

ANC: 'South African gov't must step down'

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

MEXICO CITY — During a three-day visit here African National Congress President Nelson Mandela reiterated the pressing need for the white minority regime in South Africa to step down in favor of an interim government.

Revelations that the regime has secretly funded the Inkatha Freedom Party, a group opposed to the ANC, shows more clearly why this step should not be delayed, he said. The ANC is pressing for the move as part of the fight for the election of a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote.

Mandela, who won a renewed commitment of support from the Mexican government, also urged Latin American countries to join with Cuba in aiding the worldwide struggle against apartheid.

The ANC leader arrived here as part of a tour of Latin America and the Caribbean that included Jamaica, Cuba, Venezuela, and Brazil.

On the first day of his visit Mandela gave a public talk at the Ministry of Foreign Relations on "Perspectives for a democratic, nonracial South Africa." He began by pointing to the rich cultural heritage of the Mexican people, going back to the Aztec and Mayan civilizations and to the history of European colonial domination.

The people of South Africa, he said, have a similar history of indigenous culture and resistance. He reviewed the development of apartheid and the decades-long struggle against it.

Turning to the situation in South Africa today, he said the regime from the very beginning "made innuendos about the violence, claiming that it was ethnic in character."

"It is true that when the violence broke out it took the form of a conflict between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Buthelezi," he said. "But the government soon exploited this difference [to] launch an attack against the organization which it regards as the main threat to minority rule" in South Africa.

The violence "is aimed at undermining the



William Mattala

Food worker union members on strike in South Africa. Unions, community organizations, and African National Congress have fought to expose government's hand in violence.

capacity of the ANC to organize itself after 30 years of banning," he said. "In spite of the violence and other forms of harassment of the ANC, we have emerged as the most important political force in South Africa."

"Recently, evidence has been found that confirms beyond a doubt what we have known and expressed ourselves. What we have known is that the government is delaying the negotiations deliberately so it can create an opposition to the ANC," he told the audience.

South African President F.W. de Klerk demoted two top cabinet officials July 29 after the revelations of government funding of the Inkatha further weakened the credibility of the regime. Members of Inkatha have been involved in attacks on Black townships.

Defense Minister Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, were stripped of their positions by de Klerk.

The ANC has been demanding the two be removed since last spring.

Vlok acknowledged last week that the government had given \$525,000 to Inkatha's United Workers Union of South Africa over a six-year period. The union was formed in an attempt to counter the growth of the pro-ANC Congress of South African Trade Unions. COSATU is the largest union federation in South Africa with 1.25 million members.

South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha also admitted that the government gave Inkatha about \$87,000 to hold rallies to bolster its position against that of the ANC.

"The popularity of the ANC has alarmed the government and its followers," Mandela said of the reasons behind the regime's funding of Inkatha. "They have been fighting to build an artificial opposition to the ANC in

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Curtis wins support in parole fight

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

DES MOINES — "We've received over 125 letters to the Iowa State Board of Parole urging that they free Mark Curtis," John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, reported to the group's weekly meeting here July 30.

Curtis is a union and political activist who was framed by Des Moines police on false charges of rape and burglary. He has been imprisoned in six Iowa correctional facilities since September 1988.

"Many of these letters have come from unionists, both in the United States and around the world, who are urging the parole board to free Mark now," Studer said. "Fighters against police brutality and those involved in other struggles today to defend democratic rights are sending letters as well."

David Morgan, president of the New Zealand Seafarers Union, wrote that his union "joins with the world community in raising our plea for the Board to grant Mark Curtis parole."

"On behalf of the 160,000 members of CAW-Canada, I write to appeal to you to release Mark Curtis from prison," wrote Robert White, president of the Canadian Auto Workers union.

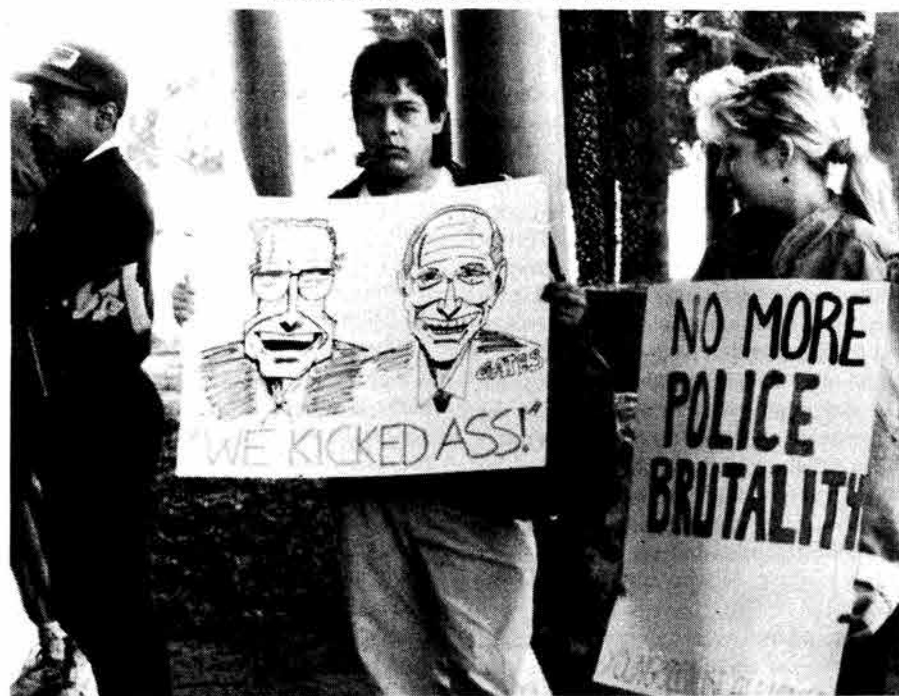
"As you know, Mark Curtis has served almost three years in prison. This would appear to be a severe penalty already in light of the information we have which shows no previous criminal conviction or record of any kind. In addition, I understand that his conduct during incarceration has been exemplary.

"It is clear that Mr. Curtis poses no threat to the community and that after almost three years in prison, surely nothing further can be gained by serving a longer period of time in prison," White added.

Venus Watkins Hannah, whose 19-year old son Santana was murdered by police in a Plainfield, New Jersey, jail cell, wrote that she believes Mark "was framed up by the companies with the help of the law enforce-

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Youth build YSA



Militant/Lisa Ahlberg

Young Socialist Alliance supporters participate in Los Angeles protest against police brutality. On August 9-10, youth from across United States, joined by others from around world, will gather in Oberlin, Ohio, for 27th national convention of YSA. A full report on the discussions by the delegates will appear in next week's Militant.

Pressure is building on Palestinians to accept Mideast 'peace' conference

BY JAMES HARRIS

Washington, the Soviet Union, several Arab regimes, and Israel are putting heavy pressure on the Palestinians to accept plans for a Mideast "peace" conference. The progress toward convening the conference made by Washington in recent weeks is a result of the enormous blows dealt the Palestinian people during the U.S. war against Iraq.

On July 31, U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev issued a joint call for the conference, now scheduled for October.

The Israeli regime agreed to attend on the condition that it approve the composition of the Palestinian delegation. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir announced at a press conference the following day.

Tel Aviv has insisted that Palestinian representatives at the conference have no ties with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or be from East Jerusalem.

Standing next to Shamir at the Jerusalem press conference, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker called the announcement by Tel Aviv to attend "extraordinarily significant."

Big steps made by imperialism toward subverting Palestinian representation at the meeting are a fruit of the Iraq war. Outside

of working people in Iraq and Kuwait, the biggest victims of Baghdad's invasion and occupation of Kuwait were the Palestinians. Saddam Hussein justified his reactionary invasion on the basis of advancing the struggle for Palestinian rights. This demagoguery was aided by the leadership of the PLO, which supported Hussein's course.

Most Arab governments in the Middle East have now signed on to Washington's plan, including Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, traditionally the most opposed to direct talks with Israel.

Jordan's King Hussein is urging the Palestinians to form a joint delegation with Jordan, saying they should come under "our umbrella."

Washington also proposes that Jordan and Palestine make up a joint delegation, and that the Palestinian representatives in the Jordanian delegation be people who carry Jordanian passports. The July 31 *New York Times* notes that "there are several Jordanian government officials who fit that description."

"The people in the occupied territories have the right for us to be concerned about their conditions and see what can be done."

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Workers swindled by boss look to union

Mostly Chinese and Vietnamese female work force loses nearly \$2 million

BY MARGARET JAYKO

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 300 workers packed the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) hall here July 29 to find out how they can recover an estimated \$1.8 million stolen from them by their former employers, Raymond and Yee Nor Kong.

The mostly Chinese and Vietnamese women are among the 450 workers thrown out on the street at nine garment shops in Oakland and San Francisco July 16. The Kongs closed the factories' doors that day and fled.

Kong Enterprises was one of the largest sewing and knitting subcontractors in the Bay Area, making clothing for major companies such as The Gap, Banana Republic, and Byer California. The Kongs also held more than \$20 million worth of real estate in this area.

The ILGWU meeting was conducted in Chinese and English, and the major Bay Area media attended.

Katie Quan, manager of the ILGWU's Pacific Northwest District Council, explained that when the Kongs closed the fac-

tories, they owed workers some \$500,000 in back wages and \$500,000 in personal loans employees were forced to extend to their boss. In addition, the couple had pressured two workers to mortgage their homes and loan them the money, totalling approximately \$800,000. The Kongs had also stopped paying premiums on workers' medical coverage, leaving many without a health plan today.

Several union officials, community organization representatives, and the city's human rights commissioner addressed the meeting.

California Federation of Labor Secretary-Treasurer John Henning told workers they are the victims of "what the employers of America more and more are calling a 'union-free environment'." Henning urged workers to join the ILGWU. None of the Kongs' shops were organized by the union.

It was announced that the San Francisco Central Labor Council has formed a "support committee" to "bring the Kongs to justice." Richard Young, president of Service Employees International Union Local 87, brought a solidarity message to the meeting

on behalf of his union.

ILGWU Western Regional Director Steve Nutter pointed out that the clothes produced by the victimized workers are now being sold for big profits by The Gap and other large companies. "The union is pledging its resources and its lawyers . . . to recover the thousands of dollars that were stolen from you," said Nutter.

After everyone on the platform spoke, Quan updated workers on developments since the last meeting the union had organized.

Workers should get paid first

Some workers are owed up to seven-and-a-half weeks' wages, said Quan. The union's lawyers will be arguing in court that the workers should get paid their back wages first, ahead of the dozens of banks and other businesses who are owed an estimated \$50 million.

Quan said union officials are trying to pressure the large apparel companies who bought finished garments from the Kongs to deposit money into an account at the state labor commissioner's office to cover unpaid wages. Byer California reportedly has turned over \$200,000, and The Gap has promised to come up with some money as well, reported Quan.

Many workers had been forced to loan the Kongs money. The couple claimed these would be short-term loans, to keep the com-

pany afloat, and would be repaid at 20 percent interest. Wai Ngok Tam, one of two workers who was given the floor during the two-hour-long meeting, was victim of this scam.

Tam, his wife, and two sons all worked at one of the Kong's shops. The family is owed \$2,000 in back wages. Like many sweatshop owners in this city, the Kongs didn't provide vacation or overtime pay, even though 12 hours or longer was a common workday.

Tam's wife, a presser, showed the check she received from the Kongs to repay a \$50,000 loan — her family's entire savings, which they had been planning to use to buy a house. The check is worthless, and now the Tams have neither jobs nor savings. Why did she loan them the money? As happened to many other workers, the owners threatened to fire her husband and sons if she didn't fork over the cash.

Workers demand mayor provide jobs

Tam told the other workers that the most important immediate question was that the former Kong workers now don't have jobs. He wrote a letter to San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos asking him to work with the union to reopen the Kongs' factories and put them all back to work. To hearty applause, he appealed to all the workers to sign his letter.

Margaret Jayko is a laid-off garment worker and member of ILGWU Local 101 in San Francisco.

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The Militant

Closing news date: August 5, 1991

Editor: GREG McCARTAN

Business and Circulation

Director: RONI McCANN

Editorial Staff: Seth Galinsky, James Harris, Cindy Jaquith, Roni McCann, Janet Post, Judy Stranahan, Peter Thierjung.

Published weekly except for one week in June, one week in July, one week in August, and the last two weeks of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant,

410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$45, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. Canada: send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Société d'Éditions AGPP, C.P. 340, succ. R, Montréal, Québec H2S 3M2. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. New Zealand, Asia, Pacific Islands: Send New Zealand \$75 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia.

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Theft, corruption, frame-ups by Des Moines cops exposed

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

DES MOINES—The credibility of the Des Moines police has been shaken again following the recent exposure of thievery, corruption, and frame-ups by officers in the department's narcotics division.

Dennis Sorensen, a 12-year police veteran and narcotics cop since 1989, was charged July 11 with 26 counts of perjury and felonious misconduct in office.

Among the charges is that Sorensen engaged in the improper use of an undercover informant, Sandra Pfeiffer, who was on probation. Pfeiffer has reported that she was paid by Sorensen from money allocated in the Des Moines police budget to buy drugs in undercover operations. Sorensen reported larger purchases than he actually made to get the cash to pay Pfeiffer.

Sorensen lied to get search warrants in order to create cases against people he said he believed to be involved with drugs.

In May 1991, the Berger family filed a lawsuit against the city of Des Moines, charging that Sorensen and the police illegally invaded their home. The lawsuit charges that cops conducted an unlawful search, using a battering ram to break the door down and throwing personal property all over the floor. Police found no drugs, but confiscated business cards, notes, bank statements, and an address book.

"We didn't even know they were police," Pam Berger told the *Des Moines Register*. "We thought we were being robbed."

After 17 years on the police force, Sgt. Ron White, night supervisor of the narcotics unit, was indicted May 9 on charges of criminal theft. White is alleged to have stolen a \$50 winning lottery ticket and \$100 cash from police headquarters after they were seized during a raid.

White was charged and fired after the lottery ticket turned up missing from the evidence room and was cashed in by White's wife. The ticket had been photographed by the cops as evidence during the raid. In January, \$4,300 in cash was discovered missing from the narcotics unit. No determination has been made as to who is responsible for the theft.

Prior to taking over the narcotics night shift, White had served as a public spokesperson for the department and taught at the police academy.

White also had served as a supervisor overseeing cops operating in Des Moines' Black community. In this capacity, White

was in charge of officers Joseph González and Richard Glade when they framed up union and political activist Mark Curtis on March 4, 1988.

In light of recent revelations of police corruption and brutality such as the beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, Des Moines police are taking steps to put the scandals behind them before they spark a more far-reaching investigation.

In a July 20 editorial entitled, "Restore Police Credibility," the *Des Moines Register* says, "If guilty as charged, Sorensen violated the rights of innocent citizens. That could greatly damage the credibility of the department and the courts."

However, the editorial claims, "the Des Moines police department has been relatively free of scandal over the years." Therefore, there is no need for "an exhaustive review of every case" that Sorensen was involved in.

In fact, over the last few years the Des Moines police department and Iowa's criminal justice system have been scored repeatedly for racism, sexism, and brutality.

Charges of discrimination against Black and women officers within the Des Moines police department led to two separate investigations of police practices over the last three years.

In 1988, the Des Moines Civil Service Commission conducted an investigation, compiling more than 1,300 pages of testimony from dozens of cops.

The commission issued a 44-page report, stating that "racially and/or sexually derogatory statements still exist within the Des Moines police department." It concluded that "the time has come for a change."

Charges of police brutality in Des Moines are climbing. The police department's own internal affairs department — the unit described as an internal whitewash agency by the Civil Service Commission report — states that it received 40 complaints of excessive force in 1989 and 50 in 1990. The unit says it could sustain only four of the complaints.

The Iowa Civil Liberties Union reports it receives an average of one call a day from someone complaining of having been roughed up by the police.

While Blacks make up only 7 percent of the Des Moines population, the city's police department statistics show that 23 percent of those arrested in 1990 were Black.

High court ruling on black lung benefits strikes blow at disabled coal miners

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — On June 24 the U.S. Supreme Court issued a ruling pushing back the ability of coal miners disabled by black lung disease to benefit from a federal compensation program.

The 7-1 ruling upheld new, more restrictive Labor Department regulations designed to make it harder for coal miners to qualify for black lung benefits. Previous regulations said benefits could only be denied with proof a miner is capable of working in the mines or doing comparable work.

The latest ruling builds on a 1988 Supreme Court ruling that shifted the burden of proof onto the miner to disprove company claims that the disability had other causes.

United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) spokesperson Kirsty Smith said the decision will deny benefits to "thousands of deserving victims and their families."

One local newspaper in eastern Kentucky, the *Whitesburg Mountain Eagle*, responded with an editorial entitled, "High Court spits venom on miners," reflecting the anger of working people in the region.

In 1969 the black lung provisions of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act were a major victory for the labor movement. The provisions were won as a result of a virtual uprising of coal mines centered in the West Virginia coalfields.

The 1969 black lung movement was an inspiration to the reform movement that

oust the procompany regime of UMWA President Tony Boyle and elected the Miners for Democracy slate in 1972. The decade-long fight by rank-and-file miners won unprecedented democratic rights and control of their union.

Even before the current June 24 Supreme Court ruling, the approval rate on black lung claims had fallen from a high of 64 percent in the early 1970s to 4 percent today. From 1983-1990 only six percent of 80,000 applicants gained benefits. Applicants often wait 5-10 years for approval.

