. International Conference Center, Cleveland State University, East 21st St. and Euclid Ave. Sponsor: Bernardo Toscano Tour Committee.

CANADA

Toronto

Educational Tour to Cuba. Aug. 4-18, 1991. (For residents of Canada.) Sponsors: Canada-Cuba Cultural Interchange, Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples. Price: \$916 includes airfare, accommodation, and meals. Applications and deposit due now. Tel: Toronto, (416) 533-1225, 658-1561; Montréal, (514) 270-0197; Vancouver, (604) 873-8898, 595-3991.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Introduction to Socialism Discussions. Every Tues., 6:30 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Sponsor: Young Socialists. Tel: (9) 793-075.

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YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN ACTION

The Young Socialists in New Zealand held a successful national conference June 3. Young fighters from across the country took a look at the work carried out by the Young Socialists (YS) organization since it was relaunched in December 1989, and outlined plans for the future.

One of the first activities the YS undertook in 1989 was backing the fight for freedom for jailed U.S. union activist Mark Curtis — by talking to other youth organizations, arranging meetings to explain the Curtis case, and seeking endorsements for the work of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

The revolutionary youth group made the fight against the imperialist war against the people of Iraq a central priority.

YS National Secretary Ruth Gray told the conference that the imperialist war against Iraq went hand in hand with vicious attacks on working people in New Zealand.

On the same day that military forces left New Zealand for the Arab-Persian Gulf, she noted, the government announced big cuts in welfare benefits, student grants, and restrictions on the right of young people to draw unemployment payments.

The Young Socialists mobilized to get out the facts on the fightback that developed during the war. YS members sold socialist literature at protest marches and rallies and built support for the February 21 international day of

protest against the war.

Seven members of the Young Socialists ran as candidates on the Communist League ticket for the October 1990 general elections.

The central plank of the campaign was opposition to the U.S.-led military buildup in the Middle East, and the New Zealand government's support for the war. Auckland sent planes, a medical team, and 300 military personnel to back the U.S. effort.

Coming out of the conference, the Young Socialists helped promote the tour of Carl-Eric Isacson, a leader of the Communist League of Sweden.

A dozen young people came to hear Isacson speak at Auckland University on "The Myth of Swedish Socialism." Sweden has long been held up as a socialist model. But Isacson explained that nothing could be further from the truth.

"The bosses in Sweden are affected by the world crisis of capitalism," he said. "They are on the offensive against the rights of working people like all the capitalists around the world."

The YS has launched a fund appeal to raise \$1000 to send a representative to the upcoming convention of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance in August.

Dean Hazlewood from Auckland and Andrea Mitchell from Wellington, New Zealand contributed to this article.

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Clip and mail to: Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 211, New York, N.Y. 10011.

French and international labor officials call for Curtis' release at Paris meeting

BY DEREK JEFFERS

PARIS — Representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT) urged that union and political activist Mark Curtis be released from prison at a meeting here June 15. Curtis is serving a 25-year jail term in an Iowa state prison stemming from a 1988 rape and burglary frame-up.

Daniel Retureau from Geneva, Switzerland, represented the World Federation of Trade Unions, one of the largest international labor organizations, at the meeting. Retureau reported that he had raised Curtis' fight with Australian and Canadian unionists at a meeting in Geneva earlier that week. He said their interest shows that a lot of people in the world are turning their eyes toward the Iowa State Board of Parole to push it to apply the law in an unbiased and nondiscriminatory manner.

"The case enjoys increasing support and I think that's excellent," Retureau continued. "We have to try to do more. There's always a lot of repression of unionists in the world — so why get involved in the case of one man?"

"First of all, because it's an exemplary case," he said. "They didn't just attack one man to try to keep him from being active. They attacked his reputation. They tried to break his morale and they continue to try in prison. Let it be said as well that this is happening in the United States — the seat of the main multinational companies in food and agriculture which, in the last analysis, rule over food markets throughout the world."

"They always have the same strategy," the union official explained. "They put workers from different countries, of different nationalities, and of different cultural and ethnic origins up against each other always with the same purpose — to worsen working and safety conditions, and lower wages. The fact that Mark fought against that is exemplary for us."

"We commit ourselves to do everything possible to really broaden the support for Mark and to do it while respecting what he is, what he wants, so that he can continue to the fight that he has undertaken," Retureau concluded.

Hélène Duberos represented the CGT, the largest French labor confederation, claiming over 1 million members. She proposed that the CGT food workers federation take up the defense campaign for Mark Curtis. "That's the proposal that I'm making in the name of the CGT," she said. "We have discussed this: a new stage, a bit more on a mass level, because that's what Mark Curtis needs, something that gets larger throughout the world and forces those who put him in prison in such an unjust manner to release him from prison under international pressure."

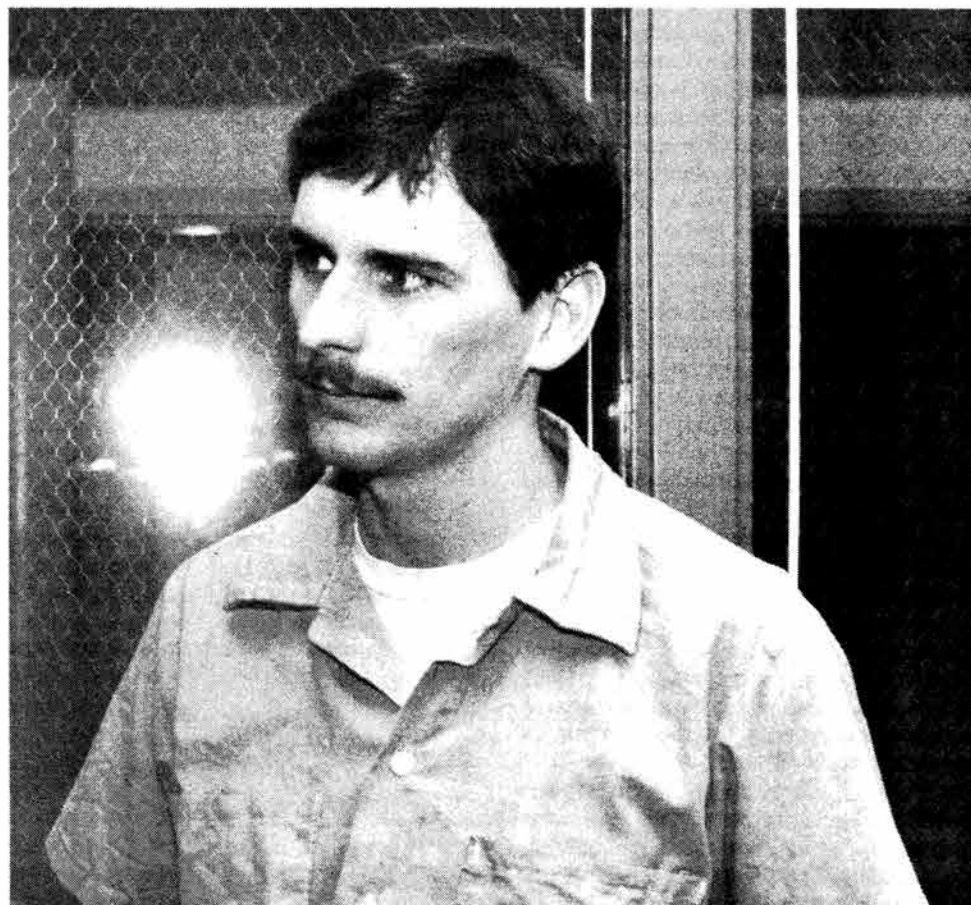
Robert Pac, from the National Bureau of the Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples (MRAP), explained the conditions faced by Latinos in the United States, conditions which Mark Curtis was fighting to improve the day he was arrested. Antoine Spire, host of a weekly national radio program on human rights, also spoke. A portion of the video documentary, *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis*, was shown and translated into French.

