

Readers take  
steps to get  
subscription  
drive on track

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Militant supporters in Manchester, England, and Philadelphia are leading the way at the end of the second week of the international campaign to expand readership of the Militant and books on working class, revolutionary politics by Pathfinder Press. While we are a little behind in the drive for 1,800 new readers, many areas made progress in getting on track to make their quotas. Atlanta supporters increased their goal by 10 to 100.

The campaign to extend the reach of socialist propaganda got a boost this week by the announcement of a number of Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor, in Iowa, Minnesota and New York. (See article this page.)

“Of the 34 readers we have signed up so far, 29 are from knocking on people’s doors,” reported Paul Davies from Manchester April 21. “We’ve

Continued on page 3

Spring ‘Militant’  
subscription campaign  
April 5 - May 14 (week 2)

Country	quota	sold	%	1,800                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    <
---------	-------	------	---	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Ukraine opposition spreads  
to provocations by Moscow  
Miners build protests, organize self-defense



April 17 demonstration in eastern Ukraine city of Donetsk against provocations by Moscow-backed forces that have taken over government buildings in a number of cities.

BY JOHN STUDER

More than 5,000 miners, students and other workers rallied April 17 in Donetsk, Ukraine, in a show of growing opposition in eastern Ukraine to provocations by Moscow-backed forces. Similar actions took place in Luhansk, Kramatorsk and other eastern cities.

Starting April 6, small bands led by armed troops in uniforms without insignia began seizing government administrative buildings and police

stations, proclaiming themselves partisans of an independent Donetsk People’s Republic and calling for Russian military intervention. Some 40,000 Russian troops have been deployed along the Ukrainian border

Continued on page 9

Framed by  
cops and DA,  
NY man freed  
25 years later

BY JOHN STUDER

“I lost 25 years for something I didn’t do,” Jonathan Fleming wrote in a letter posted April 13 on the Huffington Post website.

Five days earlier Judge Matthew D’Emic ordered Fleming freed after a quarter-century-long fight to overturn his frame-up conviction for a 1989 murder in Brooklyn, N.Y. “Can you imagine how I felt when I heard that jury say I was guilty,” said Fleming, “when I knew I was in Florida at Disney World with my family when the murder was committed? I tried every day from prison to gain my freedom.”

Fleming is one of dozens in Brooklyn dating back to the 1980s and ’90s whose cases are being reopened in light of recent exposures of frame-ups by cops and prosecutors there.

These include 50 cases involving one detective, Louis Scarcella, accused of slapping around alleged

Continued on page 5

Socialist  
Workers launch  
campaign for  
Minn. governor

BY TOM FISKE

MINNEAPOLIS — “This is a good period for working-class politics,” Frank Forrestal, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota, said, launching his campaign at a Militant Labor Forum here April 19.

“Hundreds of millions of workers and farmers around the world have carved out political space to discuss and debate political questions, as well as to begin organizing to defend their interests,” said Forrestal. “Nowhere has the working class been driven out of politics by crushing defeats. And, as the bosses are driven by the capitalist crisis to go after our wages and working conditions, as they seek to chip away at our rights and weaken our unions, they also confront real limits on how far and fast they can go.”

The SWP has launched campaigns for governor in Minnesota and other states across the country to help broaden the reach of socialist propaganda and advocate a fighting, working-class course

Continued on page 6

Workers in south China strike  
world’s largest shoe company



Reuters

Workers at Yue Yuen shoe factory went on strike April 15 after company refused to pay promised benefits. There has been 31 percent increase in strikes in China this year.

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Tens of thousands of workers walked off the job at the Yue Yuen Industrial Holdings shoe factory in Dongguan, southern China to demand the company stop withholding legally required housing and social security payments. The world’s largest footwear company makes shoes for major sportswear companies, including Adidas, Nike, Reebok, New Balance and Puma.

The Taiwan-owned company employs more than 400,000 people in factories in China, Vietnam and Indo-

Continued on page 5

Also Inside

- Boston school bus drivers: ‘Reinstate fired unionists!’ 2
- Syrian gov’t bombs, starves residents of Homs 4
- France: Workers reject ruling ‘Socialists,’ ultra-rightism 4
- Ukraine nation flourished in 1920s after revolution 7



# Boston school bus drivers: ‘Reinstate fired unionists!’

BY TED LEONARD

BOSTON — “What is disgusting? Union busting,” chanted more than 100 Boston school bus drivers and their supporters on a picket line here April 14. The drivers, members of United Steelworkers Local 8751, were demanding the reinstatement of four fired union leaders.

The morning protest was held in front of the main offices of Veolia Transportation, which operates school bus systems in more than 130 areas in the U.S. and Canada and has a contract with Boston Public Schools. Some 700 union drivers with the company transport 33,000 students daily.

The picket line was a show of solidarity with four fired union officers: Grievance Committee Chairperson Stevan Kirschbaum, Vice President Steve Gillis, Recording Secretary Andre Francois and steward and former Local President Garry Murchison. The four were having a union grievance hearing with management that morning over their ter-

minations last fall.

The firings, on the charge of instigating an illegal strike, followed events on Oct. 8, 2013, when drivers tried to get top company officials who were visiting the bus yard to discuss some 300 grievances over pay shortages and other contract violations. After missing their morning departures, the drivers were escorted from the property by Boston Police and the company locked the gates.

In addition to the four firings Veolia issued letters of reprimand to 864 drivers.

“We have to fight for these guys because they fight for other drivers,” Ludnay Pierre, a bus driver since 1994, told the *Militant* at the protest.

Walking the picket line in solidarity were members of UNITE HERE Local 26; the IWW, which is involved in an organizing drive with Insomnia Cookies in the Boston area; the International Action Center; and the Coalition for Equal Quality Education.

The current union contract expires June 30, 2015.



Militant/Ted Leonard

Boston school bus drivers, members of United Steelworkers Local 8751, and supporters picket Veolia Transportation April 14 to protest firing last October of four union officials.

## Bosses’ bribe aims to take sting out of concessions

*Below is a note recently sent by Chuck Guerra in Des Moines, Iowa, along with a check for \$455 from a bonus handed out by the bosses in the book bindery where he works. Guerra donated the money to the Socialist Workers Party Capital Fund, turning a “blood money” bribe into a contribution to build the communist party.*

*So-called bonuses and other bosses’ bribes are designed to convince us to accept concession contracts, speedup, wage cuts and dangerous working conditions.*

“My union local recently accepted a five-year contract that provides for no pay raise and lets the company decide how much it contributes towards each employee’s insurance premiums, among other concessions. In lieu of a raise, every year the bosses hand out a lump sum payment equal to 2 percent of your straight-time wages over the past year (or 2.5 percent for good attendance).

To add insult to injury, shortly after the new contract was signed the company announced a round of layoffs and cutbacks in hours. Fewer will receive the lump sum and the amount will be lower. Premium costs for short-term disability insurance will also be shifted to workers.

By waving a little up-front money in our faces, the bosses hope to take the sting out of their workforce cuts and eating away at our take-home pay. Rather than accept this insulting bribe, I put it to producing books that the working class needs, in contrast to the advertisement-filled publications that this company churns out every day.

*The Capital Fund finances long-range work of the party. To make a blood money contribution, contact a Militant distributor near you, listed on page 8.*

— EMMA JOHNSON



Explains that communism is not an ideological doctrine but a social movement. Communists act on the basis not of preconceived principles but of *facts* springing from the actual class struggle. Communism, to the degree it is a theory, is the generalization of the historical line of march of the working class, and of the political conditions for its liberation.

[www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com)

# THE MILITANT

## Halt deportations of immigrant workers!

*From Washington to Texas inmates in immigration jails have conducted hunger strikes against abusive treatment and deportations. The ‘Militant’ covers these fights and points to how defending immigrant workers is key to unifying labor against bosses’ assaults.*

Militant/Jeanne FitzMaurice  
Protest at Tacoma, Wash., immigration jail April 5 demands “no more deportations.”

# SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

### NEW READERS

☐ \$5 for 12 issues

### RENEWAL

☐ \$10 for 12 weeks

☐ \$20 for 6 months

☐ \$35 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

PHONE E-MAIL

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT,  
306 W. 37TH ST., 13TH FLOOR NEW YORK, NY 10018.

