

## S. Africa talks begin; ANC presses demands

BY GREG McCARTAN

Following three days of talks between the African National Congress leadership and the apartheid regime, Nelson Mandela told a mass rally in Soweto the government must "abandon the concept of group rights — minority rights — without any reservation."

In the talks, which ended May 4, the ANC pressed its demands that the government end the state of emergency, release political pris-

**Mandela speech to S. African youth on pages 14 and 15.**

oners, allow the return of exiles, and withdraw its troops and police from Black townships and the so-called "homelands."

The United Nations and other international bodies had called on the regime to adopt such measures prior to the start of negotiations with the liberation movement on the formation of a new government in South Africa.

At a press conference at the opening of the talks, ANC Deputy President Mandela said, "This is the first time in 78 years that a truly serious meeting takes place between delegates of the ANC and the succession of white governments that have ruled our country for generations."

**'Black masses expect change now'**

Mandela spoke in Afrikaans, the language of the descendants of the Dutch colonizers, in parts of his statement. He reiterated that the "Black masses of our country demand and expect fundamental change now and not tomorrow." This can happen only with "the total abolition of the apartheid system."

To reach a nonracial, democratic South Africa, "all those who are hostages of the past must transform ourselves into new men and women," he continued. In today's world, "Black men and Black women have broken out of the mental enslavement which, in the past, could have persuaded them that they were in any way inferior."



Protest against apartheid town council in Dobsonville section of Soweto in South Africa. "The Black masses of our country demand and expect fundamental change now," Mandela said after talks with the apartheid government.

"We have therefore come to this meeting not as supplicants or petitioners," Mandela said. "Rather we are here as fellow South Africans," who, along with the rest of humanity, are "irrevocably convinced that the system of white minority rule, which persists in our country, must come to an end without delay."

The 11-person ANC negotiating team included five ANC leaders who traveled from Lusaka, Zambia, the ANC headquarters-in-exile.

South African President F.W. de Klerk has insisted on maintaining "group rights," — a code word for continuing the entrenched

privileges of the white minority.

Even with these positions, de Klerk faces right-wing opposition within the government. Members of the Conservative party walked out of parliament to protest the beginning of the talks. Long-time National Party leader and former president Pieter Botha refused to renew his membership in the party because of the steps taken by de Klerk.

"Those who enjoy full political rights at present are not prepared to bow out apologetically from the stage of history," de Klerk told a session of parliament prior to the talks. He plans to submit any new constitution for

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## July trial set for disruption suit against Curtis

BY SANDRA NELSON

DES MOINES, Iowa — On May 8 Iowa District Court Judge Arthur Gamble ruled against a defense motion to delay a July 9 trial date in a disruption lawsuit filed against Mark Curtis, a unionist and political activist currently serving a 25-year jail term in the state prison in Anamosa, Iowa, on a frame-up rape and burglary conviction.

The lawsuit, filed by Keith and Denise Morris, parents of the young woman Curtis allegedly attacked, seeks general and puni-

**Curtis case documents, page 9.**

tive damages as well as a ruling awarding all "monies received by Defendant as the result of the commercialization of his acts to be distributed to Plaintiffs."

The May 8 hearing was scheduled by Curtis' attorneys, William Kutmus and George Eichhorn, who brought the motion to postpone the trial date. Kutmus, Curtis' lead attorney, had previously scheduled two major trials in June, which will conflict with time needed to prepare Curtis' defense. Moreover, he will not be available in July. Kutmus explained to Judge Gamble that he had never agreed to the July date.

Stuart Pepper, attorney for the Morris, objected and launched an attack on the international defense campaign for Curtis. "These people have a policy of trying to delay all legal proceedings," Pepper claimed. "They are subjecting this family to an international smear campaign and we want to put a stop to it. We should go to trial in July."

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, including Edna Griffin and political activists Bob and Nellie Berry, came to the hearing in an expression of solidarity with Curtis. John Studer, defense committee coordinator, also attended.

"It is clearer and clearer that the goal of this lawsuit is to attack and disrupt the defense committee," Studer told supporters after the hearing. "The plaintiffs' attorney says that their aim is to go after the funds raised for the defense committee, to strip it of its ability to pay legal expenses and for publicity to fight for Mark's freedom."

Leaders of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee maintain that the lawsuit is part of an effort by an antilabor outfit known as the Workers League to use the courts to step up their smear campaign and disruption effort against Curtis and his defense.

"This is a deadly threat to all defense campaigns," Studer added.

## Bush steps up intervention in Peru; Green Berets to join antiguerrilla war

BY SELVA NEBBIA

On April 20 the U.S. State Department announced plans to step up its military intervention in Peru by sending troops and \$35 million in military aid to that country.

The plan includes building a permanent base for U.S. Green Berets to train and equip six army and marine battalions, to provide six river patrol boats to Peru's navy, and to refurbish 20 A-37 ground-attack jets to combat members of the guerrilla organization Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path).

The plan is part of the effort to "help this country fight leftist guerrillas who are said to protect coca growers and traffickers," reported the April 22 *New York Times*.

The training base will be located in the same area where the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration currently has a base, which has been used as a jumping off point for antiguerrilla raids. The Pentagon has furnished transport planes and helicopter gunships to the Peruvians at this base. In early April U.S. civilian helicopter pilots, contracted by the State Department from National Air Transport Inc., took part in a fire-fight against Sendero Luminoso guerrillas.

"Under the guise of drug interdiction," wrote Juan Mendez in the May 7 *Times*, "the U.S. is rushing headlong into one of the dirtiest wars being fought anywhere in the

world today." Mendez is executive director of the human rights organization Americas Watch.

Washington would be "training virtually every Peruvian soldier to combat Sendero," commented Mendez, turning the struggle against the guerrilla group into a "U.S. as well as Peruvian war."

At a May 3 news conference at the White House, President George Bush was asked whether he would seek permission from Congress for sending troops to Peru. "I have not considered asking Congress for that," Bush said. He stated that "training is a very valid concept. I don't think it requires approval from the United States Congress."

Both Alberto Fujimori and Mario Vargas Llosa, the presidential candidates in Peru who will be in a runoff election in June, have said they would accept the presence of U.S. military "advisers" in Peru.

Since the Peruvian government crackdown against the Sendero Luminoso guerrillas was launched in 1980, more than 18,000 people have died in fighting or have been disappeared. According to the international human rights organization, Amnesty International, a high proportion of the dead were victims of extrajudicial execution by government forces.

Amnesty International reported the disap-

pearance of more than 3,000 people held in government custody between 1982 and 1989. For the past three years, Peru, with a population of 21 million, has stood out as the country with the most detained and disappeared of any country in the world.

The guerrilla war and the Peruvian

**Continued on Page 17**

## Eastern, Greyhound, other strikers backed by rallies

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Machinists passed the 14-month mark in their strike against Eastern Airlines by holding rallies and expanded picket lines in several cities in early May, teaming up with Greyhound strikers and other unionists to send the message that their strike remains strong.

The latest round of strike actions followed the April 18 victory won by the Machinists with the ouster of Frank Lorenzo from Eastern's management. Martin Shugrue was appointed as trustee to run the airline by the bankruptcy court overseeing Eastern's af-

fairs. Lorenzo, chairman of the airline's parent company Texas Air Corp., had spearheaded the drive to break the Machinists union at Eastern. The ramp workers, mechanics, cleaners, and other International Association of Machinists members who have been on the picket line since March 4, 1989, are emphasizing, however, that until a decent contract and return to work is negotiated with the new management, the strike is on.

The Machinists' strike bulletin reported May 7 that a preliminary meeting was held between Shugrue and IAM District 100 Pres-

**Continued on Page 6**



# Eastern strikers, Machinists sign up and renew

BY RONI McCANN

During the nine-week international circulation drive, thousands of strikers on picket lines, unionists at labor solidarity meetings, and workers in their communities, at their factory gates, and on their jobs have

In the United States, many workers involved in one of the biggest labor battles to break out in decades — the 15-month fight by Machinists against Eastern Airlines — are familiar with the *Militant*. And a growing number of strike activists have

ning 70 new readers among fellow Machinists. Twenty Eastern strikers have subscribed to the *Militant* at New York's La Guardia airport and three at Newark International, adding to the 50 IAM members who have signed up so far.

ers at TWA began by drawing up a list — they are now ready for their third one — of coworkers they wanted to be sure and ask to subscribe to the paper. "A few subscribers suggested others they thought we should also approach."

cently ousted from Eastern Airlines management.)

Sales to Eastern strikers and IAM members is going well in other cities too. Eastern striker Josefina Otero in Philadelphia sold eight *Militant* subscriptions to fellow strikers this week. Supporters in Pittsburgh won five new readers at a May 3 labor solidarity rally there.

A high point of an IAM-sponsored town meeting in Los Angeles to discuss conversion from a war to a "peace-time" industry were comments by Eastern striker Eddie Croft, who received a standing ovation from the 150 unionists attending.

At the event, 11 Machinists and other union members subscribed to the *Militant* and two others bought copies of the *New Internationalist*. A staff member for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who recently met touring Cuban economist Carlos Tablada at a reception with garment union members, was one of the unionists who decided to subscribe.



## GETTING THE MILITANT AROUND

been introduced to the *Militant*.

From meat workers in New Zealand to auto workers in Sweden to coal miners in South Wales, more workers are getting to know the paper. Since the subscription campaign began in March, 550 workers who identified themselves as union members have signed up to get the *Militant* for 12 weeks and 138 have renewed.

come to trust and depend on its weekly reporting and analysis of their battle and other workers' struggles in the United States and internationally. To date 130 International Association of Machinists members have subscribed to the paper or renewed during the drive.

Supporters in the New York-New Jersey area who work at the three major airports have a goal of win-

"Supporters of the *Militant* have been active in building support for the Eastern strike along with other workers," said Bowman. "Coworkers we have introduced to the paper take this fight seriously and have taken us more seriously." Two subscribers are Eastern strikers now working at TWA.

Bowman explained that support-

"While talking with a subscriber who was renewing for 12 weeks, I took a moment to urge another coworker who was with him to subscribe," Bowman explained. "He had gotten a copy before, but I explained that now with Lorenzo gone, he will really want to follow the next stage of the strike." He agreed and signed up. (Frank Lorenzo was re-

# ANC presses demands on S. Africa gov't in talks

Continued from front page

approval of those who can currently vote. Africans are denied voting rights.

De Klerk's constitutional proposals include protection of property rights. This measure is aimed at thwarting ANC demands for nationalization of banking, mining, and monopoly industry as a means of redistribution of wealth. The government is also demanding the ANC halt its armed struggle and cease organizing anti-apartheid rallies and protests.

At the May 6 Soweto rally Mandela reported on the results of the talks and rejected the regime's continued refusal to recognize equal rights for all, Black and white. "At a time when we want to move away from all forms of racialism, we do not want discussions which have started so well to be determined by any solution which is based on race," Mandela added he would be meeting with de Klerk soon and would ask him to "not bring this issue to any conference between the ANC and the government."

The ANC leadership is calling for the election of a constituent assembly, based on one-person, one-vote. The interim government would be charged with drafting a new constitution.

### 'Homeland' and township protests

The negotiations take place in the context of widespread and deepening revolutionary mobilizations by masses of people across the country. Since the early February unbanning of the ANC, Mandela and other leaders have

addressed a series of mass rallies in numerous cities. Strikes, protests, and marches against aspects of the apartheid system are on the rise.

Immediately following Mandela's release, uprisings erupted in several of the 10 nominally self-governing or independent homelands. The protests demanded the ouster of corrupt and repressive regimes established by the apartheid government.

A majority of the African population is forced to live in these areas, which comprise only 13 percent of the country's land. The protests have also demanded the homelands be reincorporated into South Africa.

A number of homeland officials have been won to open support for the ANC. On May 7 Mandela met with four homeland officials, all of whom announced their backing of the ANC.

Marches of up to 60,000 in Black townships have demanded better housing, education, lower electricity rates, and the resignation of the township councils.

Leading one such march in Soweto recently, Issac Mogase, president of the Soweto Civic Association said, "We are demanding the resignation of all township councillors."

"All townships should become one city, with the 'whites-only' cities nearby," he said. "The creation of the townships was not our fault, they are the creation of apartheid."

The councils, local governing bodies set up by apartheid, have been thrown into crisis by these protests.

Tom Boyer, president of the councillors' association, explained, "I will be the happiest man if they decide to tell President de Klerk: 'Take your local government.'" He said plans are under way to meet with the ANC to discuss the future of the local governing structures.

In addition, a wave of strikes by workers demanding an end to discriminatory practices on the job, wage increases, and union recognition hit gold mines, factories, and mills across the country.

### Widespread support for ANC

The widespread mobilizations register the growing tide of support for the ANC. The liberation organization is taking steps to re-establishing itself since being banned in 1960.

ANC offices have been opened in several major cities and regional leaderships appointed as a first step in building the ANC into a public, mass membership, organization. Some 1 million membership cards have been printed and ANC T-shirts and other symbols of the organization are visible throughout the country.

The destabilization of, and pressures on, the structures of apartheid rule, have dealt a blow to de Klerk's plans to bring homeland and township officials to the negotiating table on the side of the government.

De Klerk sought a broader alliance of forces in preparation for full-fledged negotiations with the ANC. But a widely publicized

plan by the government to hold talks with some 50 such prominent political figures collapsed in mid-April following the ANC's suspension of an early April meeting with the government. Among the handful of figures who did show up, only two were homeland officials — Gatsha Buthelezi from KwaZulu and Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa.

The chief minister of the Lebowa homeland explained he did not attend because the officials "must recognize the will of the people," and "join forces with the ANC."

The failure of the efforts to build a pro-government coalition marks the progress the ANC leadership has made in unifying diverse forces in a "broad front" against apartheid.

The liberation movement is also seeking to keep international pressure on the regime. On trips throughout Africa, and in Sweden and Britain, Mandela has stressed the importance of maintaining economic and political sanctions against apartheid South Africa. He will be visiting several European countries and the United States in June.

In an address to a rally of 500,000 in the South African city of Port Elizabeth on April 2, Mandela emphasized that the "challenges ahead can only be successfully taken up — with all the flexibility the current situation requires — if we march together as a single and indivisible force."

He urged all people, "Black and white, adult and youth, workers and business people, to join hands together in shaping a new South Africa."

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**SAUL NEVILLE**

committeeman, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1493 on strike against Greyhound in Birmingham, Alabama

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# Nicaragua: farmers, townspeople discuss contra danger

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — Farmers from the surrounding countryside recently traveled to this northern Nicaraguan city to seek support in defending themselves from the mercenary soldiers known as the contras. Four were from Miraflores, 20 miles northeast of Estelí, where potatoes, corn, beans, and coffee are grown.

As they gathered at the offices of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), one of the four, Rafael López, described their concerns.

"This is a moment of great tension because some of the contras say they're going to

ment ordered those still in existence to disarm, except in areas where contra attacks were still going on.

Some Estelí residents say that when the militias were disbanded here, many individuals kept their weapons. "The constitution clearly gives us the authority to form militias," she said.

In addition to trying to reorganize militias, the neighborhood committees are demanding army protection and the distribution of weapons to the people. They also want the army to keep them regularly and fully informed of the activities and movements of the contras in the area.

Those organizing in Uriarte's neighborhood, one of 30 in Estelí, decided to meet every day "as long as the situation remains uncertain."

"We are putting pressure on government officials, army officers, and the Sandinista Front to meet with us and inform us about what's going on: the contras' movements, their threats, whether the accords are being complied with," she explained.

The committees have not yet succeeded in getting the army to give them weapons. "We're expecting a response any day now," Uriarte said.

According to UNAG leader José Martínez, after the defeat of the Sandinista Front in the elections "everyone in Estelí began asking for guns and they were widely distributed." Martínez said that when representatives of President-elect Violeta Chamorro began saying the distribution of weapons showed the FSLN would refuse to turn over the government, threatening a peaceful transition to the new administration, a decision was made to stop.

Uriarte said some army officials have promised arms will be distributed "when it becomes necessary to do so."

"Some of us are afraid this might be too late," she added. "We think the army must give us those weapons, and we will continue to demand them as long as the contras remain armed."

People involved in the organizing activities are also thinking about the lessons to be drawn from the defeat of Sandinista National Liberation Front candidates in the elections. Some believe a more far-reaching analysis of the causes of the defeat than that offered so far by the FSLN leadership is needed.

One point of view in the discussion was expressed by Venancio Alonso, a leader in neighborhood efforts to organize defense against the contras. He joined the Sandinista Front more than 20 years ago and fought as a guerrilla in the mountains for six years with FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca.

Alonso is critical of the FSLN leadership's methods while in office, including what he considers is the increasing lack of communication with working people. He also said the FSLN did not follow through on the perspectives of the revolution in its early years and on the hopes of workers and farmers.

In Alonso's view the FSLN has not built a party based on the active participation of working people. Party units in working-class communities barely even exist now, he said.

Alonso disagrees with the FSLN leadership's argument that the elections in Nicaragua were a "triumph for democracy."

"We need to clearly understand," he said, "that what triumphed in Nicaragua was bourgeois democracy, not proletarian democracy. With Chamorro's government, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie won and the *sandinismo* that thousands fought and died for was defeated."

"Latin America," he continued, "gave its solidarity for the revolutionary hope that this *sandinismo* represented."

In Alonso's view, the future of the Sandinista Front remains an open question. He anticipates continuing discussion in the FSLN about the experiences of the last few years. Alonso believes the Sandinista Front should call a congress of its leaders and



Militant/Susan Apstein

In the week before Chamorro's inauguration, a demonstration of townspeople in Estelí filled part of the town square. They called for disarming the contras and demanded weapons to defend themselves.

cadres to analyze why it lost to Chamorro and the other U.S.-government backed candidates in the elections and discuss how to move forward.

It would only be on the basis of such a congress that the FSLN "could win the right to continue as the revolutionary vanguard of the people," he added, consolidating a party "with the revolutionaries that remain."

Since the February elections, weekly marches and rallies have been organized here, many demanding arms. Although they have fallen off in size recently, the actions continue.

In the week before Chamorro's inauguration, a demonstration calling for the disarming of the contras and demanding weapons filled part of the town square. As the 1,500 demonstrators gathered, word filtered through the crowd that an anticipated report from the army on contra activity in the area would not be given. Many were disappointed.

"We have the right to know what's going on, so we can defend ourselves from those murderers," said one woman, a member of the FSLN-supported organization Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs. Three of her sons were killed fighting the contras in the war.

Demonstrators assembled outside the building of the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs, which sponsored the protest. Loudspeakers from the second story blared the first of many declarations from local groups — "The Jaime Ubéda neighborhood demands the immediate disarming of the contras" — as delegations dashed into the building bringing last-minute messages of support.

Scattered throughout the crowd were armed civilians, in several groups of about a dozen each. As messages continued to be read, a group of 500 people began to gather for a march. Led by college students, they

headed down the street, sidestepping burning tires set up at intersections from one end of town to the other. They chanted, "*No queremos guardia*," (We don't want the Guard) — referring to the contras.

Outside the offices of Radio Liberación, passersby sometimes stopped to comment on the comings and goings of United Nations soldiers headquartered across the street. The UN units have been sent to supervise the disarming of the contras in seven "security zones" throughout Nicaragua, but they have not been greeted with enthusiasm.

Many Estelí residents have little confidence that the UN monitors are going to, or would be able to, prevent the contras from carrying out attacks. The UN forces in Nicaragua number 700; an estimated 10,000 contras are in the country. Moreover, the soldiers are totally unfamiliar with the local terrain.

As several trucks pulled away from the UN building, a woman commented loudly to those around her, "Look, they can't even drive the right way down a one-way street."

Laughing and nodding, a group quickly gathered near her and began to talk about how UN soldiers have descended on their city, making their way around Estelí "like they own the place," as one man put it.

One bystander commented that so far most of the soldiers have been from Spain and Canada, but that more are expected to arrive soon from other countries as well. "Are the Venezuelan soldiers here yet?" another asked, pointing his chin in the direction of a group in UN uniforms standing across the street.

"Don't know," the woman answered. "But get busy and draw them up some maps, why don't you," she called out over her shoulder as she moved down the street.

## Nicaraguan president invites contra leaders to Managua

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Contra leaders, escorted by United Nations observers, rode into this capital city May 3 for meetings with President Violeta Chamorro. The mercenary chiefs, who were guests at the city's finest hotel, were greeted warmly by the president and members of her cabinet.

Chamorro said she had invited the contras to Managua "to personally introduce all the government ministers to them and to concretize together the guarantees and assurances" offered in previous negotiations.

"My government wants to make them welcome and give them the security necessary for them to live like all other Nicaraguans," the president added.

During closed-door discussions, she offered top contra official Israel Galeano the deputy directorship of the Institute of Reparation. This newly established government agency is charged with taking care of counterrevolutionaries returning to the country.

Chamorro also agreed to turn over tracts of farmland, with financial support, to the

contras. According to the daily *La Prensa*, this decision responded "to one of the principal demands of the 'contras,' their express desire to work the land together while they attain security."

The location and extent of the lands to be made available to the contras will be made public May 31, the president announced.

In addition, Chamorro renewed her order for the disarming of civilians in and near the "security zones," where the mercenaries are supposed to be concentrated.

### Yet another promise

What the president got in return was yet another pledge from the mercenaries that they will disarm. This time they said they would begin "voluntarily" turning their weapons over to UN monitors May 8. The contras also reiterated their promise to complete the process by June 10, a date set earlier.

Previously they had pledged to start disarming April 25, but not a single weapon was handed in by that date.

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## REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

destroy all Sandinista cooperatives," he said. More than 100 families live on four collective farms, called Sandinista Agricultural Cooperatives, in Miraflores.