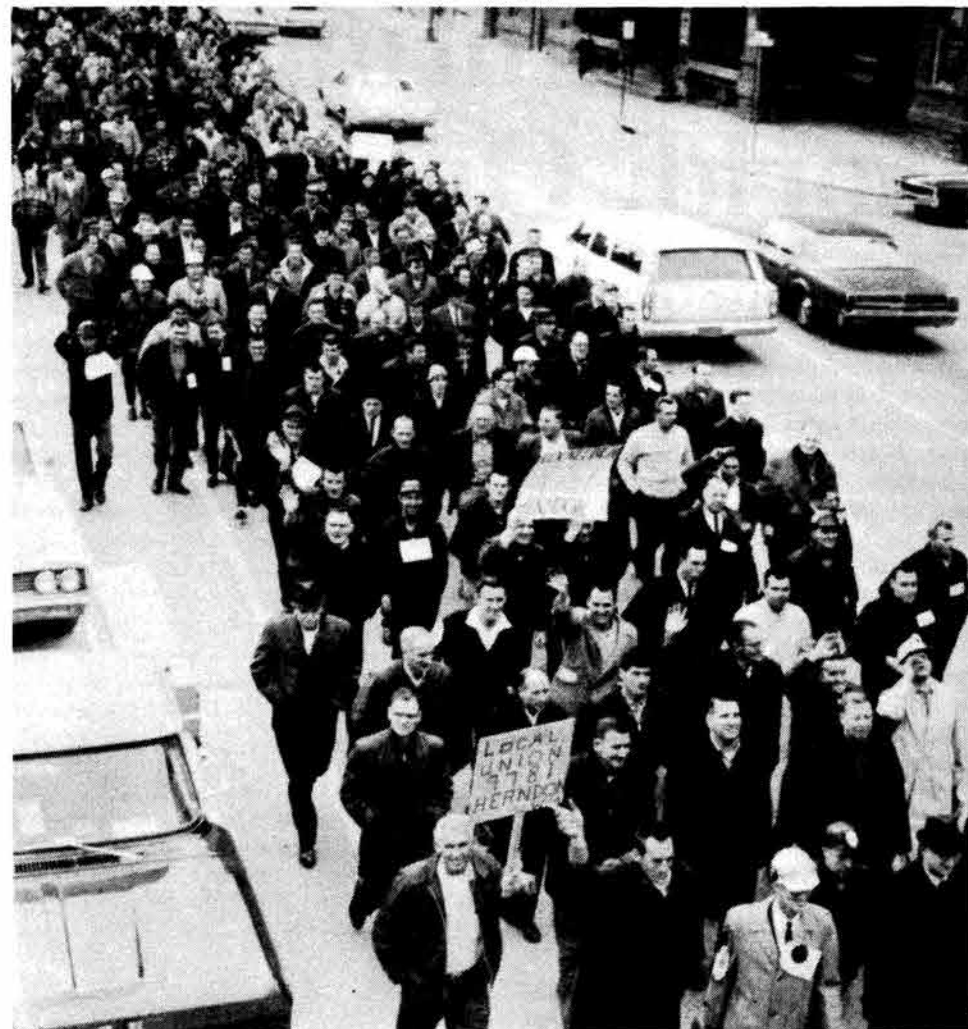
Dust sample tampering

The Supreme Court ruling comes after the exposure in April of nationwide fraud by coal operators in the sampling of dust levels in underground mines.

The Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) has announced \$6.5 million in civil fines against 500 companies for submitting dust samples that had been tampered with.

The 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act not only established a black lung compensation program, but also mandated for the first time that a major occupational disease, black lung, be eliminated. It requires that dust in mines be kept at levels supposedly low enough to prevent black lung disease.

Black lung, or pneumoconiosis, is a debilitating disease caused by breathing in coal dust or other particles. Half a million



1969 march in Charleston, West Virginia, of miners and supporters demanding black lung benefits. Fight was part of rank-and-file miners winning unprecedented control over their union.

miners have qualified for black lung benefits since 1969 and 260,000 currently receive them.

Black lung is not an inevitable part of the overhead of mining coal. Mine bosses simply refuse to apply the available methods to control dust.

A major article in the June issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* argues that this past April's findings of company tam-

pering with sampling devices is only the tip of the iceberg.

The *Journal* explains that operators routinely manipulate dust control methods — proper ventilation, water sprays, and cutting procedures — by fully applying the methods only when dust sampling pumps are running. This gives the operators a false overall compliance rate with federal law.

Dust has gotten worse because of the introduction of longwall mining machinery which produces much more coal and also more dust, without proper dust suppression systems.

One miner quoted in the *Journal* article states: "As far as the company and MSHA are concerned, we're just numbers. That's why this recent dust sampling fraud is not surprising. And I put the blame 50/50 on both of them."

"What does MSHA expect to happen when the company is the one in charge of sampling?"

At a congressional hearing in late June it was revealed that a tamper-resistant dust sampling cassette was developed for the U.S. Bureau of Mines in 1978. William Tattersall, secretary of labor for Mine Safety and Health, said the agency did not require its use because it was too costly.

MSHA now says it will require its use, but has set no date.

UMWA President Richard Trumka has called for MSHA to take responsibility for the sampling program and for working miners to monitor the sampling process. Trumka also has urged the full pursuit of criminal charges against the operators.

Trumka is asking UMWA members to respond to the gutting of the federal black lung compensation law by lobbying Congress. He is calling for support of legislation proposed by West Virginia Representative Nick Rahall and Pennsylvania Representative Austin Murphy. The bills would reestablish the presumption that after working ten years underground a miner has black lung; limit the repetitive evidence the company can present; and grant benefits to survivors of a miner who worked 25 years or more.

At a May meeting in Pikeville, Kentucky, the National Black Lung Association adopted a similar course of lobbying for the bills.

The National Coal Association, the operator group, has responded to the MSHA charges with a blanket denial of guilt, arguing that the samples may have been affected during shipping and handling.

Consolidation Coal, the second largest coal producer and holder of the largest fine, expressed outrage that its "honesty" had been questioned.

So far 65 percent of the citations have been appealed by the operators. That large number alone will jam the machinery of the federal review commission and delay the collection of fines.

Report shows how Boston cops framed Black man for Carol Stuart murder

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

BOSTON — A report released July 10 by U.S. Attorney Wayne Budd reveals the extent of the frame-up Boston police carried out against William Bennett for the murder of Carol Stuart.

Stuart, a young white woman who was pregnant, was murdered Oct. 23, 1989. Her husband Charles claimed the couple had been robbed and shot by a Black man. Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn ordered a massive police dragnet aimed at the Black working-class community of Mission Hill.

Police threatened would-be witnesses with beatings, coerced them with threats of prison sentences, planted evidence claimed to be drugs, and verbally terrorized and abused at least one woman they were interrogating as they prepared their "case."

Charles Stuart subsequently killed himself in a leap off the Tobin Bridge here Jan. 4, 1990. Authorities now believe he murdered his wife and shot himself in an effort to cover his crime.

Stuart's suicide sent shock waves through this city. The Suffolk County district attorney was about to indict Bennett, who is Black, for Carol Stuart's murder. It rapidly became apparent that the cop assault on Mission Hill was not aimed at finding Carol Stuart's killer but at producing a victim to frame for the murder.

Outrage at the cops' methods forced an investigation which produced the Budd report. However, the outrage remains. Despite the damning facts in the Budd report it proposes that none of the cops responsible be prosecuted. Thus the cover-up continues.

In the wake of the Budd report the fact of the daily brutality, lawlessness, and racism of the Boston cops has become a central issue in politics here. The past two months have witnessed cop killings of three Black men. The latest victim, Christopher Rogers, was an unarmed 16-year-old.

How Bennett frame was constructed

The cops pressured two youths, Eric Whitney and Derek Jackson, to testify that William Bennett had re-enacted the shooting of

Carol Stuart in front of them. Whitney and Jackson ultimately testified before a grand jury incriminating Bennett, but only after more than eight hours of cop grilling.

The Budd report states: "The FBI also interviewed Eric Whitney and his girlfriend Angela Brittle. Taken together, Jackson, Whitney and Brittle described a series of events where [they]... were dissuaded by threats of physical harm, immediate imprisonment at Charles Street jail, and twenty years in prison, from telling a version of events they claimed to be truthful."

A "federal law enforcement source" told the *Globe* that the acts described in the report could be prosecuted as "subornation of perjury, intimidation of witnesses, obstruction of justice or the filing of false reports in state court."

No 'credible' witnesses

Budd, who is Black, called the case "tragic, including the fact that a community of color was falsely blamed for the crime." But he and other officials refuse to take any action. State prosecutors, according to the *Globe*, said "the allegations against the police lacked credibility."

The refusal to prosecute was blasted in a statement released by the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Lynn, Margaret Pucci, and Boston Young Socialist Alliance Chairperson Neil Callender. "Why do the witnesses lack 'credibility' in the eyes of prosecutors?" the socialists asked. "Because many are Black, young, and working-class." Budd urged Boston Police Commissioner Francis Roache to take administrative action against the cops involved. "History doesn't promise much out of an internal affairs investigation," responded John Reinstein of the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union in the *Globe*.

A Mission Hill resident who spoke to the *Globe* captured the bitterness there. "They just want to say it is alright to come in here and do what they did," said Tyrone Dudley. "Something should be done. They should have done something."

Many working people and others are also

protesting the cop killing of Christopher Rogers. Some 200 people turned out for the youth's wake.

Within days of Rogers' shooting his mother Judy confronted Mayor Flynn at a community event. She told reporters that James Hall, the cop who killed Rogers, "had threatened my son. I would like this officer stripped of his uniform and sent to jail."

Friends of Rogers have told the press that Hall, who is Black, has threatened them in the past and has shot at them on at least one occasion.

In the Dorchester neighborhood where Rogers lived a group of relatives and neighbors held a car wash July 20 to raise funds for his family. The cops harassed them, denying them access to water from a fire hydrant.

Linda St. Fleur, whose 17-year-old son had initiated the car wash, called Rogers' killing "unnecessary," and expressed the fear that it will be "swept under the rug — hushed up." St. Fleur is white.

"He should be treated like any other civilian," Chris Rogers' teenage cousin Kendra said of Hall. "There should be no special rights for cops."

"I think he should be put in jail," added 11-year-old Steven Fitzpatrick. "He's just a cop."

"All the cops, the killers, and the criminals involved in the Bennett frame-up should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law," said socialists Pucci and Callender. "Every labor organization, every Black community group and anyone who supports democratic rights should demand that these cops go to jail and that the coverup of all these events end."

In a related development, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced that Boston would be one of five cities where the NAACP will hold hearings on police brutality.

Pucci and Callender hailed this decision. "The NAACP hearings should be welcomed by the labor movement," they said. "Many workers would be interested in speaking out about cop brutality and the NAACP hearings can be a way to do so."

New Pathfinder book: 'Workers of World, Oppressed Peoples, Unite!'

Full record of debates and documents from 1920 congress of Communist Int'l

Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!, a two-volume work, will be available from Pathfinder in mid-October. The book contains the full record of the Second Congress of the Communist International, held in Soviet Russia in 1920.

Delegates to the congress with many divergent political views made their way to Moscow from thirty-seven countries. Their goal was to join with the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, which had led the workers and peasants of Russia to power in October 1917, in building a new revolutionary working-class International.

The resolutions of their congress set the Communist International's political course, including on the character of communist parties, the nature of their work in parliament and in trade unions, and the alliances they sought with farmers and oppressed peoples.

This 1,145-page collection of debates and congress documents is the fourth installment of the series, *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. Reproduced here are excerpts from the introduction to the book by its editor, John Riddell. These excerpts are copyright © 1991 by Anchor Foundation and reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press.

The Communist International, often called the Comintern or Third International, held its second congress at a moment of grave crisis for the international capitalist order. The revolutionary upsurge that swept across Europe after World War I was still in full swing. In Asia the struggle of workers and peasants for freedom from colonial domination was gaining momentum. As delegates convened, the Soviet Red Army had just repelled a counterrevolutionary assault by the armed forces of the Polish government and was swiftly advancing westward into Poland, aiming to create an opening for the working people of Poland to rise up against their foreign and domestic exploiters.

In this time of vast social crisis and revolution, the leadership of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) in 1919 launched a new, revolutionary international working-class organization.

Building such a movement has been a central goal of the modern proletarian movement from its earliest years, when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels inscribed the words "Workers of the world, unite!" on the banner of the Communist League (1847-52), the first international workers' party. Marx was also the central founding leader of the Interna-



Courtesy J. Humbert-Droz Archives, City Library, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland
Workers of Putilov metalworking factory in Petrograd, Russia, greet congress delegates. Banner reads: "The Third International is the rising sun of a new era in human existence."

tional Working Men's Association (the First International, 1864-76) and, together with Engels, guided its course throughout its existence. Engels took an active part in political preparations to launch the Socialist International in 1889 and participated in its activity during the final six years of his life.

When war broke out in August 1914, the Socialist International collapsed ignominiously. For the most part, each of its best-known leaders rallied to support the war policies of the government representing the exploiting class in his country.

As the war proceeded, masses of workers began to break with this openly opportunist current in the workers' movement and to turn toward revolutionary struggle. A second component of the pre-war Social Democratic leadership sought to head up these militant forces, offering themselves as an alternative to the discredited right-wing officials. These

figures pursued a vacillating course. They refused to break their ties to the open social chauvinists and sought to divert from the world Communist movement the forces under their influence.

The third force in the workers' movement was the revolutionary current led by the Bolsheviks of Russia. It began to win broad sympathy and support among workers in many countries following the October 1917 revolution. Inspired by the example of that revolution, its partisans abroad sought to organize defense of the workers' and peasants' government in Russia, to promote revolutionary struggles in their own lands, and to build an international working-class movement of those fighting to emulate the Bolsheviks.

Components of this revolutionary current met in Moscow in March 1919 and launched the Communist International. The founding congress was small. Only nine delegates, fewer than one-fifth the total, had managed during the two months before the congress to make their way to Moscow past the counterrevolutionary armies and the imperialist blockade ringing soviet territory.

Apart from the Bolsheviks, none of the delegates spoke for a party with experience in revolutionary struggle or with a mass working-class membership.

Nonetheless, the congress voted overwhelmingly to found the new world organization without further delay. Over subsequent months, many workers' organizations across Europe affiliated to the Comintern in rapid succession. In September 1919 Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, estimated the membership of its affiliates at more than a million, about half of whom belonged to parties other than the Communist Party of Russia.

The journey to Moscow

On June 14, 1920, the Executive Committee of the Communist International published a call setting the Second Congress in Moscow and urging all revolutionary parties and organizations to send large delegations.

Entering soviet territory in mid-1920 was a difficult and hazardous task. Soviet Russia was still surrounded by hostile armies and blockaded by the imperialist powers.

J.T. Murphy, a delegate representing the Shop Stewards' movement of Britain, managed to get a visa to enter the Netherlands

but had to pay a smuggler to walk him over the frontier into Germany. He then tried to slip over the Danish frontier, traveling with the U.S. Communist Louis Fraina. Danish police nabbed the pair, jailed them, and smuggled them back into Germany. Spotted by German police, Murphy and Fraina jumped off a moving train, escaped, stowed away on a ship to Stockholm and then on another ship to Revel, and entered Soviet Russia disguised as returning Russian prisoners of war.

Another delegate, Charles Phillips, had moved from the United States to Mexico to escape military conscription during World War I. He made it safely to Estonia using visas obtained with his phony Mexican passport and with credentials from a newspaper job from which he had been fired. The Estonian government, however, refused him an exit visa into the Soviet republic, and Estonian guards stopped him at the Russian border. Spotting a locomotive that was getting up steam to move across the border, Phillips told his guard, "Hold my suitcase, I have to go to the bathroom." He went into the station, ran out another door, and jumped on the locomotive, which by then was moving off.

Although most congress participants came from Communist parties, the official list of 218 delegates recorded twelve representatives of youth groups and fifty-four who came from Social Democratic, Socialist, and other non-Communist workers' organizations. At least eight of the delegates represented anarcho-syndicalist organizations or had been syndicalists before 1917.

Only a handful of the delegates had played prominent roles in the pre-war Socialist International. Among them were V.I. Lenin (50 years old in 1920), Julian Marchlewski (54), Christian Rakovsky (47), and, among the non-Communist delegates, Ernst Däumig (54) and Marcel Cachin (51). The vast majority of delegates represented a younger generation, that of the October 1917 revolution. Raymond Lefebvre was 29 years old; Fraina, 26; Said Galiev, a leader of the Tatar Communists, also 26; and Lazar Shatskin, a Communist from Russia and a central leader of the youth International, only 18. Of 176 delegates whose age could be ascertained, four were under 20 years old; forty-one were in their 20s; seventy-nine in their 30s; forty-four in their 40s; and only twelve delegates were 50 years of age or more. Nineteen delegates were women.

The participation of a small but significant number of delegates from the colonial and economically backward countries, Lenin noted in the opening session, made the gathering truly a world congress—the first in the history of the socialist movement. At least thirty delegates came from among the oppressed peoples of Asia, including from nations and nationalities oppressed by tsarism that had now established governments based on Soviets of peasants' and workers' deputies.

In the years following the congress, many delegates were to fall victim to the purges organized by Joseph Stalin. Stalin headed the petty-bourgeois social layer that gained decisive influence in the Comintern during the second half of the 1920s and early 1930s. This privileged bureaucratic caste increasingly abandoned revolutionary internationalism and put the party, the state, and the Communist International on a counterrevolutionary course. Stalin and his backers sought to use the Comintern as an instrument of Soviet government policy in its search for an accommodation with imperialism. This earliest version of "new thinking" was codified at the sixth Comintern congress in 1928.

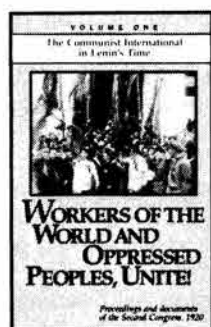
Stalin's bloody frame-up purges in the late 1930s claimed the lives of two-thirds of those who had been delegates to the Second Congress. Among the seventy-six delegates then in the Soviet Union for whom information could be found, at least fifty-two were executed or died in prison. Another six delegates were imprisoned or dismissed from leading posts. For seven who died during the height of Stalin's terror, between 1937 and 1939, Soviet sources do not indicate the circumstances of death. Of the delegates then living in

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the Soviet Union, only thirteen (fewer than one-fifth) survived or escaped victimization.

The delegates arrive

As the war against the invading Polish army raged during the summer of 1920, Soviet Russia remained in the grip of material deprivation. From the trains bearing them to Petrograd, delegates saw the destruction and desolation left by the war of intervention against the young Soviet republic: alongside the tracks were wrecked locomotives, derailed freight cars of every type, and piles of ruined railway equipment. Bridges had been blown up, Murphy noted; "trenches, barbed wire, ruined buildings, broken tracks, seemed to be everywhere." Arriving in Petrograd, Jules Humbert-Droz, a delegate from Switzerland, observed the closed factories with boarded windows, the unpaved streets where wooden paving blocks had been removed for firewood, the stumps of trees chopped down for the same purpose, and, in the Winter Palace, the ruined chairs whose leather had been cut off to make shoes.

U.S. delegate John Reed remarked on the "misery and disease and desperate, endless struggle. The winter [of 1919-20] was horrible beyond imagination. No one will ever know what Russia went through." In the summer of 1920 more food was available, but hunger still pressed Soviet citizens. Soldiers received the best supplies, Reed noted, and factory workers organized to take care of themselves and their families, but office workers were often overlooked. Because of the blockade, there were almost no medical supplies; sanitary conditions were bad and epidemics common.

A few delegates were repelled by Soviet reality, which failed to conform to their preconceptions. Most, however, were inspired by the hopes and the energy they sensed among Soviet working people. During the 1919-20 winter, while Moscow citizens hungered, often with no electricity or fuel, Reed marveled at the progress that the workers' and peasants' regime had nonetheless made: new medical centers even in the villages; a great educational campaign for better sanitation; free hospitals, dispensaries, child-care centers; new schools springing up everywhere.