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, A\$8 • United Kingdom, £3 • Canada, Can\$7 • Caribbean and Latin America, US\$10 • Continental Europe, £10 • France, 12 euros • New Zealand, NZ\$7 • All other areas, US\$16 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)



# Subscription campaign

**Continued from front page**  
concentrated on the Moston neighborhood, where a showing of Antonio Guerrero's watercolor paintings opens May 17 at the Moston Miners Community Arts and Music Centre."

Guerrero is one of five Cuban revolutionaries framed up on conspiracy charges by the U.S. government and jailed in 1998. The fight to free the Five is featured weekly in the *Militant*. *I Will Die the Way I've Lived*, which features Guerrero's paintings, and *Voices From Prison: The Cuban Five* are two recently published Pathfinder books that strengthen this work.

The growing campaign to free the Five and the struggle by working people in Ukraine to defend the country's sovereignty have opened political opportunities to reach new readers. Subscribers can choose from a range of Pathfinder titles at reduced prices. (See ad below.)

"A co-worker of mine decided to sign up for the *Militant* after he had seen Guerrero's watercolor exhibit here March 21," reported Chris Hoepfner from Philadelphia April 22. "He was one of 14 new subscribers this week, our best week so far. The overwhelming majority is from going door to door."

Hoepfner said that in addition to fielding teams on Saturdays and Sundays, weekday teams in the late afternoon and early evening have been very important. "We also got an extra push this week participating in an action against deportations," he said. "Five out of 35 there decided to subscribe to the paper."

"We got 11 this week, nine knocking on doors in working-class areas and

two from former co-workers," Steve Warshell reported from Houston April 22. "We organized to get out every day. Now we're just one short of being on schedule.

"A team also went to Texas City, 45 miles south of here," Warshell said, where 170,000 gallons of oil spilled into the Houston Ship Channel and Gulf of Mexico March 22.

"Houston is one of the largest centers for deportation of immigrant workers in the country. We meet a lot of people who've had experiences with detention centers and deportations," Warshell said. "Workers tell us how *la migrá* waits for them when they go to work, grabs them and ships them out."

## Sales in rural towns

Supporters from Chicago also had their best week so far, getting 11 new subscriptions. They visited workers in small towns west of the city April 19, reported Laura Anderson. In Cortland, a town of 4,000 surrounded by farms, they met David Rios, a warehouse worker originally from Mexico.

"He was interested in the example of workers in Ukraine using the space they won to continue to fight for their rights," Anderson wrote. "After looking over the front page with a photo of 10,000 demonstrating in Moscow to protest Russian intervention in Ukraine, he smiled and said, 'We aren't getting the truth on this.'" Rios got a subscription and *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*, a book on special offer.

On April 19, supporters from New York went to Red Hook, a town of 2,000



Militant/Alyson Kennedy

"I know all the politicians don't care about us. I like other opinions and this looks militant," retired worker Richard Balicki, left, said as he signed up for *Militant* subscription April 18 when John Hawkins met him at his house in Lyons, a town a few miles west of Chicago.

about 100 miles north of the city, and into surrounding farm areas.

"As we talked to people about the situation workers and farmers face, many wanted to discuss fracking," reported Dan Fein. Fein is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of New York. "We sold subscriptions to a sheep rancher, a worker in a Mexican restaurant, a retired teacher and to workers in a trailer park. One of them also bought the Spanish edition of *Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?*" another book on special.

Camila Das Gupta signed up for a subscription in Montreal April 15, while on her way to Halifax, Quebec, from a semester's studies in Havana. She had met *Militant* supporters at the Havana book fair in February, where she attended the launching of *I Will Die the*

*Way I've Lived* and *Voices From Prison* at a studio run by Cuban artist Kcho. She was in Havana when Fernando González, one of the Five, returned to Cuba Feb. 28 after serving out his sentence in U.S. prisons.

"My house mother ran screaming through the house to tell everyone," Das Gupta told Katy LeRougetel, whom she had met at the fair. "I went to a big concert on the steps of the University of Havana the next day, but it was impossible to see anything, there were so many people. It just made me want to read all the books I bought right away."

Das Gupta said she plans to enlist some artist friends in Halifax to do a showing of Guerrero's watercolors.

The *Militant* continues to expand its readership among fellow workers behind bars. So far during the drive, seven have requested to get the paper, five of whom are new subscribers.

Supporters in every area need to map out plans to get ahead or catch up in the coming weeks to go over their quotas by May 14. Send reports and photos on the campaign by Monday morning EDT. And be sure to include sales of books when you do.

Join the effort to expand the *Militant's* readership! See page 8 for a distribution center near you or contact the *Militant* at (212) 244-4899.

## Correction

The dates for the five-week international subscription and books campaign are April 5-May 14. The April 28 issue gave an incorrect end date.

## Special offers with 'Militant' subscription

### Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

by Jack Barnes

\$10 with subscription (regular \$20)

### The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning

The Fraud of Education Reform Under Capitalism

by Jack Barnes

\$2 with subscription (regular \$3)

### Women in Cuba

The Making of a Revolution Within the Revolution

by Vilma Espín, Asela de los Santos, Yolanda Ferrer

\$10 with subscription (regular \$20)

### Women and Revolution

The Living Example of the Cuban Revolution

by Asela de los Santos, Mary-Alice Waters and others

\$3 with subscription (regular \$7)

### Los cosméticos, las modas, y la explotación de la mujer

(Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women)

by Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed, Mary-Alice Waters

\$10 with subscription (regular \$15)

See distributors  
on page 8

### The Cuban Five

Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free

from pages of the 'Militant'

\$3 with subscription (regular \$5)

### Cuba and Angola

Fighting for Africa's Freedom and Our Own

by Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Raúl Castro; Cuban generals; Gabriel García Márquez

\$6 with subscription (regular \$12)

### The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

by Jack Barnes

\$10 with subscription (regular \$24)

### Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?

A Necessary Debate

by Mary-Alice Waters

\$5 with subscription (regular \$7)

### We Are Heirs of the World's Revolutions

by Thomas Sankara

Speeches from the Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87

\$5 with subscription (regular \$10)

### Thomas Sankara Speaks

The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-1987

\$10 with subscription (regular \$24)

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**The Roots of Jew-Hatred — Why It Is Poison for the Working Class.** Fri., April 25, 7:30 p.m. 806 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 202. Tel.: (312) 455-0111.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**The Civil War in Syria.** Speaker: Chuck Guerra, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 3707 Douglas Ave. Tel.: (515) 707-1779.

### NEW ZEALAND

#### Auckland

**Defend a Woman's Right to Choose Abortion.** Speaker: Annalucia Vermunt, Communist League. Fri., May 2, 7 p.m. Donation: \$5 waged; \$2 unwaged. 188a Onehunga Mall. Tel.: (09) 369-1223.



# France: Workers reject ruling ‘Socialists’ and ultra-rightism

BY EMMA JOHNSON

President François Hollande and his governing Socialist Party lost to the conservative opposition in municipal elections across France amid high unemployment, government cuts to social programs and growing economic insecurity among working people. The National Front made big gains, coming in third behind the Socialists with 1,200 seats in municipal councils and 11 mayoral posts and provoking debate on the significance of the traditionally far-right party’s growing support.

The elections, which ended March 30, had the lowest turnout in decades, around 60 percent. The Socialists lost more than 150 cities, including in traditional strongholds like Toulouse and Limoges, held by the party since 1912. The conservative Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) received 46 percent of the vote; the Socialists and its allies 40 percent. The National Front won 7 percent, up from 0.9 percent in 2008.

The elections reflect disillusionment with the status quo and greater willingness to consider a more conservative, nationalist alternative to the party in power. But the growing votes for the National Front are also a sign of continued rejection of ultrarightist politics among working people. The National Front has succeeded in planting a firm foothold in bourgeois politics by shifting toward the center, moderating many of its positions and remaking itself as a more mainstream socially conservative party with a certain populist streak.

Marine Le Pen replaced her father Jean-Marie Le Pen as head of the National Front in January 2011. This put her in a position to accelerate the makeover of the party she had been

working for since 2000, when she became president of Générations Le Pen, a loose formation with the stated aim to “de-demonize” the National Front.

Marine Le Pen has been a candidate in various elections since 2002 and a member of the European Parliament since 2004. The party has disassociated itself from street fighting, thugery and anti-Semitism. She opposes cuts in government spending and social programs and calls for stopping further immigration — especially of Muslims, among whom she claims lies the “greatest danger” of anti-Semitism.