The farmers defended their land against the mercenary soldiers over the years of the U.S. government-sponsored contra war. But they were not prepared for the thousands of contras who poured back into Nicaragua from Honduras in April after the signing of an accord with the Nicaraguan government.

"We wouldn't be able to defend ourselves against an attack if it were by hundreds of these assassins," López said.

López doesn't believe the mercenaries will comply with their commitment to disarm by June 10. "Countless accords have been violated by these thugs. We don't think they'll live up to even 10 percent of what they've agreed to."

Another farmer, Siriaco Barrera, voiced a further problem: by their threats and attacks the mercenaries have prevented preparation of the soil for planting.

Barrera told about one farmer in Miraflores who was kidnapped by contras and interrogated and threatened for five hours before being released. "He's been staying in Estelí," Barrera said, "afraid to return."

The townspeople of Estelí hear many reports of the counterrevolutionaries' attacks in the countryside and are deeply concerned. Some young people are preparing to go to the countryside with weapons to help in the defense of the farms and to insure planting can take place.

What particularly arouses anger here is the contras' claim to be a victorious army returning to Nicaragua. The U.S. government-created mercenaries were defeated militarily by the Nicaraguan people. "In eight years of war, the contras never held a single town in Nicaragua," Siriaco Barrera said.

The mercenaries' demand to form part of the Nicaraguan army is "ludicrous," he said. "They are assassins of the people."

Barrera said the contras are free to farm the land, but only if they disarm. "We tell them, 'Put down your arms and go to work. You can form your own cooperatives.'"

Some residents of Estelí have begun to organize armed patrols along the outskirts of town. In addition, neighborhood vigilance committees keep an eye out for any unusual incidents in the neighborhood. Committees are also being organized to demand action from the government and army against the mercenary troops.

"Our people are going to position themselves around the city and watch for these murderers. We're not going to sit and wait for them to come into Estelí to terrorize us," said Sonia Uriarte, referring to the armed patrols. Uriarte is a hospital worker involved in organizing efforts in her neighborhood.

She compares the armed patrols to the workers' and farmers' militias organized throughout Nicaragua in the years following the 1979 revolution. The militias were units of armed civilians in working-class neighborhoods, workplaces, and in the countryside. But they began to decline in the mid-1980s, and in 1989 the FSLN govern-



# Highlights of Kaku's speaking tour of Denmark

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year prison term in the state penitentiary in Anamosa on a frame-up conviction of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis

Ritt Bjerregaard, the former education and social welfare minister. Erik Holst, former minister of environment and current vice-chairman of the European Council, and Ole Espersen former minister of justice. Bjerregaard is now the chair of the Social-Democratic group in parliament.

Others who have extended their support are Bjørn Elmquist of the Liberal Party, who is the chairman

defense effort.

The tour was initiated by the Socialist Workers Party of Denmark, which organized the tour in collaboration with supporters of the Left Socialist Party newspaper *Solidarity*. Evening meetings, often the main event in each city for Kaku, also involved sponsorship from other organizations and political parties. These meetings attracted between 15 and 60 people and included fund appeals. Meetings with trade unionists and visits to factories were organized in most cities.

Kaku's tour was covered in the country's largest daily newspaper, *Politiken*, which has a circulation of 150,000, and in the Sunday paper *Morgenposten* on the island of Fyn, which has a circulation of 100,000. The weekly of the General Workers Union, *Fagbladet*, which reaches all 350,000 union members also covered the tour, as did local newspapers and radio and TV stations.

At the first meeting in Copenhagen, *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, a video by Hollywood director Nick Castle was shown, and Kaku spoke about recent moves by prison authorities to victimize Curtis for his political activities in prison. Participants in the meeting donated funds for the defense effort and decided to send a telegram of solidarity to Cur-

tis. The telegram was a spontaneous expression of solidarity and protest against the attempts by prison authorities to break Curtis' spirit.

Kaku also spoke at a conference of the Communist Party where 200 party trade unionists were gathered. The CP's chairman, Ole Sohn, who has endorsed Curtis' defense effort, took the floor after Kaku spoke and encouraged participants to take up a fund collection. More than \$300 was donated to the defense effort.

Meetings with dockworkers in Esbjerg and Århus were a highlight of Kaku's tour.

Dockworkers in Denmark were involved in a long strike a few years ago in which one striker was killed. In an attempt to break the strike, the government used surveillance, wiretapping, and harassment of strike activists. Karl Jørgensen, a spokesman for the strikers in Esbjerg, was framed by police on arson charges and held in isolation for six months. After a nationwide campaign, the frame-up was exposed. The police were forced to back down; Jørgensen was released. Kaku met with him and they exchanged experiences in fighting attacks on trade unionists.

In the cities of Århus, Aalborg, and Randers, Kaku met with the leaders of the All Trade Unions or-

ganizations, which encompass all the individual unions in each city.

She was welcomed to Randers by the Social-Democratic mayor. Trade union leaders there extended official support to Curtis' defense campaign. Kaku also had the opportunity to visit a meat-packing plant in Randers, where she spoke to shop stewards and discussed conditions of packinghouse workers in the United States and Denmark.

In Odense Kaku visited another meat-packing plant where she spoke to all 400 workers over the company's loudspeaker system.

In Copenhagen Kaku was invited to meet with shop stewards in one of the city's largest workplaces, the Burmeister and Wain Shipyard. There she spoke to all the workers during the lunch break and was invited afterward to a lunch meeting with shop stewards at the Worker Club.

Even though the tour has ended, work in defense of Curtis continues. In Aalborg a local support group has been organized, which solicited support for Curtis during May Day activities.

Mads Bruun Pedersen and Søren Søndergaard from Copenhagen, Denmark, contributed to this week's column.

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695.

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

COPENHAGEN, Denmark — Prominent members of parliament, trade union leaders, and defenders of civil liberties here have joined the struggle for justice for Mark Curtis and are demanding a new trial for him.

Among members of parliament endorsing Curtis' fight are former Social-Democratic government ministers, including Anker Jørgensen, the former prime minister;

of the parliament's Foreign Committee; Gert Petersen, chairman of the Peoples Socialist Party and member of parliament; Hardy Hansen, chairman of the General Workers Union, the largest in Denmark; Margit Vognsen, chairwoman of the Domestic Workers Union; and Ulla Sandbæk, a member of European Parliament.

This support was the result of Kate Kaku's tour here March 21 through April 6. Kaku, who is a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife, spoke to almost 2,000 trade unionists, students, and political activists. She toured 17 cities and collected more than 30,000 Danish kroner (US\$4,700) in donations for Curtis'

# A new Pathfinder book for today's union fighters

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Pathfinder Press has just announced that July 1 is the publication date for a new book, *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* by Leon Trotsky. The volume contains Karl Marx's "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future."

To promote the book as widely as possible, Pathfinder is offering a special prepublication price — \$9.95, a 30 percent discount on the book's regular cost of \$13.95.

"The impetus for putting this book out now came from the new rise of labor struggles over the last year," explained John Riddell, the book's editor, in a recent interview. "We reached back to see what leaders of the international communist movement had written earlier on the question of how revolutionary workers can use their unions, in a time of growing capitalist crisis, to serve the struggle for workers' political and economic power."

Union fighters internationally will find the new volume especially useful, Riddell explained. "Any militant worker who reads this book is going to get a lot out of it, by seeing how leaders from the past charted a way forward under the conditions they faced of intense class struggle."

### Resolution by Marx

The book begins with the resolution by Marx called "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future." Marx was the founder, with Frederick Engels, of scientific socialism and a central leader of the international revolutionary workers' movement.

"The article was written in 1866 — well over 100 years ago," Riddell noted. "But it outlines exactly what is needed in order for the unions to move forward today."

"The key theme of this resolution is that the unions have to be organizing centers for the working class, not just around the immediate day-to-day questions of wages and working conditions, but in the struggle for complete emancipation of all the working people," he continued.

The book continues with a series of articles written in the 1920s and '30s by Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Bolshevik Party and the October 1917 Russian revolution.

"These articles were written in times of economic crisis and political instability for the world capitalist system, times of great class confrontations," Riddell stressed. "Workers were fighting to build industrial unions, pouring into the union ranks, and trying to use these unions to defend themselves. These were times of upsurge and revolution."

"They were also times of severe defeats that resulted from the betrayal of workers'

struggles by Stalinist misleaders," Riddell said. "Today, the capitalist system is again headed toward a breakdown, but working people don't carry this burden of defeat. They have every chance to utilize successfully the revolutionary approach that Trotsky and Marx outline in this book."

The articles by Trotsky are in two sections. "The lead article by Trotsky," Riddell explained, "is one he left unfinished when he was assassinated in Mexico City by an agent of Joseph Stalin in 1940. It is called 'Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay' — the title of the book."

"Its central thought is that the fight for democracy in the unions and to defend the unions' independence from the capitalist state can only be won by transforming the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle," Riddell explained. "Trotsky pointed out that this is not only necessary, but a practical goal in our epoch," he said.

### Role of the party

Another part of the book — titled "Communism and Syndicalism" — collects a number of articles by Trotsky from the 1920s. "These articles," Riddell said, "explain why the building of revolutionary unions, leading them forward to play their role in a successful socialist revolution, requires the leadership of a political party built along the lines of the Bolshevik Party. In other words, no matter how revolutionary unions are, they are not sufficient by themselves to lead the workers and farmers to power."

Pathfinder has done a lot of work to make all the articles in the book more accessible to today's union fighters, Riddell explained. Translations were checked and revised. In addition, Pathfinder has added explanatory notes and a glossary that says who all these figures are and explains unfamiliar terms. There's also a first-rate index and photos, Riddell added.

### Getting it into workers' hands

Before the July 1 publication date, Pathfinder will be undertaking a campaign to present this book to working-class fighters around the world, Riddell said.

"We have our special prepublication offer of \$9.95 to help promote the book," Riddell said. "The offer is open now. We hope *Militant* readers and friends of Pathfinder will not only buy the book themselves, but also take advantage of the special offer to sell it to coworkers and other union activists and strike supporters — whether it's North American airline workers, miners in South Africa, or auto workers in Sweden. This book is for anyone, anywhere who's looking for new ideas about how to transform the unions."



Internationalen/Lars Kjellander

The fight to transform unions into organizing centers for the working class as a whole is a central theme of Pathfinder's new book. Above, auto workers in Sweden march for higher wages earlier this year.

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## TRADE UNIONS IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALIST DECAY

BY LEON TROTSKY

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— Karl Marx

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# 'Cuba is a society that fosters human solidarity,' says Cuban economist

BY ANDREA MORELL

BOSTON — Cuba is more committed to building socialism now than ever. That means a society whose aim is to foster human solidarity, not egoism or consumerism. This was Ernesto Che Guevara's conviction and why his political and economic views are relevant to the renewal of the Cuban revolution taking place today.

This theme was at the heart of the talks presented by Carlos Tablada, Cuban economist and professor at the University of Havana, in the Boston area and in western Massachusetts April 27 through May 2. Tablada is the author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* published in English last year by Pathfinder in New York, which is sponsoring a national speaking tour for him.

Tablada addressed 80 students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst May 2 in an open seminar chaired by Latin American studies professor James Cockcroft. Tablada was introduced by William Strickland, a professor in the Afro-American studies department and coordinator of the collection of W.E.B. Du Bois' papers housed on the campus. Du Bois was a long-time Black rights fighter, writer, and a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

## Two-hour discussion

After his opening presentation, Tablada fielded questions from the students for nearly two hours. How do your countrymen feel about Cuba's involvement in southern Africa? Are you about to rethink your one-party system? What is Cuba's environmental policy? What will Cuba do given the changes in the Soviet Union and the possible cutoff of Soviet aid? Are the ideals of the Cuban revolution still in place or will Cuba capitulate to the pressures from the United States and become capitalist?

To this last question Tablada insisted Cuba is reaffirming its socialist direction and one major reason, he said, lies with Cuba's youth. "They are more revolutionary than the generation that made the revolution in 1959. They are more radical, more unselfish, more



At Polo garment factory in Lawrence, from left to right: Mario Consoli, Carlos Tablada, and Josie Caruso, chief shop steward at the plant.

critical-minded, and they want more socialism."

After the seminar, one student explained in an interview that as a Mexican-American he is concerned about his brothers and sisters in Cuba who are in a more dangerous position since the U.S. invasion of Panama. He also feels the Soviet government will do less now than before on behalf of Cuba or any Third World country.

Another student said she wanted to gain an understanding of Cuba, feeling there is a lot of "propaganda" in the United States about it. She liked the fact that Tablada admitted Cuba has problems and didn't try to "paint a rosy picture."

That evening Tablada was the guest at a potluck supper sponsored by the Center for International Education on the Amherst campus. After a brief musical program by folk artists Mark Lynd and Tom Neilson, Tablada was introduced by Lois Martin, a doctoral

student in the center and the organizer of Tablada's engagements at the university.

Tablada spoke to 60 students at Tufts University near Boston on April 30 where he was introduced by Claudia Kaiser-Lenoir, professor of Romance languages and a winner of a Casa de las Américas prize in 1989. Also on the platform was Jill Netchinsky, a professor on the campus.

The meeting at Tufts was sponsored by the departments of economics, history, Romance languages, and sociology; the International Relations Program; Peace and Justice Studies; the Fletcher School; and the Collective on Latin America.

On May 1 Tablada gave a seminar at Harvard University under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs. The session was chaired by Otto Solbrig, Bussey Professor of Biology, and attended by Harvard professor Jorge Domínguez, a well-known writer on Cuba.

## MIT events

On April 28 Tablada was the guest of honor at a reception hosted by Martin Diskin, professor of anthropology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Louis Elisa, president of the Boston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Cathy Hoffman, Cambridge City Peace Commissioner; Mel King, director of the Community Fellows Program of the Department of Urban Studies and Planning-MIT; Rosaria Salerno, Boston city councillor-at-large; David Scondras, Boston city councillor; and the Center for International Studies-MIT. It was held at MIT where Tablada later spoke publicly to an audience of 150.

Tablada was interviewed by the leading daily newspaper in the area, the *Boston Globe*.

During the tour, 51 copies of Tablada's book were sold, eight of them in Spanish.

LAWRENCE, Mass. — Carlos Tablada visited Polo Clothing, Inc. on April 30 in this old center of the garment industry. He was invited by Local 187 of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

When Tablada and his party arrived at the shop, where 250 workers turn out 300 Ralph Lauren suits each day, they were met by Mario Consoli, the president of the 800-member Amalgamated local. Consoli, a presser, is a veteran unionist who has been an officer for more than 30 years. He explained to Tablada that Polo is in the building where the Lawrence textile workers' strike of 1912 was started. That battle saw 20,000 immigrant workers from diverse countries stand together and emerge victorious after many months over the combined power of the woolen industry bosses and the state of Massachusetts.

After being greeted by the president of the company, Joseph Marinaro, Tablada was taken on a tour of the plant by Robert Amorsen, director of manufacturing. Amorsen explained the production process as Tablada

saw the highly skilled operators transform bolts of cloth step-by-step into two-piece suits.

At lunchtime the union held a program for Tablada in the workers' cafeteria where 50 unionists gathered around tables.

Mark Emanatian, a member of the local's Sister Union Committee and a spreader in the cutting room, welcomed the Cuban visitor and presented him with a letter from the union. It read in part, "The ACTWU Local 187 in Lawrence, Massachusetts, is happy to participate in the U.S. tour of Dr. Carlos Tablada. Our union has been active in solidarity with garment workers in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and South Africa. We strongly believe that between working people there should be no borders. We also believe that discussion and dialogue between our two peoples is very important."

Carol Bertoli, the union's secretary-treasurer, who was wearing a "No Lorenzo" button on her cutter's apron, presented Tablada with a Local 187 T-shirt.

Tablada spoke next, describing his U.S. speaking tour. "I have traveled to many cities and spoken to hundreds of workers and at many universities. I am happy about this exchange of ideas because, unfortunately, 31 years ago this exchange was stopped when we Cubans wanted to have a different kind of government."

Tablada encouraged his hosts to ask him "any questions you have about my country."

The first question came from a woman who left Cuba in 1980. "When are the Cuban people going to have elections?" she asked.

"Every two and a half years we have elections," Tablada began, but before he could continue, she interrupted him yelling, "When is Castro going to allow free elections?" He started to answer again but she broke in, in an agitated manner and, despite pleas from her coworkers, refused to permit the speaker to go on. She was escorted from the room by three shop stewards and another worker and the meeting resumed.

"Do you have unions in Cuba now?" Bertoli asked. "Ninety percent of Cuban workers are in unions," responded Tablada to her surprise.

"If things are so good in Cuba, why do they say such bad things about it here?" a worker from the Dominican Republic wanted to know.

"Cuba is not a paradise, but it is not the hell it is painted to be," replied Tablada. "That's true!" interjected one woman. Tablada went on to explain some of the economic and social gains made by workers and farmers in Cuba since the revolution triumphed.

"The revolution gave workers an opportunity, and they don't like that here," he said, referring to the U.S. big business and its political representatives.

Tablada's visit and the information he presented sparked a discussion about Cuba in the plant for several days.

Many had no inkling of the U.S.-imposed travel ban or that thousands of tourists from countries like Canada and Italy go to Cuba each year for vacation.

Some workers wondered, in the aftermath of the incident with the Cuban exile worker, if it may have been wrong to have invited Tablada. Was the union endorsing communism to have invited a citizen of a communist country who is himself a communist? Perhaps the union should not be doing something that so upset one of its members.

Most who expressed an opinion felt differently. They felt it was they who had reason to be upset. While the union member from Cuba was free to ask a question of Tablada, even a hostile one, she was not at liberty to disrupt the meeting, and one, moreover, that was an official union event.

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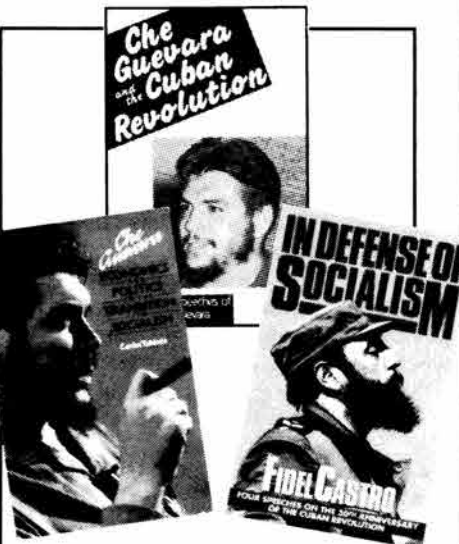
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## Correction

In the May 11 *Militant* article on the Carlos Tablada tour, he was incorrectly quoted as saying the United States sells the epidermal regeneration factor for more than \$1,400 a gram. Tablada said it was sold for \$1.4 million a gram.



# Columbia alumni award to Lorenzo 'an insult'

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose mas-

Jay Award. The announcement came one day before Lorenzo's removal from Eastern management by the federal bankruptcy court overseeing its affairs and Martin Shugrue's appointment as trustee.

to the entire university and labor community."

Columbia, the alumni group, and Lorenzo can be assured that strikers from New York and Newark, along with supporting unionists and students, will be on hand June 12 to protest the award.

job as they perceive it. But I have to question their mission of protecting the scabs."

"The rally in Miami was very enthusiastic," Schenck explained. "For many of us who didn't know what the strikers are going through

Schenck is confident in the Eastern strikers' determination to fight as long as is needed to win a decent contract. Eastern, he said, "won't operate in profitability until the strike is settled and the scabs are gone. Marty Shugrue has to know that."

"Our people are in for the long haul. They've taken everything Lorenzo and the courts have dishd out, and they're still hanging tough."



Militant/Rich Stuart  
North Carolina strike activist Bill Schenck.

down there, it was very enlightening."

The scabs don't just punch the clock and walk out of work, "like normal people," Schenck said. "They are sent out in groups, through a police cordon." That's what was happening during the April 25 picket.

Greetings from the striking Machinists were read to a 3,000-strong rally that took place April 25 in New York to protest service and staff cutbacks at Harlem Hospital.

The rally, called by Local 420, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, also drew transit workers, striking Greyhound workers, and other AFSCME members.

"The fight for dignity, for the right to keep our union, is one with the fight for decent health care and jobs," said the message from IAM Local 1018 at New York's La Guardia Airport. "Everyone deserves decent health care. Instead of killing Harlem Hospital, New York City should be building it up. No budget cuts! No layoffs! No closing of Harlem Hospital! Together we shall win."

Striking Eastern Machinist Susan Annuth from New York contributed to this column.



## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

sive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news date, Wednesday, May 9, the strike was in its 432nd day.

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

Strikers were outraged when they heard recently that a Columbia University alumni group plans to give Texas Air Corp. chairman Frank Lorenzo an award for "distinguished professional achievement" at a June 12 dinner, to be held at the New York Public Library.

John Jay Associates announced April 17 that Lorenzo and five other alumni will be recipients of the John

The local officers of District 65, United Auto Workers, which represents some Columbia employees, has sent a letter to the university protesting the group's decision.

"We are outraged that Columbia University is planning to honor Frank Lorenzo, a notorious union-buster whose disreputable history includes being caught engaging in election fraud while an undergraduate at Columbia College," the letter reads. "In March 1989, the campus unions, and many students and faculty members demonstrated to protest University plans to give the John Jay Award for service to Columbia to Lorenzo. The University was forced to cancel the awards dinner because of the general outcry from the Columbia community. Now Columbia is again planning to honor Lorenzo but at an off-campus location. We demand that the University cancel this award completely on or off campus! To do less is an insult

Bill Schenck is a retired IAM Grand Lodge Representative who lives in Clemmons, North Carolina, and works with Eastern strikers in Greensboro. While attending the IAM National Transportation Conference, held near Miami in late April, he — along with hundreds of other delegates — joined an expanded picket line called by Miami Eastern strikers.