Reed journeyed the countryside that winter, driving by sleigh from village to village, talking to peasants who blessed the Bolsheviks and peasants who cursed them. Many peasants were bewildered by the new regime, he noted, but the introduction of schools and medical centers was beginning to change the old way of life.

"And the children! This is a country for children," he wrote. They received the best available food and clothing without charge and access to schools and theaters. Tsarskoe Selo, former residence of the tsars, had been rechristened Detskoe Selo (Children's Village). "A hundred thousand of them spend the summer there, in relays. The streets are full of happy children."

In informal discussions delegates made the acquaintance of their counterparts from every corner of the globe and of Communist leaders in Russia. A congress participant from Iceland, Brynjólfur Bjarnason, recalls in particular his talks with Willi Münzenberg of the youth International; with M.N. Roy, a revolutionary from India, who dropped by his room one evening; and with Reed, who reported some comments by Lenin on Iceland. Brushing aside a suggestion that delegates would know little of Iceland, Lenin had declared that the vanguard of the workers' movement must of course be familiar with this country, if only because of the strategic military role it would play in a future world war.

Delegates wrote extensively for the Soviet press. They went out to address many meetings of workers and Red Army detachments. Reed wrote of his discussions about the U.S. working class with Russian factory workers, who asked countless questions about wages and conditions of life and work in the United States. "Why is America so slow to get Socialist ideas?" one worker asked. Another said, "Tell our American comrades that we listen day and night for the sound of their



Courtesy Whitcomb Collection, Hoover Institution

Delegates arriving in Moscow for Second Congress. Two-volume book will be fourth installment of series, *The Communist International In Lenin's Time*.

footsteps coming to our aid. But tell them, too, that no matter how long it may take them, we shall hold firm."

Murphy attended a meeting in the Putilov works in Petrograd, where hundreds of Communist Party members discussed factory management and the organization of production. This was a preliminary meeting, he learned, called to help Communist workers lead participation in these tasks by the workers as a whole. By background a syndicalist, Murphy felt challenged in his preconceptions about the limitations of political parties. Previously, he remarked, none of the Shop Steward delegates "saw the political party as anything other than a propaganda body for the spread of Socialist ideas."

Delegates set out by train and boat to see Russia; one group sailed down the Volga to the city of Saratov, speaking at workers' rallies along the way. Delegates loaded railroad ties as part of a *subbotnik*, one of the Russian workers' days of voluntary labor for economic reconstruction. Soviet workers were celebrating the Comintern congress through a wide range of events, and there were meetings and cultural exhibits to visit. Massive demonstrations, theatrical performances, and a special sculpture contest were held in honor of the International.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Russia was present in force, and they took pains to get to know the delegates from abroad and talked to them at length. During the congress, the pace of plenary sessions was slowed by pauses for translation, and groups of delegates adjourned for breaks in neighboring rooms. There they met the leaders of the Russian party, who, at home in many languages, were keen to continue discussion informally. Phillips recalls in particular long discussions with Nikolai Bukharin and Karl Radek. When Phillips married one of the Russian translators at the congress, Bukharin and Mikhail Tomsky, head of the

Soviet trade unions, served as his witnesses.

Like many delegates, Phillips had an interview with Lenin, who listened attentively to his account of conditions in Mexico. Lenin then asked what publications the Communists used to reach the peasantry. None, since the peasants were largely Indians, who were illiterate, replied Phillips. "Oh, well I can understand that," said Lenin. "Of course. But you must find some way to reach them. If they make up a great proportion of the peasantry of Mexico, you must find some way to reach them. You've got to send out special people who can speak their languages." Struck by this unexpected advice, Phillips fired off a letter to his comrades in Mexico.

On arriving at their hotel rooms, delegates found a huge cardboard briefcase stuffed full of convention discussion materials: the Executive Committee's written report, informational reports from parties in different countries, draft resolutions, Leon Trotsky's *Terrorism and Communism: A Reply to Kautsky*, and Lenin's "Left-Wing" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, a pamphlet published as part of the preparatory discussion for the congress. The ideas in Lenin's contribution figured centrally in several points on the congress agenda.

The draft resolutions, Murphy recalls, "constituted a revolution in the conceptions of every party and every non-Russian delegate in the Congress." In the commissions established on different agenda points, he continues, "every delegation 'went to school' on the first principles of the new movement under the direction and tuition of one of the Russian leaders. . . . The Russians seemed to be incapable of exhaustion by discussion. Patiently they would argue, go over the ground a second time, a third, a fourth if need be, until night turned into day and day into night."

The Executive Committee took advantage of the early arrival of many leading delegates

from abroad to co-opt them into its work and deliberations. It was the first opportunity for the Bolsheviks to begin to share with aspiring Communist leaders from abroad the leadership responsibility for the International that they had until then carried essentially alone.

Among the preparatory activities were meetings of trade unionists from Russia, Britain, Italy, and other countries, which paved the way for the formation on the eve of the congress of an international revolutionary trade union council. A conference of Communist women was also organized during the congress, and its statements and activity received wide publicity in the Soviet press.

As the scheduled opening day of July 15 arrived, many delegates from abroad had yet to arrive, and the Executive Committee decided to postpone for one week the first full working session of the congress. Advantage was taken of the delay to hold a ceremonial opening session in Petrograd, birthplace of soviet power.

Louis-Oscar Frossard tells us that from the Petrograd railway station, delegates traveled in a streetcar to the Smolny Institute, seat of the Soviet government in its first months of existence. At the controls of the streetcar was Mikhail Kalinin, Soviet head of state and formerly a leader of the streetcar workers' union.

After a meal in Smolny's Great Hall, delegates marched to the opening session in the Uritsky Theater (formerly the Tauride Palace, seat in 1917 of the Provisional Government), accompanied by tens of thousands of Petrograd workers. There delegates heard an address by Lenin on the world political situation and the tasks of the Comintern. Afterward, they joined hundreds of thousands of Petrograd workers in a huge demonstration. Then, at midnight, a crowd gathered before the former stock exchange to see a piece of mass theater, with some three thousand costumed performers, the *Spectacle of the Two Worlds*.

The first scene showed the bourgeoisie dancing on a raised terrace, Willi Münzenberg recalls, while underneath, thousands of workers hammered out a slow, heavy beat. Successive scenes portrayed workers' history since the 1871 Paris Commune. Finally, "workers press forward toward the terrace, the police arrive, the learned Social Democrats disappear, the first shots are fired, and suddenly an armored car roars around the corner with armed sailors, flying a blood-red flag: the Kronstadt sailors hurrying to aid the workers. And all this at night, at two o'clock, while the red flags on the Winter Palace give their salute, and the brightly illuminated warships on the Neva display the Soviet star, and hundreds of thousands of workers watch, filling all the streets. It was like a dream. As the sailors' armored car drove up, we delegates stood, shouting, waving our arms, so enthusiastic we were quite overcome."

INS, police harass Cambodian immigrants in Boston area over killing of white youth

BY NEIL CALLENDER

REVERE, Massachusetts — Cambodian immigrants in this suburb of Boston have become the targets of a cop dragnet in the wake of the killing of a white youth.

On July 1 some 30 Revere and Massachusetts state cops, accompanied by Federal Bureau of Investigation and Immigration and Naturalization Service agents, descended on a community that includes many Cambodians. They randomly demanded identification from those who were Asian.

A local Shirley Avenue merchant who is Cambodian said the raid lasted four hours. "They stopped people driving by in their cars and asked for I.D.," he said. "They asked identification from some of my customers. It's not right to ask everybody for their I.D. Some people walking to the store don't have any I.D. on them. The police made them get their I.D. from their houses."

The cops claim the massive display of force — they donned bullet-proof vests and were well-armed — is part of an effort to remove "undesirables" and to "prevent violence" between Asians and whites. Three youths were arrested on separate charges of disorderly conduct, running a red light, and burglary.

In June, 22-year-old Michael Guarino was murdered. No one has been arrested and the facts remain unclear. Friends of Guarino assert Asian youth are responsible. Demonstrations have been held and demands have been raised that the cops arrest someone. There have been rumors and threats of "retaliation" against Cambodians for the killing.

Cambodian community leader and Revere Human Rights Commission member Ratha Yem charged in the Boston *Globe* that Cambodians have been arrested on minor offenses and then interrogated about the Guarino killing.

Police Capt. Roy Colanino admitted to the

Revere *Journal* that "a second goal [of the cop raid] was to get some information regarding the Guarino homicide."

Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union official John Reinstein, interviewed by the *Globe*, asked, if the police were concerned about tensions between Asians and non-Asians, "why were the Asians singled out for arrest?"

"The police ask us to cooperate," Sundara Sam of the Revere Office of Southeast Asian Affairs told the *Journal*. "But we feel that the authorities are targeting our whole community." The cop raid, he added, makes Cambodians "feel threatened."

A July 11 vigil of 30 people marched through the neighborhood where many Cambodians live. A flyer announcing it urged, "Stop the violence." An organizer appealed over a bullhorn for peace in the city but some white youths on the march shouted, "Gook! Gook!" according to community resident Dave Ferguson.

Abortion curbs aimed at working women

Leadership of women's organizations, unions chart no course forward

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

Recent attacks undermining abortion rights highlight how federal and state governments and the courts are aiming to limit access to abortion by working women.

Leaders of established women's organizations, such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), have done little to mobilize against these attacks or to combat propaganda aimed against women's rights.

Nor has the trade union officialdom taken steps to champion abortion rights for women, despite the fact that many unions officially back this hard-won right.

Part of employer offensive

The moves against abortion rights are part and parcel of the broader assaults on democratic rights and affirmative action, of ongoing police brutality, and of the overall anti-union drive by the employers.

Through this assault the ruling rich seek to deepen divisions within the working class in order to drive down the standard of living of working people and widen discriminatory practices in the workplace.

In May the Supreme Court upheld government regulations barring federally funded family planning clinics from discussing abortion with patients.

The U.S. Senate voted July 17 to adopt a measure to stop the federal regulations from taking effect. The bill would bar the Department of Health and Human Services from enforcing the regulations it wrote in 1988. However, two amendments were tacked on requiring parental or adult notification before a teenager can obtain an abortion.

Abortion rights have also come under fire in many states. Two years ago the Supreme Court ruled state governments could set restrictions on abortion rights. Since then hundreds of antiabortion measures have been introduced in many states, including at least 220 bills in 45 state legislatures so far this year. The most harsh was recently passed in Louisiana over a veto by the state's governor.

The Louisiana legislation outlaws abortion and makes no provision for abortions when a woman's health is threatened by her pregnancy. Abortion is allowed only "to save the life of the unborn child" or when a woman's life is endangered. Exceptions are made for victims of rape or incest, but only after they report the crime to law enforcement authorities and can prove they were not pregnant earlier.

Opponents of abortion rights are seeking a review by the Supreme Court of one or more of the antiabortion laws adopted in various states. Their goal is to further weaken or even overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion.

In addition to the measure adopted in Louisiana, restrictive abortion laws in Pennsylvania, Utah, and Guam are under appeal. All are headed for possible review by the Supreme Court.

The blows against abortion rights hit hardest at working-class women, oppressed nationalities, and youth. The Supreme Court ruling imposed on family planning clinics is a prime example of this. These clinics serve nearly 4 million women each year, the majority low-income. One-third of the clinics' patients are teenagers.

Widespread sentiment against these attacks exists among working people. In fact, a majority of the U.S. population favors a woman's right to choose abortion.

Even some opponents of abortion rights acknowledge the broad support for a woman's right to choose. "We have learned that legal abortion is even more deeply a part of the culture than we expected," said Helen Alvarez, director of planning and information for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Secretariat for Pro-Life Activities.

Ruling circles not united

The mounting assault on the living standards of working people and against democratic rights, including the right to abortion, has bipartisan backing. Capitalist politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, are pursuing a common course on domestic policy. Ruling circles are not united, however, on how fast to proceed and how far to go in attacking abortion rights. Some fear the assault could provoke a response that would, in the end, wind up being more politically

costly than beneficial.

In the Republican party, abortion rights supporters recently began organizing to modify or even remove language against abortion rights from the official party platform at the 1992 GOP convention. Ann Stone, chair of Republicans for Choice, said her group would ask for votes at the convention as a way to send a message that many Republicans support legal abortion.

Deciding it was a political liability to maintain an official stance against abortion rights, delegates at a recent convention of the Young Republicans National Federation voted to remove an antiabortion plank from their platform.

A *Washington Post*-ABC News poll indicates Republicans are split almost evenly on the question of abortion. The July 21 *Post* reported that "many GOP strategists fear that the party's electoral coalition could be shaken if the Supreme Court were to overturn or severely weaken *Roe v. Wade*."

Even President Bush, who has repeatedly stated his opposition to abortion, said he would consider modifying the regulations on family planning clinics. Despite the court ruling the regulations have not been activated.

The recent vote by the Senate to block the regulations indicates that ruling-class politicians are concerned with the political price that can come from moving too fast against abortion rights.

NOW's view of courts

NOW officials and most of the officials of other women's rights and abortion rights groups present the Supreme Court as on the



Militant/Judy Stranahan

New York demonstration in July against Supreme Court abortion clinic ruling. Potential for fight to defend legal abortion by mobilizing working people is rejected by leadership of women's rights groups and unions.

verge of overturning the *Roe v. Wade* decision. When the Supreme Court handed down its ruling regarding clinics, NOW President Molly Yard declared that "the death knell for the right to abortion and birth control" is "tolling ominously."

Kate Michelman, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), pointed to a "chill wind" in the

Supreme Court, threatening "our most fundamental inalienable rights and liberties."

NOW leaders also put forward a lobbying effort to prevent the appointment of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, who they say would further shift the "balance" of the court.

Thomas' approval for the court would mark the end for legal abortion, they argue.

Continued on Page 12

British government orders new inquiry as frame-up of Tottenham Three unravels

BY MARTIN MARRIOTT
AND ANNE HOWIE

LONDON — With the frame-up of the Tottenham Three unravelling, the British government ordered a new inquiry into the case July 25.

Engin Raghip, Mark Braithwaite, and Winston Silcott were convicted of killing a police officer in a trial where the state's evidence rested entirely on police transcripts of self-incriminating comments and forced "confessions."

The three have served four-and-a-half years in prison.

Protests demanding their release had earlier forced the British government to refer Raghip's conviction to the Appeals Court.

The government move to open a new inquiry came after the Tottenham Three Families Campaign released the results of forensic tests July 14. The results prove that the transcript of a police interrogation of Silcott, produced in court as the only evidence against him, is a crude police forgery. The tests showed the self-incriminating comments were added to the transcript after the interrogation.

The frame-up of the three began in 1985. A police raid that year on the house of Cynthia Jarrett led to her dying of a heart attack. Jarrett lived in the predominantly Black, working-class Broadwater Farm Estate in Tottenham, London. Local people, especially youth, took to the streets to protest the cop attack. They were met by massive police repression.

When streetfighting left a police officer dead, a curfew and military-style occupation ensued. Armed police raided 271 homes — amounting to one quarter of all homes on the Estate — and arrested 369 people.

Eventually, an hysterically racist show trial convicted Silcott, Raghip, and Braithwaite of killing the police officer.

Despite the exposures of the brutal methods used during the police raids, there has been no state prosecution of the officers involved. Lord Lane, the highest-ranking judge in Britain, refused to allow Silcott to appeal his conviction in 1988, saying the conviction was based on "a solid foundation of evidence."

A broad campaign to free the three has been led by their families and others from the Broadwater Farm Estate. They have won

support from members of parliament, labor movement bodies, and community, civil rights, and Black organizations.

The recent revelations have been met by a countercampaign, headed by the *News of the World* newspaper, to not only uphold the convictions but to find "the other 11" the paper claims participated in the killing. John Butcher, a Tory member of parliament, introduced a motion in the House of Commons urging more "concern for the victims of the crimes perpetrated by Silcott and his associates."

Recent victories won with the freeing of Irish frame-up victims known as the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six have deepened the mistrust felt by working people toward the police and courts.

This has been reinforced by the victory of the National Union of Mineworkers, in which

the government was forced to drop charges against the union's leaders for their actions during the coal strike of 1984-85. In a second case, police were ordered to pay compensation to miners assaulted and imprisoned by the cops during the strike.

In a telephone interview, Shaun Waterman, a spokesperson for the campaign to free the Tottenham Three, said "clear parallels with the Guildford 4 and Birmingham 6 cases" exist, as they are "all political frame-ups."

"Irish and Black people have learned they cannot expect justice from the legal system," Shaun said. Framing up working people is "part of a day-to-day pattern" of police activity, he explained. "All that is different in this case is that there's the campaign that's needed to win their release. At this critical stage, increased support is vital."

Haitians chained, caged in Miami

BY NANCY COLE

MIAMI — A U.S. district judge here has ordered four youths deported in a case that spotlighted slavlike treatment of Haitian refugees.

Five Haitian refugees arrived in Miami July 9 aboard a freighter and were turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). They were returned to the ship the next day for immediate deportation back to Haiti. The ship's officers then ordered three of them locked up in a small wire cage and the other two shackled to the deck, leaving all five exposed to the sun for hours in view of passersby.

Angry protesters gathered, forcing INS officials to remove the refugees from the boat.

The Haitians charge they were beaten and denied food and water during most of the boat trip to Miami, and that they each paid \$1,000 to the ship's first mate for passage to South Florida. The first mate denies all of these charges.

Whether or not they paid the money was the issue in the hearing before U.S. District Judge Kenneth Ryskamp, because only then would the Haitians have the right to an immigration hearing. Stowaways are subject to immediate expulsion from the country.

Outside the courthouse, 100 demonstrators marched demanding justice for Haitians. Some signs said, "Coast to coast: Shut down

Hitler's camp," referring to the immigrant prison camps like the Krome detention Center near here.

Judge Ryskamp sided with the INS in its conclusion that the first mate was telling the truth and had not received \$5,000 from the Haitians. An appeal and an application for an emergency stay of deportation were filed.

The Haitian Refugee Center has also filed a civil suit on behalf of four of the Haitians, charging the INS, the U.S. border patrol agents involved, and the ship's owner, captain, and first mate with mistreatment of the refugees. The fifth refugee escaped from INS custody July 12.

The case has added to the anger here over the brutal treatment of Haitians seeking entry into the United States. Many contrast this with the fact that Cubans, arriving in increasing numbers on rafts, are allowed into the country.

Several days before the five Haitians were viewed caged and chained on the freighter, the Coast Guard intercepted a sailboat packed with 161 Haitians and five Cubans. The Haitians had rescued the Cubans, who were on route to Florida on a raft.

The two Cubans were brought to Miami while the Haitians — except for six who needed medical treatment — were sent back to Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince.

Sun Oil workers in Philadelphia vote in OCAW

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

in the immediate region and three are currently represented by OCAW.