Le Pen combines these nationalist appeals with opposition to the European Union, which helps the party gain a hearing among working people who have had enough of its intrusive regulations and demands for government spending cuts that always come down hardest on workers and farmers. “Give back to the French their sovereignty” over their territory, currency, economy and the law, she said in a *Washington Post* interview April 14.

Le Pen fraudulently paints France as among the victims of the EU, when in fact Paris and Berlin have been the trade and currency union’s main beneficiaries at the expense of weaker and less economically developed nations like Greece, Portugal and Spain. When Paris has been able to wield this clout it largely ignores EU “benchmarks” on deficit reduction. Hollande had pledged to lower the budget deficit to 3 percent by 2013, in line with the EU’s Growth and Stability Pact, but the deficit last year stood at 4.3 percent.

“May 6 should be a great date for our country, a new start for Europe, a new hope for the world,” Hollande said when he won the presidential election in 2012. He told cheering crowds that he would bring “an end to austerity” and promote “growth, jobs

## Syrian gov’t bombs, starves residents of Homs



AP

Working-class neighborhoods in Homs, Syria, under control of opposition forces have been under a combination of blockade-enforced starvation and relentless aerial bombardment for months by forces loyal to the regime of Bashar al-Assad, who has launched an offensive to retake as much territory as possible ahead of presidential elections scheduled for June 3.

Government bombers and troops from Lebanon’s Hezbollah and Syrian paramilitary forces have pushed rebel units back in a number of areas over the past few months. Homs, the country’s third largest city, has been at the center of the popular protest movement against Assad that took to the streets in 2011. Above, destruction from government offensive April 15, 2012.

More than one-third of Syria’s 21 million people have lost their homes. Some 2.6 million have fled the country.

Rebel forces on the offensive in Aleppo, the country’s largest city, reported April 13 that a child was killed and 50 others injured when government planes dropped canisters filled with toxic chlorine gas in neighboring Hama and Idlib provinces.

— JOHN STUDER

and prosperity.” He campaigned for a \$26 billion increase in government spending over the next five years. He said he would tax the rich and lower unemployment.

But official unemployment has persistently hovered above 10 percent — more than 25 percent for youth. There was 0 percent gross domestic product growth in 2012 and 0.2 percent in 2013.

According to a 2012 survey, 27 percent of the French population said financial reasons prompted them not to get medical treatment, because of rising deductibles and cuts to government financing.

In a New Year’s televised address Dec. 31, Hollande said he had underestimated the depth of the recession, that taxation in France had become “too heavy.” The bourgeois socialist said he would bypass parliament and use decrees if necessary to “cut public spending” and to eliminate welfare “abuse.”

Le Pen, on the other hand, calls for a large role for the state in social welfare policy. “The French are attached to public services — for them it is the guarantee of equality among citizens,” she told the *New York Times* April 2.

“We are at year zero of a big patriotic movement, neither right nor left, which is founded on the opposition of the current political class, on the defense of the nation, on the rejection of ultra-capitalism and Europe, that is capable of rising above the old political rifts to ask the real questions,” Marine Le Pen said in a recent interview with *Le Monde*. Since she was elected president, the National Front has increased its membership from 12,000 to 80,000.

## Militant Fighting Fund

April 5 - May 27 (week 1)

Country	Quota	Paid	%
UNITED STATES			
Miami	\$2,800	\$732	26%
Des Moines	\$2,800	\$610	22%
Atlanta	\$8,600	\$1,735	20%
Los Angeles	\$8,000	\$1,357	17%
Seattle	\$8,400	\$1,340	16%
New York	\$19,000	\$2,430	13%
Philadelphia	\$3,800	\$100	3%
Omaha/Lincoln	\$2,700	\$50	2%
Boston	\$3,500	\$0	0%
Chicago	\$9,500	\$0	0%
Houston	\$3,500	\$0	0%
San Francisco	\$13,500	\$0	0%
Twin Cities	\$6,500	\$0	0%
Washington	\$7,800	\$0	0%
Other		\$650	
Total U.S.	\$100,400	\$9,004	9%
CANADA	\$7,000	\$520	7%
NEW ZEALAND	\$5,000	\$1,145	23%
AUSTRALIA	\$1,500	\$475	32%
UNITED KINGDOM			
London	\$2,000	\$1,300	65%
Manchester	\$750	\$600	80%
Total UK	\$2,750	\$1,900	69%
Total	\$116,650	\$13,044	11%
Should be	\$115,000	\$16,429	14%

## Militant Fighting Fund makes possible int’l reporting trips

BY LEA SHERMAN

Contributions to the Militant Fighting Fund are beginning to stream into the *Militant*’s New York office. The newsweekly, unlike any other, is written solely in the interests of working people.

So far \$13,044 has been received towards pledges of \$116,650, more than \$1,600 over the \$115,000 goal.

These contributions from our readers are used to make possible reporting trips like the recent ones to Ukraine, Egypt, Cuba, Mali, Burkina Faso and Lebanon, as well as pay basic operating expenses.

Unlike the big-business press, which is funded by commodity advertising, the bedrock of the *Militant*’s finances is its readers who support the paper.

“At a Militant Labor Forum in Philadelphia April 19, entitled ‘Working People from Ukraine to U.S. Defend Themselves Against Bosses’ Offensive,’ participants pledged \$1,900 for the fund,” wrote Janet Post, director of the fund appeal there. *Militant* editorial volunteer John Studer, who recently returned from a reporting trip to Ukraine, gave the presentation.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Philadelphia have been meeting with possible contributors “to discuss revolutionary political perspectives and the role of the *Militant* in the class struggle,” said Post. So far \$2,456 has been pledged toward their \$3,800 quota.

Often a worker will donate a couple of extra dollars to socialist workers selling the paper door to door. This goes to the Militant Prisoners’ Fund so that workers behind bars can have access to the working-class newspaper. In Philadelphia \$22 has been donated to the fund.

The prisoners’ fund also received a donation from a nurse in Brockton, Mass., where Ted Leonard and Sarah Ulman were selling the paper door to door. “She was going to give us \$10 for a single *Militant*. Instead she got a subscription, a copy of *Women and Revolution* and gave the remaining \$2 to the prisoners’ fund,” said Ulman.

To contribute to the Militant Fighting Fund, contact distributors listed on page 8 or send a check or money order to “The Militant,” 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018-2482.



\$16

www.Pathfinderpress.com



# Framed, freed 25 years later

Continued from front page

“suspects,” coercing witnesses and letting informants out of jail to smoke crack cocaine. He used the same witness, Teresa Gomez, in five unrelated cases.

In 2011 former Brooklyn District Attorney Charles Hynes set up a one-person Conviction Integrity Unit to restore confidence in the criminal “justice” system. Similar units were then being set up around the country, amid growing evidence of widespread coerced confessions, withholding of evidence and other frame-up methods.

A number of Fleming’s family members who had traveled to Disney World with him testified at his trial and presented plane tickets, family videos and vacation photos proving he was there.

The case against Fleming was based on the testimony of one police witness, Jacqueline Belardo. She recanted her testimony before Fleming was sentenced, but the district attorney said she was lying and the judge ignored it.

Police logs produced after a new investigation began in June 2013 showed that cops found Belardo in a stolen van, charged her with grand larceny and subjected her to several hours of questioning. The charges against her were dropped one hour after she testified that she saw Fleming commit murder.

Fleming told his attorneys he had a phone receipt from his hotel in his pocket when he was arrested showing he was in Florida a couple hours before the Brooklyn murder. At his trial cops claimed they never recovered a receipt.

But when the Conviction Integrity Unit began its investigation the receipt was found in the police evidence locker.

“I can’t accept it was a mistake,” Taylor Koss, one of Fleming’s lawyers, told the *Militant*. “This was an unbelievable miscarriage of justice.”

“We’re working on two lawsuits against the state, the cops, the prosecutors and the city,” Koss said.

“I hadn’t been on a plane since I flew back from Disney World 25 years ago,” Fleming wrote, describing his flight to the April 8 hearing after being released from the Wende Correctional Facility in Alden, N.Y. “I walked through the airport and couldn’t believe what I was seeing.

TVs and computers were everywhere. Everyone was talking on cellphones and typing on them. I had no idea what was going on.”