Derek Jeffers, a Curtis supporter in Paris, linked police brutality in Des Moines, Iowa, to recent police killings of youths of North African origin in several Paris working-class suburbs. He explained how Curtis was severely beaten by the Des Moines police the night of his arrest.

"You always find the same haste to cover up, the same bald-faced lying by the cops," Jeffers said. "Winning justice for Mark Curtis will also help win justice for Bamara, Aïssa, Youssef, and other victims of police violence."

Jeffers appealed for support for the international campaign by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to call on the Iowa authorities to release Curtis and explained the need to gather 200 letters from unionists and others to deliver to the Iowa State Parole Board. Letters supporting parole were presented at the meeting from the Democratic French Confederation of Labor (CFDT) local at GEC-Alsthom in Saint-Ouen and from the CGT at Renault-Choisy.

A message from the International Federation of Human Rights (IFHR), headquartered



Militant/Stu Singer

Mark Curtis. "We commit ourselves to do everything possible to really broaden the support for Mark . . . so that he can continue the fight that he has undertaken," Daniel Retureau, official of World Federation of Trade Unions, told June 15 support meeting in Paris.

in Paris and the principal international human rights organizations, was read at the meeting. Daniel Jacoby, IFHR president, wrote: "A thorough-going analysis of his case shows that Mark Curtis did not have a far trial conforming to the relevant international norms. It is imperative that he win his appeal bid very quickly. For right now, at the very least, he should be released on parole as quickly as possible by the Iowa State Board of Parole."

The June 15 meeting was built with help from the local union movement. The CGT local at the GEC-Alsthom electrical plant

in Saint-Ouen, just outside Paris, produced and donated 4,000 leaflets and other materials and organized union members to distribute leaflets at the factory gate. Signs for the meeting were posted on all the CGT and CFDT bulletin boards throughout the plant, where 2,000 people work. At the Renault factory in Choisy, another Paris suburb, a Curtis supporter set up a week-long Mark Curtis display, along with a box for donations, in the CGT-run factory library. More than \$300 was raised for the defense effort at the June 15 meeting.

British unionist wins victory over blacklist

BY PAUL DAVIES

In an important victory for democratic rights the Court of Appeal ruled in favor of trade unionist and political activist Denny Fitzpatrick, who was unfairly sacked by state-owned British Rail in 1989. The court ruled that British Rail (BR) had fired Fitzpatrick because of union activities in a previous workplace and that this was illegal.

Jimmy Knapp, general secretary of the

Rail union convention in Canada backs parole for Curtis

BY NED DMYTRYSHYN

RICHMOND, British Columbia—A convention of the United Transportation Union (UTU) in Canada voted to send a letter to the Iowa State Board of Parole urging the release of union and political activist Mark Curtis. It was the first such meeting of the Canadian component of the UTU, reflecting a move toward greater autonomy from the international union, which is based in the United States.

Several representatives of the UTU from across Canada also agreed to send letters to the parole board. Many delegates stopped to discuss Curtis' fight for justice at a Mark Curtis Defense Committee information table and donated \$33. A copy of the pamphlet *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis* was sold and an Alberta UTU local representative bought a copy of a video about the case to show local members.

Jim Atkinson, the Edmonton delegate who moved the resolution in support of Curtis, explained that "this case is important for all unionists because it could happen to any one of us."

National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers, said the victory "will help bring an end to the long-running scandal of blacklisting by organizations like the Economic League."

Employers use the Economic League to provide them with information about the union and political activity of current and prospective employees. The League was formed in 1919 in the wake of the strikes that followed World War I and the Russian Revolution.

The ruling has implications that go beyond the rail industry. "It extends the legal protection of all trade unionists," explained Paul Statham of the union's lawyers, Patterson and Brewer.

The London daily *Guardian* commented in its story on the case, "Employers' rights to use political blacklists and sack trade union activists will be severely restricted."

Fitzpatrick was dismissed one day before the end of her six-month probation period as a signals and telecommunication worker at BR Paddington station. British Rail claimed that on her application form she had concealed nine days of employment at Ford Motor Co.

The union branch at Paddington issued a leaflet explaining the stakes in the victimization, and the fight was taken up by the union's national executive. Support was received from branches around the country in the course of campaigning for Fitzpatrick's reinstatement.

The Court of Appeal ruling overturns a previous ruling in a similar case, *Beyer v. City of Birmingham* (1977). There the court accepted that an employer could dismiss a worker for trade union activity at a previous workplace.

The ruling in *Fitzpatrick v. British Rail* recognizes that workers are unfairly dismissed on the grounds of employers' fears

of what they might do in the future, based on records of previous union activity.

The High Court ruling is a step forward in the fight for Fitzpatrick's reinstatement. However, during 1990 only 2 percent of workers who won cases against employers for unfair dismissal succeeded in getting their jobs back.

The sacking of Fitzpatrick in 1989 took place at a time of increasing BR management attacks on the rights of workers to union organization. This included imposing a "gag rule" that prohibited employees from talking to the media about conditions on the job without company authorization.

Despite these attacks, the union has successfully defended one of its members in High Court and turned back one of the divisive measures the bosses used to weaken it. Earlier this year, guards (brakemen) at Paddington forced management to concede that its testing practices were racist and would be changed. Although the majority of guards at Paddington are Black, all of the drivers, a higher paying grade, are white.

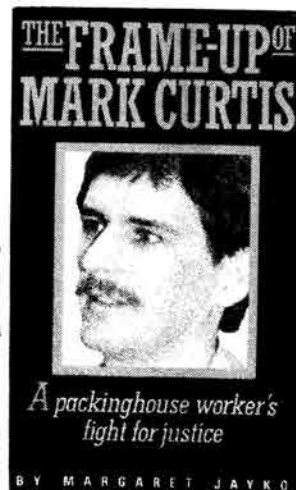
The High Court ruling also came in the week that the government's frame-up case against the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) collapsed and the South Yorkshire Police were forced to pay compensation of £425,000 (US\$680,000) to 39 miners who were injured and falsely arrested during police attacks on picket lines during the 1984-85 miners strike.

Fitzpatrick commented, "Margaret Thatcher declared the miners to be the 'enemy within' in an attempt to isolate them from other workers. That is just what BR tried to do when they sacked me. The victory of the NUM in repelling the prosecution frame-up of their leaders and the Court ruling in my case against British Rail are gains that can be used by trade unionists in the battles that lie ahead."

from PATHFINDER

The Frame-up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$5.00.



Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Add \$3.00 for postage and handling.

Iowa demands socialists disclose names

Continued from front page

Commission advisory opinion last year granting SWP candidates in federal elections exemption from disclosing the names of financial contributors and recipients of campaign funds. "The recent events... along with the history of governmental harassment," the FEC stated, "indicate that there is a reasonable probability that compelled disclosure of the names, addresses, occupations, and names of employers... will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from governmental or private sources."

A letter by SWP general counsel Edward Copeland on behalf of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee requesting the advisory opinion presented evidence of the harassment of the SWP and those associating with it.

Among the incidents in the last five years, he cited the firing of a packinghouse worker by the George A. Hormel Co. in Fremont, Nebraska. "The individual [Robert Langemeier] was fired, for among other reasons, speaking at a meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, sponsored by the *Militant*, a socialist newsweekly, on the labor battle against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota."

At a National Labor Relations Board hearing on the firing, a "private investigator admitted that he had taped the meeting sponsored by the *Militant* newspaper by perching in a trash dumpster and holding a tape recorder to an air vent."

Ostensibly designed to curtail the corruption and fraud rampant in capitalist politics, the disclosure of financial contributions has been law since passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. Campaign reports to the FEC are public record. Consequently, disclosing the names of contributors to Socialist Workers campaigns provides a ready-made hit list for government, employer, and private spy agencies and other antilabor outfits.

Since it became mandatory, the SWP has not disclosed any names of contributors to government officials or agencies. In 1974 the party filed a lawsuit challenging the provision. A court-ordered consent decree was won in 1979 exempting SWP campaign committees, under the First Amendment, from turning over names of financial contributors for five years.

A 1982 U.S. Supreme Court ruling granted the SWP an exemption from state campaign disclosure requirements and amplified the protection to include recipients of payments from SWP campaign committees. In 1985 the FEC consent decree was extended for five years. The 1990 FEC advisory opinion extended the same protection until 1996.

The Iowa Disclosure Commission has granted exemptions to all SWP candidates running in partisan races for state office. However, the commission's recent directive states that exemption "does not have application in a nonpartisan city election," such as the election in Des Moines.

SWP attorney Copeland, in a letter to the Iowa Disclosure Commission, pointed out that a U.S. District Court in Florida decided in 1989 that election laws requiring disclosure of the names of contributors or recipients were unconstitutional as applied to the SWP in Miami's "nonpartisan" mayoral race. The court ruled that "First Amendment protections do not hinge on whether an election ballot announces party affiliation."

Protests needed

The Iowa commission's record indicates its attack is serious. Last year, after two years of hearings and a criminal trial, Larry Carter was found guilty of not reporting his campaign contributors. An atheist activist, Carter was an unsuccessful city council candidate in 1987. He was sentenced to 90 days in jail and served 84 with six days off for good behavior.

SWP mayoral candidate Lobman urges supporters of democratic rights to write to the Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission, 507 10th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50311, protesting its unconstitutional move. Copies should be sent to the Socialist Workers 1991 Campaign—Sara Lobman for Mayor, 2105 Forest Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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

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

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Revolutionary Cuba Today: Eyewitness Accounts. Speakers: Merriam McLendon, community activist, visited Cuba in August 1990 with National Coalition for Independent Political Action delegation; John Hawkins, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Birmingham, member United Mine Workers of America Local 2368, visited Cuba in 1991. Sun., July 21. Dinner, 5:30 p.m.; program, 6:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: Program, \$3; dinner, \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Abortion Rights under Attack. Speakers: Barbara Ellis, East Bay California Abortion Rights Action League; Alison Gude, Bay Area Coalition on Reproductive Rights; Natasha Terlexis, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

Stop Police Brutality! Speakers: Billy Harde- man, People United for Justice; Jackie Floyd, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The 1945-46 Revolution in Yugoslavia and the Class Conflict There Today. Speaker: Lucille Robbins, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1199. Sat., July 20, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

Defending Affirmative Action. The Stakes for Working People. Speakers: Sara Jean Johnston, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 100A; Katie Jordan, secretary Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 5, vice-president Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women. Sat., July 27, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

IOWA

Des Moines

Cuba: An Eyewitness Account. Slide show. Speaker: Elizabeth Kealy, Young Socialist Alliance, visited Cuba in 1991. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sun., July 21, 4 p.m. IMU rm. 335, University of Iowa. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019½ Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Why Capitalism Is Marching Us Toward War and Depression and How the Working Class Can Reverse this Course. Report-back from the 36th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 20. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: Program, \$3; dinner, \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The 1945-46 Revolution in Yugoslavia and the Class Conflict There Today. Speaker: member Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Defend Affirmative Action and Abortion Rights. Panel discussion. Sat., July 20. 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

The 1945-46 Revolution in Yugoslavia and the Class Conflict There Today. Speaker: Lee Oleson, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 271. Sat., July 20, 7 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Fight against Police Brutality. Speakers: Venus Hannah, president of Plainfield Afro-American Association; Al Duncan, Socialist Workers Party; relatives of Lamont Jones, killed by police in Hillside. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. Translation to French and Spanish. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Eyewitness Report from South Africa. Speaker: Greg McCartan, editor of the *Militant*, just returned from African National Congress 48th National Conference in South Africa. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Abortion Rights under Attack: The Fight for Women's Rights. Speakers: Kathy Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, others. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Cuba and the Road to Socialism. Speaker: Francisco Picado, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

TEXAS

Houston

Defending Affirmative Action. Speakers: Earl Davis, Committee for the Cause (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union members involved in fight against discrimination at Shell Oil); representative American Federation of State,

County and Municipal Employees (filed lawsuit against city of Houston for discriminatory layoffs); Mike Chamberlain, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

Socialist Educational Conference on Cuba. Session I: Revolutionary Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. Session II: Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism. Sat., July 28, 11 a.m. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Birmingham, member United Mine Workers of America Local 2368, recently returned from tour of Cuba. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$5, both sessions; \$3 one session. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

The Supreme Court's Assault on Rights. Speakers: Lisa Hickler, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 568; Judy Hagerman, Leonard Peltier Support Committee; representative Planned Parenthood. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Challenges Facing Labor: Union Battles Today. Speakers: Josefina Otero, former leader of the International Association of Machinists strike at Eastern Airlines; Billy Hendricks, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 5668, leader of fight against Ravenswood Aluminum Corp.; Greg Moseley, vice president USWA Local 12610, leader of Monsanto Chemical strike; Anthony Stradwick, member Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199, leader of Red Cross strike in Huntington. Sat., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 1586 E. Washington St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

BRITAIN

London

Eyewitness Report from African National Congress 48th National Conference in South Africa. Speaker: Ruth Haswell, member of *Militant* reporting team at ANC conference. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Tel: 71-401-2409.

Manchester

Celebrate publication of New International no. 8, "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism." Speaker: Helen Warnock, Communist League. Fri., July 26, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield

Eyewitness Report from African National Congress 48th National Congress. Speaker: Ruth Haswell, member of *Militant* reporting team at ANC conference. Fri., July 26, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Vancouver

The 1945-46 Revolution in Yugoslavia and the Class Conflict There Today. Speaker: Ned Dmytryshyn, member Communist League. Fri., July 19, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

AUSTRALIA

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BRITAIN

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SWEDEN

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

What's new, George? — "We never use 'new world order' at the State Department. . . . I don't feel a necessity to explain it. I don't know



Harry Ring

what it is." — A U.S. "strategic planner."