In April of this year, the pro-company Atlantic Independent Union (AIU) negotiated a contract with Sun Oil. The AIU was recognized by the company in 1938.

Sun proposed gutting seniority and using "relative" qualifications on job-bidding and layoffs. The company sought to add jobs to current job descriptions with no increase in pay.

Marcus Hook Sun refinery (OCAW 8-901) and British Petroleum's refinery (OCAW 8-234) and those at the Philadelphia refinery to discuss how the union is organized and health and safety issues. Plant-gate informational leafletting by officers and rank-and-file members of OCAW 8-234 and 8-901 took place. As a result of these discussions, many became active campaigners for the union inside the refinery.

In the end 155 votes were cast for the OCAW, 140 for the AIU and 1 for no union. The AIU has challenged the election results claiming unfair labor practices.

Supporters of the OCAW are confident that they will beat back this challenge. Over the course of this campaign, they have gained inspiration for their fight against Sun Oil and plan to continue to fight for, as stated in one of their leaflets, "respect for ourselves and co-workers over the working lives in this refinery."

Members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 26 at the Detroit Thorn Apple Valley Smoked Meats Plant voted 304-81 to accept a four-year contract July 2.

The basic change from the existing contract was a \$1,050 ratification bonus and a 20-cent-an-hour wage increase in June, 1994. Wages start at \$5 an hour and top out at almost \$10. Also included was an increase in life insurance from \$7,000 to \$8,000 and a small increase in the pension plan and dis-

ability payments from \$125 a week to \$135 in 1994.

Meatpackers at Thorn Apple slaughterhouse in Detroit had accepted a similar four-year contract with no wage increase but a \$1,500 signing bonus in early April.

Neither the Smoked Meats nor the slaughterhouse contract keeps up with the cost of living nor addresses the issues of health and safety on the job. This is despite the fact that Thorn Apple had one of its most profitable years. Earnings through the first nine months of fiscal 1991, which ended May 24, totaled \$15.2 million. Since January stock has gone from \$9 a share to more than \$40.

There was no meeting where workers could discuss the contract. It was passed out on July 1 by union stewards in the plant as the "final offer" and workers voted in the lunchroom the next day.

Members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local Lodge 1747, who do the refueling services for Washington National and Dulles International airports, recently voted by a large majority to accept a new three-year contract with their employer, Ogden Services. The contract cuts wages by a dollar-an-hour across the board.

Wages will be frozen at the new level, except for those who are paid on B-scale below eight dollars an hour.

Sick days have been reduced

from 12 per year to 5 and the company can now significantly increase the number of part-time workers to up to half of the work force. For most employees, gains were made in health coverage, although weekly payments for this coverage remain at \$8.24 each week. New hires, however, will not receive health coverage for their families.

Negotiations began with the company serving a sixty-day notice that it would shut down its operations if major concessions were not granted by the union. The letter added that the company "would not take a strike in order to achieve the required reductions."

The negotiating committee urged a "yes" vote on the contract. Speaking on behalf of the committee, IAM District 141 General Chairman Ken Ahern affirmed that a strike would only last thirty days at most until the company closed its doors. A "no" vote, he indicated, would only result in the committee going back and "rearranging the furniture" to get the necessary concessions. He pleaded with those who strongly objected to the contract that they at least "keep the job they had while they looked for other work" and vote to accept it.

The contract was approved 82-43 with 104 not voting.

OCAW 8-901 member Kathy Mickells and Sun's Philadelphia refinery worker, Jacquie Delario; UFCW Local 26 member Dennis Hoppe; and IAM Local 1747 member Robert Busch contributed to this week's column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

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.

An important victory was won July 10 by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) international union in the Delaware Valley when workers at Sun Oil's Philadelphia refinery voted to have the OCAW as their bargaining agent.

This is the first refinery election to be won by the OCAW in this area since 1973. There are seven refiner-

Sun management attended the meeting where the company's proposals were presented to the AIU members. Workers were told to accept this contract or the next one would be worse. But the workers at the Philadelphia refinery decided to fight.

The "Hourly Working Employees Standing up to Protect our Livelihoods and the Right of Choice under the Law" was formed in response to these attacks and to fight for representation by the OCAW.

"We believe a change is long overdue. We welcome a 'Real Union' and not one controlled by the employers. We need a union that the 'members' control. A union that will protect our jobs," they stated in a letter distributed to the refinery workers.

Numerous informational letters were distributed in the refinery. Seven meetings were held in June and July between workers from the

Mark Curtis parole effort winning new support

Continued from front page

ment system. He wouldn't be in jail if he was management working with the system. He chose to work for what is right and right is the only way to go.

"Mark is part of a stage of unlawful justice being carried out against righteous working people who are struggling to make it in our society today." Hannah is president of the Plainfield African American Association.

"We have always believed that Mark is in prison as a result of injustice," wrote the Doncaster Central Branch of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers in South Yorkshire, Britain. "But we note that regardless of his alleged guilt or innocence, Mark has already served the average sentence for someone convicted of the same charges before parole."

The letter concluded: "We believe that keeping Mark in prison will increase the injustice against him, and in our opinion it will be an act of political victimisation against a Trade Unionist and activist for social justice. We therefore urge you to grant him his parole."

Korean survivor of Hiroshima A-bomb will tour U.S.

Lee Mang Hee, a Korean survivor of the 1945 U.S. atomic bomb dropped over Hiroshima in Japan, will tour the United States August 9-31. She will be accompanied by Chun Young Cho, the secretary general of the Korean Coalition of Anti-Nuclear and Peace Movements.

More than 100,000 Koreans died as a result of the bombings at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a fact little known in the United States. Mang, a factory worker, was one of 20,000 Korean survivors.

Lee and Chun begin their tour in Chicago, where they will participate in an August 9-11 SANE/FREEZE congress. They are scheduled to visit New York, Los Angeles, the San Francisco-Bay area, and Washington, D.C.

Funds are urgently needed to cover the costs of the tour. For more information or to make a contribution, contact the International Committee for Peace and Reunification of Korea, 1314 14th St. NW, Suite 6, Washington, D.C. 20005. Tel.: (202) 387-2989.

The General Confederation of Labor (CGT), one of the two largest union federations in France, reminded the parole board that it had urged Curtis' release at his last parole hearing in 1990. "We sincerely hope that our request will receive a positive response," the CGT wrote this year.

The United Food Workers Union local at the San Remo Bakery in Stockholm, Sweden, wrote, "Like hundreds of his supporters, we feel strongly that the interests of justice and the community can best be served by your decision to release Mr. Curtis."

Letters have also arrived from the National Office of the Independent Canadian Transit Union; the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association and the Building Workers' Industrial Union of Australia; and the Executive Committee of the Ottawa Rideau Riding Association of the New Democratic Party of Ontario, Canada.

Many industrial union locals and local officers from the United States have written to urge Curtis' release.

"Local 3141 of the United Steelworkers of America in Council Bluffs, Iowa, is familiar with the case of Mark Curtis," wrote Roger Rockwell, the local's recording secretary. "Local 3141 urges you to grant parole to Mark Curtis."

"As the elected representative of over 230 passenger conductors working for the National Rail Passenger Corporation, I wish to add my support for the release of Mark Curtis," wrote Charles Paige, Jr., chairman of United Transportation Union Local 898 in Massachusetts.

'Acting on labor's slogan'

"Since 1988, members and leaders of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union have carefully followed the case of Mark Curtis," said a letter from Edgar Townsend. The letter reported the decision of District 8 of the OCAW to "join with thousands of others who believe justice was not served in this case."

The District 8 letter added, "The campaign to win freedom for Mark Curtis has won international support, including a substantial amount from the union movement. In joining the call for Mark Curtis' release from prison we are merely acting on the labor slogan of 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'"

Letters have also been received from Frank Ortis, president, Florida State Council, International Association of Machinists;

Marta Somano, political and educational director, Western States Region of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Local 1199 of the International Union of Electronic Workers in Cicero, Illinois; and Douglas Swanson, president, United Steelworkers Local 480 in Trail, British Columbia.

Supporters of freedom for Curtis in Jordan have been energetically winning endorsements for the defense committee and gathering letters to the parole board. The defense committee has received letters from Abdulfattah G. Ma'aiteh, Jordan Democratic Youth Union; Abdel-Rahman Al-Majali, former general secretary of the Jordan Labor Union; Zaki Tival, Political Bureau member of the Jordanian Communist Party; Salem Y. Hijazin, head of the Arab Union of Health Employees, and others.

The Committee to Defend Freedom and Human Rights in France and the World, a

prominent French human-rights organization, and Annika Ahnberg, a member of parliament in Sweden, have written to urge Curtis be freed.

Letters have also been received from Jonathan Narcisse, a Black community leader in Des Moines and chairman of the Iowa Commission on the Status of African Americans; Alfredo Alvarez, former chairman of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission; and actor Ed Asner.

"We will continue to solicit letters through September, when we will organize a delegation to deliver them all to the parole board," Studer told the defense committee meeting. "Then we will gather more to take to Mark's parole hearing itself, which is scheduled for November."

Letters and financial contributions may be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311.

3,700 signatures for New York campaign



Militant/Marc Lichtman
In eight days, supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidate Meryl Lynn Farber collected 3,700 signatures to place her name on the ballot for New York City Council. Farber is running in District 2, which includes much of the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The city has just lowered the requirement for independent city council candidates from 2,700 to 540, putting Farber's campaign well over the number required!

'Cuban people hold special place in hearts of people of Africa'

Nelson Mandela's speech to Cuba's July 26 celebration

Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress of South Africa, shared the platform with Fidel Castro at a July 26 mass rally in Matanzas, Cuba, celebrating the anniversary of the opening of the Cuban revolution.

The ANC leader was in Cuba for three days, as part of a tour that also took him to Jamaica, Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina. The tour began shortly after the ANC concluded its 48th National Conference in Durban, South Africa, the first such gathering on South African soil in more than 30 years.

At the rally in Cuba, Mandela was awarded the Order of José Martí, named after the Cuban independence hero of the 19th century. The medal is the highest honor awarded by the Cuban Council of State. It was bestowed in recognition of Mandela's outstanding leadership and the role of the ANC in the "broad and heroic struggle of the Black people of South Africa against the apartheid regime."

Following Mandela's speech to the rally, Cuban President Fidel Castro spoke, devoting the first third of his remarks to the struggle against apartheid and stating that "there cannot be a more just cause than the one led by the ANC and Comrade Mandela."

Castro went on to underscore the decisive contribution made by Cuban internationalist troops in helping to defeat the apartheid army's invasion of Angola, which was also a central theme of Mandela's speech. Mandela's presence in Cuba, Castro added, proves that "the blood of our internationalist fighters was not shed in vain."

Mandela's speech was broadcast live on radio and television in Cuba, and printed in the daily *Granma*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party.

Below we reprint the entire text. Footnotes and subheads have been added by the *Militant*.

First Secretary of the Communist Party, President of the Council of State and of the Government of Cuba, President of the Socialist Republic of Cuba, Commander in Chief, Comrade Fidel Castro!

Cuban internationalists who have done so much to free our continent!

Cuban people, comrades, and friends!

It is a great pleasure and honor to be present here today, especially on so important a day in the revolutionary history of the Cuban people. Today Cuba commemorates the 38th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada. Without Moncada, the *Granma* expedition, the struggle in the Sierra Maestra, and the extraordinary victory of January 1, 1959, would never have occurred.¹

Today this is revolutionary Cuba, internationalist Cuba, the country that has done so much for the peoples of Africa.

We have long wanted to visit your country and express the many feelings that we have about the Cuban revolution, and the role of Cuba in Africa, southern Africa, and the world.

The Cuban people hold a special place in the hearts of the people of Africa. The Cuban internationalists have made a contribution to African independence, freedom, and justice, unparalleled for its principled and selfless character.

From its earliest days the Cuban revolution has itself been a source of inspiration to all freedom-loving people.

1. On July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro and more than 100 fighters attacked the Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba, signaling the opening of the revolutionary struggle against the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship. The assault failed, with many of the revolutionaries killed and some, including Castro, imprisoned. On Dec. 2, 1956, guerrilla forces led by Castro landed in Cuba on the boat *Granma*. Despite fierce repression, they established a base for the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra mountains, from which they led the workers and peasants in the revolutionary war against the dictatorship. On Jan. 1, 1959, Batista was overthrown.



African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Cuban President Fidel Castro at July 26 rally in Matanzas, Cuba.

We admire the sacrifices of the Cuban people in maintaining their independence and sovereignty in the face of a vicious imperialist-orchestrated campaign to destroy the impressive gains made in the Cuban revolution.

We too want to control our own destiny. We are determined that the people of South Africa will make their future and that they will continue to exercise their full democratic rights after liberation from apartheid. We do not want popular participation to cease at the moment when apartheid goes. We want to have the moment of liberation open the way to ever deepening democracy.

We admire the achievements of the Cuban revolution in the sphere of social welfare. We

fering under imperialist domination.

We too are also inspired by the life and example of José Martí, who is not only a Cuban and Latin American hero but justly honored by all who struggle to be free.

We also honor the great Che Guevara, whose revolutionary exploits, including on our own continent, were too powerful for any prison censors to hide from us. The life of Che is an inspiration to all human beings who cherish freedom. We will always honor his memory.²

We come here with great humility. We come here with great emotion. We come here with a sense of a great debt that is owed to the people of Cuba. What other country can point to a record of greater selflessness than

“ The defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale made it possible for me to be here today! Cuito Cuanavale was a turning point in the struggle to free the continent and our country from the scourge of apartheid. ”

note the transformation from a country of imposed backwardness to universal literacy. We acknowledge your advances in the fields of health, education, and science.

There are many things we learn from your experience. In particular we are moved by your affirmation of the historical connection to the continent and people of Africa.

Your consistent commitment to the systematic eradication of racism is unparalleled.

But the most important lesson that you have for us is that no matter what the odds, no matter under what difficulties, you have had to struggle. There can be no surrender! It is a case of freedom or death! I know that your country is experiencing many difficulties now, but we have confidence that the resilient people of Cuba will overcome these as they have helped other countries overcome theirs.

We know that the revolutionary spirit of today was started long ago and that its spirit was kindled by many early fighters for Cuban freedom and indeed for freedom of all suf-

Cuba has displayed in its relations with Africa!

How many countries of the world benefit from Cuban health workers or educationists? How many of these are in Africa?

Where is the country who has sought Cuban help that has had it refused?

How many countries under threat from imperialism or struggling for national liberation have been able to count on Cuban support?

It was in prison when I first heard of the

2. Ernesto Che Guevara was a central leader of the Cuban revolution. He traveled extensively in Africa, and worked with liberation forces in the Congo in 1965 in their struggle against a reactionary regime imposed by U.S. and Belgian imperialism. Guevara was murdered by U.S.-trained troops in 1967 in Bolivia while he was leading a guerrilla detachment that sought to mount a revolutionary struggle there and in the region.

massive assistance that the Cuban internationalist forces provided to the people of Angola, on such a scale that one hesitated to believe, when the Angolans came under combined attack of South African, CIA-financed FNLA, mercenary, UNITA, and Zairean troops in 1975.³

We in Africa are used to being victims of countries wanting to carve up our territory or subvert our sovereignty. It is unparalleled in African history to have another people rise to the defense of one of us.

We know also that this was a popular action in Cuba. We are aware that those who fought and died in Angola were only a small proportion of those who volunteered. For the Cuban people internationalism is not merely a word but something that we have seen practiced to the benefit of large sections of humankind.

We know that the Cuban forces were willing to withdraw shortly after repelling the 1975 invasion, but the continued aggression from Pretoria made this impossible.

Your presence and the reinforcement of your forces in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale was of truly historic significance.⁴

The crushing defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale was a victory for the whole of Africa!

The overwhelming defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale provided the possibility for Angola to enjoy peace and consolidate its own sovereignty!

The defeat of the racist army allowed the struggling people of Namibia to finally win their independence!

The decisive defeat of the apartheid aggressors broke the myth of the invincibility of the white oppressors!

The defeat of the apartheid army was an inspiration to the struggling people inside South Africa!

Without the defeat of Cuito Cuanavale our organizations would not have been unbanned!

The defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale has made it possible for me to be here today!

Cuito Cuanavale was a milestone in the history of the struggle for southern African liberation!

Cuito Cuanavale has been a turning point in the struggle to free the continent and our country from the scourge of apartheid!

Apartheid is not something that started yesterday. The origins of white racist domination go back three and a half centuries to the moment when the first white settlers started a process of disruption and later conquest of the Khoi, San and other African peoples — the original inhabitants of our country.

The process of conquest from the very beginning engendered a series of wars of resistance, which in turn gave rise to our struggle for national liberation. Against heavy odds, African peoples tried to hold onto their lands. But the material base and consequent firepower of the colonial aggressors doomed the divided tribal chiefdoms and kingdoms to ultimate defeat.

This tradition of resistance is one that still lives on as an inspiration to our present struggle. We still honor the names of the great prophet and warrior Makana, who died while trying to escape from Robben Island Prison in 1819, Hintsa, Sekhukhune, Dingane, Mosheshoe, Bambatha, and other heroes of the early resistance to colonial conquest.

It was against the background of this land seizure and conquest that the Union of South

3. Shortly after liberation fighters overturned Portuguese colonial rule in Angola in 1975, the country's new government was attacked by South African and Zairean troops, as well as by the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA), led by Holden Roberto, and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi.

4. In March 1988, the combined forces of the Angolan army, Cuban volunteers, and fighters from the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) dealt a decisive military defeat to South Africa's invading troops in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola.

Africa was created in 1910. Outwardly South Africa became an independent state, but in reality power was handed over by the British conquerors to whites who had settled in the country. They were able in the new Union of South Africa to formalize racial oppression and economic exploitation of blacks.

Following the creation of the union, the passing of the Land Act, purporting to legalize the land seizures of the 19th century, gave impetus to the process leading to the formation of the African National Congress on January 8, 1912.⁵

I am not going to give you a history of the ANC. Suffice it to say that the last 80 years of our existence has seen the evolution of the ANC from its earliest beginnings aimed at uniting the African peoples to its becoming the leading force in the struggle of the oppressed masses for an end to racism and the establishment of a nonracial, nonsexist, and democratic state.

Its membership has been transformed from its early days when they were a small group of professionals and chiefs, etc., into a truly mass organization of the people.

Its goals have changed from seeking improvement of the lot of Africans to instead seeking the fundamental transformation of the whole of South Africa into a democratic state for all.

Its methods of achieving its more far-reaching goals have over decades taken on a more mass character, reflecting the increasing involvement of the masses within the ANC and in campaigns led by the ANC.

Sometimes people point to the initial aims of the ANC and its early composition in order to suggest that it was a reformist organization.