One day later, Sundhe Moses, Derrick Hamilton and Kevin Smith, who were framed-up by Scarcella and recently released from prison, were joined by other frame-up victims, family members and supporters at a rally at New York City Hall. They demanded the special investigation committee, recently renamed the Conviction Review Unit, speed up review of their cases.

“Prosecutorial and police misconduct is not only a serious problem in Brooklyn, it happens in every district attorney’s office in the city,” Hamilton said.

Among dozens fighting for release from prison is David McCallum, who, along with Willie Stuckey, was framed-up and convicted for a 1985 murder in Brooklyn. The two, both 16 at the time, “confessed,” after they were “coerced, tricked and physically assaulted” by the cops who arrested them, McCallum’s attorney



AP/Jason DeCrow

Victims of cop and prosecutor frame-ups in New York, family members and supporters, rallied at City Hall April 9 to demand review of their cases be sped up. Martin Tankleff, at microphone, spent 17 years in jail after he was framed up on charges of murdering his parents.

Oscar Michelen noted in a statement. The two rejected a plea bargain and were found guilty and sentenced to 25 years to life.

Stuckey died in prison in 2001.

Former middleweight boxing contender Ruben “Hurricane” Carter — who himself spent 19 years in jail on frame-up murder charges — made

the fight to exonerate McCallum his priority in the last months of his life. Carter died April 20.

“Not a single piece of evidence ever implicated them in this crime nor placed them anywhere near the scene,” Carter noted in a Feb. 21 *New York Daily News* column titled “Hurricane Carter’s Dying Wish.”

## Chinese workers strike world’s largest shoemaker

Continued from front page

nesia. Some 45,000 work at its massive 10-story complex in Dongguan.

The protest began April 5, when hundreds of workers took to the streets and blocked a bridge. Negotiations between the two sides then resolved nothing. On April 14 Yue Yuen announced it would offer new contracts to all employees on May 1, but would not pay housing and social security funds owed before that date.

Thousands of workers took to the streets in response. The protests continued April 15 when some 40,000 walked off the line and several thousand marched from the factory to the municipal building and staged a sit-in protest. Hundreds of riot police armed with batons attacked the strikers, arresting dozens. Others were hospitalized.

An anonymous source in the company’s human resources department

confirmed to the Xinhua News Agency April 16 that the company has only covered housing payments for some 1,000 workers and that payments to the social insurance program have been lower than legally required.

The strike continues as of April 22 with additional demands for a 30 percent wage increase and their own representatives in the negotiations, which include officials from the company, the local government and the government-sanctioned All China Federation of Trade Unions.

There has been a 31 percent increase in strikes in China during the first quarter of 2014 compared to the same period last year, reported Hong Kong-based China Labour Bulletin. Several have involved big international corporations, including Walmart, Pepsi, IBM and Samsung. More than 50 percent were over wage arrears and demands for compensation when

factories closed and moved.

A survey over the past decade of 400 factories by the U.S.-based group China Labor Watch reported that not a single one had fully complied with social security laws.

The Chinese economy has slowed down from the previous decade, when the gross domestic product rose by more than 10 percent almost every year. In both 2012 and 2013 growth was 7.7 percent. Meanwhile, workers’ strikes and other labor actions have been able to wrest some wage increases and other gains. In response, companies have been increasingly relocating from China’s coastal region to poorer inland provinces or to other countries, such as Bangladesh, Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia. Since 2010 Nike produces more shoes in Vietnam than in China, and Adidas announced in 2012 that it would close its last factory in China.

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



May 5, 1989

Students in the Chinese capital city of Beijing began a boycott of university classes April 24 as part of a nationwide student strike called in the wake of the biggest wave of protest demonstrations to take place in China since the mid-1970s.

The wave of protests reached a high point with an April 22 gathering of tens of thousands in Tiananmen Square, coinciding with the state funeral nearby for former party head Hu Yaobang.

“Long live democracy” and “Down with corruption” have been prominent slogans in the protests. Demands include freedom of the press; enactment of laws to prevent corrupt dealings by those in power, including publication of the sources of income of top officials and their children; a full rehabilitation of Hu; and repudiation of the crackdown on dissent that followed Hu’s fall in 1987.



May 4, 1964

The announcement from Washington of plans to reduce production of fissionable material for military purposes should not be taken for more than it is worth.

There is a present surplus of \$1 billion worth of enriched uranium and a comparable surplus of plutonium.

The newly proposed reduction is nothing more than a cut-back of the production of *surplus* fissionable material. This can hardly be construed as a step toward diminishing the building of nuclear weapons.

While the U.S. military is armed to the teeth with nuclear missiles capable of delivering terrible death blows anywhere in the world, of overkilling the world’s population umpteen times, it is self-delusion to see as an important step towards peace the suspension of production of excess fissionable material.



May 5, 1939

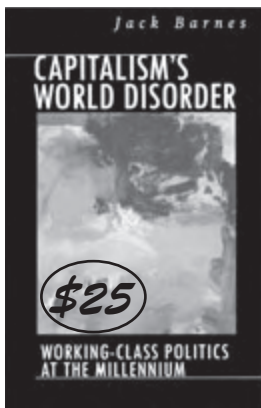
Father Coughlin, propagandizing prelate of Detroit, is both a faithful follower of his teachers — Mussolini and Hitler — and a willing supporter of causes and principles which will further their aims and ambitions.

All those familiar with Coughlin’s demagoguery are well acquainted with the similarity between his program and that followed by Mussolini and Hitler prior to their accession to power. They are also aware of the fact that Coughlin supports virtually every reactionary demand supported by the European dictators, and that he mimics them slavishly in the anti-Semitic and anti-Communist hate that he spews forth.

Coughlin follows their program because he hopes thereby to create a strong fascist movement here, with himself, naturally, in the role of leader.

### For further reading...

“We defend any con against any brutality or arbitrariness, and we are for prisoners taking as much space as they can get to break down the barriers that separate them from the rest of society and deprive them of their rights”



— Jack Barnes

[www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com)  
or see distributors on pg. 8



# US rulers' hatred of revolution behind frame-up of Cuban 5

BY SETH GALINSKY

"From the beginning we were conscious that we were paying the price for being Cuban revolutionaries, for working in favor of the people of Cuba, the revolution and the people of the United States," Fernando González told Colombian journalist Hernando Calvo Ospina in an interview published on the CubaDebate website April 15. González was referring to the U.S. government's arrest of him and his four comrades.

"The punishment wasn't directed against me, against us," González said. "It was Washington's need for vengeance because of the hate they have toward the revolutionary process, toward our history." After serving his entire sentence, González was released from the Safford, Ariz., central prison Feb. 27, rearrested by immigration police and

deported to Cuba the next day. "This operation lasted 36 hours. I was handcuffed the whole time," he said. It wasn't until he landed in Havana and the plane door opened that U.S. agents removed the handcuffs.

Calvo Ospina asked how he was treated by other prisoners during his 15 years in jail.

"At the beginning I was just another prisoner," he said. "But little by little our case became better known thanks to international solidarity."

"We shared reading material that we received with other prisoners," he said. "That got their attention, and they began to see that we are people who think differently. Then they would come to talk about Cuba, about the revolution."

"We still have a lot to do," González



Since his return to Cuba Feb. 28, Fernando González, one of Cuban Five, has joined René González in campaign to free their three comrades: Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero and Ramón Labañino. From left, González; wife Rosa Aurora Freijanes; Olga Salanueva, wife of René González; René González; and Colombian journalist Hernando Calvo Ospina.

said. "We can't accept that Ramón and Antonio will serve their full sentence, like René and I. That would mean that Gerardo would never return. That's why

those in solidarity with us around the world need to keep pushing for the three to be let go and allowed to return as soon as possible."

## Exhibits of paintings by Antonio Guerrero, one of the Cuban Five

### *I Will Die the Way I've Lived*

#### Lincoln, Neb.

April 25-30

Meadowlark Café, 1624 South St., April 25-30, 8AM-11PM. Reception, April 25, 7:30PM. Tel: (402) 475-4620.

#### New York

April 1-29

Bronx Library Center, 4th floor, 310 East Kingsbridge Road. Call (718) 579-4257 for hours and tours. Closing program, Fri., April 25, 5:30PM, Room C21 on the concourse level.

May 3-17

Opening event, Sat., May 3, 12-3PM. Jackie Robinson Center, 110 E. 129th St., Manhattan. Exhibit hours: Mon.-Fri. 7-9PM. Sat. 12-5PM. Closing program, Sat., May 17, 12-3PM. Tel.: (212) 348-7900.