Learning experience — ABC's Jim McKay taped an interview with Fidel Castro for the network's coverage of the August Pan American games, to be hosted by Cuba. Later,

McKay said, "I can't really comment on Castro the man; on whether he is a murderer or whatever it is people say about him. All I can comment on is the man I met that night. I just can't imagine any world leader being more interesting."

She surely is — England's Queen Elizabeth II is reportedly "worth" £1.2 billion (nearly \$2 billion), and polls indicate that 70 percent of Britons think she should pay income taxes like they do. Responded a Tory MP, "She's not like Mrs. Buggins. She's different from everybody else."

They couldn't get Clarence Thomas? — The St. Louis-area

Bellerive Country Club is slated to host the 1992 Professional Golfers' Association Championship. Recently the PGA said the tournament will not be held at clubs that discriminate, so Bellerive took in its first Black member, a Monsanto Co. chemical exec. The Bellerive initiation fee is \$42,500 and monthly dues are \$325.

"Color-blind?" — Forty percent of U.S. hazardous waste and garbage landfill capacity is concentrated in three communities: Scotlandville, Louisiana, where 93 percent of the residents are Black; Sumter County, Alabama, where nearly 80 percent of the population is Black; and Kettleman City, California, which is 78 percent Latino.

Another bright idea — For years New Zealand's working people, suffering the effects of a deep recession, have been reassured that there's "light at the end of the tunnel." Now a Wellington newspaper quotes a businessman: "Owing to financial constraints we have turned off the light at the end of the tunnel."

Paytriots — The Marriott Corp., which has the food and ticket-taking concession at the Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles, issued a memo to employees to "keep working during the 'Star Spangled Banner.'" The union went public with it and a new memo was hastily issued: "Stop all activities while the national anthem is being played."

Supply and demand — Although they project 7,000 more prison cells by 1994, British officials are opposed to any requirement that they end overcrowding. They apparently anticipate that the growth of the prison population will continue to outpace expansion plans. Some feel that further privatization of the prison system will help.

For sure — Dwelling in a mansion provided by wealthy individuals, California's Gov. Peter Wilson is using more than double the amount of water on his lawn than he recommends for ordinary folk during the current drought. An aide noted, "If the lawn died the taxpayers would have to pay for it."

French government targets immigrants' rights

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — When the French government tried to adopt draconian limits on granting political refugee status, they did not take into account the determination of refugees like Binali Kalkan.

Kalkan, a Kurdish refugee from Turkey who has lived in France for more than 10 years, knew that returning to his native land in the aftermath of the Gulf war could be dangerous. When the French government rejected his application for political refugee status and ordered his immediate deportation, he went on a hunger strike. He was soon joined by 200 other political refugees from Turkey, Mali, Angola, Gambia, Zaire, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, and Peru.

After more than 50 days of the hunger strike, 10,000 supporters demonstrated in the streets of Paris. The government was forced to name a special negotiator and, for the first time, began to back off its campaign to expel from France more than 100,000 people who have been refused political refugee status. The 200 hunger strikers have been granted temporary residency papers and their cases are now being reviewed. The hunger strike has been suspended.

The government, however, has not stopped its attacks on political refugees. Three weeks after the demonstration in support of the hunger strikers, Abdelmoumen Diouri, a well known Moroccan writer who has been a political refugee in France for more than 20 years, was deported without prior notice to Gabon.

Diouri was just about to publish a book entitled *Who Owns Morocco?* documenting French economic interests in that country. His deportation created a political scandal, reaching into the ruling Socialist Party.

A coalition of more than 30 organizations held a protest demonstration June 24. On July 10 a court ruled Diouri was wrongly deported and said he could immediately return to France.

Anti-immigrant assault

The attacks on political refugees are part of a more general attack on workers who are

Iowa women inmates settle lawsuit over prison abuses

A year-long lawsuit by 14 inmates at the Iowa Correctional Institution for Women was settled out of court as a result of some changes made in prison conditions by authorities. The women's prison is located in Mitchellville.

The legal action, filed in April 1990, brought to light a series of abuses of inmates' civil and human rights by prison guards and authorities. This included the punishment of "four-pointing," the practice of tying naked inmates to a bed by the hands and legs in a spread-eagle position.

As part of the settlement the state agreed to stop forcing women in segregation units to wear handcuffs in showers, moved mentally ill inmates to other facilities equipped to care for them, and installed a sink and toilet in the sick room.

Although the agreement said no inmates had been four-pointed while the suit was in court, the state refused to pledge the practice would never be used again.



Demonstration of 10,000 political refugees and supporters in Paris on May 25. Banner in front reads "No to a padlocked Europe. Papers for political refugees."

immigrants in France. Police violence against young people of North African origin has become more commonplace.

The government launched its attack on political refugees in 1989, claiming that too many were coming into the country and that many of them were really coming for economic rather than political reasons. The government had previously launched a campaign against "illegal" immigration.

The government also claims that it is obliged to limit the number of political refugees because of the "Shengen accords." These agreements have been signed by Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. They allow citizens of each of these countries to transit freely within the six-country region without any passport controls. Internal customs barriers will also be suppressed. Immigration restrictions into the six countries will, however, be severely tightened.

Until 1989, applications for political refugee status often took many years to work their way through the complicated bureaucratic machinery. With the new government, policy demands are suddenly being answered in a matter of weeks. Some 100,000 demands for refugee status have been turned down in two years. Those who had their demands refused have been ordered to leave the country within one month.

Many of those refused political refugee status have lived in France with their families for several years and have children born here. Some had been imprisoned and tortured in their country of origin and risk being killed if they return home.

Kurdish refugees victimized

The Gulf war helped crystalize the plight of these refugees. While millions of Kurds were fleeing their homeland, the French government ordered several Turkish and Kurdish refugees deported.

Many of those who were refused refugee status felt that the time had come to respond to the government attacks. Kalkan and other

Kurdish refugees took the lead by contacting the Archbishop of Bordeaux and getting his agreement to let them use a church to organize a hunger strike. Soon the movement spread and hunger strikers occupied churches in Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Paris, and several smaller cities.

A Network of Information and Solidarity was formed to support the hunger strikers, demanding that residency cards be granted to

all those who had applied for political refugee status prior to Jan. 1, 1990, and that more recent demands be reviewed. The Network brought together 16 organizations including African, Turkish, Haitian, and other solidarity groups as well as several religious and anti-racist organizations. The Network then called for a national demonstration in Paris May 25.

As the day of the demonstration approached, the health of the first hunger strikers began to deteriorate. On May 21, the 49th day of the hunger strike, police tried to invade the church in Bordeaux. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, Monseigneur Eyt, personally barred the doors while 200 people rapidly mobilized in support of the hunger strikers. At 1:00 a.m. the police attacked, breaking down the church doors. The hunger strikers refused to be moved and the hospital personnel who had been mobilized for the occasion refused to evacuate the strikers against their will. The police left empty-handed.