There was a heavy police presence at the April 25 picket line and at one point the cops began pushing pickets back, away from the scabs, using clubs and horses. A New York striker, Bobby Depace, was thrown to the ground by cops and arrested.

Schenck, who is 70, was sent flying by one of the cops and landed flat on his back. He was taken to the hospital emergency room, where he was checked over, and released. The cops followed him to the hospital, and while he was there, they booked him on several charges, including inciting to riot.

"I have no animosity toward the officers," explained Schenck, who is now back home, in a telephone interview. "They were doing their

## Rallies back Eastern, Greyhound, other strikers

Continued from front page

ident Charles Bryan on May 4. Meanwhile, little has been heard from Shugrue, except for his May 7 announcement of further fare discounts at Eastern and a new policy of refunds for dissatisfied first-class passengers.

A few days earlier, the strike bulletin noted, for the first time since Eastern slashed its fares in January, the airline's daily passenger load had dropped to 48 percent of capacity.

The street in front of New York's huge Port Authority bus station was packed at 4:30 p.m. on May 3, as hundreds of unionists — many sporting "Stop Lorenzo" buttons and T-shirts — crowded in for a solidarity rally to back workers on strike at Eastern Airlines, Greyhound, and Domsey Trading Co.

A large and vocal contingent came from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In addition to the Domsey workers, who are striking to win recognition of the ILGWU at their plant, garment workers from other ILGWU locals and shops also turned out. The Domsey workers' chants in Creole — many are from Haiti — helped set a militant tone for the entire rally.

Stagehands on strike at CBS television network and workers facing a union-busting drive at the New York *Daily News* came to show support for the Eastern, Greyhound, and Domsey workers, and to gain support for their fights as well.

A contingent from the Daughters of Mother Jones — one of the most visible with their camouflage T-shirts and banner — made the trip from Virginia to attend the rally.

The "Daughters" was formed as a support group during the United Mine Workers of America's 11-month strike against Pittston coal company. Since the strike ended in February, they have remained active, including making trips around the country to back other workers on strike.

"Where there's a struggle, we'll be there," explained Catherine Tompa from Cleveland, Virginia. Both she and her husband are Pittston miners, although she is laid off at the moment. "The labor movement has finally come alive."

The protesters, marching through Times Square and over to Eastern's midtown ticket office in Rockefeller Center, got a friendly response from the thousands of workers heading home during rush hour.

Charles Bryan speaks in Pittsburgh

The Pennsylvania AFL-CIO also sponsored a solidarity rally in Pittsburgh on May

3 to back unionists on strike in the area. Some 1,500 delegates to the organization's convention, strikers, and other unionists joined the action.

IAM District 100 President Charles Bryan spoke on behalf of the Eastern strikers. He paid tribute to "the magnificent solidarity of our members during this strike," the support the IAM has received from other unions, and the role striking Eastern Machinists have played in backing other workers. "This solidarity," Bryan said, "convinces me that we will rebuild Eastern Airlines to the magnificent premier airline it once was," when the strike is over.

Speaking for the striking Greyhound workers, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Executive Vice-president Ellis Franklin ridiculed the company's violence-baiting, which Greyhound has used to stall negotiations with the union. It is the strikers, he said, who have been injured on the picket line, including one striker who was killed. Leon Lynch, vice-president of the United Steelworkers of America, announced a \$50,000 donation from the U.S.W.A. to the Greyhound strikers.

Ed Yankovich, president of U.M.W.A. District 4, cited the "victory in the strike against Pittston" as inspiration for others now on strike in the area.

The following morning, Greyhound work-

ers organized a roving picket line to several strike sites. Several hundred unionists swept past the county sheriff's office and marched through the Greyhound bus terminal. Then — for the second week in a row — hundreds of pickets turned up at the Budget Gourmet plant, where the United Food and Commercial Workers union is on strike, and at the Aloe Coal strip mine, being struck by the U.M.W.A.

D.C. strikers confident

Chanting "Eastern, Eastern, play it straight, sit right down and negotiate," 80 Eastern strikers and supporters picketed National Airport in Washington, D.C., May 2. Machinists from United Airlines, the Trump Shuttle, and Ogden-Allied joined the line, as well as a large group from the union's leadership training school.

Eastern striker Cliff Pannell took time out from a booming business selling strike T-shirts and buttons to comment on the current stage of the battle at Eastern. The strikers forced the company and courts "to do a lot of things they didn't want to do," he said, adding that he didn't know much about Shugrue, "but at least he's talking" to the union, unlike Lorenzo. Pannell had a hand-made sign that read, "Bye-bye, Lorenzo: We want a contract."

"We have a long way to go, but we're on

the right track," added striker Bob Chabo. The struggle should continue until there is an agreement, not just some promise from Shugrue. "The only way we'll take down the picket line is if Bryan says to, and I don't think he will unless there's an agreement in black and white."

Both strikers were confident and optimistic. "There's no doubt we're going to win," said Pannell.

An expanded picket line was held at Baltimore-Washington International Airport May 5, drawing 15 Eastern strikers and an equal number of other unionists. Three television stations covered the action, which was followed by a reception.

In Miami, the Eastern strikers' weekly "Stand Up to Lorenzoism" expanded picket line on May 4 drew a group of unionists from the Communications Workers of America.

Meanwhile, negotiations between Greyhound and the ATU, representing 9,000 strikers, broke off following a session over the May 5 weekend, after union representatives rejected the company's proposal of a four-year wage freeze.

Striking Eastern Machinist Susie Winsten from Alexandria, Virginia; Michael Pennock from Pittsburgh, and Ed Fruit from Baltimore contributed to this article.

## Garment strikers drive 'Bulletin' from rally

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — Garment workers on strike to win union recognition at Domsey Trading Corp. in Brooklyn reacted with fury to an attack on their union — the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union — at the May 3 strike solidarity rally. The rally had been called to back the Domsey strikers, workers on strike at Eastern Airlines and Greyhound, and other embattled unionists.

During the first part of the action — a rally at the Port Authority bus terminal — people selling the *Bulletin* targeted the large ILGWU contingent for sales. The *Bulletin* is the newspaper of the Workers League, an antilabor outfit that masquerades as socialist. The group has a long history of harassment, disruption, and provocations of labor strikes and struggles, including during the 1987-88 paperworkers' strikes and the recent Pittston coal miners' strike.

At the May 3 rally, a Haitian man — backed up by several other *Bulletin* salespeo-

ple — approached the ILGWU contingent, made up of nearly 100 workers, many of whom were Haitian and Latino. He held up the *Bulletin* and began to scream in French that the strike at Domsey, like the Eastern and Greyhound strikes, was lost. The ILGWU officials had betrayed the strike, he yelled, and the strikers' only hope was to call for a "general strike."

The Domsey workers, who have been out on the picket line since January 30, were deeply insulted by the Workers League's provocative outburst. For these union fighters, the ILGWU is a weapon in their struggle against dehumanizing work conditions, low pay, and no benefits at Domsey.

A circle of unionists — jabbing the air with their forefingers for emphasis — began to surround the *Bulletin* salespeople, arguing against the attack on their union.

Egged on by the *Bulletin* salespeople behind him, the French-speaking salesman continued to push the ideas of his antiunion paper.

Soon all the Domsey strikers, joined by other unionists from the rally, surrounded the Workers League group.

"Without the union, we don't have anything at all," chanted the Domsey strikers, in Creole. With clenched fists in the air, they chanted, "Union, union, union!"

At this point, ILGWU officials and other unionists helping with rally security told the *Bulletin* people to leave the vicinity of the ILGWU contingent.

Recognizing the relationship of forces, the Workers League disrupters folded their papers and backed away. They left the rally altogether soon after.

Several ILGWU members and organizers remarked afterwards that they had been arguing with the Workers League for months out at the Domsey picket line.

Marea Himelgrin is a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.



# Nine-day countdown to make sales goals

BY RONI McCANN

This week begins the final nine-day stretch to make the international circulation goals with 1,876 new readers to win.

In the United States supporters are striving to get 1,559 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 226 to the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 115 copies of *New Internationalist* by May 19. Several cities — St. Louis; Pittsburgh; Oakland, California; and Charleston, West Virginia — made big strides last week and helped get us closer to our goals.

To make the sales drive objectives, every remaining day must be taken full advantage of — on and off the job — to win new subscribers.

## 'Lutte ouvrière' back on press

The international goal for the French-language quarterly *Lutte ouvrière* is already over the top and subscriptions keep coming in. Several hundred Haitians turned out May 6 in Brooklyn to hear Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a prominent opponent of the U.S.-backed Haitian government. Participants snapped up 22 subscriptions to *Lutte ouvrière* and 23 copies of French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*. Earlier, hundreds of copies of these publications were sold at the massive April 20 demonstration in New York that protested the federal ban on blood donations by Haitians.

As a result of these sales, for the first time ever the 2,000-copy printing of *Lutte ouvrière* was sold out. All of the April-May-June issue was gone by May 1. Another 1,000 had to be printed. Brooklyn and Boston supporters raised their goals for *Lutte ouvrière* subscriptions.

## Malcolm X birthday celebrations

Plans are under way now in many cities for the May 19 weekend of activities celebrating the birthday of Malcolm X. These are big opportunities to meet youth, working-class fighters, and political activists attracted to Malcolm's revolutionary ideas and win them to getting a subscription to the *Militant* — to plug in to the struggle today of working people worldwide.

To boost *Militant* subscription sales special national sales teams are being fielded made up of volunteers from all over the country.

Right now two members of the Young Socialist Alliance, including a member of the organization's National Executive Committee on layoff from his job, are canvassing colleges and universities in the New York-New Jersey area with two other volunteers. The team is selling subscriptions and building the last leg of the U.S. tour of Cuban economist Carlos Tablada.

A five-day team traveling through Iowa rolled in with 23 subscriptions — many sold to meat-packers at some of the biggest packinghouses in the Midwest.

Supporters in the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles are hitting the road as part of a national team to the Salinas Valley and campuses in that area. Volunteers are planning to stay out for the remaining nine days of the drive. Plans are also in the works for a week-long Chicago team to sell subscriptions and start building a June 9 rally in that city for framed-up meat-packer and political activist Mark Curtis.

## Forward strides

The international drive got a big boost this week as supporters in several cities helped the jump in subscription sales in their areas. In St. Louis supporters won 40 new readers this past week, including 32 *Militant* subscribers.

Supporters from Pittsburgh went to a May 4 memorial event commemorating the 1970 slaying of antiwar students in Ohio at Kent State University. There six new readers subscribed to the *Militant*, making a total of 31 new readers this week.

In the heart of the Appalachian coalfields, supporters in Morgantown and Charleston are reaching workers on strike, miners, and high school students, with the paper in their drive to make their goals on time. Three participants in a May 5 union organizing rally in Kentucky got subscriptions to the *Militant*, and a team traveling through southern West Virginia netted 12 new readers last week.

Supporters in cities that are close to making their goals should strive to go over the top and help close the gap internationally. Boston supporters are shooting towards winning 40 new readers by May 12 and using the last week to go over 100 percent.



April 20 New York action protesting ban on Haitian blood donations where hundreds of copies of French-language *Lutte ouvrière* were sold. As a result of these and other sales the first printing of 2,000 sold out and 1,000 more had to be printed.

## Subscription Drive SCOREBOARD

DRIVE GOALS		Total		Militant		New Int'l		Perspectiva Mundial		Lutte ouvrière	
Areas	Goal	Total Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
<b>UNITED STATES</b>											
New York	500	512	102%	280	199	95	107	110	92	15	114
Austin, Minn.*	100	95	95%	65	66	10	6	23	22	2	1
Greensboro, NC	115	103	90%	90	75	15	15	8	13	2	0
Miami*	280	248	89%	125	104	55	51	30	22	70	71
Brooklyn*	400	337	84%	200	142	60	78	60	40	80	77
Philadelphia*	170	142	84%	108	80	25	34	35	26	2	2
Los Angeles	400	331	83%	210	157	75	65	110	106	5	3
Charleston, WV	115	94	82%	88	74	20	10	5	9	2	1
Price, Utah	75	61	81%	53	42	10	10	10	8	2	1
Atlanta	165	123	75%	117	80	30	31	15	11	3	1
Birmingham, Ala.*	172	127	74%	145	108	20	16	5	3	2	0
Omaha, Neb.	110	81	74%	80	60	15	7	13	14	2	0
Phoenix	85	61	72%	53	34	10	4	20	23	2	0
Kansas City*	122	86	70%	78	49	32	30	10	5	2	2
Boston*	205	144	70%	125	86	25	14	40	32	15	12
Des Moines, Iowa*	190	133	70%	145	98	20	14	23	20	2	1
St. Louis	200	137	69%	162	106	25	25	10	5	3	1
Newark, NJ	385	263	68%	210	107	95	82	65	44	15	30
Portland, Ore.	100	68	68%	75	48	13	11	10	9	2	0
Salt Lake City	190	122	64%	138	78	30	28	20	16	2	0
Pittsburgh	140	89	64%	113	61	20	22	5	4	2	2
Cleveland	93	59	63%	78	35	20	18	10	6	2	0
Baltimore	150	94	63%	112	55	25	28	10	11	3	0
Oakland, Calif.	185	114	62%	120	72	25	21	35	16	5	5
Washington, DC	145	86	59%	100	54	20	14	20	17	5	1
Twin Cities, Minn.	210	121	58%	162	92	30	18	15	8	3	3
Seattle*	200	115	58%	115	62	30	12	52	39	3	2
Detroit	250	141	56%	200	101	30	28	15	10	5	2
Chicago	280	133	48%	185	79	45	36	45	16	5	2
Morgantown, WV	150	68	45%	113	50	30	18	5	0	2	0
Houston	145	57	39%	98	32	20	18	25	7	2	0
San Francisco	220	84	38%	150	51	30	19	35	13	5	1
Anamosa, Iowa	15	4	27%	13	4	2	0	-	-	-	-
Cincinnati	7	1	14%	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Las Vegas, Nev.*	12	3	25%	12	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisville	10	5	50%	10	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	29	-	-	26	-	2	-	1	-	-
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>6,308</b>	<b>4,471</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>4,135</b>	<b>2,576</b>	<b>1,007</b>	<b>892</b>	<b>894</b>	<b>668</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>335</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>											
<b>BRITAIN</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
Manchester	74	54	73%	50	30	20	22	3	2	1	0
London	162	101	62%	105	72	30	24	25	4	2	1
Cardiff	59	30	51%	40	23	10	6	7	1	2	0
Sheffield	107	50	47%	65	41	30	4	10	5	2	0
Other Britain	-	59	-	-	11	-	47	-	1	-	-
<b>BRITAIN TOTAL</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CANADA</b>											
Vancouver*	120	104	87%	75	62	25	19	15	18	5	5
Montreal	170	131	77%	65	35	20	13	45	23	40	60
Toronto	190	140	74%	120	72	30	23	30	39	10	6
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>113%</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>ICELAND</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>112%</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>											
Auckland	100	103	103%	80	86	15	9	4	8	1	0
Wellington	70	67	96%	54	53	11	13	4	1	1	0
Christchurch	55	42	76%	45	38	6	3	3	1	1	0
Other N. Z.	14	4	29%	10	4	4	0	-	-	-	-
<b>N. Z. TOTAL</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>SWEDEN*</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>PUERTO RICO</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
Int'l teams	155	36	23%	75	15	25	20	50	0	5	1
Other Int'l	-	8	-	-	3	-	-	-	5	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,833</b>	<b>5,624</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>5,046</b>	<b>3,234</b>	<b>1,257</b>	<b>1,125</b>	<b>1,163</b>	<b>833</b>	<b>367</b>	<b>432</b>
<b>DRIVE GOALS</b>	<b>7,500</b>			<b>4,950</b>		<b>1,200</b>		<b>1,100</b>		<b>250</b>	
<b>TO BE ON SCHEDULE</b>		<b>5,833</b>	<b>78%</b>		<b>3,850</b>		<b>933</b>		<b>856</b>		<b>194</b>
*Raised goal during drive											

## Cuba meet held in France

BY JEAN-LOUIS Salfati

LYON, France — On April 21 more than 300 people participated in "Seven hours for Cuba," a conference organized by the France-Cuba Association of Lyon and supported by numerous political and union organizations. Among them were the Rhône section of the General Federation of Workers, the largest union organization in France; the French Communist Party; several Chilean and African organizations; Pathfinder Press; a Christian association; and an organization in solidarity with the peoples of Central America.

Jacqueline Cappelle, a leader of the France-Cuba Association in Lyon, opened the meeting. "The idea of organizing a large conference to get a better idea of what's happening in Cuba came last December during the U.S. intervention in Panama," she said. "At that moment, we truly sensed that Cuba was in danger."

## Biggest solidarity meeting in years

The conference was the biggest meeting in solidarity with Cuba in many years in France. The majority of those attending were workers, including about 20 of African origin and 60 of Latin American origin. Some 20 participants carrying flags and banners came from Grenoble, a town located one hour from Lyon.

Roland Labarre, a professor from Paris, and Anita Marin, from the Cuban embassy in France, opened and led the first discussion, "Cuba and the Struggle for Development." Labarre described the revolution's considerable progress in making economic and social gains.

Solly Smith, representative of the African National Congress, and Jacques Salfati, a member of the France-Cuba Association, introduced the second session, dedicated to Cuba's contribution to the struggle against apartheid.

Salfati explained that Cuba had sent troops to Angola in 1975 at the request of that country as it faced an invasion from South Africa. "Today," he continued, "they have withdrawn with heads held high after forcing South Africa to sign a historic accord on Dec. 22, 1988." In this accord, South Africa agreed to respect the territorial integrity of Angola and to adhere to a United Nations resolution demanding Namibia's independence.

"What forced South Africa to negotiate," declared Smith, "was the crushing military defeat at Cuito Cuanavale and the massive popular uprising against apartheid." In March 1988 South African troops suffered a very important military defeat by the forces of Cuba, Angola, and the South West Africa People's Organisation at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola.

Many in the audience learned for the first time about Cuba's role in Africa.

The last panel, led by Fernando Flores Ibarra, Cuban ambassador to France, was on the theme, "What kind of socialism in Cuba." He also explained how much the Cuban people support their government. "More than 350,000 Cuban volunteers went to Angola. Not a single one deserted. No Cuban was taken prisoner by the apartheid army or ever surrendered in spite of enormous pressures from the enemy."

A member of the France-Cuba Association ended the meeting by stressing the need to increase solidarity. "Aggression against Cuba is not a myth," he affirmed, "and defense of Cuba must be stepped up. This conference," he added, "is a good example of what is possible and necessary to do."

Referring to a "Hands off Cuba" demonstration in New York on April 7, the largest held there in decades in support of Cuba, he concluded, "In France, too, it will be necessary to take to the streets to defend this revolution."



# Lebanon in '60s,'70s: workers and peasants resist and find ally in the Palestinians

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN  
AND HARRY RING

(Third of four parts)

The religious divisions and discrimination nurtured in Lebanon by the French rulers were important to them in maintaining their colonial grip on the region.

Sectarian strife was even more important for Lebanon's native landlords and capitalists. The religious divisions prevented the workers and peasants from uniting, making it possible to impose harsh exploitation and oppression on them.

Since the latter part of the 19th century, the land in Lebanon had been worked mainly by farmers with small plots. These small farmers were beset from all sides. To finance

lost because of job accidents or illness. They wanted an end to body searches at the plant gate and the right to join a union of their choice instead of a company union. They demanded a halt to arbitrary firings. In the face of a 15 percent jump in prices, they sought a modest 5 percent pay increase.

Security forces were called in and fired on strikers. Two were killed and five others wounded.

Broad public support for the strike sprang up. On Nov. 13, 1972, a Beirut march against police brutality drew 25,000 protesters.

But the established labor officialdom maneuvered the strikers back to work with the assurance that a committee would investigate their demands. The committee was never heard from.

During this period of intensive class struggle, a dynamic new force entered the arena — the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

When the state of Israel was established in 1948, an estimated 100,000 of the Palestinians who were driven out of their homeland came to Lebanon.

Following Israel's 1967 war of aggression against neighboring Arab countries, a big new influx of Palestinian refugees poured into Lebanon. Many of these Palestinians had been involved in the resistance that developed under Israeli rule and looked to the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which had been established in the early 1960s.

The recently arrived Palestinians helped to spark a new militancy in Lebanon's refugee communities. They began to more actively resist the harsh victimization they suffered at the hands of the Lebanese rulers.

A layer of middle-class Palestinians had been able to reestablish themselves, mainly in Beirut. Those who were Christian had the least difficulty. But the greatest number of the 1948 refugees had found themselves in wretched camps, under the tight control of the Lebanese authorities.

In many camps there was a 9:00 p.m. curfew. Refugees needed passes to leave or enter the camps. Political activity was barred.

Denied work permits, the Palestinians became a pool of "illegal" supercheap labor. Hostility against them was promoted among Lebanese workers.

But, with the arrival of the 1967 refugees, the Palestinians began organizing themselves, mainly at the initiative of the PLO members. After a series of pitched battles, the Palestinians broke the grip of the Lebanese military on their camps. Led and administered by the PLO, the camps became centers of revolutionary mobilizations.

## Israel intensifies attacks

Meanwhile, the Israeli military began launching intensified attacks into Lebanon. In the name of combating PLO guerrillas, Lebanese villages were targeted, as well as Palestinian refugee camps. In the 15 years prior to Israel's 1982 full-scale invasion of Lebanon, an estimated 10,000 Lebanese and Palestinians died in Israeli commando forays and air raids.

The Lebanese army, fierce in its repression of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, refused to resist the Israeli attacks. A particularly shocking example came one night in April 1973 when Israeli commandos made their way into the heart of Beirut. There they assassinated three Palestinian leaders and killed nine Lebanese who got in their way. The entire operation took place without a shot being fired by the Lebanese forces.