#### San Francisco

May 4

Exhibit and reception: 2-4PM. Program, 2:30PM. San Francisco Public Library, Bayview Branch, 5075 Third St.

#### Montreal

May 5-24

Exhibit hours: Mon. 8AM-4PM, Tues., Wed. 8AM-7PM, Thurs., Fri. 8AM-8PM, Sat. 10AM-8PM. Café l'Artère, 7000 Ave. Du Parc Tel: (514) 232-1917.

#### Sydney

May 9-11

Opening event, Fri., May 9, 6:30PM. StirrUp Gallery, Addison Road Community Center, 142 Addison Road, Marrickville. Exhibit hours: Sat., 11AM-3PM; Sun., 9AM-3PM. Tel.: 0413 450 981.

#### Manchester, England

May 17-31

Opening event, Sat. May 17 6PM. Exhibit hours: Mon.-Sat. 9AM-5PM. Moston Miners Community Arts and Music Centre, Teddington Road, Moston. Tel.: 0161 682 6253.

## SWP launches campaign for Minn. governor

Continued from front page

to confront the crisis of capitalism and need for workers to take political power.

Socialist gubernatorial candidates — Forrestal, Ellie García in California, Naomi Craine in Florida, John Studer in New York, David Rosenfeld in Iowa and more to come — will back workers in struggle wherever they are, campaign to free the Cuban Five, and raise fighting demands that can help advance the unity and combativity of the working class. Many questions that concern working people, Forrestal said, fall under the purview of governors' offices. These include the fight for extending unemployment compensation; universal health care; an end to the criminal "justice" frame-up system and brutal prison conditions; women's right to abortion; and workers' control on the job to defend their safety, as well as those of other working people.

"Ukraine is an example of what is open to the working class," said Forrestal, who was part of a March 16-April 2 *Militant* reporting and solidarity trip to Ukraine after President Viktor Yanukovich fled the country in face of popu-

lar mobilizations.

"As a consequence of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis, there will be decades of working-class struggles and rebellions ahead," he said. "Over time, workers will see their own independent class interests in Ukraine, Russia, the U.S. and elsewhere in the capitalist world."

### U.S. imperialism lost the Cold War

"The Ukrainian struggle is the biggest working-class upsurge since the 1989-90 collapse of the Stalinist governments," Forrestal said.

Political developments there and around the world today, Forrestal said, are marked by the fact that the imperialist powers led by Washington lost the Cold War because they failed to impose crushing defeats on the working class in the countries of the former Soviet Union. The collapse of Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe a quarter century ago registered both this failure of imperialism as well as the failure of the privileged bureaucratic layer that had dominated the governments and Communist parties in those

countries to keep workers out of politics.

"This has created more favorable conditions for working people to be able to defend themselves, including here in the U.S.," he said.

"What is the relation between President Vladimir Putin and the capitalists in Russia?" asked one participant.

"The Russian government acts for the capitalist class there and oversees a vulnerable economy," said Forrestal. "The Russian capitalists are interested above all in protecting their profits and they have sharp disagreements over military intervention in Ukraine."

"The Russian government's course is also limited by the attitudes and actions of working people there, who remember the Soviet war in Afghanistan and the recent Russian wars in Chechnya and Georgia. Last week 10,000 marched in Moscow to oppose Russian intervention in Ukraine."

"U.S. imperialism also faces similar limitations on war moves in Ukraine or anywhere else today,"

Forrestal said.

Cuba is the only country in the world, Forrestal said, that has a government that defends the interests of working people. The difference between Havana's proletarian internationalist course and the anti-working-class character of the government of the former Soviet Union, he said, can be seen in their different responses to the 1986 nuclear disaster in Chernobyl, Ukraine.

While Moscow refused to evacuate and protect people in affected areas, Cuba responded with a long-term program of medical aid with no strings attached, he said. "Some 25,000 victims, mostly children, have received treatment on the island. The program continues to this day, because, as Fidel Castro said in 1992 after the fall of the Soviet Union, 'It's an ethical and moral question.'"

"Communist workers must be bold in response to openings in world politics today," said Forrestal in his concluding remarks. "And we have to be bold using the *Militant* and books on revolutionary working-class politics to engage in discussions with working people from big cities to small towns across the U.S."

"My campaign will champion the efforts of workers to speak out, organize and resist. And we will be bold."

### Who are the Cuban Five?



Fernando González, Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino and René González are Cuban revolutionaries who during the 1990s accepted assignments from the Cuban government to gather information on the operations and plans of Cuban-American paramilitary groups based in southern Florida. These rightist outfits, organizing on U.S. soil with virtual impunity, have a long record of carrying out bombings, assassinations and other deadly attacks, both against targets in Cuba and supporters of the Cuban Revolution in the United States, Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

On Sept. 12, 1998, the five were arrested by the FBI. They were framed up and convicted on a variety of charges, which included acting as unregistered agents of the Cuban government and possession of false identity documents. Without a shred of evidence, three were charged with "conspiracy to gather and transmit national defense information."

Hernández was also convicted of conspiracy to commit murder, based on the pretext that he bore responsibility for the Cuban government's 1996 shoot-down of two Brothers to the Rescue aircraft that had invaded Cuban airspace in disregard of Havana's repeated warnings. He is serving two life terms plus 15 years. His wife Adriana Pérez is barred from entering the United States.

René González returned to Cuba in May 2013. Fernando González returned Feb. 28.



# Ukraine nation flourished in '20s after revolution

## Lenin's fight for Ukrainian sovereignty, voluntary union destroyed by Stalin murder machine

BY SETH GALINSKY

As working people in Ukraine defend their country from provocations by the capitalist government in Moscow — as well as moves by Washington and other imperialist powers to sink the country deeper in debt — they will find valuable lessons in a history that has been hidden or distorted: the 1920s when Ukrainian toilers took power out of the hands of the landlords and capitalists, threw off the Russian boot, and became masters of their own destiny.

Today many in Ukraine and around the world know little about this unparalleled period of nation-building and cultural expression. Even among those who know, many are not aware of the indispensable role played by V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Russian Revolution, in advancing the fight for sovereignty of Ukraine together with the self-confidence and national pride of toilers there. Nor do many see that the murderous course later implemented under Joseph Stalin was part of a conscious campaign to reverse those gains.

Long before the opening of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Lenin led a political battle to educate workers and peasants that their struggle to throw off czarist rule was inseparable from the national struggles of peoples oppressed under the empire, what he called “a prison house of nations.” Because of this, Lenin explained, the fight against the monarchy, the landlords and the capitalist exploiters could only be successful if it was led by a workers party that championed the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. Only on that basis could working people throughout the empire gain self-confidence and come together to accomplish the monumental task. The largest and most weighty of the imprisoned nations was Ukraine.

“Can a nation be free if it oppresses other nations?” Lenin wrote in 1914. “It cannot. The interests of the freedom of the Great-Russian population require a struggle against such oppression.”

In August 1919 Lenin wrote a letter to the workers and peasants of Ukraine drawing some of the lessons of the fight against the army of landlords and capitalists who were seeking to overturn Soviet rule.

“In Great Russia the system of landed estates has been completely abolished. The same must be done in the Ukraine,” Lenin noted. “Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international

workers’ alliance, an international workers’ brotherhood, is needed.”

Speaking to Russian communists, Lenin said even “the slightest manifestation in our midst of Great-Russian nationalism” cannot be tolerated, because it would prevent working people from fighting together to “uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power in the fight against the landowners and capitalists of all countries and against their attempts to restore their domination.”

Basil Dmytryshyn, in his book *Moscow and the Ukraine, 1918-1953*, documents the fight by Lenin and Leon Trotsky to lead the Bolshevik Party along this course. But he concludes that the theory and practice “proved in actual test” to be incompatible. A close look at the facts, however — including in Dmytryshyn’s own book — shows that Lenin’s words were put into practice. The national rights and aspirations of Ukrainians and other oppressed people were later crushed not as the inevitable result of the Russian Revolution, as Dmytryshyn and others claim, but by a bloody counterrevolution led by Stalin and falsely carried out under the banner of 1917.

### Ukrainian nation forged in battle

The Ukrainian nation was forged in battle against Russian, Polish, Hungarian and Austrian occupation over centuries. Serfdom was first introduced in Ukraine by Polish landlords in the western part of the country during the late 1400s and 1500s.