Support for the protesters widened prior to the demonstration. The General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the largest union confederation in France, announced its support for the strikers as did the French Communist Party.

At least three quarters of the 10,000 enthusiastic demonstrators were of African origin and most of the rest were Turks and Kurds. Following the demonstration, the refugees agreed to suspend their hunger strike while the government looked at each case individually and granted them temporary three-month residency cards. Authorities promised that procedures for treating applications for refugee status would be changed, but the refugees have repeatedly indicated that they are ready to start up their hunger strike again if the government reneged on its promises.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

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The U.S. army has moved to court-martial three antiwar GIs before they could complete legal proceedings in the civilian courts which would seek to prevent the army from sending them to Vietnam. This new development in the case makes it doubly urgent for the antiwar movement nationally to come to their support.

The three GIs, Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora and Pvt. David Samas, are being held at Fort Dix, New Jersey, awaiting a preliminary investigative hearing on July 22 which will decide what kind of court-martial they will face.

The soldiers had announced, at a New York press conference on June 30, their plans to seek an injunction preventing the army from sending them to Vietnam.

THE MILITANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

July 26, 1941

The 29 Local 544-CIO and Socialist

Workers Party members who have been indicted in St. Paul will be prosecuted mainly under Sections 9, 10, and 11, Title 18 of the U.S. Criminal Code. These sections were added to the criminal code by the notorious Smith Act, better known as the Omnibus Gag Law, which was pushed through Congress in 1940.

The most monstrous piece of anti-labor legislation ever to pass Congress, it was introduced by Howard (poll-tax) W. Smith of Virginia. Only a poll-tax Congressman, safe from reprisals from the people, would have dared to initiate such a measure.

The bill was a compendium of all the anti-radical bills pending in 1939, and was so reactionary that for some time even its sponsors held little hope of seeing it become law.

They figured, however, without the subtle hand of the boss politician in the White House. Just as the repressive legislation appeared to be foundering, Roosevelt sent to Congress a "modest" request for authority to fingerprint and register all aliens. Smith and his friends were quick to see the line. The fingerprinting and registration provisions were tacked on the Smith Bill to serve as window-dressing.

Ostensibly aimed at the "alien criminal," the bill actually struck at both citizen and non-citizen, to quell all opposition to Roosevelt and his war lust.

Maintain sanctions on S. Africa

Working people, youth and student organizations, trade unions, and all democratic-minded people should act in solidarity with the freedom struggle in South Africa by protesting further moves to lift sanctions against the apartheid regime.

The termination of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act by the George Bush administration, calls by top British officials to rapidly lift sanctions, and steps by the ruling rich in Japan, Israel, and elsewhere to end restrictions on trade signal a determination to back the white minority regime in Pretoria in its attempts to blunt the impact of the struggle to overturn apartheid.

Tremendous blows have been dealt to the apartheid system and the ability of the state to use its repressive apparatus to quell dissent inside South Africa. These victories have been scored by the irrepressible struggle of masses of South African people themselves, not a new "enlightened" leadership of the ruling National Party.

International solidarity, of which sanctions continue to be a crucial part, played an indispensable role in forcing the regime to make a series of massive concessions that it never dreamed of even a decade ago.

Today, the African National Congress (ANC) is leading the fight to win the broadest possible political space in order to widen opportunities for debate, discussion, and mobilizations among all South Africans.

Demands on the government to end its complicity in violence against anti-apartheid activists, to free political prisoners, and recognize in word and deed the right to freedom of political activity are an essential part of the struggle now unfolding: that of establishing, for the first time, a government of the majority, one that acts and speaks in the name of tens of millions in South Africa.

It is the attainment of such a revolutionary government that the capitalist class in South Africa and its imperialist backers hope to delay as long as possible. In the meantime they are seeking to bolster their own political rule and undercut the ability of the democratic forces to draw millions in rural and urban areas into the struggle for a democratic republic.

Only the kind of government for which the ANC is fighting can begin to forge a South African nation for the first time; open up the land to all who wish to farm; establish full and equal rights in employment, housing, education, and other areas of social and political life; and marshal the enormous resources needed to redress the entire legacy of the crime against humanity that is apartheid.

These are the stakes for working people and all demo-

cratically-minded people — in South Africa, and around the world. There is still a massive struggle ahead to achieve these historic goals of the national, democratic revolution in South Africa.

The ANC calls for lifting sanctions in phases as the obstacles to negotiations are removed; an interim government is installed; and a democratic constitution is adopted. In the United States this means ensuring local and state sanctions remain and the Gramm amendment is not scrapped.

British, U.S., and South African government officials try to make it seem as if they alone can set the pace at which sanctions are lifted. But just as Washington, London, Tokyo, and Bonn all imposed the measures in the first place as a result of protests, a united response today opposing further relaxation of sanctions can have an effect.

Central to this task is educating broad numbers of people on the character and stakes of the anti-apartheid struggle, including why a victory in South Africa would give a boost to the fight against racism, oppression, and social injustice everywhere.

Demanding the release of all political prisoners in South Africa, an end to the regime's complicity in the violence against opponents of apartheid, and the maintenance of existing sanctions is the most effective way to speed the day when white minority rule in South Africa is no more.



Labor and Curtis parole fight

The recent examples of solidarity displayed by unions and trade unionists, urging parole for framed-up meat-packer Mark Curtis, show what is possible in widening the campaign to win his release from prison.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, Iowa, is placing special emphasis on encouraging unions and union officials to send messages to the parole board asking that he be paroled.

Every day counts. The defense committee has set the end of August as a target for collecting at least 200 letters to the board.

Curtis supporters who are members of unions can take a lead from the support that has already been generated to advance support in the United States to win Curtis' release.

The new support includes:

- The recent decision at a convention of the United Transportation Union in Canada to send a letter backing parole for Curtis.
- The vote by participants in the 13th National Conference of Women Miners urging parole.
- The successful meeting in Paris of unionists and oth-

ers in support of Curtis' release.

Many unionists know that what happened to Curtis can happen to other working people. He was framed and jailed for defending the rights of immigrant workers on the job; after his arrest the cops savagely beat him.

Fighting to win Curtis' release is a part of defending and extending the space working people have and need in order to fight for their rights and carry out political and union activities.

Now is the time to aggressively seek broader support for Curtis' parole. Unionists can join together to propose their union local send a letter. Local, regional, district, and national union officers can be approached about sending letters or telegrams.

In addition to winning support among the unions, more support can be mustered from among farm activists; well-known defenders of democratic and human rights; prominent individuals and political activists; leaders of Black, Hispanic, and women's organizations; and church figures.

Killer cops in the 'renaissance city'

BY DOUG JENNESS

NEWARK — On a July evening 24 years ago Newark cops stopped a cab they said was following too close to their squad car. They savagely beat the driver and dragged him to the precinct station a few blocks away. An angry crowd gathered to protest this latest in a long string of police brutalities against working people in the city.

The protest quickly turned into a full-scale revolt in which many buildings and stores were burned or ransacked and a wide assortment of goods were looted.