Workers and peasants at July 26 rally. Mandela told crowd: "I know that your country is experiencing many difficulties now, but we have confidence that the resilient people of Cuba will overcome."

Militant/Mary-Alice Waters

international struggle against apartheid during the 1980s raised the possibility of a negotiated resolution of the apartheid conflict. The decisive defeat of Cuito Cuanavale altered the balance of forces within the region and substantially reduced the capacity of the Pretoria regime to destabilize its neighbors. This, in combination with our people's struggles

They have unbanned the ANC but we operate under conditions substantially different from that of other organizations. We do not have the same freedom to organize as does Inkatha and other organizations allied to the apartheid regime. Our members are harassed and even killed. We are often barred from holding meetings and marches.⁷

We believe that the process of transition must be controlled by a government that is not only capable and willing to create and maintain the conditions for free political activity. It must also act with a view to ensuring that the transition is towards creating a genuine democracy and nothing else.

The present government has shown itself to be quite unwilling or unable to create a

climate for negotiations. It reneges on agreements to release political prisoners and allow the return of exiles. In recent times it has allowed a situation to be created where a reign of terror and violence is being unleashed against the African communities and the ANC as an organization.

We have had 10,000 people murdered in this violence since 1984 and 2,000 this year alone. We have always said that this government that boasts of its professional police force is perfectly capable of ending this violence and prosecuting the perpetrators. Not only are they unwilling, we now have conclusive evidence, published in independent newspapers, of their complicity in this violence.

The violence has been used in a systematic attempt to advance the power of Inkatha as a potential alliance partner of the National Party. There is now conclusive evidence of funds provided by the government — that is, taxpayers' money — to Inkatha.

All of this indicates the necessity to create an interim government of national unity to oversee the transition. We need a government enjoying the confidence of broad sections of the population to rule over this delicate period, ensuring that counterrevolutionaries are not allowed to upset the process and ensuring that constitution-making operates within an atmosphere free of repression, intimidation, and fear.

The constitution, itself, we believe must be made in the most democratic manner possible. To us, that can best be achieved through electing representatives to a constituent assembly with a mandate to draft the constitution. There are organizations that challenge the ANC's claim to be the most representative organization in the country. If that is true, let them prove their support at the ballot box!

To ensure that ordinary people are included in this process we are circulating and discussing our own constitutional proposals and draft Bill of Rights. We want these to be discussed in all structures of our alliance — that is, the ANC, South African Communist Party, and Congress of South African Trade Unions and amongst the people in general. That way, when people vote for the ANC to represent them in a constituent assembly, they will know not only what the ANC stands

Continued on Page 13

“Your consistent commitment to the systematic eradication of racism is unparalleled.”

The truth is that the birth of the ANC carried from the beginning profoundly revolutionary implications. The formation of the ANC was the first step towards creation of a new South African nation. That conception was developed over time, finding clear expression 36 years ago in the Freedom Charter's statement that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. This was an unambiguous rejection of the racist state that had existed and an affirmation of the only alternative that we find acceptable, one where racism and its structures are finally liquidated.⁶

It is well known that the state's response to our legitimate democratic demands was, among other things, to charge our leadership with treason and in the beginning of the sixties to use indiscriminate massacres. That and the banning of our organizations left us with no choice but to do what every self-respecting people including the Cubans have done — that is, to take up arms to win our country back from the racists.

I must say that when we wanted to take up arms we approached numerous western governments for assistance and we were never able to see any but the most junior ministers. When we visited Cuba we were received by the highest officials and were immediately offered whatever we wanted and needed. That was our earliest experience with Cuban internationalism!

Although we took up arms that was not our preference. It was the apartheid regime that forced us to take up arms. Our preference has always been for a peaceful resolution of the apartheid conflict.

The combined struggles of our people within the country as well as the mounting

within the country, was crucial in bringing Pretoria to realize that it would have to talk.

It was the ANC that initiated the current peace process that we hope will lead to a negotiated transfer of power to the people. We have not initiated this process for goals any different from that when we pursued the armed struggle. Our goals remain achievement of the demands of the Freedom Charter and we will settle for nothing less than that.

No process of negotiations can succeed until the apartheid regime realizes that there will not be peace unless there is freedom and that we are not going to negotiate away our just demands. They must understand that we will reject any constitutional scheme that aims at continuing white privileges.

There is reason to believe that we have not yet succeeded in bringing this home to the government and we warn them that if they do not listen, we will have to use our power to convince them.

That power is the power of the people and ultimately we know that the masses will not only demand but win full rights in a nonracial, nonsexist, democratic South Africa.

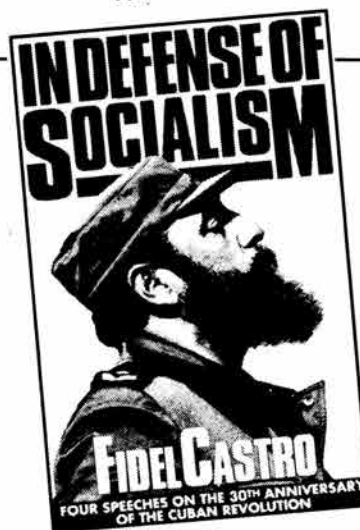
But we are not merely seeking a particular goal. We also propose a particular route for realizing it and that is a route that involves the people all the way through. We do not want a process where a deal is struck over the heads of the people and their job is merely to applaud.

The government resists this at all costs because the question of how a constitution is made, how negotiations take place, is vitally connected to whether or not a democratic result ensues.

The present government wants to remain in office during the entire process of transition. Our view is that this is unacceptable. This government has definite negotiation goals. It cannot be allowed to use its powers as a government to advance its own cause and that of its allies and to use those same powers to weaken the ANC.

And this is exactly what they are doing.

7. The Inkatha political organization, based in Natal, is led by KwaZulu Bantustan Chief Minister Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. Recent revelations have exposed the apartheid regime's secret funding of Inkatha and fomenting of armed attacks on anti-apartheid activists in an attempt to undercut mass support for the ANC.



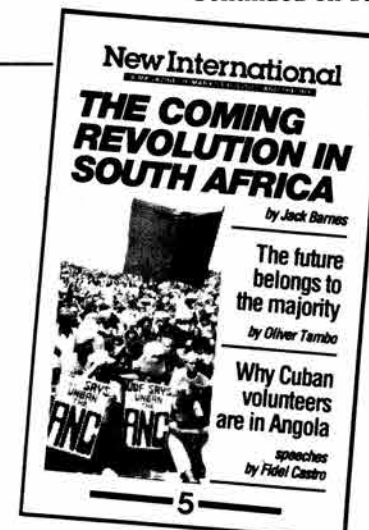
In Defense of Socialism contains four speeches by Fidel Castro, given in 1989-90 on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Castro discusses Cuba's role in helping defend the peoples of Angola and Namibia against the South African regime and the meaning of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale for the freedom struggle in South Africa.

In the speeches Castro also argues that economic and social progress is impossible on the basis of the dog-eat-dog competition of capitalism.

142 pp., \$12.95

To order, see the bookstores listed on page 12 or write to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$3 for shipping and handling; \$.50 for each additional book.



New International no. 5 focuses on the revolutionary struggle in South Africa, its impact throughout southern Africa and worldwide, and the tasks of opponents of apartheid in the labor movement internationally.

The feature article, **The Coming Revolution in South Africa** by Jack Barnes, discusses the national, democratic revolution and the battle to establish a nonracial democratic republic.

... includes the **Freedom Charter**

198 pp., \$9

5. The 1913 Natives' Land Act was used to drive some 3.5 million African farmers off their land.

6. The Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955 in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, by the Congress of the People, a broadly attended gathering of delegates from several democratic organizations. As a revolutionary democratic program the Freedom Charter has served for decades as a guide to action in the battle to bring down apartheid.

Gorbachev jettisons party's claims of being communist

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee met at the end of July and began to strip away the Stalinist party's last pretenses to being communist.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev presided over the meeting. "We face the need for deep-rooted changes in our entire understanding of socialism," said Gorbachev, who is also secretary general of the Communist Party (CP). "We are not going to find answers to our questions within the framework of the old model."

"The model that was imposed on the party and society during several decades has suffered a strategic defeat," he said. He asserted that if the party did not shed its past, the CP "would lose any claim to participate in political life."

Gorbachev falsely presented the counterrevolutionary course pursued by the Soviet CP and its followers around the world since the late 1920s under Joseph Stalin as "communist." He then ascribed the utter failings of the bureaucratic command structure of the ruling caste to Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, and other leaders of the international workers' movement who developed and expanded scientific socialism.

In outlining a new draft program for the party, the Kremlin party boss said, "The entire world's experience of the past decades points to the conclusion that it is not possible to achieve the principle of each according to

his work without a market economy."

"The time has long come to acknowledge that the epoch when the masses had no means of improving their lot except by storming the Bastille or the Winter Palace has gone into the past," he said.

Gorbachev rejected Marxism-Leninism as "something of a collection of canonical texts" and said it had "become necessary to include in our arsenal of ideas all the riches of our own and the world's socialist and democratic thought."

He pointed out that there were recommendations to change the party's name to Socialist or Social Democratic party, but referred the matter to a party congress scheduled for November. The new draft platform, approved by acclamation of the Central Committee, will be put before the congress for final approval. No significant opposition to Gorbachev's proposals surfaced among the Central Committee members, who number 358.

The decision by the Central Committee to jettison the party's claims to being communist is a part of the attempt by sections of the ruling bureaucratic caste to refashion how it rules over the country's working people.

For the privileged layer that makes up the caste, the Communist Party was one of the primary vehicles used to ruthlessly dominate, through police-state measures and administrative decree. As a result it is widely discredited among working people in the Soviet Union. In nearly every region where elec-

tions for public office have been held, CP candidates have been turned out.

The CP was dealt major blows in the June elections in Russia, the largest republic of the Soviet Union. Boris Yeltsin, formerly a leader of the CP, was elected president of the republic by nearly 60 percent of the vote. The CP candidate mustered only 15 percent. Candidates running against the CP were also elected in mayoral races in Moscow and Leningrad.

In the same elections, voters decided to tear down another icon erected by the Stalinists. The city of Leningrad—named after V.I. Lenin, the leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution—was renamed St. Petersburg, its designation prior to the revolution.

Gorbachev revealed at the Central Committee meeting that more than 4 million people have quit the CP in the past 18 months, bringing its membership down to just over 14 million.

Former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze, commenting on the results of the Central Committee meeting, told the press, "The party is losing its cohesiveness. A lot of fractures are appearing. It is no longer able to act as a solid, unified party. After the elections in Moscow, Leningrad, and Russia, it does not take a great deal of political skill to see which way the wind is blowing." Shevardnadze recently gave up his party leadership posts and resigned.

Yeltsin was inaugurated in a choreo-



Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Bureaucratic caste's rule has widely discredited Communist Party in eyes of working people.

graphed ceremony akin to a coronation, where he was blessed by the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church. As soon as he took office, Yeltsin struck another blow against his former party.

On July 20, a week before the opening of the Central Committee meeting, Yeltsin issued a decree sharply curtailing the CP's ability to influence decisions in the government, military, police, industries, and farm collectives.

The decree bans political activity by the CP or other parties within government institutions or state-run enterprises in the Russian republic. Party activity can only be carried out in "non-working hours and outside the limits of state organs, institutions, organizations, and enterprises," according to the Russian government news agency.

Until Yeltsin's decree, membership in the CP was a prerequisite for access to posts in the state apparatus and climbing the rungs of the bureaucracy. The ban effectively prevents the CP from using posts in the bureaucracy to preserve its domination. The measure also calls on the Russian legislature to consider submitting legislation to the Soviet parliament extending the ban throughout the Soviet Union.

Bush backs realignment of regime at summit

BY PETER THIERJUNG

U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev concluded a two-day summit meeting in the Soviet Union July 31, their fourth in two years.

The two heads of state signed an agreement to limit nuclear weapons and agreed to cosponsor a Middle East conference in October. Other items on the agenda at the summit included the Soviet Union's relations with Cuba, the Soviet military budget, and calls by leaders in some Soviet republics for independence.

Bush ended his visit with a stop in the Ukraine where top officials of the republic hoped for some words of support for their demands for independence from the Kremlin. But Bush made plain Washington's preference for moves by Gorbachev and heads of most republics to maintain a strong central government while conceding some economic and political power to the regimes in the republics.

"Freedom is not the same as independence," Bush told his Ukrainian hosts. "Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism. They will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based on ethnic hatred."

The U.S. president said choosing between Gorbachev and leaders of the republics was a "false choice."

In the Ukraine and throughout his visit, Bush praised Gorbachev for "instituting reforms that changed the world." He said Gorbachev had won "respect and admiration for his uncommon vision and courage in replacing old orthodoxy." One Ukrainian nationalist derided Bush's remarks and called the U.S. president the Soviet leader's "messenger."

Bush sharply criticized the Soviet Union's relations with Cuba during a speech before the Soviet Institute for International Relations in Moscow.

"The United States poses no threat to Cuba," the U.S. president claimed. "Therefore, there is no need for the Soviet Union to funnel millions of dollars in military aid to Cuba, especially since a defiant Castro, isolated by his own obsolete totalitarianism, denies his people any move toward democracy. Castro does not share your faith in perestroika. Castro does not share your faith in glasnost."

A week before Bush arrived in Moscow, Soviet officials submitted a formal application to become a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank

over U.S. and British objections. A meeting of the biggest imperialist powers, known as the Group of Seven, held recently in London rejected full membership, according to Moscow associate-membership status instead.

U.S. State Department officials called the Soviet formal request for full membership in the IMF and the World Bank "premature" and said that the "right thing for the moment" is not access to funds of the imperialist institutions, but "expertise and advice." Full Soviet membership is unlikely given Washington's opposition.

Pressure is building on Palestinians to accept Mideast 'peace' conference

Continued from front page

Hussein said as one reason to go ahead with the conference.

Palestinians make up about 60 percent of Jordan's population, which stands at 3.4 million. The Jordanian regime wants a settlement that will insure that the Palestinian population doesn't continue to grow in Jordan.

"Jordan could become a dumping ground for millions of Palestinians from all over the world," Prime Minister Taher Masri said to the Jordanian parliament at the end of July. Masri is himself Palestinian.

PLO spokesperson Bassam Abu Sharif announced August 4 in Tunis that his organization had decided to accept Washington's terms for the conference and that no obstacle was "big enough" to prevent the PLO from doing so.

"We say to President Bush: Yes, we regard this as a historic opportunity and we will do our best not to drop it because we want to establish real peace," said Abu Sharif. "And we will do all that we can, all our best, to help Mr. Baker and the president make the convocation of that peace conference."

Abu Sharif said the PLO had the right to select the Palestinian representatives to the conference without "any Israeli interference in the formation of the Palestinian delegation."

He added that the PLO would attempt to put together a delegation that would be acceptable to all parties involved.

New York Times reporter Henry Kamm writes that Palestinians living on the West Bank are growing increasingly bitter over their desertion by the Arab regimes.

"These negotiations are a trick," writes Kamm, reporting on typical statements he heard. "They are laughing at us. We will have

to continue to live in this situation and suffer," said another.

"Who's for the Palestinians? Unfortunately nobody," Saif al-Dik, a former student leader at Bir Zeit University, who had spent seven years in Israeli jails, told Kamm.

"Assad will play the same game as Sadat," said Dik, referring to the former Egyptian ruler's formal recognition of Israel in 1978. "Syria has accepted the 'new world order.' They feel they have to connect to the United States or wait for nothing."

"Autonomy?" he continued. "What does it mean to give us the right to collect garbage from our city? It means nothing."

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

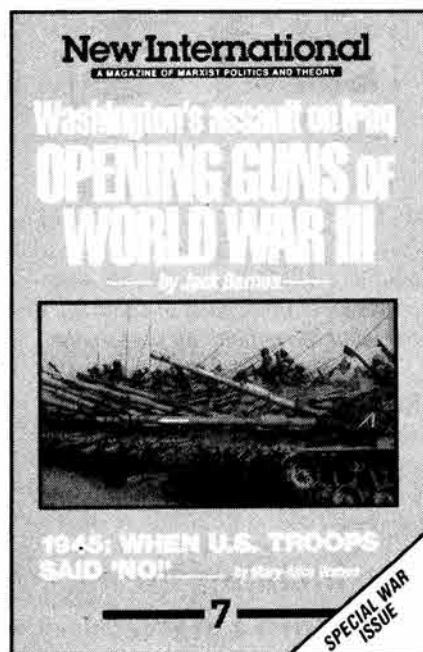
Eyewitness Report from 48th National Conference of the African National Congress. Speakers: Vusi Shangase, chairperson southern California chapter African National Congress, delegate to ANC conference in South Africa; Maxine Waters, U.S. Congress; Mike Murase, Unity LA. Slides, music, refreshments, literature. Fri., Aug. 9, 7 p.m. Museum Complex, HEF Bldg., Exposition Park. Donation requested. Tel: (213) 382-2357.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

The Struggle for Independence, Social Justice, and Trade Union Rights in the South Pacific. Speakers: David Robie, journalist recently returned from Vanuatu; David Peter, student from Papua New Guinea; representative, Coalition for Democracy in Fiji; and others. Sat., Aug. 10, 7 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. Tel: (9) 793-075.

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Bank scandal exposes capitalist dealings

Affair at BCCI, a banking giant, involves top officials of many governments

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — The initials BCCI have become associated with one of the most massive banking scandals in history. The Bank of Credit and Commerce International affair involves government officials and ruling-class figures in Britain, the United States, and many other countries.

The unfolding events came into public view when the Bank of England closed BCCI's operations July 5. Bank regulators in 62 countries in which BCCI was functioning took similar action as evidence mounted that BCCI's fraudulent loans and deposits scam had resulted in some \$15 billion "missing" funds.

The authorities considered the closure and broader intervention necessary in order to offset any secondary run on the banks as a result of loss of confidence. They hoped to convince working people that the bank's activities were highly exceptional. Hundreds of thousands of workers — especially migrant workers in the Middle East — are among the 1.3 million people with deposits in the bank; they stand to directly lose out as a result of the bank's collapse.

Not a pariah

Some journalists have dubbed BCCI the "Bank of Cocaine and Criminals."

But a more accurate description of BCCI is "Bank of Capitalist Conspiracy." Contrary to the picture painted by the media, BCCI is not a criminal pariah spurned by the "responsible business community" and prosecuted when the truth of its activities came to light. The bank has been used by governments and government agencies of many major capitalist countries around the world. It has been part and parcel of the international banking scene for two decades and was in the top 25 banks in the world.

The fraud, which amounted to 65 percent of the bank's total assets of \$23 billion, could only have been effected through illegal functioning over years. What kept BCCI out of the line of fire was neither its much-publicized 6,000-page secret set of books, nor its accounting ledgers written longhand in Urdu, let alone its operating through intermediaries. But it was the protection BCCI received from capitalist politicians and businessmen in whose interest it functioned as it took advantage of existing international banking regulations.