In 1783 Czarina Catherine II imposed the particularly onerous Russian serf system on the areas under czarist domination and organized to “Russify” Ukraine, encouraging thousands of ethnic Russians to displace other inhabitants of the region.

In the mid-1800s cultural and political stirrings in Ukraine began to concern the ruling classes of the empire. Among these was the creation of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, a secret society that existed from 1845-47. It advocated a program of social equality, the end of serfdom, an end to national oppression and a federation of Slavic states. The czar suppressed the Brotherhood, arresting and exiling its leaders, including former serf Taras Shevchenko, today considered Ukraine’s national poet.

In 1863 the czar banned virtually all publications in Ukrainian. In 1876



V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders backed fight for self-determination of Ukraine, which led to expansion of culture and strengthened self-confidence and unity of toilers. It took bloody counterrevolution led by Joseph Stalin in 1920s to reverse those gains. Above, peasant writers’ union in Kharkiv, Ukraine, 1923. Inset, people of Kiev welcome arrival of Red Army in 1919.



this was extended to the importation of Ukrainian-language books and even public readings and theater.

### Czarist regime swept away

Workers and peasants swept away the czar in February 1917 and began to organize themselves into soviets, including in Kiev and other Ukrainian cities. Like in other parts of the Russian empire, the first government coming out of the revolution in Ukraine was led by Mensheviks, a split from the Bolsheviks that sought an end to the monarchy but opposed the overthrow of capitalism or the establishment of a government of workers and peasants.

Consistent with its bourgeois-nationalist course, the Menshevik provisional government based in the Russian city of Petrograd refused to recognize the demand for autonomy by the Rada, the new government in Ukraine.

“With force you will not keep but only anger the Ukrainians,” Lenin wrote. “If you yield to the Ukrainians you will then open up the road to trust between both nations, to their brotherly union as equals.”

In October, working people led by the Bolsheviks, demanding all power to the soviets (workers councils), overthrew the provisional government and took political power. The Bolshevik-led government immediately recognized Ukraine’s Rada. But the capitalist-dominated Rada opposed the October Revolution, fearing the support the Bolsheviks were winning among working people in Ukraine, especially among peasants who had already seized control of almost a third of the estates of the large landlords. The Rada allowed the German, Austrian and other imperialist armies to operate freely in territory under its control.

The German and Austrian governments soon “repaid” the Rada by overthrowing it and returning property and political power to the landlords under the rule of Gen. Pavlo Skoropadsky.

For the next several years Ukraine was embroiled in war. Control over much of the country shifted back and forth between the Red Army and worker and peasant soviets on one side, and on

the other the imperialist-backed forces of czarist generals Anton Denikin and Pyotr Wrangel, with help from invading armies of Poland and Germany.

The civil war devastated Ukraine. According to *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine* by Bohdan Krawchenko, by 1921 industrial production was one-tenth the 1912 figure. A famine caused by the war that ravaged the Soviet Union killed 1 million people in Ukraine.

### Lenin fights for ‘Ukrainization’

In November 1919, as soon as the Red Army had dealt decisive blows to Denikin’s White Army, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party took measures to increase the political action and self-confidence of peasants — then comprising 80 percent of Ukraine’s population — and draw them into the government. The resolution ordered the “transfer of the landed estates to peasants possessing little or no land.”

At Lenin’s urging the Central Committee passed a resolution instructing party members in Ukraine to “remove all barriers in the way of the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. ... [Party] members on Ukrainian territory must put into practice the right of the working people to study in the Ukrainian language and to speak their native language in all Soviet institutions; they must in every way counteract attempts at Russification that push the Ukrainian language into the background and must convert that language into an instrument for the communist education of the working people.”

Despite resistance within the Bolshevik Party in Ukraine and Russia, including from Joseph Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin, Lenin won the political battle. As a result the Bolsheviks won over the Borotbists, a faction of the Social Revolutionaries who were fighting for Ukrainian independence. The Borotbists fused with the Ukrainian Communist Party in March 1920, helping to transform the party there from majority Russian to majority Ukrainian. Ukrainian communists held key posts in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and

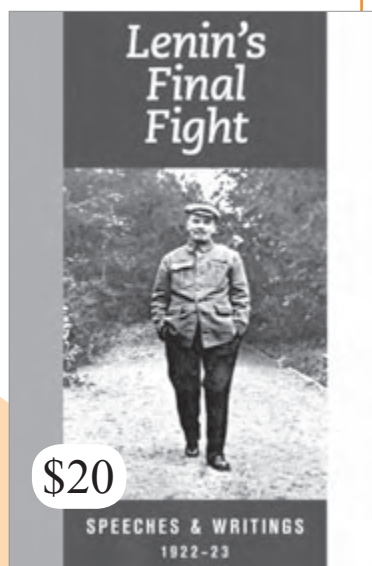
Continued on page 9

### “I declare war to the death on Great Russian chauvinism.”

“It must be absolutely insisted that the union Central Executive Committee should be presided over in turn by a Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, etc. Absolutely!”

— V.I. Lenin, 1922

In 1922 and 1923 Lenin waged his last political battle. At stake was whether the revolution would remain on the proletarian course that had brought workers and peasants to power.



[www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com)



# Whoever the oppressor, Ukrainians continued to struggle

Samizdat, Voices of the Soviet Opposition, is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for May. It contains clandestine writings circulated in the Soviet Union in opposition to Stalinist repression, from the late 1920s through the 1970s. The excerpt below by Brigitte Gerland describes Ukraine's history between 1939 and 1953. Gerland joined the Communist Party in East Germany and quickly became disillusioned with Stalinism. She was arrested by Moscow's secret political police, framed up on being a "British spy," and spent some eight years in Stalin's prison camps. Her account was serialized in the Militant in 1955. Copyright © 1974 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY BRIGITTE GERLAND

In 1939, at a time when Stalin and Hitler agreed to divide Eastern Europe between them, the Soviet army entered Volhynia, Galicia, Bukovina, and Bessarabia. Beginning thus with the two Polish provinces, Volhynia and Galicia, and the two Rumanian provinces, the Soviet Republic of West Ukraine came into being; and the curtain rose on a new act of the Ukrainian drama, the most tragic and bloody in history.

It would go far beyond the scope of a newspaper article to enter into details about the many wars, uprisings, and desperate conspiracies which comprise



Opponents of Stalin's regime in Siberian penal colony, 1928. Right of nations to self-determination was part of Bolshevik program under Lenin. But this ended with bloody counterrevolution led by Joseph Stalin in 1920s. Ukrainians confronted brutal repression under Stalinist Soviet government, followed by that of Nazis under German occupation during World War II.

West Ukraine's past. Suffice it to recall here that fifteen million Ukrainians of Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia were always an exploited minority, without any social and economic rights within these capitalist states. Whenever they fought for the most elementary rights, they invariably suffered every sort of persecution.

This is why the poor Ukrainian peasants, who had never submitted without gritting their teeth to their enemies and oppressors, the Polish and Rumanian nobles and landlords ("Pans" and "Domnuls" respectively), greeted the Soviet soldiers as liberators, showering them with garlands of flowers and treating them with food and vodka. But the first flush of enthusiasm was soon dissipated. ...

The [Soviet] bureaucracy resorted to ever harsher methods to extend its power over the newly conquered lands. Finally they resorted to deportations to the Siberian taiga on a big scale. Entire villages were uprooted, insofar, that is, as it was possible to round up the inhabitants. In most cases only the grandparents, the sick, and the newly born could be found; every able-bodied individual had already left to join the partisans.

Into this atmosphere, amid the blood-red glare of burning huts, the Germans launched their invasion, after Hitler had torn up the friendship pact with Stalin like a scrap of paper. The Ukrai-

nian peasants left their forest hideouts to greet the new liberators, omitting this time the flowers, not to mention the food and vodka. But once again, full of hope, they expected, no longer the division of big estates, but the dismemberment of the hastily formed collectives that lacked machines, cattle, and above all workers.

But they awaited with an even greater impatience the formation of an independent Ukrainian state, which the Germans had promised in return for economic assistance. To their disappointment this state was never created; on the contrary, the comrades and allies found themselves suddenly branded as "subhuman Orientals," fit only to eke out a miserable slave existence in the factories of the Master Nation conducting a victorious war. An era opened up of arrests, concentration camps, and forced labor on the territories of the German state.