The Lebanese people were outraged. A funeral for the slain Palestinians swelled into a giant demonstration. More than a quarter of a million people marched through the streets of Beirut.

The attacks continued. In December 1974 Israeli troops attacked the Lebanese village of Kafr Shuba. The Lebanese army stood by while Lebanese peasants and PLO militia forces, shoulder to shoulder, fought off the heavily armed Israelis for seven days. Their resistance electrified the country.



Nick Medvecky

Beirut funeral in 1969 for Palestinian freedom fighter killed by Israelis. Palestinian refugee population in Lebanon swelled after 1967 Israeli-Arab war. Lebanese peasants fighting eviction from their lands and workers facing oppression in the workplace found a willing ally in the newly arrived Palestinians.

The Lebanese toilers, now engaged in greater struggles against their rulers, began looking to the Palestinians as allies. Solidarity developed between impoverished Lebanese and Palestinians.

## Common oppression

Like the Lebanese farmers who had been driven off their land, many of the Palestinians had become agricultural day laborers. And many of the dispossessed Lebanese found themselves in shanty towns neighboring the Palestinian camps. Together, Lebanese and Palestinians had to scramble for a day's work wherever they could find it.

And, as the Lebanese workers and peasants became more involved in struggle, they began to challenge the sectarian religious system that divided them.

Opposition to the landlords and capitalists was sparked by the Muslim majority, which had been effectively disenfranchised by the rigged system of religious representation. More and more the alternative was raised of a secular democracy on the basis of one person, one vote.

Perhaps even more important, as the challenge grew to the decades-old religious divisions, people began to see their real identity — that they shared a common exploitation as toilers and a common oppression as Arabs.

Many Christians were also affected by this process, particularly young people. Even members of the clergy began voicing anti-sectarian sentiments.

The most outspoken critic of the sectarian system was the Progressive Socialist Party leader Kamal Jumblatt, who was a prominent Druze.

Faced with this growing challenge, the Maronite rulers expanded the militias of the Phalange, or Kataeb Party, a fascist-like movement organized by Pierre Gemayel. The Phalange rallied middle-class Christians with anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and anti-Palestinian demagoguery.

Phalange thugs began attacking the opposition forces. In April 1975 the Maronite ruling class launched a full-scale war on the Lebanese and Palestinian toilers. A bloody 19-month civil war erupted.

The masses were led by two principal groupings, a newly created Lebanese National Movement, led by Jumblatt, and the PLO. They forged a joint fighting force, which in a few months drove back the Phalangists and liberated 80 percent of Lebanon.

(Next: A Syrian invasion cheats masses of victory)

## Labor in show of solidarity with Pittsburgh-area strikers

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

PITTSBURGH — On April 24 some 250 chanting unionists rallied outside the Budget Gourmet company, where members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 23 walked off the job last October.

In addition to the UFCW strikers, members and officials of the International Association of Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines, United Mine workers of America (UMWA) on strike at Duquesne Light and Aloe Coal, United Steelworkers of America on strike at Minotte Steel and Duer Spring, and Amalgamated Transit Union on strike at Greyhound were present.

While unionists massed at the company gate to turn back trucks bound to and from Budget Gourmet, UMWA District 5 President Don Redman declared, "We're labor, all of us. We're not miners anymore, or Machinists, or steelworkers — we're labor!"

After they addressed the rally, the strike leaders linked arms and led a spirited march through the company's property and around the plant.

Then the unionists piled into cars, formed up for a caravan, and moved on to their next order of business: the Aloe Coal Company, six miles away. They circled the struck mine and regrouped at the entrance to Aloe's nearby nonunion Robinson mine.

Waiting there to join the action were a dozen striking hospital workers wearing bright yellow Teamster T-shirts.

For the next several hours Aloe moved no coal, as trucks and cars were prevented from entering or leaving the mine.

Two days later more than 100 miners and other unionists turned out to challenge an injunction issued to limit picketing at Aloe. "We're a nonunion company," complained a coal boss in a local newspaper. "I don't know why they're picketing our job. They're stopping our shipments and our production."

When pickets sat down to prevent a coal truck from entering the mine, the local police chief read the injunction to them. The ruling to "limit picketing" specified neither a number nor a location, but cops arrested ten pickets nonetheless.

Among those arrested were Dave Michel, a UMWA International representative, and Frank Planinac, president of Machinists Lodge 1044 and a local coordinator of the strike against Eastern. After their arraignment most of the arrested unionists returned to the picket line.

While mobilizing to support each other's struggles, strikers also helped open another UMWA "Camp Solidarity" near the miners' picket shanties at the Aloe mine.

## Correction

In last week's article we stated: "In 1982 Kamal Jumblatt . . . charged that the Maronites 'seek to isolate Lebanon, to cut it off morally, politically, socially, and perhaps even nationally, from the Arab world.'" Kamal Jumblatt, founder of Lebanon's Progressive Socialist Party, was assassinated in March 1977. The quote was taken from the book he completed shortly before his assassination. It appeared in English in 1982.



# International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant

May 1990

## Mark Curtis' fight to overturn frame-up verdict

On April 24 the Iowa Court of Appeals refused to overturn the 1988 frame-up conviction of unionist and political activist Mark Curtis. He is currently incarcerated at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa serving a 25-year prison term.

Curtis' frame-up by the Des Moines police and prosecutor's office stems from his participation in defense efforts on behalf of 17 Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers who were arrested during a March 1, 1988, Immigration and Naturalization Service raid at the Swift meat-packing company in Des Moines.

Arrested the evening of March 4, 1988, Curtis had joined a meeting a few hours earlier to organize protests against the government's victimization of the immigrant workers. Following his arrest, he was severely beaten at the police station by officers who called him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds." He suffered a shattered cheek bone and required 15 stitches.

Curtis was convicted on rape and burglary charges at a September 1988 trial. The conviction hinged on the testimony of police officer Joseph Gonzalez, who arrested Curtis and testified that he had caught Curtis with his pants down at the scene of the alleged rape.

Other than Gonzalez's testimony, the prosecution was unable to present evidence pinning Curtis to the alleged crime. Curtis was in a bar with dozens of coworkers from the Swift packinghouse at the time the woman whom he was alleged to have assaulted insists the attack occurred. The woman testified that her clothes were covered with dog hairs from being forced to the floor of her porch. None were found on Curtis' clothes. Her description of the attacker did not match Curtis' features. No seminal fluid or pubic hairs belonging to Curtis were found on the woman.

Important other evidence challenging the frame-up against Curtis was excluded from the trial by Judge Harry Perkins, including the fact that Gonzalez had been suspended from the force for lying about a previous arrest.

On June 27, 1989, Curtis appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court of Iowa, which assigned the case to the Court of Appeals. On March 7 of this year oral arguments were heard by a three-judge panel composed of Chief Appellate Judge Leo Oxberger and judges Dick Schlegel and Rosemary Sackett. Lylea Critelli, one of Curtis' attorneys, argued his case before the panel, citing the lack of evidence to convict him, the exclusion of important evidence in his defense, and irregularities at the trial that violated his rights.

Attorneys are now preparing to petition the Iowa Supreme Court to review Curtis' appeal and reverse the Court of Appeals decision. If he loses there, he then has the right to appeal to the federal courts to overturn his conviction.

Below we reprint the appeal brief submitted by Curtis' attorneys Lylea Critelli, William Kutmus, and Mark Pennington. We also reprint the decision rendered by the Court of Appeals. We believe readers will find comparing the documents helps reveal the issues involved in this case, the court's arbitrary refusal to even address many of the points raised by Curtis' appeal, and the stakes involved in his fight for justice.

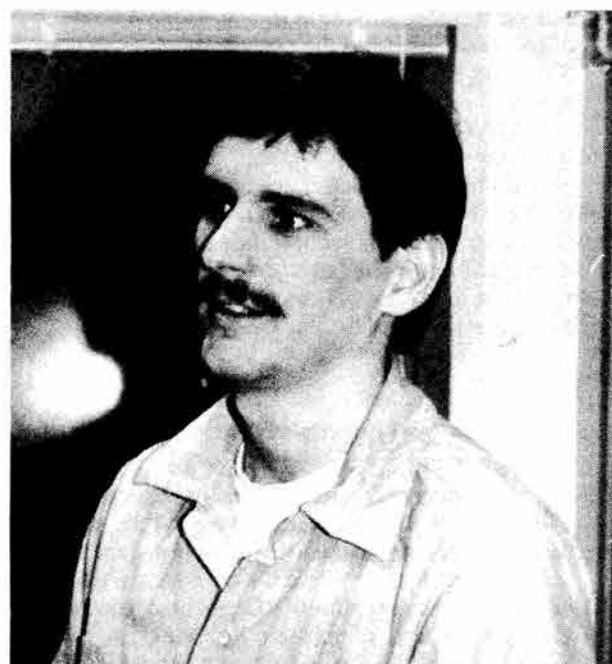
Subheadings in Curtis' appeal brief are from the original text. Footnotes and subheadings for sections of the Iowa Court of Appeals decision are by the *Militant*.

## Curtis appeal brief

### STATEMENT OF THE CASE

This is an appeal filed by Mark Stanton Curtis from his conviction for sexual abuse in the third degree and burglary in the first degree, as rendered by a jury in Polk County District Court. Mr. Curtis raises on appeal several evidentiary issues, which must of necessity be reviewed in the context of the politically charged ambience which permeated his trial.

Trial Information charged Mr. Curtis with burglary and sexual assault. Prior to the trial, the Trial Court granted several of the State's Motions to exclude evidence which would divulge information about the various officers who would testify at trial. Mr. Curtis contends that the Trial Court erred in disregarding the unique atmosphere which surrounded his arrest and, subsequently, his trial and conviction.



Mark Curtis at Anamosa prison

Militant/Stu Singer

The matter proceeded to trial on September 7, 1988.

As a result of the Trial Court's actions in sustaining the State's pretrial motions excluding evidence, Mr. Curtis was placed at a great disadvantage in presenting his defense. The defense Motion for Verdict of Acquittal was overruled. The Trial Court, also upon the State's request, refused to submit the instruction on alibi to the jury. In an unusual twist of events, one of the jurors was excused prior to deliberations, over the objection of the defense, upon the juror's indication that he could not be impartial since he was "familiar with some of the places referred to in the testimony." The defense unsuccessfully challenged the juror's dismissal with a Motion for Mistrial.

Mr. Curtis was ultimately found guilty of sexual abuse in the third degree and burglary and sentenced to a term not to exceed 10 and 25 years, to run concurrently. A Motion for New Trial considered prior to sentencing was overruled in its entirety. Mr. Curtis filed a Notice of Appeal on December 7, 1988.

### Facts

Mr. Curtis' case cannot be adequately reviewed in the absence of background information which would normally be regarded as peripheral and irrelevant, in the garden variety criminal case. Mr. Curtis was raised on a Navajo reservation. In his early adult life, he became interested and involved in union movements which sought to improve working conditions for plant workers. He eventually became involved with the Young Socialist Alliance, working for a period of time in the New York office. His involvement with the Young Socialist Alliance brought him to his em-

ployment with Swift Packing in Iowa. Those who know Mr. Curtis testified at trial that he is nonviolent and very aware of the problems faced by minorities in this country today. He was viewed as unlikely to commit a crime of violence against anyone.

On March 1, 1988, 17 of Mr. Curtis' coworkers at Swift were arrested as undocumented aliens after filing for amnesty. Subsequently, a community meeting to consider the arrests was scheduled for March 4, 1988. Mr. Curtis and many of the plant workers intended to attend the meeting, however, the management at Swift thwarted the employees' attendance at the meeting.

In response to the actions of management, the employees walked off the line and a labor stoppage resulted. Later that day two meetings were held at the [United] Mexican-American [Community] Center. Mr. Curtis actively participated in the second meeting, urging his coworkers and the union to join the movement to defend the arrested coworkers. Mr. Curtis later indicated that both the walk-off and the meeting had a very positive effect on the union efforts at the plant.

After the meeting Mr. Curtis and several coworkers went to a local eating establishment called Los Compadres. According to the testimony of others, he remained there until approximately 8:30 p.m.

When he left Los Compadres, he proceeded to his home and telephoned Ms. Rose "Jackie" Floyd at 8:45 p.m. He also called Ms. Ellen Whitt and left a message on her answering machine. He proceeded to the grocery store, where he intended to purchase food for a large meal which he was preparing in conjunction with a labor forum meeting to be held the following day. On his way to the grocery store, a young woman stopped his car and indicated that a man from a bar in the vicinity had threatened her and she needed a ride to the safety of her home.

Mr. Curtis, believing the woman to be in danger, complied with her request and, upon her direction, drove her to a house three blocks from where she had initially stopped him. Upon arriving at a house which the young woman indicated to be home, she requested that Mr. Curtis wait while she checked out her house to make sure the man whom was after her was not waiting for her inside. Concerned for her continued safety, Mr. Curtis predictably escorted the woman to the front door of the house and, at her request, waited on the enclosed porch while she went inside. Shortly thereafter, he heard the door behind him slam and, suddenly, a police officer entered and escorted him through the house to a rear bedroom. Mr. Curtis testified that the police officer cuffed him and pulled his pants down and removed his keys and wallet from his pants.

At trial, [a] 15-year-old [woman] testified she was sexually assaulted on her front porch on March 4, 1988 shortly after 7:30 p.m. She identified Mr. Curtis as the alleged assailant, as did her 11-year-old brother. At the time of the alleged incident [she] and her brother were at home alone. [She] indicated there was a telephone call for either her father and/or mother at 7:30 p.m. She indicated she told the caller that neither was home and shortly thereafter she responded to a knock at her front door. During depositions she had indicated that the person who called and her attacker were the same individual, however, she repudiated that claim at trial.

At trial she indicated that the person at the door identified himself as "Mark," indicated that he was looking for a certain address, and requested the assistance of either her mother or father to find the address. She stated that he then forced his way into the house and sexually assaulted her. There were several discrepancies in her description of the alleged assailant. No evidence of semen or other physical evidence of sexual contact was collected from [her]. Traces of dirt, debris and dog hair consistent with that found on the . . . front porch were found on [her] clothing. However, no such debris was found on Mr. Curtis' clothing, even though according to [the woman] she and her alleged assailant wrestled around on the dirty front porch.

At some point in the alleged attack, [her] 11-year-old brother called "911" and reported that his sister was being raped on the front porch of the house. Officers Glade and Gonzalez were dispatched to investigate the call. Officer Gonzalez was the officer who claimed to have caught Mr. Curtis on the front porch "zipping his pants."

On cross-examination, counsel for Mr. Curtis was prohibited from questioning Officer Gonzalez about a previous

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suspension from the police force for lying. Nor was defense counsel allowed to introduce evidence concerning the rape of Mr. Curtis' sister and how he was affected by the incident. The Trial Court further refused to allow introduction of evidence of institutional bias against Mr. Curtis. The defense raised these and other grounds in an unsuccessful Motion for New Trial. Further facts relevant to the issues raised on appeal are contained in the discussion of the individual issues.

## ISSUE I

### The Trial Court erred in overruling the defense motion for new trial on any one or more of the grounds raised therein.

On November 9, 1989, Mr. Curtis filed a Motion For New Trial, alleging that he was denied due process of law as a result of several errors which were committed during trial. The Trial Court overruled the Motion. Mr. Curtis urges on appeal that any one or more of the errors alleged in his Motion for New Trial constitutes a sufficient violation of due process to warrant a new trial in this matter.

Mr. Curtis has maintained his innocence throughout all the proceedings below. He urges that he was falsely accused and framed by the Des Moines Police Department because of his political views and activities on behalf of coworkers who were arrested at the Swift Processing Plant shortly before his own arrest. Mr. Curtis was prepared to present testimony and evidence which would have corroborated his claim that he was innocent and subject to harassment by the Des Moines Police Department. However, the State successfully blocked admission of this evidence with several Motions in Limine [at the beginning] filed prior to trial. Mr. Curtis believes all issues have been adequately preserved for appeal and respectfully seeks a reversal of his conviction and a new trial, with opportunity to present his defense.

## i.

### The Trial Court improperly excluded evidence which was relevant to the credibility of the arresting officer, one of the main witnesses for the prosecution.

The credibility of the arresting officers was an important component in Mr. Curtis' trial based upon his defense that he was the victim of false arrest and a frame-up. During cross-examination of one of the arresting officers, Officer Joe Gonzalez, the defense attempted to introduce evidence of prior disciplinary action taken against the officer for lying. The State objected and urged that this line of questioning by the defense was "improper impeachment" under Rule 609, I.A.R.Evid. [Iowa Rules of Evidence]. The defense responded that the evidence was an attack upon the credibility of the witness to show bias, motive, and prejudice.

The defense made an offer of proof which established that Officer Gonzalez had been suspended previously for lying about an incident which occurred in the course of his duty as a police officer. Still, the Trial Court refused to allow the admission of the evidence, ruling that the evidence lacked relevancy.

In an effort to strengthen the Trial Court's Ruling, the State supplemented the offer of proof and indicated that the officer had not been subject to subsequent discipline. Prior to trial, the defense had requested production of the personnel file of Officer Gonzalez in an effort to determine to what extent the officer had been subjected to similar discipline. The Request for Production was denied. Thus, the defense was deprived of any opportunity to either confirm or combat the State's inferences at trial that the officer's discipline for dishonesty had been a one-time occurrence and, therefore, not relevant.

Mr. Curtis appeals believing that evidence which relates to the truth and veracity of a witness is always relevant to the question of credibility. He urges that the Trial Court erred in refusing to allow admission of this evidence during cross-examination. The defense further takes exception to the Trial Court's interpretation of the "general rule of relevancy; if in doubt, keep it out."

## Argument

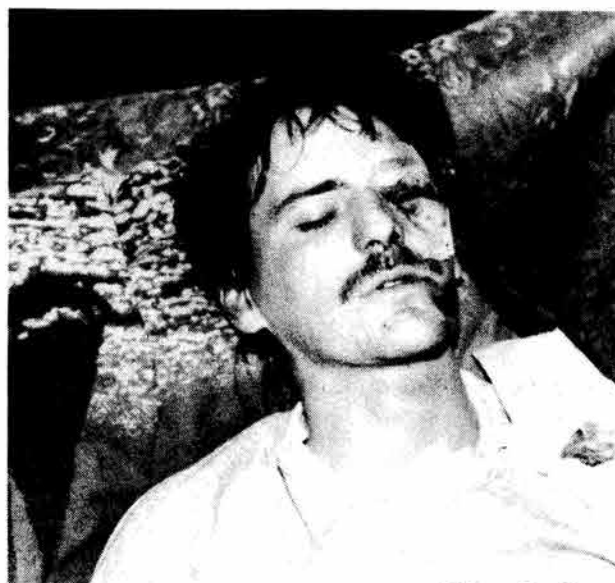
Rule 608(b), I.A.R.Evid., permits cross-examination into specific instances of conduct relevant to the witness's credibility. Inquiry into this area should be permitted if probative to "the witness's character for truthfulness or untruthfulness."

It is undeniable that the State was well aware of this rule and even availed itself of the benefits of the rule during Mr. Curtis' trial. On cross-examination of Mr. Curtis, the State inquired into an incident which the State believed related to his truthfulness. Specifically, the State inquired into an incident in which Mr. Curtis allegedly "misrepresented" his employment history to a prospective employer and further inferred that he had been fired for lying to this employer. In essence, this is exactly the type of truth and veracity evidence which the defense was foreclosed from presenting.

The Courts have determined that matters involving Rule 608(b), I.A.R.Evid., must be decided on a case-by-case basis. In *State v. Chambers* the defense was allowed to inquire into a chief prosecution witness's past conduct offered for credibility purposes. In that decision, the Court of Appeals

rejected the State's assertion that the prior filing of unprosecuted charges by a complaining witness was unrelated to credibility. In reversing the conviction, the Court of Appeals further determined that exclusion of the evidence would constitute harmless error, only where the witness had been successfully impeached without the excluded evidence.

While there is no clear rule with respect to the admission of prior conduct to impeach, Mr. Curtis believes his case is controlled by the same factors considered in *State v. Chambers*. Hence, the evidence excluded during Officer Gonzalez's cross-examination should have been admitted. While subsequent cases have been factually distinguished



Militant/Student Singer  
Des Moines cops beat Curtis at the police station after his arrest March 4, 1988. This picture was taken March 5 after he was released on bail.

from the decision in *State v. Chambers*, the basic principles have remained undisturbed. See *State v. Martin*, in which the Iowa Supreme Court, while finding distinguishing facts, ratified the defense's right to reasonable latitude in cross-examination, citing to the constitutional protections of the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution.

In Mr. Curtis' case, Officer Gonzalez's prior suspension for lying was particularly relevant where the defense claimed he was a material link in an effort to falsely accuse Curtis. Since there was not a successful impeachment of Gonzalez, Mr. Curtis submits the exclusion of this evidence constituted reversible error. Mr. Curtis respectfully urges the Court to reverse his conviction and remand this matter for new trial.

## ii.

### The Trial Court improperly excluded evidence of institutional bias against Mr. Curtis.

The major enigma with this case was the political nature of many of the issues which permeated the trial. Political trials are uncommon in the United States; therefore, it is not surprising that the Trial Court erroneously excluded evidence offered to show institutional bias existed against Mr. Curtis. Mr. Curtis submits the jury should have been permitted to consider the evidence of institutional bias and reach its own conclusions on the merits of the case and, particularly, on his defense that he had been framed by the police.