'Black network'

The bank became a magnet not merely for drug money, capital flight money, tax-evading money, and money from corrupt government officials but also for state institutions in the United States, Britain, and Israel to finance government-sponsored terrorism.

Associated with these pursuits, the bank has engaged in bribery, extortion, gunrunning, slush funds, grand theft, and murder through a special department called the "black network" with a staff of 1,500 employees.

According to a former black network op-

Swedish government targets prisoners' parole rights

BY ANITA ÖSTLING

STOCKHOLM — The Swedish government is preparing to change the right to parole for prisoners.

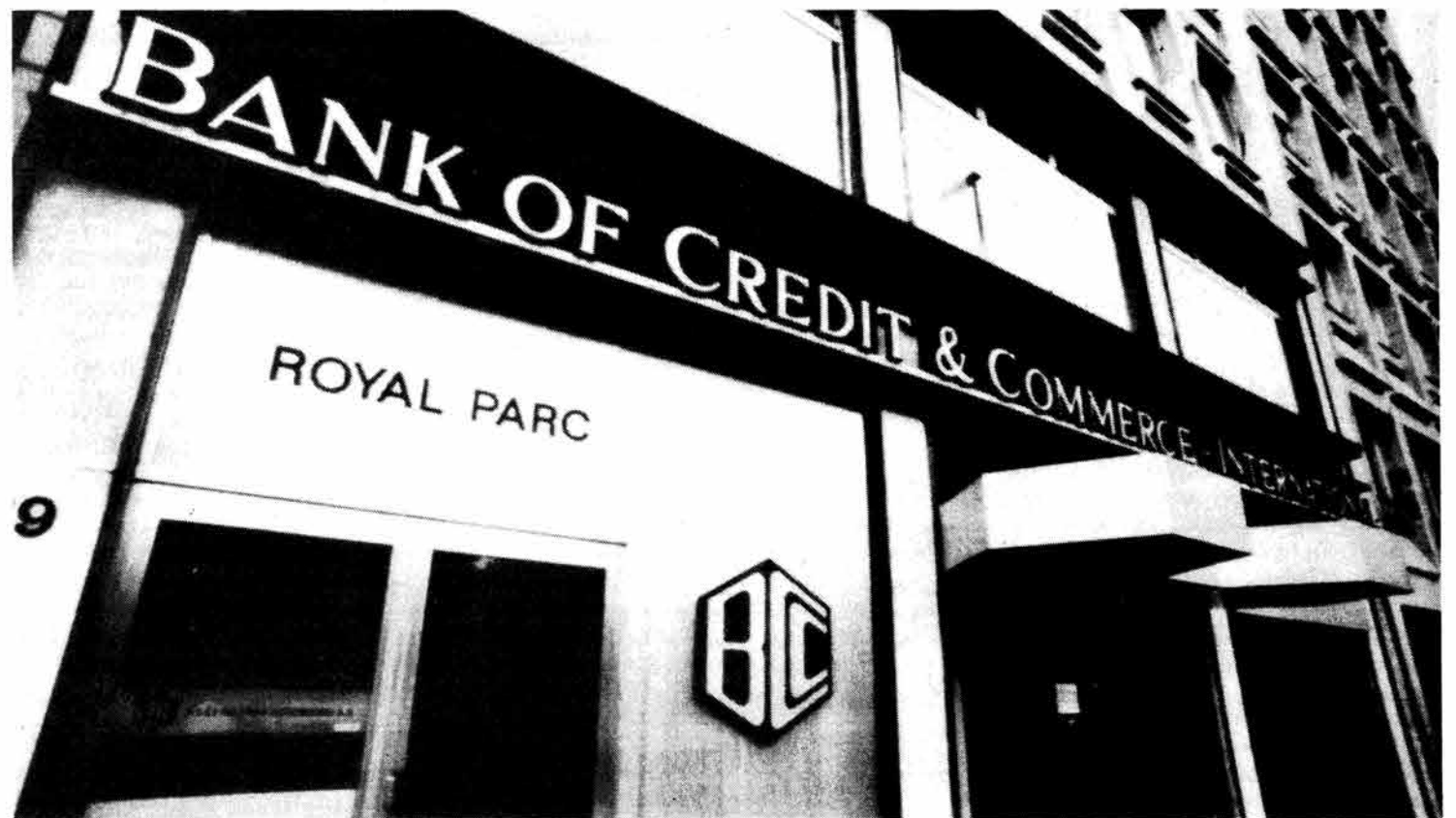
Prisoners are currently eligible for parole after serving half their jail terms. There are no exceptions allowing for shorter time in jail.

Some prisoners, particularly those deemed "dangerous," are often not granted parole and are held longer than most prisoners.

The government now wants to require prisoners to serve two-thirds of their jail term before becoming eligible for parole.

To stem the mushrooming prison population that would result from this proposal, the authorities are discussing new forms of punishment that would not involve incarceration.

One proposal is to sentence those convicted of crimes to "serve society." This means working for the state or private employers without pay and subsisting on the meager prison allowances provided prisoners.



BCCI engaged in bribery, extortion, gun-running, slush funds, grand theft, and murder through a special department called the "black network."

erative, quoted in *Time* magazine, its original purpose was to pay bribes, intimidate authorities, and quash investigations: "Perhaps we might send someone his brother's hand with the rings still on it," the operative explained.

The network became so valuable that it expanded. BCCI prided itself on being a "full service" bank that "owned" customs officials in ports and air terminals around the world, and had its own transportation facilities for moving contraband — be it gold, drugs or armaments.

Through such methods the bank was associated with activities that included:

- Running guns to Afghan and Nicaraguan contras.
- Covert arms sales to Iran in 1986, part of the famous Contragate operations.
- CIA payments to the more than 500 people on its British payroll, including 124 governmental or other political personnel, and 53 in commerce, industry, and banking.
- Regular financing of other CIA covert activity, including in Angola.
- The reported theft by President Alan García of Peru of \$50 million from the country's treasury during his presidency from 1985-90.
- Similar funnelling of millions of dollars out of Pakistan by former president Gen. Mohammed Zia and his aides.

In the course of these activities BCCI established relations with governments at the highest level.

A former U.S. State Department official described BCCI's role in facilitating deals between Israel and some Middle Eastern countries as "indispensable."

BCCI's assets grew from \$200 million in 1973 to \$2.2 billion in 1977 to \$23 billion today. At the time of its closure, BCCI had 400 branches. At its peak it operated in 70 different countries. With its closure, *Lloyds List* reports, \$3.35 billion-worth of international trade has been brought to a standstill due to inability to deal in BCCI's letters of credit.

BCCI owns at least three banks in the United States, one of which, First American, is the country's 50th largest bank.

U.S., British officials implicated

In the shady operations involved in the bank's acquisition of First American — which are today the subject of the indictment — BCCI took on the services of lawyer Clark Clifford. Clifford is a prominent figure in U.S. ruling-class circles. A former U.S. secretary of state under Lyndon Johnson, Clifford has been an adviser to every Democratic Party president since Truman. Today Clifford is chairman of First American.

The British government, Bank of England, and U.S. Treasury and Justice departments have known of the bank's illegal activities for years, and have stalled and obstructed investigations. Current U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was treasury secretary in

1986 when the CIA prepared a report for his office on BCCI. Current British Prime Minister John Major was chancellor of the exchequer when a 1989 letter from a BCCI employee concerning the bank's illicit activity was passed to his office. No investigation into the bank followed these disclosures.

When Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau did investigate, the Justice Department was actively "impeding our operation," he said. BCCI was too valuable.

Origins of bank

The bank was initiated in 1972 by Agha Hassan Abedi, the closest financial advisor to Pakistan's General Zia. A number of BCCI's top managers as well as customers had ties to the Pakistani government and its military.

Abedi also drew in a number of people from the Middle East. Prominent among these were Ghaith Pharaon, a Saudi billionaire, and Sheikh Kamal Adham, former head of Saudi intelligence. Raymond Close, former CIA station chief in Saudi Arabia in the 1970s, was also a close contact.

From 1990, the bank has been controlled by the government and ruling family of Abu Dhabi, who doubled their stake to 77 percent. Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan spent \$800 million to keep the bank afloat in 1990, currently has \$1.39 billion in deposits, and has pledged billions more if the bank can be kept open. Under a May 22 agreement, the Abu Dhabi government took over \$4.077 billion of BCCI's bad debts.

This contact with Pakistan and the Middle East has been particularly useful for British and U.S. intelligence agencies.

Money to Afghan contras was channelled through both Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, and the Saudi government also provided the CIA with funds for Unita in Angola and the contras in Nicaragua.

Abedi also became closely associated with prominent government officials and politicians in Britain and the United States.

Abedi provided his personal Boeing 727 to former U.S. president James Carter and to Andrew Young, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations under the Carter administration.

In turn Young became a consultant to the bank, providing it with government and business contacts in more than a dozen Third World countries, including Nicaragua, Guatemala, Zambia, and Tanzania. Young defends his actions as helping Third World countries. He says, "I am reluctant to see BCCI as this sinister operation everybody is making it out to be."

Carter's onetime budget director, Bert Lance, sold his bank, National Bank of Georgia, to BCCI.

The list of BCCI contacts goes on and on. UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar has twice taken trips in private planes

owned by Ghaith Pharaon. Democratic Party politicians — including Senators George Mitchell, Jay Rockefeller, and Albert Gore who are considering presidential bids — have received BCCI-linked cash and political favors.

As the London financial weekly, the *Economist*, wrote, "Into the affair have wandered spies and terrorists, arsonists and assassins. Out of it could tumble ministers and top officials of any country it touches."

Party-building fund drive opens on August 15

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

The Socialist Workers Party 1991 Party-Building Fund, with a goal of raising \$150,000, officially begins August 15.

The fund was launched at a rally during the SWP's national convention in June. More than \$131,000 has been pledged to the fund, which ends December 15.

Judy Stranahan is director of the Socialist Workers Party 1991 Party-Building Fund.

The fund helps finance the daily work of building the socialist movement and aids in rapidly responding to new political developments spurred by the deepening economic and social crisis in the world.

Supporters of the fund are mapping out plans to raise additional pledges to reach the \$150,000 goal by appealing broadly to fellow unionists and other working people, farmers, students, and others looking for a way to fight the anti-working-class offensive by the owners of big business and their government. An initial scoreboard with the goals of supporters in U.S. cities will appear in next week's *Militant*.

A major highlight will be fund-raising through rallies in many U.S. cities this fall. The events, starting in mid-September and ending in late October, will feature presentations on major political issues in the world by leaders of the SWP.

Those who have pledged a contribution are encouraged to make regular payments toward their pledge to maximize the success of collecting the goal.

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

I pledge: _____ \$1,000 _____ \$500
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to the Socialist Workers Party 1991 Party-Building Fund.

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

Abortion curbs aimed at working women

Continued from Page 6

They say the only hope left would be to get Congress to do something to protect abortion rights.

Bush's selection of Thomas, who openly proclaims his anti-working-class politics, will undoubtedly advance the employing class's assault on the democratic rights and standard of living of working people.

However, NOW and NARAL misrepresent the court and the Congress as the place where politics takes place. The landmark 1973 decision legalizing abortion was not the result of a newly enlightened Supreme Court. Instead it reflected the fight that had been waged for women's rights, and enormous gains scored in the civil rights movement as well as the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Presenting prospects for a fight today as bleak, while sitting by as states and the courts continue their 20-year assault, only serves to disarm and hamstring those who want to wage a fight in defense of abortion rights.

When the Louisiana state legislature was debating the outlawing of abortion in that state, instead of mobilizing forces to protest the move, NOW focused on supporting the election of some 30 Democratic Party candidates in the state who are women.

At NOW's convention in early July, heavy emphasis was placed on electing politicians sympathetic to women's rights and working harder to turn women out to vote in upcoming elections. NOW's leadership also projected the need for more "feminist candidates." A resolution called for launching a "new political campaign that will result in unprecedented numbers of feminist candidates" running for office. The campaign to elect women in Louisiana was pointed to as a model.

A resolution, originally entitled, "Exploring a new independent party," but changed to "Responsive democracy," was also adopted. It pointed to the "failure of the so-called two-party system" and raised the possibility of establishing "a new, independent political party."

NOW's campaign to elect "feminist candidates" does not mark a step forward toward independent working-class political action. Nor does the group's posturing and threats to initiate a third party.

NOW's political orientation remains in the framework of the Democratic Party, relegating the fight for abortion rights as an issue in upcoming elections and the presidential elections in 1992.

While the NOW convention projected holding "the largest march on Washington in our nation's history in the spring of 1992," the leadership made clear the purpose of the action would be to affect the presidential election.

Leaders of NOW, NARAL, and other groups reject any notion that a fight should be waged by mobilizing working people independently to defend and extend abortion rights, affirmative action, and other democratic rights. The trade union officialdom defaults on this as well.

However, the possibility for such a fight does exist. The fact that there are divisions in ruling circles provides more openings for pushing back their attacks.

The support among working people for legal abortion can be mobilized. Many unions already have strong positions favoring women's right to abortion, but due to the class collaborationist policies of the labor bureaucracy, that support rarely extends past the paper it is written on.

The right of women to control their own bodies is a prerequisite to them gaining more control over their lives and participating more in the unions, in politics, and in society as a whole.

Defending abortion rights, other democratic rights, and affirmative action is necessary as part of unifying working people to meet the continuing and ever-deepening employer offensive.

To defend these rights working people must mobilize in action and chart a course of action that is independent from the capitalist parties.

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

Free Mark Curtis! Excerpts from video, *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*. Speaker: Pat Hunt, Socialist Workers Party, activist in Birmingham Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sun., Aug. 18, 5:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Youth, the Working Class, and Capitalism:

ANC: South African gov't must step down

Continued from front page

the same way that they built an opposition to SWAPO in Namibia." The South West Africa People's Organization led the struggle to rid Namibia of South African colonial rule.

Mandela's reference was to the fact that Pretoria has also had to admit it spent \$35 million on seven political parties opposed to SWAPO in the 1989 constituent assembly elections.

Mandela told the participants in the Foreign Ministry meeting that "we have been saying over the past 18 months that the government has been pursuing a double strategy in the negotiations. It has been talking peace to the African National Congress and at the same time conducting a war. It is talking peace," he said, "in order to get the international community to lift sanctions."

Mandela then spelled out the goals of the fight for a republic in South Africa:

"We are calling for a democratic constitution in which every South African would have the opportunity to vote. We stand for a bill of rights in which the rights of every citizen will be protected. We stand for an independent judiciary which can pronounce on the rights of citizens."

"We stand for the multiparty system where political parties have the opportunity to put their policies to the masses of the people to determine which policy is in the interests of the country. We stand for regular federal elections. There can be no better democratic principle than that. We stand for one person, one vote, in a common voters roll," he said.

The ANC leader urged the audience to defend existing sanctions against Pretoria

Sharpening Class Polarization in U.S. Politics. Speakers: Margaret Jayko, former editor of the *Militant*; Karen Ray, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Aug. 17, Buffet, 6 p.m.; program 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$5. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Report back on 27th national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. Panel of participants. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 17, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Defend Abortion Rights! Speakers: Nancy Cole, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 368; and others. Sun., Aug. 10, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

and to apply pressure against the white minority regime to abandon its position and to negotiate with us in good faith.

"We are doing our own part to put an end to that violence but we cannot do it alone," he said. "With your support, with your condemnation of this senseless violence, then we will be able to create an atmosphere conducive to successful negotiations."

At a press conference July 31 Mandela was asked what the ANC proposed to end the violence.

"The only way to ensure peace," he said, "is for the government to step down and to create an interim government."

The following day, the ANC National Executive Committee issued a statement from Johannesburg that said: "The only way forward is to create a transitional authority, with a limited life span, charged with the task of preparing the country for a democratic constitution and governing the country during this period."

Numerous questions from the press centered on the ANC's fraternal relations with Cuba. Mandela shared the platform with Cuban President Fidel Castro at this year's July 26 celebration. The event marked the 38th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks, an action that inspired millions of Cubans in the fight against the U.S.-backed dictator of that country.

"I would like to make our position on Cuba very clear," Mandela told the press. "When we started the armed struggle, we went to the Western countries to ask for help. They did not even want to hear from us."

"The few exceptions were the Scandinavian countries and Holland. Those em-

TEXAS

Houston

Aftermath of the Gulf War: Video *Nowhere to Hide*. Sat., Aug. 10, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

Defending Abortion Rights Panel Discussion. Sat., Aug. 17, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

Do Working People Need an Independent Labor Party? Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 4-367. Sat., Aug. 24, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

CANADA

Vancouver

Matewan. Film on opening battle of historic struggles by coal miners in Appalachian region of United States. Fri., Aug. 9, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

braced us with open arms and gave us what we wanted. But all the other countries in the world wouldn't hear of it, because they were supporting the apartheid regime," he said.

"We went to Cuba and in Cuba we were received by the head of state, and he immediately gave us what we wanted in order to conduct the struggle against the apartheid regime," Mandela pointed out.

Noting new support to the ANC from governments in Latin America, including that of Mexico, Mandela said Cuba "is now playing a role which they were playing alone in Latin America for a long time. She has now been joined by other countries in Latin America," in extending solidarity to the struggle against apartheid.

"In addition, Cuba has sent doctors, educationists, and teachers to Africa, to Asia, and to Latin America."

"You don't have to be a communist in order to appreciate what Cuba has done," he said. "Many of our people are not communists, but nevertheless they hold Cuba in high esteem because of what she has done."

The ANC would not break its ties with the country because of pressure from governments centered on claims of human rights abuses in Cuba today, Mandela said.

"What does the West know about human rights?" he asked. "We have been repressed in our country without a noise, without a single voice of protest in the West. What do they know about human rights? What I have discovered in Cuba is that Castro and the government enjoy solid support from the people of Cuba," the ANC leader said. "And that is sufficient for us."

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For sure — "Incidentally, the fact that most members of the Senate are millionaires... should have nothing to do with it. To each ac-



Harry Ring

cording to his need, has never been the rule in America." — *Greenboro News & Record*, lauding the Senate pay hike.

He's still pitching — In an ABC interview, Fidel Castro confirmed that in the 1950s he had been offered

\$4,000 to try out as a pitcher for the New York Giants. Asked if he had any regrets, Fidel responded, "What would my life have been? I might be shining shoes in New York."

See, it does trickle down — For most airlines, summer means more passengers. But on the U.S.-Europe supersonic Concorde jet flights there's a drop since business execs, who mainly use the line, are vacationing. So, until Aug. 31, instead of the usual \$8,334 fare, you can pick up a supersaver round trip for \$6,999.