The cops launched a massive attack on the following day, July 13, and the National Guard was called in to help crush the revolt. After a week of cop violence and military occupation, 26 Blacks had been killed. Many parts of the city's center had been burned out and tens of thousands of people left Newark in the following years. Devastation and poverty marked the city.

Today, the city's fathers are exultant. Newark has been

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

commended for experiencing a "true renaissance," and it has the laurels to prove it. Just a month ago Mayor Sharpe James received the U.S. Conference of Mayors' "City Livability Award." A week before, Newark was named one of 10 "All-American" cities by the National Civic League. Earlier in the year, the city received two awards from the Environmental Protection Agency for its recycling of waste, and the New Jersey Forestry Department gave city officials a "Tree City" award for planting 2,000 trees.

As city officials and the Chamber of Commerce were basking in the glory of these accolades, there was a bitter reminder that the old Newark is still here. On June 9 Newark cops chased a van they said might be stolen into adjacent Hillside where it collided with another patrol car. The vehicle carrying seven teenagers — all Black — was caught in a hail of bullets from two directions. Two youths were killed and four wounded.

Tasha Mayse and Lamont Russell Jones, the two youths killed, weren't aware of Newark's golden renaissance. None of its glow shone on them. Mayse, 16, and five months pregnant, lived in the Hill Manor apartment building with other members of her family. Every hallway reeks with the stench of urine. Most of the halls and staircases are dark because broken lights haven't been replaced. Most families survive on stingy welfare payments and other government aid.

Hill Manor is not exceptional. There are scores of buildings and houses in Newark that landlords have allowed to deteriorate and that would rank just as low on the "livability" scale. Moreover, unemployment in the city is twice the national rate.

"Renaissance" in Newark isn't about improving living conditions for working people. Rather, it's about the extensive Gateway complex next to Penn Station where travelers arriving in the city can walk for blocks through skyways without ever having to venture out onto a city street. It is the profitable investments by Prudential Insurance and other big companies in new downtown office buildings.

"Renaissance" is also the bloated city bureaucracy that shamelessly spends in high salaries, worthless studies, and red tape a substantial portion of the sums allocated for social benefits.

The renaissance men and women who oversee Newark have revealed their true stripes by turning a deaf ear to protests demanding that the cops who killed Mayse and Jones be suspended and that a special prosecutor be appointed.

Mayor James has announced "the period of condolences to the family has ended." The "real point here," he said, "is the issue of our city youths stealing cars and thinking they're for recreation."

No, Mr. Renaissance Man. The real point is whether or not the death penalty should be employed against people suspected of taking cars. The mayor — and the same message is echoed by city councilmen and the editors of the Newark *Star-Ledger* — clearly believes the role of the cops is to serve as prosecutor, judge, jury, and executioner.

Their stand has emboldened cops throughout northern New Jersey. Delegations from police forces throughout the area descended on Hillside for a rally of nearly 300 on July 10 to solidarize with the murderers of Mayse and Jones. The lawyer for the Newark cops said his clients "didn't do anything wrong. It was the other side." Two sides in a war. A war of big business profiteers, city bureaucrats, and cops against the oppressed and exploited working people of the city.

The awards for recycling wastes and improving the environment aren't any more deserving. They are camouflage for continuing extremely hazardous practices. Six months after the Essex County Resources Recovery Facility went into operation, lead, arsenic, and other lethal substances were found in the ash and cinders, and dioxin began to seep into ground water in the Ironbound section of Newark. The public swimming pool in the area has been closed for years because of dioxin contamination. And on moist, steamy days the odor is . . . well, certainly something less than award-winning.

GE workers discuss contract, wage differentials

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

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, or attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with steep takeback demands, lockouts, and union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

ON THE PICKET LINE

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that, too.

Workers at General Electric plants are now discussing a contract proposal from GE and the 14 unions that organize the workforce. A three-year contract with the company expired June 30. The International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) represents some 37,000 of the 64,000 unionized workers at GE.

At the beginning of the negotiations, the Coordinated Bargaining Committee of the 14 GE and Westinghouse unions called for wage increases as opposed to lump-sum payments, better job security, im-

proved medical coverage, and better pensions.

Leading up to the contract expiration date, a number of unionists participated in "local-to-local" meetings, that discussed the contract demands. Several rallies took place at a number of GE plants.

About one week before the expiration date, the bargaining committee outlined what GE was calling for in the negotiations. The company wanted to cancel its early retirement options, increase medical premiums and deductibles, re-

duce the night-shift bonus, implement longer progressions for new hires, and have lump-sum bonuses in current and future contracts.

Workers at several plants responded to this information with protest actions and strikes lasting from several hours to several days.

On July 1, workers were informed that a tentative agreement had been reached and that the details would be released July 3.

The proposal agreed to by the Coordinated Bargaining Committee called for a 3.5 percent wage increase over the first year of the contract, a 2.25 percent increase over the next year, and another 2.25 percent increase in the third year. The proposal included a \$1-a-week increase in payments for dependent medical insurance, a lowering of the starting pay rate from 75 percent to 70 percent of full pay, and an increase in the time required in the tier progression from 30 months to 36 months.

Many workers view this concession as a tradeoff for increases in

wages. Many think that the wage increase is an improvement over the most recent contract which contained even smaller wage increases over a three-year period. A number of workers are wary of voting for a contract that deepens the differentiation in wages between new hires and other employees at GE. Some think that a bigger general wage increase was possible.

Voting on the contract was scheduled to take place from July 3 to July 10.

Workers at Lear Seating Co. voted overwhelmingly June 30 to ratify a new three-year agreement covering 400 United Auto Workers members at the company's Detroit plant.

Although the new agreement includes no major takeaways, it follows the general pattern of the 1990 Big Three auto contracts and does not strengthen the union.

Lear, with headquarters in a Detroit suburb and several plants in southeast Michigan, is the 15th largest corporation based in the state. It employs 10,000 people worldwide to manufacture arm rests, head rests, and seats for cars and trucks. Last year's sales totaled \$1.06 billion, generating a profit of \$21 million for the privately held corporation.

UAW Local 174's new contract with Lear, like its predecessor, provides higher wages and more protections for workers than many others in the union's hard-hit Independent Parts Supplies Division, which has seen its national membership drop from 150,000 in 1979 to less than 80,000 today. Thousands of unionized auto parts workers in Michigan and else-

where earn half or less of the average hourly rate at Lear, which will approach \$15 by the end of the contract's term.

The new agreement calls for a 20-cent-per-hour raise each year and a cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) of up to 40 cents per year. Improvements were also made in sickness and accident payments, vacation pay, and tuition reimbursements. A signing bonus of \$600 was included.

Although the company initially threatened to impose an employee copayment for medical insurance, the fully funded Blue Cross-Blue Shield plan was retained. The new contract allows the company to require overtime in some circumstances; previously all overtime was strictly voluntary.

No improvements were made in the grievance procedure. Write-ups will continue to stay on workers' records for the three year duration of the contract. The company will retain the ability to arbitrarily fire workers, which it did at least 10 times in the past year alone.

Despite some criticism, especially of the wage increases, which along with COLA amount to only about 4.5 percent per year, most workers were pleased with the agreement. To get more would have required a fight that most workers in the plant were not confident the union could win.