## Specific evidence which was excluded:

A. The verbal defamation and brutal beating of Mr. Curtis at the time of this postarrest processing.

Mr. Curtis was beaten by Police Officers Dusenberry and Wolf at the time of his booking at the Des Moines Police Station. These two officers referred to him as a "Mexican-lover" and "colored-lover." At a pretrial hearing on the State's motion to exclude reference to the incident, Mr. Curtis urged that the evidence was relevant to show the existence of an institutional bias against him by virtue of his political views and activities. At minimum, Mr. Curtis believes the evidence shows police awareness of Mr. Curtis' efforts on behalf of his arrested coworkers. The Trial Court ruled the evidence was irrelevant and immaterial because the incident occurred after the arrest. Later in the trial, the State actually opened the door to the testimony concerning the postarrest beating while cross-examining Mr. Curtis concerning the interruption in his union membership. Again, the Trial Court specifically prohibited Mr. Curtis from referring to the beating as causing the medical condition which affected his membership in the union. At the State's request, the jury was accordingly admonished to disregard the answer. Mr. Curtis urges that the Trial Court's Rulings were in error and that the evidence should have been submitted.

B. Evidence of FBI surveillance of Mr. Curtis and his political party.

Mr. Curtis wished to present evidence that he and his political party had been under the surveillance of the FBI.

The State filed a successful Motion in Limine excluding any reference to surveillance. The Trial Court resolved that the evidence which the defense sought to introduce was potentially damaging to Mr. Curtis and not relevant to any of the issues at trial. Mr. Curtis submits this Ruling was in error.

C. Evidence of the attack on the bookstore with which Mr. Curtis was affiliated by the father of the alleged victim.

After the alleged sexual abuse of [the woman], her father, Keith Morris, was involved in an attack of the Pathfinder Bookstore which Mr. Curtis was affiliated with. \$2,000 in property damage resulted. Mr. Morris was not criminally charged for his actions and the incident was referred to the "Mediator Center." The Trial Court sustained a Motion in Limine to prohibit the defense from referring to the incident, finding specifically that while the Curtis case was unique, "extraneous matters" should be kept out and the case should be treated as any other criminal case would be. Mr. Curtis urges that the Trial Court's ruling was erroneous and resulted in a denial of a fair trial.

D. Exclusion of other relevant evidence — the rape of Mr. Curtis' sister.

From the outset, the State attacked Mr. Curtis' outcry of a frame-up as improbable. Mr. Curtis indicated that a Black woman approached his car. He drove her to a location which she indicated to be home and, at her request, escorted her to her door and waited on her front porch while she checked the interior for the presence of a man who had previously threatened her. He indicated this was his basis for being at the [...] house when the police entered and accused him of sexual assault and burglary.

The State indicated that this version of the incident was implausible, if not impossible. Officer Glade indicated that he would not stop and give a ride to a Black woman in the vicinity where Mr. Curtis rendered assistance. The defense sought to introduce testimony about Mr. Curtis' experience with his sister's rape to show he was not of the character to commit rape. Further, his personal convictions on the rights and plight of women were such that he would stop to assist a woman in danger. The Trial Court, again citing lack of relevancy, saw no need to allow the introduction of what he deemed to be "far beyond the realm of legitimate evidence." The evidence was relevant and in Mr. Curtis' estimation went to the very heart of the charges against him.

## Argument

All of the foregoing evidence was relevant to one or more issues presented at the trial of Mark Curtis. The Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution require the admission of relevant evidence. Proper application of Rule 401, I.A.R.Evid., insures protection of these constitutional guarantees. The basis for deciding whether evidence is relevant is whether an inference is more likely with the evidence than without it. Clearly, Mr. Curtis was denied the opportunity to provide information relevant to his defense by virtue of the adverse ruling by the Trial Court.

Further, the State did not make a showing as to how the alleged prejudice from any of the excluded evidence outweighed the probative value. Mr. Curtis urges he is entitled to a new trial.

## ISSUE II.

### The Trial Court's failure to give the requested instruction on alibi constituted reversible error.

A defendant who introduces sufficient evidence to generate a jury issue is entitled to the appropriate jury instructions. Mr. Curtis produced a witness who testified that he was with others at Los Compadres at the same time [the woman] was allegedly attacked. Based upon this evidence, at the conclusion of the case, Mr. Curtis requested the submission of an instruction on alibi.

The State urged that in failing to comply with the Rule 10, I.A.R.Crim.Pro. [Iowa Rules of Criminal Procedure] requirement of notice, the defense had waived the right to the alibi instruction. Without providing a specific reason, the Trial Court refused to give the requested instruction on alibi. Mr. Curtis believes there was sufficient evidence to justify the submission of the alibi defense, and the Trial Court's failure to do so violated the right to a fair trial.

## Argument

Contrary to the State's argument at trial, the failure to provide notice of the alibi defense does not foreclose the submission of an instruction on alibi if warranted by the evidence at trial. Rule 10, I.A.R.Crim.Pro. provides only for the exclusion of testimony from witnesses other than a defendant, in the event the requirement of notice is not complied with. Indeed, in *State v. Christensen*, in interpreting Rule 10, the Iowa Supreme Court confirmed that the sole sanction for failure to give notice is preclusion of testimony. Further, the Iowa Court of Appeals has indicated that a defendant should not be penalized for failure to give notice of the alibi defense where any disadvantage claimed suffered by the State is brought on by its own conduct.

When witness Brian Willey testified that Mr. Curtis was elsewhere at the time of the alleged attack on [the woman], the State sat silent without objection. Thus, the State waived



any error committed by the failure of the defense to provide notice under Rule 10.

In *State v. Jefferies*, the Iowa Supreme Court recognized that a due process violation possibly arises when an instruction warranted by the evidence is not given. While *Jefferies* dealt specifically with failure to give lesser included instructions, Mr. Curtis submits that failure to instruct on alibi constituted a due process violation where there was evidence sufficient to generate an issue of alibi. Without the instruction on alibi, it can be presumed that the jury had no direction as to what, if any, consideration should be given to the defense evidence that during the time period of the alleged assault, Mr. Curtis was elsewhere. For that reason, Mr. Curtis is entitled to a reversal.

### ISSUE III.

#### The Trial Court should have granted a new trial based upon several allegations of jury misconduct.

In addition to the errors which occurred in Mr. Curtis' case from the beginning, several irregular circumstances occurred which involved the jury. Mr. Curtis urges that any one or more of these occurrences entitle him to a new trial. At minimum, there were several appearances of impropriety which transected Mr. Curtis' right to a fair trial before a jury of his peers.

#### Juror Garcia

After the jury had been instructed, but prior to the release of the alternate juror, the Trial Court inquired of the jury if there was any one of them who felt unable to continue to serve as a juror on the case. Mr. Garcia indicated that he

“**When witness Brian Willey testified Curtis was elsewhere at the time of the attack, the State sat silent.**”

wished to be excused because he “could not be fair to either side.” Mr. Garcia based his assessment on the fact that he had been to the [United] Mexican-American [Community] Center and knew of people who had been to the Los Compadres bar-restaurant; however, he had never actually been there. Mr. Garcia did not indicate any further reasons why he would not be able to be fair and impartial.

After the Trial Court's query of Mr. Garcia and opportunity for conference, the defense requested that Mr. Garcia be allowed to continue as a juror. However, the State expressed concern that Mr. Garcia had “violated” his oath as a juror and should therefore be removed from the panel. The Trial Court excused Mr. Garcia from service on the jury over Mr. Curtis' objection.

On the basis of the Trial Court's actions in excusing Mr. Garcia, the defense unsuccessfully moved for a mistrial. Mr. Curtis believes the removal of this juror after the panel was sworn, solely because he was familiar with some of the places mentioned during trial, was an abuse of discretion. The Trial Court's actions had the effect of excluding the only juror of Mexican-American descent from the jury panel. The Trial Court's action requires a new trial of this matter before a jury of Mr. Curtis' peers.

#### Juror Stockbauer

At least one juror openly indicated concern with the jury verdict, indicating the verdict was not unanimous. In an affidavit submitted to the Court, she indicated that she remained convinced of Mr. Curtis' innocence.

#### Juror Irwin

It was brought to the attention of counsel for the defense that Juror Irwin had been seen in very close proximity of the family of [the woman] during a break in the trial in the hallway of the courthouse. The defense requested that the Trial Court conduct an investigation to see what took place between the juror and the family of the alleged victim. The Trial Court saw no need to inquire into the matter since, except for Mr. Garcia, no other jurors had responded positively to the Trial Court's questions concerning ability to continue service as a juror. Mr. Curtis believes at minimum an inquiry into the matter should have occurred and the failure to do so denied him a fair trial.

#### Argument

Error on this issue has been preserved by the timely filing of a Motion for New Trial. It is an established principle of Iowa law that the jury should be above suspicion. In the decision in *State v. Carey*, the Court indicated that jury deliberations should be kept pure and untainted and even the appearance of impropriety should be avoided.

In the decision the *State v. Cullen*, the Iowa Supreme Court delineated three conditions which must be shown to impeach a jury verdict based upon misconduct. In view of the dictates of this decision, it is incomprehensible how the Trial Court justified the dismissal of Juror Garcia based solely upon his “acquaintance” with peripheral locations mentioned during testimony, as contrasted with the cavalier attitude with respect to the possible contact between a juror

and the family of the alleged victim.

Clearly, the dismissal of Juror Garcia was not warranted under the considerations in *State v. Cullen*. Yet, further inquiry into the incident with Juror Irwin appears to be mandated by the *Cullen* decision. In view of the affidavit of Juror Stockbauer, it is presumed that the verdict could have well been influenced by any misconduct within the jury. The issue of juror misconduct should also be reviewed in consideration that the Curtis jury deliberated for over two days before reaching a verdict. Clearly, this was a “close case.”

The irregularities of the jury deliberations in Mr. Curtis' case, at minimum, rise to the level of an appearance of impropriety. As such, Mr. Curtis is entitled to a new trial, free from any suggestion of jury impropriety.

### ISSUE IV.

#### Sufficiency of the evidence.

There is insufficient evidence to support the conviction for third degree sexual abuse and burglary. The defense preserved this issue for appeal upon timely Motions for Verdict of Acquittal.

There was no independent scientific evidence which linked Mr. Curtis to the alleged sexual abuse of [the woman]. The laboratory technician who testified for the State indicated that hair found on [her] did not belong to Mr. Curtis. Further, there was no evidence that actually indicated that [she] had been sexually abused and no evidence indicating that if she was indeed abused, Mr. Curtis was the perpetrator. All samples taken from [the woman] were negative for Caucasian pubic hair, semen, or other indicia of sexual contact of the nature [she] testified occurred. Nor were hairs from [the woman] found on Mr. Curtis and his clothing.

Mr. Curtis' clothing was free from any debris of the nature found on [the woman] and the enclosed porch where she indicated the sexual assault occurred. The absence of material on Mr. Curtis' clothing is pertinent in view of the testimony of [the woman] that she and her assailant wrestled around on the dirty porch for a substantial amount of time.

The description which [she] gave of her assailant was not a description of Mr. Curtis. Several major discrepancies were noted between her description of her assailant and Mr. Curtis. For example: wrong height; presence of a belt on assailant and none found on Mr. Curtis; conflict in color of jacket worn; conflict as to description of type and color of pants worn by assailant; assailant smoker, yet Mr. Curtis an adamant nonsmoker; Mr. Curtis' billfold alleged found on the front porch, yet absent from photographs taken of front porch; and the discrepancy concerning what [the woman] actually saw after Mr. Curtis was placed in police custody.

#### Argument

Even when viewed in the light most favorable to the State, there is insufficient evidence to support a verdict of guilty for first degree burglary based upon commission of sexual abuse in the third degree.

#### Conclusion

The Trial Court abused its discretion in overruling the Motion of New Trial on one or more grounds alleged. The Trial Court also erred in overruling the Motion for Verdict of Acquittal. Mr. Curtis respectfully requests a reversal of his convictions.

Mr. Curtis respectfully requests that this matter be set for oral argument.

## Court's ruling on Curtis appeal

Defendant Mark Stanton Curtis appeals his conviction of sexual assault in the third degree and burglary. A 15-year-old testified she and her 11-year-old brother were home alone when defendant came to the door. The victim told him her parents were not home. She said defendant pulled a knife and the two ultimately struggled on the porch. She also said he removed her jeans and underwear and his pants and hit her in the forehead and near her eye to force compliance.

The victim testified defendant rubbed her pubic area, vagina, pelvic area, and hip area with his hands and with his penis, and kissed her breasts. She said he also rubbed his penis on her buttocks. The victim resisted, and eventually heard a knock at the outside door of the porch. She asked who it was and heard the response, “Police.” She said defendant got up and tried to pull up his pants while she opened the door for the police.

Defendant testified that on his way to a grocery store, a young woman stopped his car and indicated a man from a bar in the vicinity had threatened her and she needed a ride to the safety of her home. Defendant, with her direction, drove her to a house three blocks from where she had stopped him. Upon arriving at a house that the young woman indicated to be home, she requested that defendant wait while she checked out her house to make sure the man who was after her was not waiting for her inside. Defendant escorted the woman to the front door of the house and, at her request, waited on the enclosed porch while she went inside. Shortly thereafter, he heard the door behind him slam and suddenly a police officer entered and escorted him through the house to a rear bedroom. Defendant testified the police officer handcuffed him, pulled his pants down, and removed his keys and wallet from his pants.

The victim's story was supported by the testimony of her 11-year-old brother, a tape of his call to 911, and the officer's testimony. The victim was examined by a doctor following the incident. She had injuries to her face consistent with the alleged blows by defendant. There was no semen or exchange of pubic hairs between alleged assailant and alleged victim. The victim's clothing was covered with leaves and dog hair of the kind found on her front porch, and defendant's was not.

Defendant contends he was falsely accused and framed by the Des Moines Police Department because of his political views and activities.

### I. Credibility of arresting officer

Defendant's first claim is that he was prevented from presenting evidence as to the credibility of the arresting officer, who defendant argues was a very material witness for the State. We agree the officer was a very material witness in this case. On cross-examination, defendant's attorney was precluded from asking the officer if he was ever suspended from the police force for lying. The officer's answer, made as an offer of proof, was that about 10 years earlier he had been suspended from the force for lying about the details of an incident that occurred while he was in the course of his duties as a Des Moines police officer. He said he was trying to protect an informant.

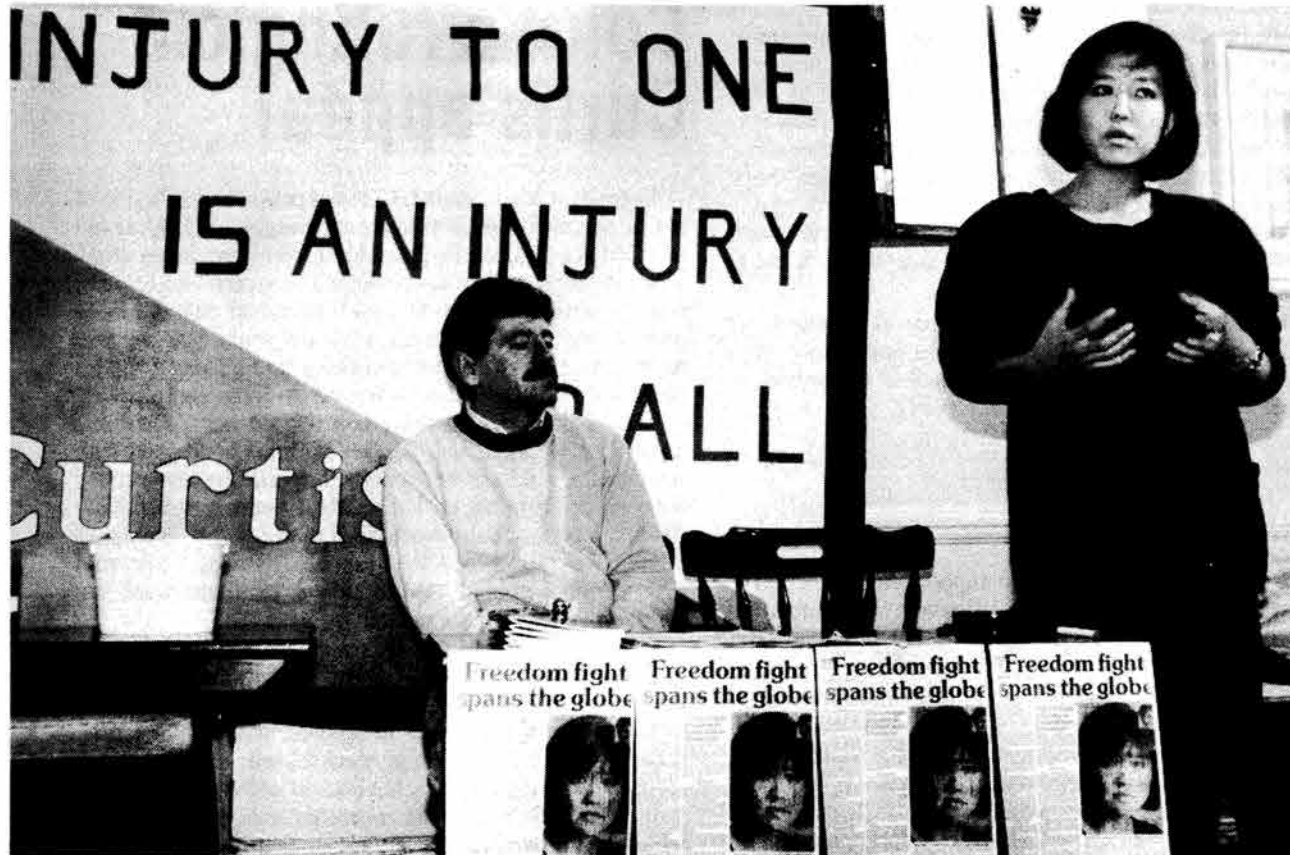
Defendant also contends that prior to trial he requested production of the personnel file of the officer in an effort to determine to what extent the officer had been subjected

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Des Moines police officer Joseph Gonzalez testifying at Curtis' September 1988 trial. Curtis' frame-up conviction hinged on Gonzalez's testimony.





Kate Kaku, a leader of Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife, has traveled around world winning support for Curtis' fight for justice. Above Kaku explains frame-up to railroad workers at March 9 meeting in London. Seated is John Barrie, executive committee member of National Union of Railwaymen.

G.M. Cookson

## Continued from previous page

to similar discipline. The Request for Production was denied. Defendant contends he was thereby deprived of any opportunity to either confirm or combat the State's inferences at trial that the officer's discipline for dishonesty had been a one-time occurrence and therefore not relevant.<sup>1</sup>

Defendant contends the evidence is admissible because Rule 608(b), Iowa Rules of Evidence, permits cross-examination into specific instances of conduct relevant to the witness's credibility, and inquiry into this area was probative to "the witness's character for truthfulness or untruthfulness."

The State contends the trial court did not abuse its discretion in excluding the evidence on grounds of relevancy.

Reasonable latitude must be given to the cross-examiner, but the scope of cross-examination lies within the trial court's discretion. The scope of cross-examination is limited to matters inquired into direct examination or matters that pertain to the witness's credibility, bias, ill will, hostility, or interest in the case.

Trial courts have broad discretion in determining what is the permissible cross-examination when an attack is made on the credibility of a witness by questions concerning collateral acts of alleged misconduct. A party is given reasonable latitude in cross-examination, particularly when a defendant, charged with a grave offense, cross-examines the State's witness. In *State v. Martin*, the Iowa court said:

We have stated that our rule 608(b) follows Federal Rule of Evidence 608(b). . . . Thus, the note accompanying the federal rule is instructive.

Effective cross-examination demands that some allowance be made for going into matters of this kind, but the possibilities of abuse are substantial. Consequently, safeguards are erected in the form of specific requirements that the instances inquired into be probative of truthfulness or its opposite. . . . Also, the overriding protection of Rule 403 requires that probative value not be outweighed by danger of unfair prejudice, confusion of issues, or misleading the jury.

Fed. R. Evid. 608(b) advisory committee note (emphasis added).

We find no error on this issue.<sup>2</sup>

1. Here the Court of Appeals misstates the facts, giving the impression that testimony regarding Officer Joseph Gonzalez's truthfulness was allowed at the trial during cross-examination, but all testimony and evidence on this matter was barred by trial judge Harry Perkins and was never heard by the jury. The offer of proof by Curtis' attorneys was only allowed in the judge's chambers.

2. In affirming the trial judge's ruling excluding evidence of Officer Joseph Gonzalez's lying in a previous arrest, the appeals court ignored a 1985 Iowa Court of Appeals decision which strengthened the right to confront one's accusers. This decision, *State v. Chambers*, was written by Judge Sackett, who was also on the panel that heard Curtis' appeal. Arguments surrounding the precedent-setting decision were specifically addressed in a separate reply prepared for the Court of Appeals by Curtis' attorneys and filed on Oct. 25, 1989. The brief stated, "The Court in *State v. Chambers* indicated that cross-examination should be liberally construed where a defendant's liberty and reputation is at stake. The Court further hints that there may be a denial of the Sixth Amendment right to cross-examination, where the right to cross-examine is unduly hampered. Mr. Curtis believes that he should have been permitted to cross-examine the arresting officers about a prior suspension for lying within the scope of duty."

## II. Institutional bias

Defendant next contends he should have been allowed to include evidence of institutional bias against him. Defendant sought to introduce evidence he was beaten when booked at the Des Moines police station, and the booking officers, who were not the arresting officers, referred to him as a "Mexican-lover" and a "colored-lover." He also sought to introduce evidence he and his political party had been under Federal Bureau of Investigation surveillance, and that after the alleged incident the victim's father attacked a bookstore with which defendant was affiliated. The bookstore was damaged but the victim's father was not charged. Defendant contends all evidence was relevant and the State did not show how the prejudice of the excluded evidence outweighed the probative value.

We find the trial court did not abuse its discretion in excluding the evidence.