All those who were able once again took to the forests, taking along some of the youth who had no desire to choose between the Ukrainian SS (storm troopers) and the German labor camps.

The struggle continued; all that changed was the face of the enemy, while the Polish and Rumanian oppressors had now become allies. Nevertheless the collapse of Germany once more rekindled hopes for an independent West Ukrainian state. The peasants were convinced that the Western powers would

keep the promises they made over the radio and through their secret emissaries; and that, at long last, the eternal minority would become a nation.

But nothing came of it. The victorious Soviet army made its second entry. ...

Year after year this whole people was engaged in desperate combat; even the children participated, serving as scouts and messengers. They were likewise arrested, clapped in prison, and later sent to a camp. Bridges were blown up, warehouses pillaged, munition depots raided by surprise, small groups of soldiers killed in ambush. The enemy took revenge by burning half-abandoned and half-ruined villages, and by deporting the inhabitants—at any rate, those unable to hide. New punitive expeditions were sent without cease, only to get lost in most cases in the merciless countryside before attaining their goal. From time to time a "nest of bandits" is uncovered—those who do not fall in battle are shipped to Siberia for life.

So the insoluble tragedy goes on and on, simply because several million Ukrainians refuse at any price to become collective farm workers and prefer to remain independent peasants. Are they backward, incorrigible petty bourgeois? Perhaps so. But the punitive expeditions, arrests of hostages, burning of villages—are these the just and correct methods for "converting" them? It is hard to answer such a question in the affirmative. The right of nations to self-determination was ever a part of the Bolshevik program. The bureaucratic epigones try to get around this by claiming that West Ukraine is merely an appendage to East Ukraine. But one might with equal justification claim that Holland, or the Flemish sector of Belgium are a part of Germany, or that Normandy and Brittany are part of England.

As late as summer 1953 the Soviet government had still not succeeded in establishing tranquility and order in the Ukraine, not even the peace of the cemetery. Each month new victims of endless waves of arrest and of unending punitive expeditions keep arriving in the camps. Despite this, despite huge losses, not from battles alone but also from cold, hunger and disease, the partisan movement has not been wiped out.

May

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS

25% DISCOUNT

**Samizdat**  
**Voices of the Soviet Opposition**  
*by George Saunders*  
Accounts by veterans of the struggle in the 1920s and early '30s to continue Lenin's revolutionary course, and by leaders of the opposition movement of the 1960s and '70s.  
\$25. **Special price: \$18.75**

**My Life**  
*by Leon Trotsky*  
\$35. **Special price: \$26.25**

**Reform or Revolution**  
*by Rosa Luxemburg*  
\$14. **Special price: \$10.50**

**February 1965: The Final Speeches**  
*by Malcolm X*  
Speeches from the last three weeks of the life of this outstanding leader of the oppressed Black nationality and of the working class in the U.S.  
\$19. **Special price: \$14.25**

**Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy**  
Speeches, vol. 1, 1975-80  
*by Fidel Castro*  
\$23. **Special price: \$17.25**

**El capitalismo y la transformación de África**  
(Capitalism and the Transformation of Africa)  
*by Mary-Alice Waters, Martin Koppel*  
\$10. **Special price: \$7.50**

**Join Pathfinder Readers Club for \$10 and receive discounts all year long**

ORDER ONLINE AT

WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

OFFER GOOD UNTIL MAY 31

## IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find distributors of the *Militant*, *New International*, and a full display of Pathfinder books.

### UNITED STATES

**CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles:** 4025 S. Western Ave. Zip: 90062. Tel: (323) 295-2600. E-mail: laswp@sbcglobal.net  
**San Francisco:** 5482 Mission St. Zip: 94112-1015. Tel: (415) 584-2135. E-mail: swpsf@sbcglobal.net

**FLORIDA: Miami:** 7100 Biscayne Blvd., Suite 306A. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 757-8869. E-mail: swpmiami@att.net

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** 777 Cleveland Ave. SW Suite 103. Zip: 30315. Tel: (678) 528-7828. E-mail: swpatlanta@bellsouth.net

**ILLINOIS: Chicago:** 806 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 202. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 455-0111. E-mail: Chicagoswp@att.net

**IOWA: Des Moines:** 3707 Douglas Ave. Zip: 50310. Tel: (515) 707-1779. E-mail: swpdesmoines@fastmail.fm

**MASSACHUSETTS: Boston:** 13 Bennington St., 2nd Floor, East Boston. Zip: 02128. Tel: (617) 569-9169. E-mail: swpboston@verizon.net

**MINNESOTA: Minneapolis:** 416 E. Hennepin Ave., Suite 214. Zip: 55414. Tel: (612) 729-1205. E-mail: tcswp@qwestoffice.net

**NEBRASKA, Lincoln:** Tel: (402) 217-4906. E-mail: swplincn@windstream.net  
**Omaha:** 3302 Q St. (Upstairs). Zip: 68107. Tel.: (402) 779-7697. E-mail: swpomaha@fastmail.net

**NEW YORK: Manhattan:** 545 8th Ave., Room 1410. Zip: 10018. Tel: (212) 629-6649. E-mail: newyorkswp@mac.com

**PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia:** 3701 Pulaski Ave. Zip: 19140. Tel: (215) 225-1270. E-mail: philaswp@verizon.net

**TEXAS: Houston:** 4800 W. 34th St., Suite C-50L. Zip: 77092. Tel: (713) 476-0733. E-mail: houstonswp@att.net

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 143 Kennedy St. NW, Suite 15. Zip: 20011. Tel: (202) 536-5080. E-mail: swp.washingtondc@verizon.net

**WASHINGTON: Seattle:** 5418 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118-2439. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: seattleswp@qwestoffice.net

### AUSTRALIA

**Sydney:** 1st Flr, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie, NSW 2194. Mailing address: P.O. Box 164, Campsie, NSW 2194. Tel: (02) 9718 9698. E-mail: cl\_australia@optusnet.com.au

### CANADA

**QUEBEC: Montreal:** 7107 St. Denis #204 H2S 2S5. Tel: (514) 272-5840. E-mail: clc\_can@bellnet.ca

### FRANCE

**Paris:** P.O. 175, 23 rue Lecourbe. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (01) 40-10-28-37. E-mail: milpath.paris@laposte.net

### NEW ZEALAND

**Auckland:** 188a Onehunga Mall, Onehunga. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025, Auckland 1140. Tel: (09) 636-3231. E-mail: clauk@xtra.co.nz

### UNITED KINGDOM

**ENGLAND: London:** First Floor, 120 Bethnal Green Road (Entrance in Brick Lane). Postal code: E2 6DG. Tel: (020) 7613-2466. E-mail: clondon@fastmail.fm  
**Manchester:** Room 301, 3rd floor, Hilton House, 26-28 Hilton St. Postal code: M1 2EH. Tel: (016) 1478-2496. E-mail: clmanchr@gmail.com

8 The Militant May 5, 2014



# Resistance to provocations in Ukraine

Continued from front page since March.

Among the Russian government-organized forces are local “titushkis” — hired lumpen thugs — and small groups of backers of the Russian government of President Vladimir Putin. They’ve been building barricades, stealing arms from government offices, intimidating residents and assaulting supporters of a united Ukraine.

Some workers, particularly members of the Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine, the country’s largest union, have organized self-defense units to counter the assaults on Ukraine’s sovereignty. In Dnepropetrovsk, for example, some 15 units comprising about 100 volunteer combatants control nine checkpoints at entrances to the city, reported Dmitry Tymchuk, who established the Center of Military and Political Research in Kiev in February to counter Russian government propaganda about Moscow’s invasion of Crimea. He previously served in the Ukrainian Defense Ministry.

“The people here are saying ‘Enough,’” Mykola Volynko, president of the 12,000-member Independent Miners Union in the eastern Donbass region, told Russia’s opposition TV Rain April 9. “We will build a new Ukraine. ... We are defending ourselves, our families, and we want to live in a normal state.”

Thuggish actions by Moscow-backed bands have brought more and more people into opposition to Russian government intervention, despite being inundated with Russian television propaganda slandering demonstrators who overthrew President Viktor Yanukovich as “fascists and anti-Semites.”

“Here are a lot of people,” 22-year-old Grigory Burchik told SETimes at the April 17 demonstration in Donetsk. “But I know even more people support Ukraine’s independence. ... Many are scared by pro-Kremlin forces.”