Workers at Vista Paper Products at Emu Plains near Sydney, Australia, have maintained a round-the-clock picket line since March 4.

Most of the workers belong to the Printing and Kindred Industries

Union (PKIU). They are fighting to get their jobs back after 39 of the plant's 70 workers were sacked for refusing to accept company demands that they take a \$1-per-hour wage cut, work longer hours, and sign individual contracts outside the existing collective bargaining process.

"Every employer is looking to see what happens here," Ron Broom, the PKIU delegate at the plant, says. "If the company gets away with it here, you could be next."

The picket line is based in a union camper van parked at the plant gate, and is being supported by a fund set up by the Australian Council of Trade Unions. Fund-raising events have also been organized by the PKIU and by the Metals and Engineering Workers' Union.

Workers on the picket line report that shots were fired at the camper van June 27 from inside company property. Earlier in the dispute a picket line tent was burned down. One company security guard has a habit of practicing his karate in full view of the picketers.

The company has hired some scabs. But production at the plant is one-third of the previous level. A hearing on the Vista workers case before the Industrial Relations Commission was scheduled for July 8.

Stuart Crome, a member of IUE Local 1002 in Seattle; Jeff Powers, a member of UAW Local 174 in Detroit; Alan Tender, a member of the Australasian Society of Engineers in Sydney, Australia; and Bob Aiken, a member of the Metals and Engineering Workers Union in Sydney, Australia, contributed to this column.

LETTERS

Inequality grows in Iran

Scarcity of basic necessities and high prices bear down heavily on working people in Tehran. A school teacher's monthly salary is around 80,000 rials (R1,300=\$1 in the open market). This is also the monthly rent for an apartment in a working-class neighborhood, provided you deposit security amounting to R2 million!

Basic necessities are rationed and sometimes workers and civil servants can obtain them from cooperatives. But these are never enough to meet the needs of the families, so they have to resort to the open market. There meat costs R2,800/kilo, rice is R1,400/kilo, fruits are R400/kilo, and milk costs R200 per liter. Bus fares are heavily subsidized at R10, but there are not enough of them and people often need to ride taxi cabs, which travel on routes of their own choosing and cost from R100 to R1,000.

While working people are increasingly being impoverished, a small minority — including capitalists and bazaar merchants, landowners, high officials of the government, and doctors and surgeons who are specialists — are getting richer by the day.

They fill up their bank accounts outside the country with dollars and ride around in Mercedes Benzes and BMWs. They shop at stores specializing in expensive, imported goods and live in castle-like houses worth R800 million or more.

While the expectations for which the people rose up 13 years ago to overthrow Shah Pahlevi remain unfulfilled, these newly rich billionnaires are increasing in number and owe their being to the capitalist policies of the Islamic Republic government.

R.S.
Tehran, Iran

Swedish refugee camps

The Swedish government has blamed immigrants for its political failures — the economic crisis, unemployment, shortage of housing, and other social issues.

But in the past year or two, there have been a series of bombings of refugee camps in Kimstad, Motala, and other towns and cities. Just last June, a Turkish refugee committed suicide in a camp in Ringhals after his asylum application was rejected and he was given an ultimatum to leave the country.

That same week a refugee from Iran set himself ablaze in a camp in Karlsund, outside Stockholm.

Most of the refugees come from poor countries in Africa and Latin America, or from war-torn countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Kurdistan, and Palestine.

The immigrants are driven from their various countries by austerity measures and deplorable working conditions forced on them by their home governments. These governments siphon off profits to service debts to imperialist banks. The Swedish government is part and parcel of this debt plunder.

The immigrants come from countries that these imperialist countries have armed and in the end trick into waging wars among themselves; the Swedish imperialists play a leading role in this.

Dechor Hien
Stockholm, Sweden

Roots of crime

As a prisoner serving a life sentence, I maintain profound reservations as to whether Amerikka in her hypocrisy has a right to advocate and implement a death sentence.

Does Amerikka have a right to execute a person when its so-called judicial system is viewed by many as being unfair, unjust, and given to internal corruption?



"Once upon a time there were three big automakers, which despite charging nearly twenty grand a car couldn't make a buck..."

Nothing is effectively being done to check and address the root causes of crime, which are capitalism, racism, oppression, systematic infestation of drugs, and all methods of genocide and dehumanization.

Being African and poor in Amerikka, the land of the so-called "free and brave," is in essence a predetermined death sentence. It's high time that we as a people begin to make a progressive and productive difference in this society and assert our right to self-determination working hand in hand with those right-minded and revolutionary brothers and sisters — regardless of color — who understand the nature of this beast known as the United States of Hypocrisy.

A prisoner
Comstock, New York

Mauritius police

The police in Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean, are prosecuting Veena Dholah on a charge of "molesting police, with effusion of blood." The minimum sentence is

penal servitude, up to one year. Dholah has pleaded "not guilty," and the court case will start on Aug. 1, 1991.

Apart from being an active member of the LALIT party, Veena Dholah is on the Executive Committee of both the Women's Liberation Movement (MLF) and an organization active in adult literacy and publishing of books and other materials in the Kreol language.

On June 12, 1990, protest demonstrations were held on the day French President François Mitterrand arrived in Mauritius for a four-day visit. The LALIT party initiated a call for a coordinating committee (KKAI) for the activities.

Activities included a public debate on the role of France in the Indian Ocean; a poster campaign denouncing the role of France, Britain, and the United States in sabotaging the United Nations Conference on making the Indian Ocean a demilitarized zone; and a peaceful demonstration with slogans painted on paper and cloth held along the route

of the French President

As the police could not use the Public Order Act to prohibit the gathering of the coalition, they decided to use brute force. KKAI members were body-searched, some banners were confiscated, and the police pounced on demonstrators holding other banners.

Two days later Veena Dholah was arrested and later released on bail.

During the past year the police have kept Dholah's passport.

Send protest letters and telegrams to: Ms. Veena Dholah, LALIT, 153 Main Road, GRNW, Port Louis, Mauritius.

Ram Seegobin
LALIT
Port Louis, Mauritius

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.

Women miners meet in Colorado

Support Cyprus strike, Solidarity Day, parole for Mark Curtis

BY MARY ZINS

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, Colorado — More than 125 women miners, their coworkers, and supporters gathered here June 21-23 for the 13th National Conference of Women Miners.

This year's conference theme was "Bridging the Gap," referring to the ties that have been forged between women miners in the eastern and western United States and internationally.

The conference was sponsored by the Coal Employment Project (CEP) and endorsed by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). The CEP was formed in 1977 to help women obtain and keep jobs in the mines.

Cyprus Empire strike

Donnie Samms, president of UMWA District 15, and Dallas Wolf, UMWA acting director of Region IV, welcomed the participants to Colorado. They applauded the active support of women miners and miners' wives in the UMWA's western contract fights in 1987; the ongoing fight of UMWA members to win back their jobs at the Decker and Big Horn mines in Wyoming and Montana; and the two-month-old strike for a contract at the Cyprus Empire mine in Craig, Colorado.