## III. Sister's rape

Defendant also sought to introduce evidence that his sister had been raped. He contended the evidence contradicted the State's contention that no one had picked up a woman in the area in question. Defendant's contention appears to be that his sister's rape made him more compassionate. We find no abuse of discretion in exclusion of the evidence.

## IV. Notice of alibi

Defendant contends the trial court should have given his requested alibi instruction. Defendant did not file a notice of alibi before trial. Defendant contends evidence was introduced without objection at trial to support an alibi instruction, and his failure to file an alibi notice only provides for exclusion of evidence from a witness other than defendant.

Brian Willey testified without objection that defendant came into the Los Compadres bar and restaurant at about 7:00 p.m. and left at about 8:30 p.m. The victim testified at deposition that she thought it was about 7:30 p.m. when she got a strange phone call, and about five minutes later when she heard the knock on the door. She also testified, at the deposition and at trial, that she was unsure about the time.<sup>3</sup> The victim's brother testified that he thought the knock on the door came after 9:00 p.m., and that he called 911 during the attack on his sister. The 911 call was tape-recorded, and the dispatcher recorded the call as coming in at 8:51 p.m. The dispatcher notified the officers on patrol at 8:52 p.m. Defendant was at the victim's home when the police arrived. On this record, we find no error in not giving the instruction.

## V. Circumstances surrounding jury

Defendant contends he should have a new trial because of several things that happened with the jury. After the jury

3. In depositions given prior to the trial and affirmed in her trial testimony, the woman said she knew the time of the attack because it happened five minutes after her favorite television program came on the air. The show, which she was watching at the time, was *Video Soul*, she said. The woman testified that she did not "know what time it came on, because first of all I did not have a watch on to tell what time it was. I was just going by what time the show was coming on." Program logs from the Black Entertainment Television network verify that the show aired at 8:00 p.m. that night.

had been instructed, but prior to the release of the alternate juror, the trial court inquired of the jury if there was any one of them who felt unable to continue to serve as a juror on the case. Mr. Garcia indicated that he wished to be excused because he could not be fair to either side. Mr. Garcia based his assessment on the fact that he had been to the [United] Mexican-American [Community] Center and knew of people who had been to Los Compadres; he, however, had never actually been there. Mr. Garcia did not indicate any further reason why he would not be able to be fair and impartial.

The defense requested that Mr. Garcia be allowed to continue as a juror. The State expressed concern that Mr. Garcia had violated his oath as a juror and should be removed from the panel. The trial court excused Mr. Garcia from service on the jury over defendant's objection.

On the basis of the trial court's actions in excusing Mr. Garcia, the defense unsuccessfully moved for a mistrial. Defendant contends the removal of this juror after the panel was sworn, solely because he was familiar with some of the places mentioned during trial, was an abuse of discretion, and the trial court's actions had the effect of excluding the only juror of Mexican-American descent from the jury panel.

One juror filed the following affidavit:

I, Blanche Stockbauer, state that I was a juror in the *State of Iowa v. Mark Stanton Curtis*. The initial vote of the jury was 8-4 for conviction, and I was one of the four jurors who believed the State of Iowa had not proven their case against Mark Curtis beyond a reasonable doubt. Although I eventually voted guilty, it is my belief that Mark Curtis is not guilty of the crime charged. I did not know that, if I continued my vote of not guilty, a mistrial would occur, which would result in a new trial for Mr. Curtis. One juror expressed, during deliberations, that he had made his mind up about Mr. Curtis' guilt before the defense presented any evidence in this case. The above information is true and correct.

Defendant brought to the court's attention that one juror was seen close to the family of the victim in the hallway during a break. Defendant requested the trial court conduct an investigation to see what took place between the juror and the family of the alleged victim. The trial court saw no need to inquire into the matter because, except for Mr. Garcia, no other jurors had responded positively to the trial court's questions concerning ability to continue service as a juror. Defendant believes at minimum an inquiry into the matter should have occurred and the failure to do so denied him a fair trial.

[T]o impeach a verdict on the basis of jury misconduct, three conditions must be met: (1) evidence from the jurors must consist only of objective facts as to what actually occurred in or out of the jury room bearing on misconduct; (2) The acts or statements complained of must exceed tolerable bounds of jury deliberation; and (3) It must appear the misconduct was calculated to, and with reasonable probability did, influence the verdict.

This test has been modified recently. Now, "jurors are not competent to testify as to internal deliberations, even if those deliberations could be classified as objective." The trial court has broad discretion in ruling on these matters. Defendant has shown no abuse of discretion.

## VI. Sufficiency of evidence

Defendant argues the evidence was insufficient to support the determination of guilt, based on the lack of "independent scientific evidence," the lack of debris found on defendant's clothes, and the inconsistencies in the victim's description of the assailant.

When reviewing a challenge to the sufficiency of the evidence, we view the evidence in the light most favorable to the State, including legitimate inferences and presumptions that may fairly and reasonably be deduced from the evidence in the record. There is sufficient evidence to convict.

**AFFIRMED.**

## The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp. \$2.50

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# The Russian revolution after Lenin's time and the rise of a bureaucratic caste

BY PETER THIERJUNG

(Fourth in a series)

Opponents of communism have long argued that the rise of a privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union was the logical outcome of the October 1917 Russian revolution. They tout the notions that Joseph Stalin was V.I. Lenin's heir and that Stalinism is cut from the same cloth as Leninism. They identify the authoritarian domination of the caste and its crimes with communism.

History does not, however, support these assertions. The privileged bureaucratic caste, headed by Stalin, consolidated its power in a counterrevolution against the workers and peasants and their communist leadership. Stalinism, the political rationalization of this counterrevolution, is separated by a river of blood from Marxism and the views and policies Lenin fought for.

In the most recent article of this series we reviewed the challenges and difficulties confronted by communists in Russia in leading the October 1917 revolution forward and how a layer in the Communist Party, including in the leadership, had begun to retreat from a communist perspective and abandon its internationalist outlook.

## Lenin's last struggle

Under adverse conditions and seriously ill, Lenin prepared at the end of 1922 and early 1923 to launch a fight to reorient the CP. He advanced proposals aimed at strengthening the party as a political instrument of the workers and peasants and combating the exhaustion, demoralization, and political apathy that had taken hold among many workers and members of the CP.

Lenin sought to galvanize the Communist Party to lead working people in correcting errors of Soviet policy and resisting the bureaucratic trends in the governmental apparatus and the economy. His main proposals can be summarized as follows:

- Maintaining the revolution's internationalism was decisive in Lenin's view. The extension of active solidarity and collaboration by the Soviet government with working-class and national liberation fighters, he held, was to be crucial to registering new advances for the struggle against imperialism and for socialism. This would be the way the revolution's isolation in the world would be broken.

Lenin called particular attention to "the hundreds of millions of the peoples of Asia" that were being drawn into political life and rebellion against imperialism. They are "destined to follow us onto the stage of history in the near future," Lenin wrote. This was soon borne out by the 1925-27 revolution that swept China.

- Lenin's last articles advanced economic measures to strengthen the worker-peasant unity — the foundation of the Soviet government and the CP. These proposals were based on defending and building on the key acquisitions resulting from the October 1917 revolution — the nationalization of basic industry and the state monopoly of foreign trade.

The communist leader called for the introduction of economic planning to develop industry and expand industrial output — a measure that would revive the strength, social weight, and confidence of the working class, as well as provide for the needs of the countryside. Where possible, Lenin urged the development of voluntary peasant cooperatives to develop agriculture and increase food production.

- Progress toward socialism and strengthening of communist political consciousness in Russia, Lenin affirmed, required an uncompromising battle against the privileges of the majority Russian nationality. Chauvinist attitudes had to be energetically combated. The unity of the voluntary Soviet federation established in 1918 and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics set up in 1922 could be preserved and strengthened, he insisted, only by giving non-Russian republics the greatest latitude in determining their own affairs, even allowing for reduction of the authority of the central government to include only military and diplomatic affairs.

- Lenin stressed the need to draw work-

ers and peasants into responsibility for directing the Soviet administration, supervising the state apparatus and economic enterprises, and taking leadership roles in the CP. He formulated concrete proposals for committees of workers and peasants to check bureaucratic abuses in the government and party. These measures flowed from his view that the Soviet government should aim to draw millions of workers and peasants into voluntary part-time work, supervising the governmental apparatus and correcting its deficiencies.

## Communist forces defeated

Lenin was not able to carry through his struggle to reorient the Communist Party and stem the retreat from a communist perspective. In early March of 1923 he suffered a severe stroke that ended his political activity. He died in January 1924. By this time the forces fighting for a communist perspective had become a minority in the party's central leadership.

During the next decade, a majority coalesced in the leadership that spoke for and increasingly defended the interests of a strata of privileged administrators and bureaucrats in the state and party apparatus. By the early 1930s this layer had developed into a parasitic caste that had ruthlessly pushed the working class and peasantry out of politics and consolidated its power.

Unlike a class, this bureaucratic caste did not arise of historic or social necessity. Capitalism, for example, could not exist or develop without capitalists, or feudalism without a landed nobility. But the caste has no such essential relationship to the nationalized property forms established by working people following the October 1917 revolution. This petty-bourgeois layer is not composed of property owners accumulating money to be used as capital for investments and profit-making.

The caste's existence is parasitic. It hogs as much of the wealth created by working people as it can for its own comfort and security. The source of this parasitism is the bloated apparatus of administration and repression, above all in the secret political police. Those who are part of this layer pass along perquisites and a privileged standard of living to their sons and daughters.

This hereditary caste was unable to openly justify its growing privileged status, the deepening of social inequalities, and the repression of working people. So it presented ideological rationalizations for its domination and privileges. These do not constitute a theoretical current within Marxism or even a theory at all, but are pragmatic and often changing justifications for the caste's anti-working-class course.

## Wrapped in the revolution's mantle

The caste wrapped itself in the mantle of the October 1917 revolution and maintained much of its terminology. The name, Communist Party, was retained, but the organization ceased to be a voluntary association of the most politically conscious workers and peasants. It became a job trust, an organization one had to join to climb the ladder of rank and privilege. The soviets, once organs of workers' and peasants' power, became instruments in the hands of the bureaucracy to lord over working people through organizational measures, decrees, and regimentation.

Likewise, communism as presented and fought for by Marx and Lenin was robbed of its content, becoming dogma and writ in the hands of the bureaucrats. Lenin was made into an icon. His body was embalmed and put on display; statues and images of him proliferated everywhere.

While swearing allegiance to Lenin and communism, the Stalin regime reversed many of the gains of the revolution and met opposition with savage repression. The secret police, set up to defend the revolution against imperialist aggression, became a political police, a terror machine aimed at the opponents of Stalin's regime, especially the communists who fought for the continuation of Lenin's policies.

From the earliest period of the caste's development, the secret police apparatus,

given its extralegal tasks, was a place where corruption and arbitrariness tended to surface. As the caste consolidated its domination, the secret police became a central pillar in its rule and became interlinked with its highest echelons.

## The blood purges

Tens of thousands of communists were imprisoned, exiled, or executed. Frame-ups and arbitrary arrests became common. The aim became to physically eliminate any trace of continuity to the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's time. By the mid-1930s, show trials and blood purges were launched by the regime that struck at the population as a whole and wide sections of the bureaucracy. Thousands were herded off to slave labor camps. Mass executions took place.

Even the seeming irrationality of this orgy of terror had its purpose — to create uncertainty, fear, and submission among everyone in Soviet society.

By the end of 1940, of the central leaders of the Bolshevik Party who had led the October 1917 revolution, only Stalin survived. Most had been shot or were missing. Even Bolsheviks who had died earlier were posthumously declared enemies.

The murder machine became international as well. Russian communists in exile and those in the international communist movement in other countries who rejected Stalin's course were hounded by thugs. They were labeled as enemies of the communist movement and often assassinated.

## Gains reversed

For the caste, stability at home and internationally was necessary for its continued social thievery and political domination. Internationalism was replaced by narrow Russian national interests and the Communist International was subordinated to the caste's diplomatic needs. Tens of thousands of communists and militants were disoriented and many were led to catastrophic defeats, including during the 1927 Chinese revolution and in 1933 when the Nazis took power in Germany without the Communist Party organizing the working class to put up any resistance. These defeats helped pave the way to the imperialist slaughter of World War II.

The Communist International was ultimately dissolved in 1943 as a political gesture by Stalin to the imperialist rulers of the United States and Britain with whom the Soviet Union was allied at the time. "The leaders of the bureaucracy promoted proletarian defeats; the defeats promoted the rise of the bureaucracy," Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1937 book *The Revolution Betrayed*. Trotsky was a leader of the October 1917 revolution. Following Lenin's death, he led the fight to maintain the revolution's communist course.

The worker-peasant alliance was eroded and ultimately smashed by the Stalin regime: first by policies in the 1920s that favored emerging capitalist farmers — le-

galizing their practice of employing labor and renting land, lowering their taxes, and beginning to undercut nationalization of the land; and then, after 1929, by a campaign forcing the peasantry into collective farming.

Stalin's forced collectivization incited peasant revolts and uprisings. Peasants hoarded grain, withholding it from government collectors. When this became impossible, they destroyed it, as well as millions of head of livestock. The government's response was merciless. Whole peasant villages were forcibly relocated, executions were carried out, and thousands were sent to labor camps. Non-Russian nationalities, with their predominantly peasant composition, were hardest hit. The devastation caused a famine in 1932-33 in which 5 million to 8 million died.

Great Russian domination was reasserted and its worst features were imposed on the non-Russian republics. During World War II nationalities whose loyalties were suspect suffered large-scale deportations. Crimean Tatars were accused of collective treason and the entire Tatar population was transported to Central Asia on Stalin's orders. The Baltic countries of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia were forcibly annexed by Stalin in 1940 following an agreement made the previous year with the Nazi regime of Germany.

The Cyrillic alphabet used in Russian was abruptly and bureaucratically imposed on peoples whose languages had a different alphabet. Cultural and religious rights won as a result of the October 1917 revolution were taken away. The economic and political policies of the bureaucracy reinforced and played on inequalities, pitting nationalities against each other.

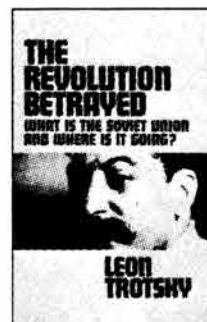
Anti-Semitism, so virulent under tsarist rule, was again promulgated, and Jewish organizations faced restrictions and stiff repression, especially during and after World War II. Jews were barred from government posts and universities and faced restrictions in other jobs.

Many of the gains made by women in the first years of the revolution were reversed. A 1936 decree made abortion illegal except when medically authorized, and divorce became a more difficult procedure. Initial steps toward providing women with child-care were restricted. Reactionary themes again resurfaced, glorifying motherhood, hearth, and family. As part of its population policy, the state began providing subsidies in 1936 to encourage large families, and soon thereafter the title "Mother Heroine" was given to women who gave birth to and reared 10 children.

Many in the CP fought to maintain the communist course of the October 1917 revolution and against its degeneration. Next week we will take a look at who they were, the fight they waged, and the conclusions they came to.

(To be continued)

from Pathfinder



## Books on the Soviet Union after Lenin's time



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# Nelson Mandela speaks to youth

‘Vast majority support a nonracial, democratic country’



Nelson Mandela addressing South African Youth Congress.

The following address by African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela opened the Second Congress of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) on April 13. The meeting was held in Ka-Nyamazane, South Africa, April 13-16. The speech was transcribed from a live recording by the Militant.

*Amandla! (Power!) [Delegates respond: Ngawethu! (It is ours!)]*  
*i-Africa (Africa!) [Delegates: Mayibuye! (Let it come back!)]*

Comrades, chairman, comrade members of the leadership of Sayco, militants of the youth congress, and young lions, it is a matter of great honor that we stand here today. We are privileged that we share this moment with you at this decisive phase in the history of our people and our country. We thank you for inviting us to speak at this particular youth congress.

We say all this because your congress will have to take important decisions which will influence the course of events for all the people of our country. You, who are present here today, and the millions you represent, are the pride of all our people. Your contribution to the struggle, to our irreversible advance towards liberation, has been truly enormous. The sacrifices you have made, and will still be called upon to make, cannot but evoke our greatest admiration for your courage and determination.

## In front ranks of struggle

You have been in the forward ranks of all our fighting formations. Regardless of the kind of struggle, and regardless of the challenges the struggle posed, you have been the

backbone of the struggle for a peoples' education. You have been at the heart of the heroic efforts of the oppressed and exploited workers of our country. You have played a leading role in the glorious reawakening of our down-trodden rural masses.

It is you who are the combatants and commanders of our beloved people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. [Cheers] The people's movement, the ANC, belongs to you, in the same way that you belong to it.

Therefore it is clear, dear comrades, that your place and role in society and the struggle imposes the responsibility on you to act in unison as one of the principal motor forces of our struggle.

This requires of you political maturity, strong and soundly democratic organizations, smooth running of all your activities, and united, determined action for the victory of the national, democratic struggle.

All of this must be carried out in the context of our ongoing struggle for the sharing of power with the people. Accordingly, we must answer the question: What stage has the struggle reached and what are the tasks that we have forthcoming in order to advance to victory?

We must therefore be clear that negotiations do not mean the end of the struggle. They are a continuation of the struggle and become possible because of the advances that we have scored in the course of our general offensive against the apartheid system.

It is of importance that you discuss the role of the youth and the democratic youth movement in the struggle for a just, negotiated settlement of the political and other problems facing our country. In the first instance it is necessary that you familiarize yourself with the Harare Declaration — a document which we initiated ourselves and which is now supported by the whole world, since its unanimous adoption at the Sixteenth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations last December.

The overwhelming majority of our people support the perspective of the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, and nonracial country.

## 'Apartheid has to go now!'

It is necessary that you, together with and as part of the masses, should participate in the further elaboration of this perspective so that we ensure that the fundamental aspirations of the people are addressed in the post-apartheid South Africa.

As a result of the heroic struggles you and most of the masses of the people have carried out on many fronts, combined with the international offensive for the total isolation of

apartheid South Africa, we have arrived at a point where the Pretoria government has understood and accepted that the system of white minority domination can no longer be maintained. It has to go, and has to go now! [Cheers]

Accordingly, the government has accepted that it must negotiate with the genuine representatives of our people to bring into being a new political, economic, and social order. Needless to say, this regime has its own view, which it will fight for, as to what this new order should be. We, too, have our own perspective of what we mean when we say that the people shall govern and that the wealth of our country shall be shared by all our people.

These sets of different views today confront one another in struggle as they have done over the decades. This confrontation has expressed itself through the various forms of struggle which we have waged. At present there is an additional theater of struggle — the theater of negotiations.

It is also of central importance that the bloc which represents the perspective of a nonracial democracy should participate in the negotiations as such a bloc.

During the course of our struggle we have viewed it as a strategic imperative that we should build a broad democratic front to challenge the apartheid regime in united action. The front found an expression in the Conference for a Democratic Future held last December. There is a continuing strategic need to further build and strengthen this front as a vital instrument of mass struggle to destroy the apartheid system and to defend and advance the democracy when victory has been achieved.

These forces must continue to act in unity during this stage of the struggle, which includes a negotiated resolution of the apartheid issue.

## 'Organize masses in struggle'

We have to bear in mind, all the time, that we have as one of our primary responsibilities the task of organizing the masses of our people into the struggle.

The building of a broad democratic front is part of the process of organization. It must therefore be approached with all due seriousness. A good organizer knows that there is no such thing as a ready-made member of any organization. To organize means to go out and convince those who were not convinced before. It means that the organizer has to exercise patience and display understanding even for the views with which he or she may not agree.

These remarks are relevant, for instance, with regards to the work all of us are carrying out in the rural areas. Here we find, among others, people who are serving in homeland structures as well as the traditional chiefs. Through persuasion and without any harassment, we must draw these compatriots — who also belong among the oppressed people — into the common struggle for liberation. We should observe this manner of operation wherever we go out to organize.

We have spoken of the broad democratic

front. But of central importance as well is the need for us to build the ANC, the ANC Youth League, and the ANC Women's League. Without these sectoral structures it will be impossible to construct the broad front. As the South African Youth Congress, most, if not all of whose members see themselves as part of the ANC, you have a historic responsibility to join hands with the ANC Youth Section to rebuild that central component of our struggling forces in our country — the ANC Youth League. [Cheers]

You will of course also have to attend to the question of the mobilization of those sections of the youth who may not wish to be members of the ANC into the broad democratic movement so that they too can make a contribution to the abolition of the apartheid system and the transformation of our country.

## Most urgent tasks

As you know, comrades, there are many other tasks which face all of us. In this address we have sought merely to focus on some of the most important and urgent. These are organization, elaboration of our political tasks, and spelling out of the program of action which should enable us to carry out these tasks.

The leadership of the ANC is convinced that this congress will address these questions with the seriousness and dynamism which characterizes Sayco and the fighting youth of the country.

We wish you success in your deliberations, confident that we can rely on you further to raise the level of mass struggle for the realization of the goals on which we cannot compromise: the sharing of power with all the people of the country.

I must point out that the youth of our country have a special responsibility as far as discipline is concerned. You, as has often been said, are the leaders of this community of the future. As future leaders there are certain responsibilities which we expect you to observe. One of these is utmost discipline. If you are not disciplined, you can never win our confidence. If you do not respect the leadership of the ANC, we can never rely on you.

In this organization there is one president, and that is comrade Oliver Tambo. [Cheers] In this organization there is one National Executive of the ANC — in Lusaka.<sup>2</sup> [Cheers] They are united and determined to win a democratic South Africa within our lifetime. We expect you to respect the president, the National Executive Committee, and comrades in the organization.

## 'Persuade people to join us'

We expect far more from you than that. We expect you to respect other freedom fighters outside our organization. We expect you to have the spirit of comrades, of being able to allow those who disagree with you to propagate their own views and their own methods of struggle. We do not wish to force people into our own organization, into our own thinking. What we want to do is to persuade our people to join us and share our point of view.