Beginning to see the light — "The United States isn't really creating a new world order. It's trying to prevent the breakup of a very

fragile old world order." — Syndicated columnist Joseph Sobran.

Saving civilization — The West Virginia Air National Guard threw a Gulf "victory" bash. Youngsters shot blanks from a machine gun and launched blank grenades. A video with a rock music score showed "smart" bombs obliterating Iraqi buildings, bridges and trucks.

What else is new? — "President Bush named a new commission to advise him on environmental matters and heavily stacked the panel with business executives from industries known-to-be heavy polluters." — News item.

Free-market jurist — A Chi-

cago judge was indicted on charges of imposing fines, collecting them directly, and, assertedly, pocketing them.

"Quality" education — A spokesperson for the "Higher Education System" in the state of Oregon says, "We're increasing tuition, cutting staff and limiting access all the time." Adds a board member: "It's unfortunate, but we have to do it if we're going to maintain any quality in our institutions."

Throw the keys away — Michael Gerrety was fired as chief of police in Redwood Falls, North Dakota. He was busted in a "right-to-life" demo at an abortion clinic and

refused to post bond, saying he preferred going to trial and jail.

Solving the housing crisis — Despite a general building slump, prison construction continues to boom. State spending for new jails increased 70 percent over the past four years. In each of the past two years, federal spending on prisons doubled.

The egalitarian society — In California, a family of four with an income of \$1,052,300 pays 9.3 percent of that in taxes. A family of the same size with an income of \$11,700 shells out 15.3 percent in taxes.

Suspended cops in Los Angeles are back on job

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Six of the cops who stood by while Rodney King was being beaten were suspended without pay July 30 pending a hearing that could result in their being fired from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

But the suspensions were quickly lifted in the face of protests from the Police Protective League, the "union" of cops. Reportedly the six will be on restricted duty and have no contact with the public.

LAPD officials said the suspensions were

lifted because the slated hearing against the six will not be held until after the pending trial of the four cops who were indicted for the assault on King.

Reports indicate that the move to suspend the six cops was initiated by LAPD Assistant Chief David Dotson, head of the LAPD's Internal Affairs Division.

In testimony before the Christopher Commission, which investigated the King beating, Dotson had scored Police Chief Daryl Gates for failing to discipline cops who engage in brutality. Dotson is reportedly a

contender to succeed Gates when he retires as chief next April.

Dotson told the *Los Angeles Times* that the King beating was a criminal act and that it was the responsibility of the cops on the scene to stop the assault, or, at a minimum, report it to their superiors.

Seeking to overturn the suspensions, one of the six cops demanded that the disciplinary hearing be held in 10 days, and that it be public.

If this was not granted, he said he would appeal directly to Gates to reinstate him with pay until a hearing was held.

Any departmental penalty imposed on the six cops is subject to review by Gates who, if he chooses, can reduce or void it.

There was no indication if suspensions are pending against at least nine other LAPD members at the immediate scene of the beating. Officials said they are probing the two cops in a helicopter who played a spotlight on the scene while King, a construction worker who is Black, was being brutalized.

Meanwhile, attorneys for the four cops who have been indicted in the beating won a change of venue in the case.

A state appeals court ruled July 23 that the trial of the four be held outside Los Angeles County to assure a "fair" verdict.

The appeals court said that if it were only a matter of the massive publicity surrounding the case, "we might have reached a different conclusion."

But, the judges added, the real problem is that in the wake of the "shock, revulsion, outrage and disbelief" among the viewers of the videotape of the King beating, "a firestorm developed in the Los Angeles area."

Citing the political conflict that followed, including the moves to oust Gates,

the jurists said these events had "polarized the community."

To justify its decision, the court pointed to a recent Florida appeals court decision reversing the manslaughter conviction of Miami cop William Lozano, whose killing of a Black motorcyclist triggered a community rebellion.

The Florida court contended it could not approve the outcome of a trial where there was justifiable concern about "the dangers that would follow an acquittal."

The same danger exists in Los Angeles, the California appeals court said.

Los Angeles prosecutors immediately said they would not appeal the decision to take the case out of the county. It was the first such change of venue from Los Angeles in 18 years.

In another development, Rodney King scored a new victory over LAPD efforts to besmirch him.

A state official announced July 26 that there would be no prosecution of King on charges that he deliberately tried to run down an undercover cop when police closed in on him in an alley.

A patrol car that had apparently been tailing King's car followed him into an alley after he picked up a passenger.

When King sped away in fear — and immediately flagged down another squad car — it was charged that he had deliberately tried to run down one of the cops in the alley.

The state prosecutor's office said there was no proof of such intent by King and that "the evidence strongly supported Mr. King's claim that he was reasonably in fear of his life."

The LAPD had earlier tried, unsuccessfully, to hang two unsolved robberies on King.

Nelson Mandela's speech to July 26 celebration in Cuba

Continued from Page 9

for generally, but what type of constitution we want.

Naturally these constitutional proposals are subject to revision on the basis of our consultations with our membership, the rest of the alliance, and the public generally. We want to create a constitution that enjoys widespread support, loyalty, and respect. That can only be achieved if we really do go to the people.

In order to avoid these just demands various attempts have been made to undermine and destabilize the ANC. The violence is the most serious, but there are other more insidious methods. At present there is an obsession in the press, amongst our political opponents, and many western governments with our alliance with the South African Communist Party.

Newspapers continually carry speculations over the number of Communists on our National Executive and allege that we are being run by the Communist Party.

The ANC is not a communist party, but a broad liberation movement, including amongst its members Communists and non-Communists. Anyone who is a loyal member of the ANC, anyone who abides by the discipline and principles of the organization, is entitled to belong to the organization.

Our relationship with the SACP as an organization is one of mutual respect. We unite with the SACP over common goals, but we respect one another's independence and separate identity. There has been no attempt whatsoever on the part of the SACP to subvert the ANC. On the contrary, we derive strength from the alliance.

We have no intention whatsoever of heeding the advice of those who suggest we should break from this alliance. Who are offering this unsolicited advice? In the main it is those who have never given us any assistance whatsoever. None of these advisers have ever made the sacrifices for our struggle that Communists have made. We are strengthened by this alliance. We shall make it even stronger.

We are in a phase of our struggle where victory is in sight. But we have to ensure that this victory is not snatched from us. We have to ensure that the racist regime feels maximum pressure right till the end and that it understands that it must give way, that the road to peace, freedom, and democracy is irresistible.

That is why sanctions must be maintained.

This is not the time to reward the apartheid regime. Why should they be rewarded for repealing laws which form what is recognized as an international crime? Apartheid is still in place. The regime must be forced to dismantle it and only when that process is irreversible can we start to think of lifting the pressure.

We are very concerned at the attitude that the Bush Administration has taken on this matter. It was one of the few governments that was in regular touch with us over the question of sanctions and we made it clear that lifting sanctions was premature. That administration nevertheless, without consulting us, merely informed us that American sanctions were to be lifted. We find that completely unacceptable.

It is in this context that we value our friendship with Cuba very, very much. When you, Comrade Fidel, yesterday said that our cause is your cause, I know that that sentiment came from the bottom of your heart and that that is the feeling of all the people of revolutionary Cuba.

You are with us because both of our organizations, the Communist Party of Cuba and the ANC, are fighting for the oppressed masses, to ensure that those who make the wealth enjoy its fruits. Your great apostle José Martí said: "With the poor people of this earth I want to share my fate."

We in the ANC will always stand with the poor and rightless. Not only do we stand with them. We will ensure sooner rather than later that they rule the land of their birth, that in the words of the Freedom Charter, the people shall govern! And when that moment arrives, it will have been made possible not only by our efforts but through the solidarity, support, and encouragement of the great Cuban people.

I must close my remarks by referring to an event which you have all witnessed. Comrade Fidel Castro conferred upon me the highest honor this country can award. I am very much humbled by this award, because I do not think I deserve it. It is an award that should be given to those who have already won the freedom of their peoples. But it is a source of strength and hope that this award is given for the recognition that the people of South Africa stand on their feet and are fighting for their freedom.

We sincerely hope that in these days that lie ahead we will prove worthy of the confidence which is expressed in this award.

Long live the Cuban revolution!

Long live Comrade Fidel Castro!

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



WASHINGTON, D.C., Aug. 17 — Nearly 400 antiwar activists were on hand yesterday to protest the opening of hearings by the House Un-American Activities Committee. HUAC is using the hearings in an attempt to smear the antiwar movement and to gain support for a bill by Texas Representative Pool.

The Pool bill, in the words of the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, "attempts to penalize any opposition to the war with penalties up to \$20,000 fine, 20 years in prison, or both."

Last night, 300 people attended a rally at DuPont Circle to hear the HUAC witnesses, lawyers and representatives of antiwar organizations.

Judy White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, was among the speakers.

"The SWP," she said, "urges all who oppose the war in Vietnam to protest government attempts to stifle antiwar sentiment, and we demand that the administration grant the antiwar movement its full democratic rights to present the facts about the war to

the American people on the campuses, on the job and in the armed forces without threat of intimidation."



August 16, 1941

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries — Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.
5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
6. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Anti-Palestinian alliance

The big political setbacks dealt the Palestinian struggle as a result of the U.S.-led war against Iraq are being driven home as Washington presses for a Mideast "peace" conference.

After Iraqi workers and peasants, the Palestinian people are the biggest victims of Washington's war. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait pushed the Palestinian struggle from the center of political attention in the Mideast, a position Palestinians won due to their two-and-a-half-year rebellion, called the *intifada*. Their struggle won the respect of workers and farmers throughout the world and opened up new doors to gain support and solidarity for their fight.

Now with less of a world-wide outcry in defense of Palestinian rights and self-determination, the Israeli regime is continuing its repression. The toll of Palestinians killed during the *intifada* has reached almost 1,000 and mounts weekly. Beatings, demolition of homes, imprisonment, and the denial of democratic rights are a daily occurrence.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's reactionary invasion of Kuwait opened the door for imperialism to make gains against the Palestinian struggle.

From the very beginning, the invasion created some 400,000 Palestinian refugees who fled Kuwait after the invasion. Many of them returned to homes in "Greater Israel" and found themselves victims of the Israeli regime's curfew, which was in reality a house arrest of 1.7 million Arabs.

Hussein's demagoguery linking his grab for oil in Kuwait and the just struggle of the Palestinian people hurt the credibility of the Palestinian struggle. His cynical stance did real damage, though, when the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization gave it their stamp of approval. They urged that talks on Hussein ending his illegal occupation of Kuwait be tied to "an overall settlement" of the conflicts in the Middle East. By tying the Palestinian struggle to Hussein's reactionary moves, political blows were dealt the struggle.

Now the Palestinians are being squeezed from all sides

by a coalition of forces led by Washington.

Getting the Arab regimes to sign on for the "peace" conference registers the relationship of forces that has been forged in the wake of the war. This new situation has allowed Washington to deepen its alliances with the capitalist-Arab regimes in the region and for the Arab regimes to be more open about their collaboration with imperialism and their intentions to seek an accommodation with Israel. To these regimes, all of which have the blood of the Palestinian masses on their hands, the Palestinian struggle is simply an obstacle in their path.

Israel is looking for the massive influx of Soviet Jews in the region to continue. The hope is that this will continue to reverse the long-standing decline of the Israeli population through immigration and give a boost to settlements in "Greater Israel."

Despite disagreements among Israel, the Arab regimes, and Washington, these forces are all united together in an alliance against the Palestinian people and their struggle for self-determination.

The current push by the Bush administration to organize a Mideast conference is Washington's attempt to impose stability for imperialism in the region. It has nothing to do with justice for the Palestinian people. Washington's orientation is to strike a deal which concedes as little as possible to the Palestinian people and to call it progress toward peace. The true aim is to bring an end to the Palestinian struggle. This is also the aim of all the other parties involved in the negotiations.

Workers and farmers should demand an end to the Israeli repression of the Palestinians — from the jailings and driving people from their homes to the restrictions on political expression and organization.

The struggle of the Palestinian people is a struggle of an oppressed people for the homeland that was stolen from them. It is a struggle that workers and farmers throughout the world should learn about, discuss, and support.

Defend black lung program

The June 24 Supreme Court ruling upholding restrictive U.S. Labor Department regulations on black lung benefits marks a blow to coal miners.

It will mean thousands of miners afflicted with the severely debilitating disease will be denied badly needed medical treatment. Others will have to fight doubly hard to keep their benefits. It gives a green light to the coal barons to violate coal dust levels in the mines and more forcefully move against mine workers seeking compensation.

Such a blatant attempt to shift the burden of blame to coal miners should be opposed by the labor movement. Instead, benefits should be widened and extended to meet the needs of miners with black lung.

Black lung disease, brought on by breathing coal dust, is for the most part preventable. Miners come down with the crippling disease because measures to prevent it cut into the coal bosses' profits.

The fight by coal miners in the late 1960s and 1970s for black lung benefits forced the government to enact legislation compensating victims of the disease. Their struggle, including wildcat strikes and widespread mobilizations, spearheaded a virtual revolution in the miners' union that brought democracy and unprecedented control of the union for rank-and-file miners.

A strengthened, democratic union meant miners had a vehicle through which to fight for improved health bene-

fits and made safe working conditions a number-one priority. As a result, coal operators have been forced to live up to certain safety procedures and basic livable working conditions.

Forcing the companies to comply with existing legislation is a daily battle for miners. Fines levied by the Labor Department this past spring against 500 mining companies for tampering with coal dust samples is one recent example of this fact. Moreover, mine owners routinely manipulate dust control methods to make it appear they comply with federal health and safety laws.

Mining, already a hazardous occupation for working people, is made worse by such flagrant violations. The Supreme Court's decision will only encourage the mine owners to cut other corners, making it more dangerous to work in coal mines.

This assault on miners' health and safety is part of the overall offensive of the employers against working people. The increasing economic crisis of capitalism will bring with it an increased attack on the standard of living and working conditions for all working people, including those working in coal mines.

The assaults by the owners of big business and their government can be fought against and pushed back. But to do so requires mobilizing and organizing the ranks of labor to oppose their attacks.

Parole fight gathers steam

The campaign by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to win Mark Curtis' parole has in a short period of time made significant progress. The more than 125 letters to the Iowa State Board of Parole from around the United States and the world show the potential for wide backing for the fight to win Curtis' release from prison.

The letter from Edgar Townsend of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers District 8 best summed up labor's interest in this fight. "In joining the call for Mark Curtis' release from prison we are merely acting on the labor slogan of 'An injury to one is an injury to all,'" Townsend said.

Important support has come from working people who have stepped forward in the fight against cop violence. Venus Hannah, who has fought for over a year to get justice after her son was killed in a New Jersey jail cell, wrote to the Iowa State Board of Parole.

Curtis "chose to work for what is right and right is the only way to go," Hannah told the board, referring to the unionist's 1989 frame-up by Des Moines cops for his efforts on behalf of Latino coworkers victimized by U.S. immigration authorities. "Mark is part of a stage of unlawful justice being carried out against righteous working people who are struggling to make it in our society today."

International political and human rights activists from

Jordan, Sweden, and France are also among the growing chorus demanding Curtis' release.

The object of the parole campaign by Curtis' defense committee is straightforward: to impress upon Iowa authorities, particularly members of the parole board, that support for Curtis' release makes their efforts to keep him behind bars a political liability and, as each day passes, the stakes for keeping Curtis behind bars will increase.

The defense committee aims to continue collecting letters from prominent labor officials, unions, political and human rights figures, and others calling on the parole board to release Curtis. These letters will be presented by a delegation of supporters to the board in September.

The support won thus far shows what is possible and the opportunities to draw many more unionists, activists, and prominent figures into this campaign. It will help open doors to win wider backing for the parole demand. And it will encourage everyone who believes in justice to join this fight.

Curtis supporters everywhere are taking heart from this progress and are being inspired to press forward and step up their efforts. If you want to help with the parole campaign, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Tel.: (515) 246-1695.

Behind the U.S. 1945 bombing of Hiroshima

On Aug. 6, 1945, and again on August 9, the U.S. government dropped the first and second atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Tens of thousands of people died instantly, with thousands more dying later. This year marks the 46th anniversary of that atrocity.

The following are excerpts from the article, "What the Record Shows: U.S. Guilt at Hiroshima," which appeared in the Jan. 25, 1965, *Militant*. The author, Fred Halstead, was a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

As the SWP's candidate for president in 1968, Halstead took a trip around the world, visiting Japan, South Vietnam, India, Egypt, West Germany, France, and Britain. In Japan he attended several peace conferences, addressing a session of the Japan Conference Against A- and H-bombs August 6 in Hiroshima.

BY FRED HALSTEAD

The general impression still exists in this country (but not abroad) that somehow the dropping of the A-bombs on Japan caused the end of the war and eliminated a bloody invasion of the Japanese home islands, thus saving more

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

lives than the A-bombs themselves snuffed out. This is a lie manufactured and spread in the first place by President Truman and British prime ministers Churchill and Attlee, who took responsibility for the decision to drop the bombs. It is nothing but the official trumped-up alibi for one of the most shocking and unjustified war crimes in all human history.

As Hanson W. Baldwin, the *New York Times* military analyst, said in his book *Great Mistakes of the War* (1949):

"Our only warning to a Japan already militarily defeated, and in a hopeless situation, was the Potsdam demand for unconditional surrender issued on July 26, when we knew the Japanese surrender attempt had started. Yet when the Japanese surrender was negotiated about two weeks later, after the bomb was dropped, our unconditional surrender demand was made conditional and we agreed, as [Secretary of War] Stimson had originally proposed we should do, to continuation of the Emperor upon his imperial throne."

"We were, therefore, twice guilty. We dropped the bomb at a time when Japan already was negotiating for an end of the war, but before these negotiations could come to fruition. We demanded unconditional surrender, then dropped the bomb and accepted conditional surrender, a sequence which indicates pretty clearly that the Japanese would have surrendered, even if the bomb had not been dropped, had the Potsdam Declaration included our promise to permit the Emperor to remain on his imperial throne."

The haste with which the bomb was used indicates that the U.S. purposely ignored the Japanese peace requests (which were known in Washington on July 13) in order to drop the bomb before the war ended. No one was sure the bomb would work until July 18 when it was tested in New Mexico. The only other two bombs in existence were quickly dispatched to the Pacific base and were dropped on August 6 and 9. This haste is unexplained by combat problems. By that stage of the war U.S. bombers and ships encountered no serious resistance and no U.S. troop attacks were scheduled until November 1, so the haste was not necessary to "save American lives."

One of the most thoughtful works on the subject is that by the British nuclear scientist, P.M.S. Blackett, entitled *Fear, War and the Bomb* (London, 1949). Blackett points out: "If the saving of American lives had been the main objective, surely the bombs would have been held back until (a) it was certain that the Japanese peace proposals made through Russia were not acceptable, and (b) the Russian offensive, which had for months been part of the allied strategic plan, and which Americans had previously demanded, had run its course."