During the opening session, UMWA Local 1799 member Delbert Archuleta took the platform and appealed for support for his local's strike at the Cyprus mine, located 100 miles from here.

The company forced the UMWA to strike May 13 by refusing to bargain with the union. Archuleta explained Cyprus wants to replace the current 100 percent medical and dental coverage with a plan that requires workers to pay 20 percent of the costs. The company also wants to impose a draconian attendance policy.

The striker explained that a year before the contract expired Cyprus sent foremen to corporate classes. After that, grievances at the mine skyrocketed and the company stalled on settling them.

The local countered by organizing their own UMWA classes and mobilization teams to plan rallies and garner support, Archuleta said.

Local 1799 members have been closely following the four-year fight by Decker and Big Horn miners, Archuleta explained. "At Pittston, we had Camp Solidarity and that's why I'm here today. If we stick together, we can win this." A collection was taken on the spot for the strikers.

Participants later voted to continue their support for the Decker and Big Horn miners, as well as the Cyprus strikers. Several participants made plans to visit the picket line in Craig.

In a keynote address, Linda Raisovich-Parsons, UMWA international safety representative, detailed the crisis in mine safety. She said 67 miners had lost their lives in 1991 due to the lack of enforcement of health and safety regulations. She noted the crisis is especially acute in smaller mines. Forty of the miners killed worked in small mines.

Navajo miners' situation

Annie Dechinie from the Navajo Tribal Council also addressed the conference. UMWA Navajo miners led a successful campaign in 1990 to repeal a right-to-work statute in the Navajo Nation. In response to a question from the audience, Dechinie acknowledged that "right to work" is now against Navajo law.

A panel of Navajo women miners from the Pittsburg and Midway mine in New Mexico and the Peabody Kayenta and Black Mesa mines in Arizona discussed their experiences working in the big strip mines on the Navajo Nation, where unemployment is more than 50 percent. One woman explained that a foreman tells her almost daily that she should not be working and should be home having babies. Through their determination, the women have won the respect and support

of their union coworkers.

At a workshop entitled, "Adjusting to Rotating and 12 Hour Shifts," a discussion ensued on how the coal companies increase their profits at the expense of miners' health, safety, and jobs by pushing for 12-hour workdays and "flex" time similar to the work schedules in the oil and steel industries.

Other workshops discussed health and safety; the history of the CEP and women in mining; women as officers in the UMWA; national health care; and aging as a woman coal miner.

Resolutions adopted at the conference defended affirmative action; urged women to run for union office at the local, district, and international level; supported mine safety; and defended a woman's right to choose abortion.

Carol Davis, executive director of the CEP, explained the organization had signed a friend-of-the-court brief to the U.S. Supreme Court supporting the overturn of so called "fetal protection" policies employers use to deny women certain jobs in industry.

Solidarity Day action

Two other resolutions received lively discussion. One, which was adopted unanimously, called for support to the AFL-CIO-sponsored Solidarity Day in Washington, D.C., August 31. A political focus of the action is lobbying Congress to pass legislation banning the use of permanent replacement workers during strikes.

Pennsylvania miner Bonnie Boyer said the UMWA was declaring a memorial day August 30, which would lead to all union mines throughout the country being closed that day. She said UMWA members should pressure their districts and locals to send buses.

Alabama miner Alyson Kennedy encouraged miners to turn out for the action and explained she thought a key ingredient to defending workers today lay in the ranks mobilizing the union's power and reaching out for support, rather than lobbying Congress to pass "antiscab" legislation.

Parole for Mark Curtis

The other resolution urged parole for imprisoned Iowa union activist Mark Curtis. Denis Stephano, president of Oil, Chemical



13th National Conference of Women Miners sponsored by Coal Employment Project passed resolutions supporting affirmative action, women's right to choose, and mine safety.

and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 823-4 in Pennsylvania, read greetings from Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife. Stephano explained he had gone to Iowa to attend Curtis' last parole hearing, but had been denied entry by parole officials.

One retired miner from northern West Virginia questioned whether Curtis was innocent of the rape and burglary charges he was imprisoned for. Other miners defended Curtis.

Carol Davis said she viewed sending the letter for Curtis' parole as part of the CEP's continued support over the years to his fight for justice.

Christine Sforza, a miner from Illinois, requested the address for the Iowa State Board of Parole be included in the packet of resolutions conference participants receive so that UMWA members can get their locals to send letters urging parole.

The resolution in support of parole for Curtis passed unanimously.

In addition, the conference voted to send greetings to the July convention of the British miners' union and to the British group Women Against Pit Closures.

Participants came from Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, Utah, and Wyoming. Most were members of the UMWA. A few participants worked at nonunion mines. Many of the miners were laid off. Several members of the OCAW union attended the conference and their union sent greetings.

It was decided that next year's conference will be held in Morgantown, West Virginia.

Mary Zins is a laid off miner and member of UMWA Local 2295 in Illinois.

Protests hit ruling against abortion rights

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

NEW YORK — "Not the Church, not the State, women will decide our fate!" chanted some 2,500 supporters of abortion rights for women as they marched through midtown Manhattan July 6. The action, sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW), protested what has become known as the "gag rule" imposed on federally funded family planning clinics.

The U.S. Supreme Court recently upheld government regulations that bar these clinics from all discussion regarding abortion with their patients.

Dana Luciano, who works at a New York City clinic affected by the gag rule, said she came to the march and rally because she was "disgusted, frustrated, and enraged."

"We're taking back our voice today," she added. "We're not going to stand for this autocratic rule."

Many of the participants at the protest attended NOW's national convention held in New York that same weekend. Other participants included abortion rights, gay rights, and other political activists. There was also a small contingent of Chinese garment workers and union officials from Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Former NOW National President Eleanor Smeal told the crowd, NOW's "goal is to get enough votes [in Congress] to overturn the



Militant/Judy Stranahan
Some 2,500 protested attacks on abortion rights in New York City July 6.

gag rule and stop a presidential veto."

Another theme of the rally was opposition to Clarence Thomas, President George Bush's nominee to the U.S. Supreme Court. Acting NOW President Patricia Ireland called Thomas, "a nominee obsessed with denying the effect of racism and sexism on our society."

Dr. Irving Rust, of the Planned Parenthood Clinic in the Bronx, spoke. He was the plaintiff in *Rust v. Sullivan*, the Supreme Court case that challenged the gag rule. In spite of the court's ruling against him, Rust told the rally, "I for one will not be gagged as a physician. If asked by a patient of her options, I will present them to her with honesty and candor. Every woman has the right to make her own decision about her body and when to continue her pregnancy."

BY MICHAEL PENNOCK

PITTSBURGH — One hundred and fifty pro-choice supporters rallied against the "gag rule" in front of the Federal Building here July 9. Nine local lawyers dressed in black robes with masks depicting the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court formed the back drop for the speakers. About 30 foes of abortion pushed close to the crowd and sang softly throughout the rally.

The focus of the event was writing postcards to senators and members of Congress urging them to overturn the *Rust v. Sullivan* ruling.

A speaker from the Planned Parenthood Federation of Western Pennsylvania vowed that even if her group lost Federal Title X funds, they will continue to explain the abortion procedure and option to those who ask about it.