Any form of violence, any form of coercion, any form of harassment is against the policy of the ANC. Those who have attacked other youth, who are hostile to their aspirations, who are impatient with them, are not disciplined members of the ANC. We call on you to refrain from using violence and coercion against other political organizations and youth movements.

Our strongest weapon is the success that we have already achieved. We have addressed several rallies in this country. In the history of this country no such rallies have ever been witnessed. [Cheers] That is one of our strongest weapons.

And we do not need to assault members of other organizations. I appeal to you to

1. "Homelands," often referred to as bantustans, are nominally independent or self-governing areas established by the regime where a majority of the African population is forced to live. The 10 "homelands" comprise 13 percent of the land in South Africa. Pretoria has sought to establish puppet governments in these areas.

2. The ANC leadership is based in exile in Lusaka, Zambia.



Heavily armed police block road. Police "are trained to look at every demand by Blacks as a declaration of war," Mandela said.





Militant/Margrethe Siem

Youth at rally in Ciskei "homeland." Mandela told Sayco delegates, "You have played a leading role in the glorious reawakening of our downtrodden rural masses."

behave with the dignity which members of the African National Congress and other democratic organizations in the country deserve. And I sincerely hope that this appeal from me will not fall on deaf ears.

You will have noticed that a number of leaflets have been issued recently, quite obviously by the right-wing. The truth is that Andries Treurnicht, a leader of the Conservative Party, is involved in the process of frightening away whites from the African National Congress and from their Black brothers.

His only message to the people of South Africa is that of naked racism. He thinks of, and only of, whites in this country. He still thinks that the white minority in this country is the only population group that is to be found. That is the reason why he now associates himself with leaflets which are intended to worsen the racialism of this country.

He also wants to destabilize the forthcoming meeting between the ANC and the government. Because one thing he is afraid of is that the people of this country, Black and white, should live together in peace. He can only receive prominence if he continues to spread his racist ideas. We say to Dr. Treurnicht: You will be defeated by the peo-

ple of South Africa, Black and white. [Cheers]

#### Many whites joining ANC

Many whites in this country are joining the ANC because they have come to realize that it is the policy of the ANC which insures racial peace and harmony in this country. We would appeal to whites to reject all efforts which are being made by the right-wing to polarize our population. We would like to assure our white brothers and sisters in this country that they have nothing to fear from our policy.

It is true that we demand the right of every South African to determine his own future. That can only be done if the demand of one person, one vote is granted. But we are also conscious of the fact that whites are honestly worried that this demand may result in the domination of whites by Blacks.

We want to assure them that we, the African National Congress, are prepared to examine this fear. Because although it is mistaken, we believe that it is genuine. And we will do everything in our power, together with the National Party, to ensure that whites do not fear a future democratic South Africa.

I am very happy to see here a couple of whites. The majority naturally are members of the press. But there are one or two private citizens who have come here to hear what the policy of this organization is. We commend them for coming here, and I hope that before I depart I will have the honor and the pleasure of shaking their hands and of welcoming them. [Cheers]

I hope I will have the honor and the pleasure of welcoming them to participate in the national debate that is going on in this country. And we are prepared to sit down and reason with them because they form an extremely important part of our country.

#### Demands end to police violence

Recently the government has let loose the South African police against our people. We were disturbed yesterday to hear that the police have used force and violence in breaking up a peaceful demonstration. The police seem also, in some areas, to be working with armed right-wing vigilantes, who themselves are shooting innocent people. A couple of people died yesterday in several parts of the country.

We must warn the government to take this matter seriously. Only the other week we canceled the talks between the ANC and the government because of the barbaric shooting down and killing of a large number of our people in Sebokeng. And by suspending the talks we were sending out a signal to the government that we are not prepared to take such a brutal attack on innocent people laying down. [Applause] And if [South African] President de Klerk continues to sit down with arms folded when the police are shooting our people, when right-wingers defiantly march around armed and shooting people, then negotiations in this country have no future whatsoever.

We are not going to allow the situation to arise where the government talks about negotiations and peace and at the same time conducts a war against us. President de Klerk please take notice: If people are becoming angry and intolerant, whatever you say, it

must be measured against the activities of your police and your troops. [Cheers] As far as we are concerned the government is doing very little to rein in its wild police force, which has been trained to look at every grievance and demand by Blacks as a declaration of war.

How different their attitude when they deal with demonstrations by whites. I have said to Mr. de Klerk the last time I met him that I am not aware of a single instance in which police ever opened fire against white demonstrators. [Cheers] I told him that if one, just one, white demonstrator was killed by a policeman, white South Africa would scream at the top of their voices. [Cheers] But if between six and 14 — as the mass media estimates the number of people killed in Sebokeng — if between six and 14 demonstrators were shot down by the police, there would be a national uprising in this country and the government would inevitably fall.

But because Black lives are regarded as cheap, white South Africa and the western world think that this is a flimsy reason to suspend talks between the ANC and the government.

We don't agree. I repeat that President de Klerk must be aware we will not tolerate the situation where on the eve of negotiations it allows his policemen to shoot our people at random.

#### Appeal to traditional chiefs

I have touched on the question of homeland leaders and traditional chiefs. It is not the policy of the ANC to condemn the chiefs as such. These are our traditional leaders, some of whom have an impressive record in the fight against apartheid. We say we must give them the respect that they deserve as traditional leaders.

You must remember that it is going to be difficult for our organization to take root and be strong in the countryside unless we are able to work together with them in their respective areas. And those who feel that we have nothing to do with the chiefs do not know the policy of the ANC and have no idea how to strengthen the organization in the countryside.

In fact, the National Party detected this weakness on our part, of not having strong organization in the countryside. That is how they succeeded in forcing the homeland policy on the masses of our people. We should work together with the chiefs and give them the respect they deserve.

But we must warn at the same time that those chiefs who side with the government and who cooperate in suppressing their own people, we say we will deal sufficiently and effectively with such people. [Cheers]

In our custom and history the chief is the mouthpiece of his people. He must listen to the complaints of his people. He is the custodian of their hopes and desires. And if any chief decides to be a tyrant, to take decisions for his people, he will come into a tragic end in the sense that we will deal with him.

We are not prepared to have the Mangopes in this country.<sup>3</sup> [Cheers] Anybody who defies the people, who thinks he is the law, who can give orders to the masses of the people without their respect and their wishes, that man is heading for disaster. [Cheers]

#### Welcome those who made mistakes

Finally, I wanted to appeal to you not to be unnecessarily hostile against the homeland leaders. These men are our flesh and blood and we want them to join the struggle. We know that some of them went into this system honestly, thinking that it was an effective option for us. But those who have discovered their mistakes and are prepared to come over to the liberation movement, let us welcome them with open arms. [Applause]

There is no need to say because a man has made a mistake before, we should no longer work with him. We must welcome them.

As you know I have met almost all of the

3. Bophuthatswana homeland President Lucas Mangope has refused to unban the ANC and has severely repressed protests against his dictatorial, pro-apartheid rule.

4. M.J. Mabena is the chief minister of the KwaNdebele homeland.

5. Enos Mabuza heads the KaNgwane homeland.

homeland leaders in this country, except three. [Laughter] But I had an appointment to meet with Mr. Mabena last Tuesday in order to discuss certain mutual problems as I have done with others.<sup>4</sup> But unfortunately I had to go to Lusaka as a matter of urgency, and both Monday and Tuesday I was away there and that meeting has been postponed.

I do hope that they will think as sons of the soil and align themselves with the other homeland leaders. But again we want to warn that we are not prepared to play the role of protecting discredited homeland leaders. [Cheers]

Those who confess their mistakes, those who are prepared to listen to the people now must go to the people in their areas and settle their problems. [Cheers] When they do that we will welcome them with open arms.

Lastly I believe that comrade Enos Mabuza is on the platform here with us.<sup>5</sup> [Cheers] Comrade Mabuza is a man of a special type. [Laughter and cheers] From his early days as chief minister, he has taken note of the fact that the leading political organization for Blacks in this country is the African National Congress. [Cheers] On countless occasions he has traveled all the way to Lusaka when most homeland leaders had their tails between their legs. [Laughter]

We welcome him to this meeting and compliment him for the excellent work he has done in educating his people on the importance of aligning themselves with the views of the vanguard of the liberation movement in this country.

Comrades, this is the end of my speech. And with these words I declare the conference open.

Amandla! (Power to the People!) [Delegates respond: Ngawethu! (It is ours!)]

Victory or death. We shall win! [Delegates: We shall win!]

Amandla! [Delegates: Ngawethu!]

Viva ANC! [Delegates: Viva!]

Viva the South African Communist Party, our ally! [Delegates: Viva!]

Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe! [Delegates: Viva!]

[Ovation]

## Sales of Mandela book to unionists, students in New Zealand go well

Fifty-seven copies of Nelson Mandela's *The Struggle Is My Life* were sold throughout New Zealand in March as part of the worldwide campaign launched by Pathfinder Press and the *Militant* to publicize the history of the anti-apartheid struggle and the political ideas of the African National Congress.

"My beliefs have been explained," wrote Mandela last July, "in my autobiography, *The Struggle Is My Life*." Pathfinder and *Militant* supporters are also stepping up sales of the magazine *New International* No. 5, which includes "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," by Jack Barnes.

Unionists at factory gates, on the job, or at union meetings in New Zealand purchased 25 of the 280-page book. Fourteen were sold from tables set up on university campuses in Christchurch, Dunedin, Wellington, and Auckland.

To join the campaign or order your copy clip the coupon below.

Send me ☐ 5 ☐ 10 ☐ 15 ☐ 20 (other) copies of:

☐ *The Struggle Is My Life* (\$10.95 each; \$7.25 each for 10 or more).

☐ *Habla Nelson Mandela* (\$6.95 each; \$4.65 each for 10 or more).

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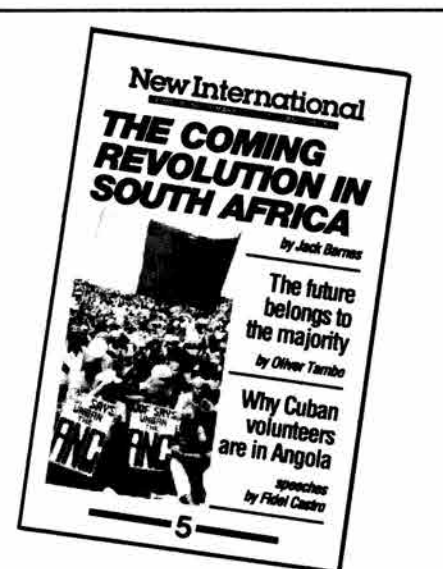
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Send to the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you. See page 16.



This issue of *New International* 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 to overthrow the South African apartheid regime and establish a nonracial democratic republic.

Also included:

- *The Freedom Charter*
- *The Future Belongs to the Majority*, a message by African National Congress President Oliver Tambo
- *Why Cuban Volunteers Are in Angola*, three speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro

Send \$5 to New International, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014



## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**U.S. Hands Off Cuba!** Speakers: Francisca Cavazos, participant in 20th anniversary Venceremos Brigade; Steve Doncaster, member National Lawyers Guild and Central America Solidarity Committee; Carlos Madrid, Salvadoran activist; Juan Martínez, Young Socialist Alliance; Dawn Noggle, member AFSCME Local 3190; Marjorie Zatz, ASU professor. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 19, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**The Struggle for National Self-Determination in the Soviet Union.** Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., May 12, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

## CALIFORNIA

### San Francisco

**U.S. Hands Off Cuba!** March and rally, Sat., May 19. Assemble 11 a.m. at 24th and Mission. Rally at 1:30 p.m. at UN Plaza. Sponsor: U.S. Hands Off Cuba Coalition. Tel: (415) 255-7296.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**The Destruction of the Everglades.** Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 12, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Malcolm X: One of the Greatest Revolutionaries of This Country.** Video with discussion to follow. Sat., May 19, 6:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**The Truth Behind South Africa's Withdrawal from Namibia.** Video showing of Cuban documentary on battle at Cuito Cuavale, Angola. Opening remarks: Janet Brammer, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 6787. Sat., May 12, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**The Conditions in Prisons and the Fight for Prisoners' Rights.** A panel discussion with John Studer, coordinator Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and others. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**Freedom for Lithuania: The Right of Nations to Self-Determination, a Leninist View.** Speaker: Edwin Fruit, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 846. Sat., May 12. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner \$3, forum \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas and Their Relevancy for Today.** Speaker: Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 27. Sat.,

May 19. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner \$3, forum \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**In Defense of Socialism: Eyewitness Report from Cuba.** Slide presentation by members of Young Socialist Alliance, just returned from participation in 21st contingent of Venceremos Brigade. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### Austin

**Lithuania and the Struggle for Independence in the Soviet Republics.** Speaker: representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., May 20, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

### St. Paul

**Celebrate African Liberation Day: The Promise and the Reality of African Liberation.** Speaker: August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party, professor of political science at U of M. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**Cuba's Role in Africa.** Speaker: Clinton Adlum, first secretary of Cuban Interests Section. Fri., May 25. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**A Woman's Right to Choose: A Union Issue.** Speakers: Debbie Lazar, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America; Ed Meyer, volunteer Missouri NARAL and member United Auto Workers Local 136. Sat., May 12, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Stop Union-Busting! Support Eastern and Greyhound Strikers.** Speakers: Nick Whitaker, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1202; Nick Gruenberg, Eastern strike activist. Sat., May 12, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Brooklyn

**Cuba Mobilizes to Defend Its Revolution.** Speakers: Jon Hillson, *Militant* reporter at May Day events in Cuba; Ernie Mailhot, participant in international delegation of unionists at May Day celebration, staff coordinator International Association of Machinists Local 1018 on strike against Eastern. Translation to Spanish and French. Fri., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

### Manhattan

**Cuba Mobilizes to Defend Its Revolution.** Speakers: Jon Hillson, *Militant* reporter at May Day events in Cuba; Ernie Mailhot, participant in international delegation of unionists at May Day celebration, staff coordinator International Association of Machinists Local 1018 on strike against Eastern. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

# Rally to Demand Justice for Mark Curtis

## Hear: Kate Kaku

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

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

**Bismarck Hotel, Pavilion Room, 171 Randolph**

**Donation: \$5**

**Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Committee**

## OREGON

### Portland

**Benefit Concert for Mark Curtis.** Fund-raiser for the framed-up and imprisoned Iowa unionist and political activist. Music by Harry Stamper, folksinger and longshoreman from Coos Bay. Presentations by Marc Thomas, coordinator Amnesty International's Portland chapter and Frank Johnson, member Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers from St. Helens. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. Peace House, 2116 NE 18th at Tillamook. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Oregon Supporters of Mark Curtis. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Why Mexican Workers Are Not to Blame for U.S. Unemployment.** Speaker: Randy Warren, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America. Sat., May 12, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

**Celebrate Malcolm X's Birthday.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

## BRITAIN

### Cardiff

**Abortion Is a Woman's Right.** Speaker: Anne Howie, member National Union of Railwaymen. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

### London

**U.S. Hands Off Cuba!** Speakers: Miguel Martínez, Cuban charges d'affaires; Bridget Elton, Communist League; representative of Britain-Cuba Resource Centre. Fri., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 71-928-7947.

### Manchester

**The Fight for a Free South Africa: Firsthand Report.** Speaker: Rich Palser, *Militant* correspondent recently returned from South Africa. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Fo-

runs. Tel: 061-839 1766.

### Sheffield

**Abortion Rights.** Speaker: Mary Donnelly, member National Abortion Campaign. Wed., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

## CANADA

### Montréal

**Defend Mark Curtis! Framed-Up Unionist from Des Moines, Iowa.** Speakers: Kate Kaku, leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife; Jean-Claude Bernheim, Prisoners' Rights Bureau; Serge Bouchereau, Committee in Solidarity with the Haitian People; Michel Prairie, editor *Lutte ouvrière*, member of delegation to UN Human Rights Commission on Curtis' behalf; Pierre-Paul Saint-Onge, Students Association at Québec University, Montréal; Fred Sweet, Montréal Central Council (CSN). Translation to English, French, and Spanish. Thurs., May 17, 7:30 p.m. 1205, rue de la Visitation (Metro: Beaudry). Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Friends of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

### Toronto

**Justice for Mark Curtis.** Speaker: Kate Kaku, leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife. Sun., May 27, 4 p.m. First Unitarian Congregation, 175 St. Clair Ave. W (west of Avenue Rd.). Program includes video showing of *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, directed by Nick Castle. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Auckland

**Behind Political Developments in Britain: Protests Against Poll Tax, Prison Riots, Exposure of Guildford 4 Frame-Up.** Sat., May 19, 7 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. Tel: (9) 793-075.

## SWEDEN

### Stockholm

**The Right to National Self-Determination for All People in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.** Speaker: Inge Hinnemo, member Metal Workers' Union. Sat., May 19, 2 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

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# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**Green money?** — "Americans did not fight and win the wars of the 20th century to make the world safe



Harry Ring

for green vegetables." — U.S. Budget Director Richard Darman, who sees a red agenda in the green movement.

**Says who!** — In Britain, Myra Caswell sued a bar and won £350 damages and legal costs. The bar had refused to serve her a pint of

lager, saying women could only have half pints. The incident occurred when Caswell was on her way home from an assertiveness training class.

**Korea's "economic miracle"** — "SEOUL — South Korean investors, frustrated by a slumping stock market, staged protests at brokerage houses, switching off computers and even hurling potted plants at brokers." — News dispatch.

**Fink's reward** — In the Hartford trial of the Puerto Rican nationalists railroaded to prison on charges of conspiring to rob a Wells Fargo depot, Kenneth Cox was a prosecution witness. In response to a Wells Fargo \$100,000 reward offer, he had come forward

and asserted he participated in planning the holdup. With the convictions in, Wells Fargo is offering Cox \$5,000. He's suing.

**Free enterprise, USA** — Sign up with a cryonic suspension dealer and when you expire you'll be frozen, in case future science can revive you. A full freeze is \$100,000, but for \$35,000 they'll freeze just the head. Besides the savings, it's expected that it will be more difficult for future doctors to defrost a full body in working order.

**Educating Buchwald** — Columnist Art Buchwald seemed to be on easy street when a court awarded him 1.5 percent of the profits of the Paramount film *Coming to America* (They lifted

his story idea.) The film has grossed \$350 million. But, says Paramount, they didn't make a dime.

**Lucky to break even** — How could a studio not make a profit on a \$350 million gross? Easy. Some of Hollywood's artful bookkeeping includes deducting distribution fees that they pay themselves; pumping up expenses by renting sets they own at inflated prices, and incurring losses by selling video distribution rights at bargain prices to their own subsidiaries.

**Law 'n order, Israeli style** — "In Bethlehem, seven school girls were hospitalized after inhaling a gas used by the army to disperse a

pupil demonstration." — *Haaretz*, an Israeli daily.

**Quakers feel their oats** — In response to protests from the Quakers, Quaker Oats said it will stop promoting Popeye as "Popeye the Quaker Man." The religious group said Popeye's penchant for solving problems with his fists was contrary to Quaker pacifist doctrine.

**On redoing Popeye** — In the early 1970s, La Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano formation, was elected to administer Crystal City, a Texas town that is 90 percent Chicano. With spinach the area's principal crop, growers had erected a statue of Popeye at city hall. When La Raza Unida won, Popeye was painted brown.

## U.S. military intervention in Peru is stepped up

Continued from front page

military's attempt to crush it have shaken the entire political fabric of Peru and undermined the civilian regime's ability to govern.

Since 1982 the Peruvian armed forces have had absolute political and military control in Ayacucho and other departments declared "emergency zones." Sendero Luminoso, whose full name is Communist Party of Peru — Shining Path, operates primarily in the southwestern mountainous region of Ayacucho among the poor peasant Indian population.

The state of emergency declared by the

government in two-thirds of the country, has given the army more of a free hand in violating human rights. In some instances, the military has slaughtered the entire male population of a village where the guerrillas have derived support.

The fact that the army has not been able to crush the Sendero forces shows that the guerrillas have support among Peru's impoverished Andean peasants. Peru is South America's second-poorest country, after Bolivia.

Right-wing death squads, linked to the government or the army, have targeted jour-

nalists, lawyers, human rights activists, and peasant and trade union leaders.

On March 21 the Peruvian navy took over the country's 17 ports to prevent a strike by dock workers. Five thousand workers of the National Port Authority were demanding wage increases.

Under the impact of worsening economic conditions, over the past few months Peru's workers have launched a broad wave of strikes. In the weeks leading up to the first round of presidential elections on April 8, bank clerks, textile factory workers, construction workers, and civilian staff at the

country's prisons all walked off the job to demand immediate wage increases.

At the beginning of February the post office was three months behind in mail delivery because of an extended strike by postal workers. After a similar strike the post office recently burned thousands of undelivered letters to reduce the backlog.

The most important of these strikes was that of the copper miners in southern Peru begun at the end of March. During the first 19 days, the strike cost the employers \$40 million in losses.

"Workers are suffering and starving. The government must be made to understand that we cannot go on this way," said Leonardo Ramirez, vice-president of the mine workers' federation.

With an annual inflation rate of more than 2,000 percent over the past year, fuel prices went up 29 percent and medicines from 30 to 200 percent in just three days following the April elections. The Peruvian government is defaulting on interest payments on more than half of its \$17 billion foreign debt.

The infant mortality rate in Peru is officially 80 out of every 1,000 live births, one of the highest on the continent. But in some areas of the country the mortality rate reaches 120 per 1,000.

In the capital city of Lima, many children die because their parents do not have money to pay for medical attention or for medicine. Approximately half of the 180,000 annual deaths in this Andean country are children under the age of five who were victims of preventable illnesses such as measles, bronchial infections, and the dehydration that results from diarrhea.