This last is the final piece in the puzzle. It is Blackett's well-founded thesis that one reason for the haste was to drop the bomb before the Russians entered the war against Japan. The allies had already agreed at Yalta that the USSR would attack Japan three months after Germany surrendered. Stalin had notified the United States that the Russian armies would be ready for that attack on schedule, that is, August 8. The bomb was dropped on Hiroshima August 6.

To sum up: That Japan was defeated and suing for peace before the bombs were dropped is a fact established beyond doubt. The motivations of U.S. rulers in dropping the bombs anyway is, of course, a disputed question. But the evidence utterly fails to support the official alibi that it was done to avoid costly battles. On the contrary, the evidence overwhelmingly indicates that the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were murdered, not to end World War II, but to launch what later came to be known as the cold war.

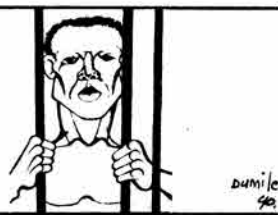
Curtis describes transfer, new prison situation

BY MARK CURTIS

MOUNT PLEASANT, Iowa — On July 17, I was transferred from the John Bennett prison in Fort Madison to the Mount Pleasant Correctional Facility in Mount Pleasant, Iowa. I had been held at the John Bennett facility, 40 miles northwest of here, for 14 months.

The Mount Pleasant facility is a medium-security state prison which also contains voluntary programs for alleged

BEHIND PRISON WALLS



sex offenders and substance abusers. A few weeks ago, prison officials recommended that I be transferred here due to overcrowding at John Bennett. I was told that I would be placed in a general population unit and not required to enter any special treatment program.

The Mount Pleasant prison is a modern building. A state mental hospital shares the grounds.

The morning of July 17 a van came to pick me up. Four men from "behind the walls" in maximum security, and myself from medium-security John Bennett, made the trip bound in handcuffs, shackles, and belly chains.

The night before leaving was a busy time, saying goodbye to all the friends I had made, supporters of my defense, *Militant* readers and writers, and those with whom I had discussed politics and shared Pathfinder books.

The next day, with boxes, trunks, four other men, and five TV sets packed beside me, I left on the short trip.

I enjoyed the feeling of being on the road, seeing the advertisements (Sweet Corn \$1.50), farmers in the many fields of corn and soybeans we passed, and a welder's

fountain of sparks from a factory door. Though they were little things, they were different and real.

The Mount Pleasant prison holds around 700 men. There are no brick walls. Two fences surround the prison, and cars and trucks can be seen driving down State Highway 218 which runs right in front. A number of big trees, unusual for a prison grounds, are scattered around the yards.

Of course, there is security. As the state's brochure puts it: "While observant staff provide the best security, the institution is surrounded by two 12-foot, chain-link fences topped with razor ribbon; six armed towers manned 24 hours a day; one pedestrian and one vehicle entrance; microwave sensors; 32 cameras; audio monitoring/paging system and graphic enunciator that can spotlight problem areas."

The prison is divided into two wings, a "west side" and an "east side," each with their own exercise yards. The two sides also separate the institution's programs for those convicted of sex-related or substance-abuse offenses.

The two groups of inmates are not allowed in each other's yard or living units, but share the dining hall, library, and other facilities, where they can mix. Both yards have basketball and tennis courts, weight-lifting equipment, and a softball diamond. There are five phones in each yard, where collect calls can be made until dark when the yards close.

Both wings have a number of living units. There are a Youthful Offender/General Population Unit, two Industrial/Minimum Security/General Population Units, three substance-abuse program units, three program units for inmates convicted of sexual offenses, and other general population units.

I have been placed in a general population unit on the "west side." The general population units contain prisoners convicted of a variety of different charges. This is the wing that also houses the sex offenders' treatment units.

My unit holds about 50 men, housed in two, three and

four-man rooms, not unlike a college dormitory. I'm in a three-man room with two young Black men, one of whom I met while I served a year and half in the Iowa Men's Reformatory in Anamosa. The unit has a TV and rec room (TVs are not allowed in an inmate's possession), a small, quiet reading room, bathroom, showers, and an office staffed by a guard.

There is a 16,000 square foot Industries Building for men on minimum security. The building contains a garment shop for making prison clothing and a mass mailing operation that can be hired by private industry. There are a few hundred other jobs for the majority of inmates, and I have been placed on the waiting list to get one. I also am applying for a vocational class in electricity or drafting.

After getting some clothes I and my new cellmates went to eat. In the dining hall I ran into a good friend I knew from Anamosa, who had arrived just the day before. He is a Chicano. He told me he had just read the article Rodney Palmer and I wrote on the fight for abortion rights in the last issue of the *Militant*. [See *Militant*, July 19.]

On my living unit I was welcomed by a young Black man who has been following my case and other struggles in the *Militant* for some time and is eager to help on future articles. He had been a friend of a subscriber and contributor to the paper who has since been released.

I also met a former coworker who had worked down the line from me at Swift who told me he had stood up for me after I was framed.

The welcome I received from inmates here convinces me that my defense campaign, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, Pathfinder books, and communist ideas will find a good hearing here.

Mark Curtis, a union and political activist, was framed in 1988 by Des Moines, Iowa, police on rape and burglary charges and is currently serving a 25-year jail term.

LETTERS

Serbian youth on war

I read in the July 26 *Militant* about Yugoslavia. It was interesting to read both about the Militant Labor Forum meetings and the article about the revolution in Yugoslavia in 1945.

A few days later I read an article in our local paper in Södertälje, which confirms what the *Militant* tells its readers. This article was about a 27-year-old Serb who came to Sweden as a tourist but now is seeking political asylum because as he says, "I will not go back to a conflict which I don't support. It would be impossible for me to raise a gun in today's fighting."

He comes from the little village of Curug, nearby Novi Sad in Serbia. "The situation at home is completely sick," he says. "The so-called political crisis is actually a fake made up by the leadership. Our problems are economic. But since the politicians can't handle them and will do anything to stick to power, they blow up other questions, like national contradictions."

He sees himself as neutral. "Before, it was a problem not to be a member of the Communist Party. Today it's a problem to be neutral, you have no camp that supports you. But it is impossible for me to think of a war against Croats, Slovenians, or Kosovo-Albanians. They are my friends, there are actually no ethnic contradictions. All fighting is a result of power-hungry incompetent politicians who use ordinary people as toys in a cruel chess game."

Birgitta Isacson
Stockholm, Sweden

IAM local on Gates

In response to the brutal beating of Rodney King by the Los Angeles

cops, members of the International Association of Machinists Local 141 who work at Detroit Metro Airport decided to take action. After several days of widespread discussions, a resolution was drawn up to be presented at the union meeting.

The resolution said, "The fight against police brutality is a union issue as we have seen with the Eastern Airlines, Pittston Coal and Greyhound strikes, with attacks on our picket lines and demonstrations."

It resolved to back up the efforts of Los Angeles labor and civil rights organizations in demanding the resignation of Police Chief Gates. A letter reflecting this position was then sent to Los Angeles Mayor Bradley and the city council.

This resolution was printed in the Local 141 newsletter. It was passed by the union after a lengthy and controversial discussion about whether or not we should take a position on an issue in Los Angeles, and how police brutality related to the union movement.

Mark Friedman
Detroit, Michigan

'Militant' confiscated

I enjoy reading your coverage and around-the-world news. I had copies of your paper dated back to July 1987, when I first began receiving the *Militant* in prison. I used it to explain events to other convicts, like the chronicles you run on wars — when they got started and when they ended — and how countries won their independence.

But this stack of old papers was taken out of my cell and thrown away by prison officers, including your articles on Mark Curtis, Thomas Sankara, Noriega, the invasion of Panama, and the Gulf crisis, all the way up to Nelson Mandela and

Johnny Imani Harris.
A prisoner
Gatesville, Texas

Elizabeth Schuster

Elizabeth Schuster, a long-time friend and supporter of the Socialist Workers Party, died of cancer July 23 in Toledo, Ohio. She was 51 years old.

Liz, an active member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Toledo Area Committee on Central America, was always willing to do whatever she could to help build the socialist movement. This included everything from giving students rides to the Militant Labor Forum to opening her house to campaign events for SWP candidates or YSA fund-raisers.

Over the last few years, while slowed down by her illness, she participated in efforts to win new supporters for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Liz also continued to regularly send in letters to the editors of a couple of right-wing, small-town newspapers in Northwest Ohio in which she defended the socialist perspective and the politics of the SWP.

Gary Boyers
Detroit, Michigan

The best soldiers

I am an indigent prisoner presently in isolation, which means I have no way of knowing what's taking place in the world. I realize that I need to read the *Militant* to be abreast of the revolutionary struggle and how I can fit into this struggle from in here.

Some of the best soldiers of the struggle are in places like this. There is no better way of raising their consciousness than by studying the *Militant*. The *Militant* has contributed greatly to my proletarian internationalism. I now have a clear picture of the world.

A prisoner
Jefferson City, Missouri

Highest prisoner rate

Your fine newspaper is the only source of honest news we have here in prison. There's always a number of people waiting to read my copy.

The prison population here reflects the state of Indiana's racist attitudes. Indiana is at most 17 percent Black yet slightly over half the



Mike Peters

Correction

Two errors appeared in the article "Garment workers in Cleveland fight wage cuts," printed in the July 19 *Militant*.

The 1989 sales figures for the Joseph & Feiss company were misreported as \$389 million. They were \$88.5 million.

Through an editing error, the article stated that "nearly 20 union stewards" passed out a letter urging union members to attend a meeting to discuss wage cuts. The article should have said "nearly 20 union sewers."

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.

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100-mile march hits killings by cops

Families of slain New Jersey youths spotlight escalating police brutality

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN
AND DON MACKLE

NEWARK, New Jersey — In a show of unity and determination, four families of Black youth murdered by New Jersey police in the last two years staged a 100-mile march against police brutality July 27 and 28. The Pannell, Hannah, Mayse, and Potts families were joined by dozens of youth and political activists.

Thirty people set out from Teaneck, New Jersey, on July 27 where 16-year-old Phillip Pannell was shot in the back by police on April 10, 1990. They marched through Hillside where 16-year-old Tasha Mayse and 20-year-old Lamont Russell Jones died when police opened fire on a van they were riding in on June 9, 1991. From there the marchers went on to Plainfield, where 19-year-old Santana Hannah died in police custody April 10, 1990, and then on to New Brunswick, where 25-year-old Shaun Potts was shot in the back by police on June 30, 1991.

The march ended with some 100 people rallying in Trenton, the state capital.

The purpose of the march was to draw attention to escalating police brutality in New Jersey and to demand the reinstatement of the New Jersey Civil Rights Division and an independent commission to investigate allegations of police brutality. Currently the only place to report police brutality in New Jersey is at a police station.

One of the marchers, 15-year-old Edgar Freeman from Teaneck, went to the same high school as Phillip Pannell. He explained that he had decided to march because "if the cops shoot someone, they should have to pay the consequences. It's not just that Phillip got shot, it could have been anybody, it could have been me out there."

Of all the killings by police in New Jersey, the only cop indicted and set to stand trial is Gary Spath who faces a reckless manslaughter charge for fatally shooting Phillip Pannell. Spath's trial is set for September 9 in Hackensack.

The effect of 16 months of protests around the killing can be seen in the recent appointment of a special deputy state attorney general, Glenn Goldberg, to handle the state's case against Spath.

"We should really mobilize around this September 9 trial," urged Socialist Workers Party candidate for State Assembly, Al Duncan. "The best 'sensitivity training' the cops can receive is to see one of their fellow officers in blue put behind bars for brutalizing a working-class youth."

Sharon Mayse, who has helped lead near weekly demonstrations since the murder of her daughter Tasha, responded to a question from the press about what city officials have done in response to the killing by exclaiming, "Nothing! Mayor Sharpe James says my child was out 'joy riding' but does that mean she should have been shot?"

Mayse continued, "So what if the weapons used by the officers have been subpoenaed, they just got new guns. Nothing is being done and that's why we have to continue the struggle. We have to come together. We're not going to stand around and allow anyone to kill our children."

A countercampaign to the protests against police brutality is being led by Newark Mayor Sharpe James and the city's new police chief, William Celester.

Police allege that the van Tasha Mayse and Lamont Russell Jones were riding in the night they were shot was stolen. Officials have refused to suspend any of the officers in the shooting and instead are urging that the time for mourning is over and that the central question is "our city's youths stealing cars and thinking they're for recreation."

Endless articles in Newark's *Star-Ledger*, often run side by side with articles on protests against police brutality, portray Newark as the "car-theft capital of the United States." They praise a new city program called "Scared Straight" that makes teenagers



Sharon Mayse (left) holding photo of her 16-year-old daughter Tasha, killed by police after they opened fire on a van she was riding in.

watch videos that show the mutilated bodies of other youth who have died in car crashes involving stolen cars.

This countercampaign has emboldened the cops and their reactionary supporters throughout the area. On July 10 these forces organized a rally of some 300 in Hillside. Participants chanted, "Men in blue!" and "Never a doubt!" and carried signs reading, "Support our cops!" and "Law and order in Hillside!"

Poison-pen letters

Speaking at the Militant Labor Forum in Newark July 20, Sharon Mayse said she is demanding an investigation of Mayor Sharpe's office for "using government funds on malicious garbage to tear me down, when the bottom line is that Newark and Hillside police killed my daughter."

Mayse was referring to 500 "poison-pen letters" sent from the mayor's office to residents of Hill Manor where she lives. The mailing included a letter addressed to Mayor Sharpe James asking why young people were out so late in an allegedly stolen van. The author wrote a second letter to the *Star-Ledger* criticizing the mayor for using her letter of inquiry in an attempt to whitewash the actions of the cops.

"They are trying to put fear in me, to stop the demonstrations," Mayse said. "They will have to do the same thing they did to my daughter before I stop." Mayse is a garment worker.

Carlton Mayse, Tasha's uncle, also spoke at the forum. "I was just an ordinary citizen, but I've become activated because of what happened," he said. "We need ordinary, regular people to stand up and say something."

Mayse is attempting to put together a coalition of the families victimized by the recent killings.

Tasha Mayse's grandmother, Mattye Sanders, was in the audience and participated in the informal discussion afterwards. She is a member of United Auto Workers District 65 and a shop steward at Revlon.

'A cop is a cop'

Venus Hannah, who has spoken at the Militant Labor Forum before, was also on the speakers' panel. She explained that the fight to try to find out the truth about her

son's death has broadened her outlook about the role of cops. "My struggle is to help other parents," she said.

A participant in the audience questioned the assertion by one of the speakers that there are a "few bad apples" among the cops, arguing instead that "a cop is a cop." Hannah agreed, noting that even the "good" ones cover up for the "bad" ones, which "makes them just as bad."

She said that in Plainfield a number of cops who are Black told her about the abuse and discrimination they were suffering from white cops. "But when I offered to set up a news conference for them to publicly air this mistreatment, they didn't respond." She ex-

plained that both Black and white cops have been involved in the recent killings.

As part of their effort to reach out to other families who are victimized by the police, Carlton Mayse and Venus Hannah were on the scene just hours after 23-year-old Maximino Cintrón, a recently laid-off meat-packer, was shot dead by police on July 16 in Jersey City, New Jersey.

Two undercover cops had given Cintrón a ticket for doing repair work on a car on the side of the road. A city ordinance bans curbside auto repair.

When Cintrón tore the ticket in half, witnesses say police attacked him, pushed him up against a wall, and began to choke him.

A scuffle then broke out between Cintrón, the police, and a number of other people on the scene. Witnesses say Cintrón broke free of the police, stepped back, and put his hands out to the side, as if to ask, "What are you going to do, shoot me?" Jersey City policeman John Chiusolo then shot him in the stomach.

The first ambulances to arrive took away two cops, who had minor injuries, leaving Cintrón bleeding on the scene. Forty-five minutes later he was taken by helicopter to the hospital where he died.

The Puerto Rican community where Cintrón lived was outraged by the incident. A memorial with a Puerto Rican flag was immediately put up at the site of the shooting and demonstrations of several hundred have occurred.

"The courage and determination of these families and their supporters and their drive to unite as broad a range of forces as possible to see the police who murdered their children sent to jail is exemplary," remarked socialist candidate Al Duncan.

Duncan took issue with the remarks of Keith Muhammad, a leader of the Nation of Islam in New Jersey who spoke at the July 27 rally in Trenton.

Muhammad told the crowd, which was predominantly Black, "Jews aren't the chosen people of God, they have tried to steal your birthright. You are the chosen ones."

Duncan responded, "What we need is to unite to fight for justice, not to try to find a scapegoat. This kind of anti-Semitism is reactionary and divisive."

Oakland meeting demands Geronimo Pratt's release

BY ANNE MORROW

OAKLAND, California — Some 200 people attended a July 27 meeting at the Oakland Community United Church of Christ to demand that Geronimo Pratt be released from prison. Pratt is a former Black Panther Party leader who has served more than 20 years of a life sentence resulting from a 1972 conviction on a frame-up murder charge.

At the meeting, and at a news conference in San Francisco the previous day, Ben Chavis of the United Church of Christ — himself the victim of a racist frame-up in the 1970s — urged everyone to pack an August 1 hearing at the Federal Building in San Francisco. At the hearing Pratt's lawyers registered progress in legal efforts to stop harassment by prison officials against Pratt.

Pratt became a leading member of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles after being honorably discharged from the army in 1968. He was a target of the FBI's infamous domestic counterintelligence program (Cointelpro) to discredit, disrupt, and "neutralize" Black rights leaders and other political activists. Pratt was arrested in December 1970 and charged with the 1968 murder of Caroline Olsen.

A writ of habeas corpus filed on June 3 details new evidence further demonstrating

Pratt's innocence. There are six witnesses to his being at a meeting 400 miles away at the time of the murder. These witnesses were Panther members who were in a faction hostile to Pratt and refused to testify in his defense at the 1972 trial. Given this new evidence, the court is being asked to set aside his conviction.

In addition, supporters for justice for Pratt are asking that he be released at his tenth parole hearing, to be held August 26.

Pending his release, Pratt's supporters demand that he be transferred to the California Medical Facility in Vacaville where he can receive medical treatment for post-traumatic stress syndrome, a condition resulting from his military service in Vietnam. He is currently being held at the Tehachapi Correctional Facility in southern California.

Other speakers at the solidarity meeting here, sponsored by the International Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt, included representatives from the International Indian Treaty Council, several local clergymen, Puerto Rican activists, former members of the Black Panther Party, and two of Pratt's attorneys.

Amnesty International has investigated Pratt's case and, believing that he may have been denied a fair trial, has called for an investigation.