“The silent majority of neutral citizens that are well accustomed to adapting to all circumstances is now experiencing a colossal revolution in their minds,” Sasha Popov wrote in a Facebook post from Kramatorsk April 17 that was put up on the Euromaidan PR website. “And the fact that the backbone of the Russian separatists is made up from the local well-known dirty criminals dissolves all remaining illusions.”

In Slovyansk bands raided neighborhoods that are predominantly Roma, an oppressed nationality throughout Europe. Claiming to operate under the authority of Vyacheslav Ponomarev, the self-appointed “new mayor,” the thugs beat women and children and drove off with their belongings, said an April 19 blog statement by Yevhen Bystrytsky, executive director of the International Renaissance Foundation, and Olga Zhmurko, the foundation’s director of the Roma of Ukraine Program Initiative.

Vice President Joseph Biden flew to Kiev April 21 in a show of tepid support for the Ukrainian interim government, bringing a paltry offer of \$50 million in aid earmarked “economic and political reform.”

## — LETTERS —

### ‘Safe refineries save lives’

“Safe refineries save lives. Mourn for the dead. Fight for the living!”

This was the message of the United Steelworkers-sponsored vigil April 2 at the south gate of Tesoro’s Golden Eagle refinery here.

In the past year we’ve seen the chemical spill in West Virginia that left upwards a quarter of a million people without drinking water and an explosion at a fertilizer plant in West, Texas, that claimed lives.

Our vigil was “to commemorate the lives needlessly sacrificed and to acknowledge those who have suffered needlessly from painful injuries” at Tesoro refineries, as our flier said. A fire at the Golden Eagle refinery in 1999 left four dead and one seriously injured;

on April 2, 2010, an explosion and fire ripped through Tesoro’s Anacortes, Wash., refinery leaving seven dead; and this February two workers were sprayed with sulfuric acid, suffering first- and second-degree burns.

Members from other refineries joined the vigil. We were several dozen in all. Passing motorists honked or waved to show their support.

Ben Fields  
Martinez, Calif.

### ‘Militant’ Prisoners’ Fund

The Prisoners’ Fund makes it possible to send prisoners reduced rate subscriptions. To donate, send a check or money order payable to the Militant and earmarked “Prisoners’ Fund” to 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018.

Kiev has agreed to a series of measures aimed at making workers pay for Ukraine’s crushing debt in exchange for a promised \$18 billion in International Monetary Fund loan guarantees. This includes an increase in gas and heating prices that would amount to a 50 percent rise by May 1 and 120 percent by the end of four years. The minimum wage has been frozen, a 10 percent reduction in government workers’ pensions enacted and social expenditures cut. The initiation of a free-floating currency exchange rate is expected to cause inflation to rise to 12 to 16 percent this year.

Moscow’s organized provocations in the east are similar to those orchestrated by the Russian government that laid the groundwork for its seizure of Crimea last month.

### Social crisis in Crimea

On April 22, Mustafa Dzhemilev, former chairman of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis (council) and member of the Ukrainian parliament, was stopped at the border as he left Crimea and handed a statement saying he was banned from re-entering any part of the Russian Federation, including Crimea, for at least five years.

The Tatars, the original inhabitants of Crimea, were deported en masse in 1944 by then Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin, who branded all Tatars as “Nazi collaborators.” Half of the Tatar people died in the forced deportation to Uzbekistan and other parts of the Soviet Union.

For fighting for the right of Tatars to return to Crimea, Dzhemilev spent a total of 15 years in Soviet prisons from the mid-1960s through the mid-1980s. Tatars began to return to Crimea in large numbers in the 1990s.

Officials of the new pro-Moscow government told the editorial staff of the Crimean State Television and Radio Company not to broadcast any coverage that includes Dzhemilev or other members of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis, an official of the media company told *Ukrainska Pravda*.

Russian rule in Crimea has brought social dissociation and new hardships. Most banks are now closed, as well as land-registration offices and many food companies. Workers are wrapped in endless red tape with requirements for new license plates, driver’s licenses, insurance, prescriptions, passports and school curriculum. Food brands from Ukraine are no longer available. Air flights except those to Russia have been severed. Inflation is rampant, and promised wage and pension raises have failed to materialize.

Some 5,000 orphans and 3,000 prisoners have no legal status. Needy families that received financial aid from Ukraine have been cut off.

Meanwhile, unidentified armed groups have cropped up in train stations and other locations, inspecting luggage and arresting people. When confronted, the “green men,” so-called for their green camouflage garb, claim they are “activists from the people” who are “preserving order.”

### Inspired by Cuban Five

In high school I read Karl Marx, and in college took sociology. Right now I’m locked up in jail. My ideals about this country’s dealings with its working class has made me at odds with many. I don’t concern myself with their rantings. I’ve heard through your paper about the Cuban Five. These and other stories inspire me to keep up the fight against capitalism.

A prisoner  
Texas

**The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. 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.**

# Ukraine in 1920s

Continued from page 7

the party, replacing communists from Russia. Mykola Skrypnyk, a key fighter for Ukrainization, held numerous positions in the party and government. Oleksander Shumsky, a leader of the Borotbists, became people’s commissar of education. Mykola Khvylovy edited a weekly supplement to the Ukrainian-language daily *Visti VUTsVK*.

While revolutionaries led by Lenin had the upper hand, the fight was not over. Between late September 1922 and early March 1923, the final months of his active political life, Lenin waged a battle within the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to combat Stalin and the growing privileged government bureaucracy he spoke for and which threatened to undermine the alliance of workers and peasants.

A central part of Lenin’s final fight was against the resurgence of opposition to self-determination for oppressed nations led by Stalin. “I declare war to the death on Great Russian chauvinism,” Lenin wrote in October 1922. “I shall eat it with all my healthy teeth as soon as I get rid of this accursed bad tooth.”

Even after Lenin’s death in January 1924, the course he set in motion in Ukraine continued almost through the end of the decade.

### Flowering of culture

Dmytryshyn reports that the number of publications written in Ukrainian mushroomed — from 747 books in 1917 to 2,920 in 1927-28. Circulation of Ukrainian language periodicals rose in 1924 alone from 72,000 copies to 205,000.

In 1922 less than 20 percent of students in Ukraine were Ukrainian. By 1928 they were more than 50 percent.

Among other examples was the rapid growth of cinema. According to the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, just four films were produced in Ukraine in 1923. This grew to 16 in 1924, 20 in 1927 and 36 in 1928. The number of movie theaters went from 265 in 1914 to 5,394 in 1928. Many films dealt with Ukrainian national themes, including a 1926 film on Shevchenko.

That all came to an end as Stalin consolidated control over the Soviet government apparatus and the Communist Party. At first he began reversing the Leninist course “silently, ‘quietly,’ without public justification,” Ivan Dzyuba, a Ukrainian communist, wrote in 1965 in *Internationalism or Russification?* which called for a return to the Leninist road of Ukrainization. The resolutions Lenin fought for “were simply put aside and replaced by quite opposite decisions.” By 1926 Stalin was pushing out of the party or trying to silence some of the most prominent proponents of Ukrainization.

In 1932 Stalin launched a reign of terror against Ukraine’s peasants, workers and revolutionaries. In order to impose a truly crushing and demoralizing defeat, Stalin consciously organized to starve millions to death.

“Several million peasants were wiped out in the artificial famine of 1933,” Dzyuba wrote. They died during the forced collectivization of Ukraine’s peasantry and confiscation of food that was then exported to capitalist countries.

Stalin “liquidated” virtually the entire leadership of the Bolsheviks in Russia. From 1936 to 1938, 99 of the 102 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine were murdered.

“Nowhere did restrictions, purges, repressions and in general all forms of bureaucratic hooliganism assume such murderous sweep as they did in the Ukraine in the struggle against the powerful, deeply-rooted longings of the Ukrainian masses for greater freedom and independence,” Trotsky wrote in April 1939.

Anyone who defended Ukraine’s sovereignty against the extreme Russian nationalism was slandered as a “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist” and an opponent of internationalism, Dzyuba noted.

The bloody repression unleashed on Ukraine by the Stalinist murder machine — under the false banner of defending the revolution — was not an inevitable extension of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The truth is the opposite. It was the “truly internationalist Leninist policy which safeguarded the interests and the full development of the socialist Ukrainian nation,” Dzyuba wrote.