"The word *crisis* has long lost its meaning here," said a 27 year-old Peruvian engineer.

## Nicaragua contra tops invited to Managua

Continued from Page 3

Following the conclusion of the talks, the president invited the mercenaries to her home for a post-midnight supper.

The delegation then drove back to their base of operations in the countryside, having accomplished their goal. They had taken yet another step forward in their Cinderella-like transformation from an army smashed in combat and despised worldwide as thieves and assassins in the pay of imperialism, to a force increasingly legitimized in bourgeois politics in this country.

Despite the polite pretense of an agreement, virtually no one in Nicaragua takes seriously the promise to disarm by June 10. It is obvious that the longer the contras sit and wait, the more concessions they are winning from the government.

Moreover, the continuing process of disarming peasants in parts of the countryside is steadily giving the contras even greater space. Although many peasants are still trying to resist the combined pressure to give up their weapons coming from mercenaries, army officials, and UN observers, some have turned over their arms.

This is proceeding side by side with the decline of political mobilizations demanding the disarming of the mercenaries, as the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) continues to argue against mass actions that might "destabilize" the capitalist government.

### FSLN praise for Chamorro

In line with this policy, the Sandinista Front praised Chamorro's handling of the Managua meeting with the mercenaries. The FSLN daily, *Barricada*, wrote that "surprisingly" Chamorro "maintained a constant and energetic participation in the conversations, repeatedly calling on the contras to disarm... in compliance with the agreement signed last month."

Although the talks produced "nothing new," they were nonetheless a "step toward peace," Sandinista Front spokesman Reynaldo Antonio Téfel told a radio interviewer. Téfel, who is the second vice-president of the National Assembly, also hailed Chamorro's offer of a government position to the contra boss. "It could be a clever policy," he explained, "because in this way the contras feel reassured."

Meanwhile, one more piece in the developing government partnership between Chamorro and the FSLN was put into place

with the naming of Sandinista Front member Emilio Rappaccioli to continue as head of the Nicaraguan Energy Institute (INE). He held the same position under the FSLN government, when the post carried ministerial rank. The new administration has reduced the number of ministries, reclassifying some, including the INE, as "autonomous entities."

Rappaccioli said he was accepting the appointment after receiving approval from Sandinista Front officials. "I am here because the FSLN gave its approval, conscious of its

principle of service to the people," he announced.

Rappaccioli, together with Humberto Ortega, who is being kept on as chief army officer, are the Sandinista Front members now holding top level positions in the governing coalition. In addition, many senior administrative posts throughout the state apparatus, from the police force to the foreign ministry, continue to be filled by the FSLN personnel who served during the previous administration.

## Vancouver unionists win contract

BY TONI DiFELICE

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — A strong show of unity by 250 garment workers here has won significant contract gains from Mr. Jax, one of the biggest garment manufacturers in British Columbia.

A week before the contract was approved at an April 12 meeting of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 178, the workers went on strike. This action was called in spite of rumored layoffs, threats to sell the company, and British Columbia's severe antilabor legislation.

"Because of your militant behavior, Mr. Jax was forced to make significant improvements in its final offer," ACTWU Canada Director John Alleruzzo told the workers at the April 12 meeting.

The contract, printed in Chinese and English, includes across-the-board increases of 50, 48, and 46 cents an hour for each of the next three years.

The majority of workers at Mr. Jax are immigrant women of Asian origin who earn \$5 to \$7 an hour.

The growing militancy of the workers was evident late last year when all the production workers at the plant refused to cross a secondary picket line set up by members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union who were waging a strike against Surrey Classics, one of seven plants owned by Mr. Jax Fashions. A court injunction forced the Local 178 members back to work after a production shutdown of two days.

At the meeting where the strike vote was taken, the workers were forced to cast their ballots in the presence of management and government officials under the provisions of British Columbia's antilabor laws. During the vote workers had to remain seated. When their names were called, workers had to walk

to the front of the room, then past two production managers and the government representative in order to fill out their secret ballot.

Toni DiFelice is a member of ACTWU Local 178 at Mr. Jax.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 30 CENTS

May 16, 1980

A million and a half Cubans rallied in Havana May Day to demonstrate support for their government and opposition to Washington's threats. President Fidel Castro announced expansion of Cuba's people's militias.

The Carter administration has been forced to beat a retreat in its military pressure against Cuba, canceling a slated marine landing exercise at the Guantánamo naval base. Washington is increasingly tangled in the contradiction between declarations of support for those leaving Cuba from the port of Mariel and efforts to choke off that emigration.

In this situation the slated Guantánamo landing could only be seen by a world that is increasingly suspicious of Washington as the provocation it was.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

May 17, 1965

Price 10c

The wave of student protest against President Johnson's war in Vietnam has divided

the peace movement over the questions of what the war is all about and how to oppose it.

The split came into the open on the eve of the April 17 March on Washington with a statement signed by 11 leading figures of the traditional peace movement, including Norman Thomas, Bayard Rustin, and Student Peace Union leaders Ed Clark and Roget Lockard.

This statement expressed "interest and sympathy" with the "concern" of the students, but then got down to its real point by disassociating itself from "some of the elements" in the march. These deans of American pacifism and reformism welcomed the cooperation only of those individuals who "like themselves" were "not committed to any form of totalitarianism" or influenced by the "foreign policy of any government."

While warning about being under the influence of the foreign policy of any government, they eagerly added that Johnson's April 7 Johns Hopkins speech "suggested the possibility of a healthy shift of American foreign policy."

A.J. Muste, one of the signers of the April 16 statement, felt compelled to "explain" it, saying the statement was a "very mild resolution" compared to what Rustin wanted. Rustin, according to Muste's revelation, "wanted to torpedo the March on Washington."



## Another step in NATO's demise

The announcement by U.S. President George Bush that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had canceled plans to deploy more powerful and accurate short-range nuclear weapons in Germany signals the further disintegration of the U.S.-dominated military alliance.

The U.S.-sponsored proposals endorsed by NATO include allowing Soviet troops to remain in the German Democratic Republic (GDR — East Germany) for an unspecified period of time; dropping plans to deploy advanced versions of the Lance short-range, nuclear-tipped missile and nuclear artillery shells stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG — West Germany); and the holding of another NATO meeting to discuss cuts in conventional forces.

"President Bush faced up to the inevitable this week — but it's barely a start," commented a *New York Times* editorial. Facing up to the inevitable for the U.S. rulers means bowing to the implications of the relative decline of Washington's economic and political dominance within the imperialist system and the relative strengthening of German imperialism — not only in Europe, but internationally.

The crumbling of the Warsaw Pact military alliance has further weakened NATO's role. In Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and elsewhere the dominant Stalinist parties, under the impact of a growing economic crisis and pressure of mass mobilizations, have been shattered. The GDR's army has nearly disintegrated, and some Soviet troops are being withdrawn from these countries. As the new governments in Eastern Europe seek loans and investments from capitalist countries and political ties with imperialist governments, the "threat" of communist expansion around which NATO was built following World War II diminishes.

With Germany rapidly moving toward union and the fact that the missiles in the FRG could only be fired into the GDR, Czechoslovakia, or Poland made the drive led by Bush to update the weapons particularly unpopular and untenable.

The accelerated decline of NATO brings to an end the framework for the way political relations among the United States, the Soviet Union, and the European countries have been conducted for the past 40 years.

The enormous military and political influence exercised by the U.S. imperialists in Europe grew out of their dominant position vis-à-vis their imperialist competitors following World War II. Germany, the dominant power in Central Europe prior to the war, was conquered, divided, and occupied by U.S., French, British, and Soviet troops.

This dismemberment was codified when the imperialist powers formed NATO in 1949. Alarmed by the overturn of the capitalist government in Czechoslovakia, and the expropriation of the capitalist class in eastern Germany and four other countries occupied by Soviet troops, the imperialists sought to prevent the spread of these developments to any more countries.

NATO was built up as an integrated conventional military force augmented by European-based nuclear weapons and backed by an ultimate reliance on U.S. nuclear might. Tens of thousands of U.S. and NATO troops and U.S.-controlled nuclear warheads were maintained on German soil and elsewhere in Europe.

U.S. capitalism's political and economic domination was reinforced by investments and loans for the rebuilding of war-shattered Europe following World War II. This led to

a massive expansion of U.S. capital, which eventually gave way to a slowdown in capital accumulation as the factors that fueled it were exhausted.

By the end of the 1960s average profit rates began to drop more rapidly and the mass of profits began to stagnate. The result was intensified price competition among the imperialist powers that broke the de facto industrial monopoly held by U.S. capitalists coming out of the war. In relation to U.S. imperialism, the economic weight of the FRG and Japan increased.

Germany's industrial and trading power is the source of the relative strengthening of the mark and the growing power of the German central bank in Europe and beyond. Germany has led the world in exports for each of the past three years and purchases one-quarter of the gross domestic product of the 12-country European Community, often called the Common Market.

Moreover, the German rulers have the largest conventional armed forces of any capitalist country in Europe, although they were prevented by the victorious powers in World War II from becoming a strategic nuclear power. The Soviet Union's nuclear parity with Washington makes war with the USSR — especially a nuclear war — unlikely. This has opened space for Germany to become politically more assertive.

Without being able any longer to act as the "protector" of Europe from the "communist menace" — and extract economic and political concessions as a result — the military significance of Washington's nuclear arsenal in Europe has declined.

The demands on NATO for reduction in troops and nuclear weapons reflects the fact that the rulers of the FRG are moving to bring their world political and military power in line with their strengthened position relative to their imperialist competitors.

Washington is less able to speak, act, or negotiate as the undisputed leader of the world imperialist alliance.

While organizing a retreat from the kind of military alliance NATO has been, the U.S. imperialists are trying to maintain as much influence as possible in Europe.

U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney is pressing NATO to go ahead with plans for a new generation of air-launched nuclear missiles to be installed on U.S. warplanes in Europe. Bush is also seeking to utilize the structure of NATO as a political alliance in order for U.S. imperialism to, as he said recently, "remain a European power in the broadest sense — politically, militarily, and economically."

These developments have opened the door for the first time in decades for the struggles by workers in both capitalist Europe and the countries where capitalism has been overthrown to mutually affect, influence, and strengthen each other.

The unification of Germany will bring the struggles by workers in the FRG and the GDR against worsening conditions — blocked for decades by the occupation and division of Germany — closer together. The German working class's ability to wage a common struggle will strengthen it and other working-class struggles across Europe.

Working people have no interest in NATO troops being stationed in Germany. Soviet troops should also be withdrawn. All the nuclear weapons, short- and long-range, should be dismantled. All postwar occupation accords, which violate the German people's right to sovereignty, should be abrogated.

## No U.S. troops to Peru!

In an ominous move, Washington is preparing to escalate its intervention in Latin America by building a military base in Peru and sending U.S. military personnel to that Andean country.

U.S. "advisers" will help train Peruvian troops engaged in a war with guerrilla forces in the countryside. But working people have learned since Washington's aggression in Vietnam that the introduction of military "advisers" can be the guise for sending in U.S. combat troops. In the Vietnam War, the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations gradually built up the number of "advisers" until there were tens of thousands in place taking part in combat and suffering significant fatalities. This was all before 1965, when the Johnson administration began openly sending hundreds of thousands of combat troops to that country.

As past experience has shown, the build-up of U.S. military personnel, whatever their label, heightens the chances of their direct involvement in a shooting war. Accompanying Peruvian troops, U.S. "civilian" helicopter pilots contracted by the State Department have already engaged in a firefight with guerrilla forces.

The latest escalation is part of a series of U.S. military provocations and aggressions in Latin America. Last December Washington invaded Panama with thousands of troops. In January the U.S. government was forced to call back its squadron of naval vessels, with its 8,000 sailors, steaming towards Colombia's Caribbean coast to blockade that country. "Intercepting drug trafficking" was their alleged mission.

Washington continues to patrol the Caribbean waters, violating the sovereignty of countries in the region. On

March 9 a U.S. patrol boat intercepted a Colombian ship in Colombian waters. The *Tarú*, carrying cement and other products to San Andrés island, was boarded by U.S. marines and searched for seven hours.

On January 31 a U.S. Coast Guard patrol boat fired hundreds of rounds at the *Hermann*, an unarmed Cuba cargo ship in international waters that was transporting chrome to Mexico. The Cuban crew refused to allow Coast Guard personnel to board the *Hermann*.

U.S. military presence in Peru and elsewhere in Latin America has nothing to do with ending drug trafficking — despite Washington's use of "the war on drugs" as a pretext for mounting attacks. Peru, like other countries in the region, is in the midst of a deepening economic and social crisis that is fueling a civil war.

Burdened by an unpayable foreign debt, skyrocketing inflation, and massive unemployment, Latin America is a powder keg waiting to explode. Massive strike waves and popular rebellions have grown more common, as working people take to the streets to demand the right to earn a living wage. The growing social explosion is what Washington is preparing for, fearing the possibility that working people in Latin America will take their economies into their own hands and away from the U.S. multinational corporations that exploit and drain their resources and wealth.

Working people have no stake in backing Washington's plans for a military base in Peru, nor in the deployment of any U.S. troops or matériel in the region. The message to Washington should be a clear and loud: No U.S. intervention in Peru!

## E. Europe: what it would take to restore capitalism

BY DOUG JENNESS

Argentina's congress recently authorized President Carlos Saúl Menem to turn 30 government-owned enterprises over to private owners. Many will be sold at bargain prices to lure capitalist investors.

This is one of many examples that could be cited of capitalist governments around the world selling state properties to raise revenues or woo investors. According to many commentators in the big-business press, this is happening

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

in Eastern Europe too. A *New York Times* columnist writing from Buenos Aires, for example, expressed the opinion that privatization is "all the rage in Eastern Europe."

It is precisely statements like this, however, that are creating the widespread, but erroneous, impression that Eastern Europe is being swept towards capitalism.

Turning state-owned enterprises over to private owners in capitalist countries is very different, and much easier than in countries where the industrial capitalist class has been expropriated and no longer exists, which is the case in Eastern Europe.

For one thing, state-owned enterprises are totally enmeshed in the capitalist financial structure. The government usually issues interest-bearing bonds to finance these state-owned operations. The lion's share of the bonds are bought by bankers or other capitalist investors, who reap the profits from the interest. Moreover, the state-owned enterprises are part of a framework where the average rate of profit is determined through competition between industrial capitalists.

Capitalist governments usually take over private enterprises when they are ailing in order to help salvage them through subsidies, more stringent regulations, and other measures. Often, if conditions change, these enterprises are privatized without significant readjustment.

These peaceful transfers, however, are precluded in countries where the capitalist class was uprooted, lock, stock, and barrel; state property relations established; a state monopoly of foreign trade imposed; and economic planning begun.

The privileged bureaucratic castes that dominate politics in Eastern Europe are attempting to alleviate or overcome the worsening economic plight of their countries by adopting or proposing to adopt numerous methods and practices of capitalism. Among them are increased trade with capitalist countries, permitting capitalist market operations for the exchange of commodities, making currencies convertible on the world capitalist market, and increased investment by foreign capitalists.

While these measures are necessary for restoring capitalism to these countries, they are not sufficient. The key is reestablishing private ownership of basic industry — steel, mining, railroads, shipyards, and so on — which is at the heart of modern capitalist economies.

Won't the capitalist measures being introduced undermine the state ownership of industry and pave the way for a gradual return to the domination of competition for profits by industrial capitalists?

No. Not without waging a mighty battle against the working class in these countries. State property relations are not a "thing" that can be eliminated by legislation or decree or destroyed by a flanking operation of the capitalist market.

State property in countries where the capitalist class has been expropriated is a social relation in which the working class is deeply enmeshed. It was the mobilization of workers to one extent or another in the Eastern European countries that expropriated the capitalists. They eliminated the exploitation of wage workers by the capitalist owners that is a necessary part of the capitalist system. The new state property relations are not based on exploitation of one class by another. The privileged caste that has dominated these countries for the past 40 years are not property owners and do not derive their privileges or bigger incomes from playing a necessary role in the planned economies.

In fact, once this strata is removed, the state property relations can become the basis on which a politically conscious working class can begin making a transition to socialism. To overturn these property relations means tearing apart the working class' relationship to them.

This can't be done without drastically raising unemployment, imposing more draconian work rules, and lowering the standard of living of workers. A tiny taste of what will be in store for restoration efforts was seen in Poland last year.

When Barbara Piasecka Johnson, a Johnson & Johnson heiress, attempted to buy the Gdansk shipyard, which were scheduled to be closed, she at first was warmly received by workers. But then — when her advisers submitted a plan slashing the work force in half, freezing wages in the face of skyrocketing inflation, and demanding a no-strike pledge — the workers became very angry. To head off a revolt the government called off the buyout.



# Locked-out steelworkers fight 'slave age' contract

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG

EAST CHICAGO, Ind. — Eighty-three steelworkers, locked out since last November at Standard Forgings, are making headway in winning support for their fight against company demands for deep-going concessions.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1720 was locked out when its members refused to accept the only proposal Standard Forgings' parent company, Trinity Industries, would make. The "plantation style" contract —

## UNION TALK

as Local 1720 members describe it — includes imposition of a merit system to replace seniority; elimination of union rights to all jobs if the bosses decide to contract them out; and the slashing of pension benefits.

According to Trinity's proposal, all future retirees would pay almost half of their pensions to continue health insurance coverage. Elimination of severance pay; an end to supplemental unemployment benefits; elimination of back pay awards for grievance settlements; and reduction of pay during vacations, jury duty, and funeral leaves were also included in the proposal.

"Either my way or the highway" was Trinity's bargaining stance, explained Joe Krmpotich, a member of Local 1720's negotiating committee and grievance committee chairman. Like all the local's officials, the 35-year-old Krmpotich worked full time in the plant.

The company's current takeback demands come on top of the 1983 and 1986 contracts, which exacted deep concessions. Until 1983, when the USWA gave up industrywide coordinated bargaining in basic steel, Local 1720 had "me too" contracts that followed on the basic-steel settlement.

The retreat from coordinated bargaining to company-by-company negotiations in basic steel is a loss for Steelworkers compared to the period when USWA members could

"shut down the whole steel industry," Krmpotich said. He also explained that Trinity has employed a strategy of buying up "plants that are already or are close to being shuttered," seeking to break unions where possible.

While Dallas-based Trinity is diversified, its concentration is in transportation. Thirty-five percent of railroad locomotive and freight car axles produced in the United States, for example, are made at Standard Forgings.

Trinity also bought up the former Pullman Standard plant in Bessemer, Alabama, where railroad cars are made, and reopened it nonunion. Last year, a determined fight by the workers there resulted in the plant's reorganization by the USWA.

Local 1720 activists have contacted the unions at other Trinity-owned plants, including the Bessemer plant. They've been in touch with the United Auto Workers local at Greenville Car in Greenville, Pennsylvania, and with the USWA local that repairs railroad cars in Butler, Pennsylvania.

Trinity "blackmailed workers into taking substandard contracts" at its Pennsylvania plants by holding up the example of the massive shutdowns in the steel industry there, Krmpotich explained.

Local 1720 has also sought support from working people in the Chicago area, starting with other Steelworkers and the largely Latino community of East Chicago. USWA locals 1010 and 1014 at Inland Steel and United States Steel's Gary Works organized plant-gate collections that brought \$3,600 to the locked-out workers. Three weeks into the fight, Local 1720 was given the use of a local Mexican community organization's hall for their "lockout" headquarters.

A turning point was reached in Local 1720's solidarity activity when it began to link up with members of the Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines, workers on strike at Greyhound, and fighters from the United Mine Workers of America. All of them had speakers at the March 3 rally held in Chicago to mark the one-year anniversary of the Eastern walkout. Since then Local 1720 activists have

spoken to meetings of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Militant Labor Forum, and elsewhere. They are also working with the Black rights organization, Operation PUSH.

On April 21 the locked-out workers held a rally in front of the Standard Forgings plant attended by more than 100 USWA members and other unionists and supporters.

The rally took place three days after Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo had been removed from the management of Eastern Airlines and replaced with a court-appointed trustee. That victory gave a shot in the arm to other fighters, including the workers at Standard Forgings.

Eastern striker Dave Nell, from Machinists Local 1487 in Chicago, got an enthusiastic response when he explained that the Eastern strikers' prospects — after 14 months — "look better now than ever."

A leader of the Greyhound strike in Chicago, Bill Coker, also spoke, along with United Mine Workers members Dan Roberts and Ernie Roball from the union's two-and-a-half year struggle at the Decker mine in Wyoming.

Officials from the USWA, CLUW, and other unions also addressed the rally.

Krmpotich saw the April 21 event as "a show of strength" that tells Trinity Industries that "people in this area aren't going to give up, that the people still support us." Local 1720's recording secretary Dan Queer, who chaired the rally, adds, "They're trying to bust the unions and send labor back to the slave age." The unions, he says, are gaining courage and "with other unions, we can make the company come back to the bargaining table."

The locked-out steelworkers believe that the company is hurting for axles and may start to negotiate more seriously. After several days of fruitless negotiations earlier this year and on May 4, another round of negotiations is set for May 17.

Mitchel Rosenberg is a member of USWA Local 1014 and works in the coke plant at USS Gary Works.

## LETTERS

### 'Tax reform'

The rich do not just "get" richer while the poor "get" poorer. Capitalist society is organized from top to bottom to advance this process as the economic crisis deepens.

As Robert Simms' recent article on British and Canadian taxes pointed out, the capitalists use tax increases as one way to pocket more and more of the value that our labor produces.

A new report by Citizens for Tax Justice shows just how successfully the U.S. ruling class has used 10 years of "tax reform" to dig deeper into our pockets. Since 1978 the richest 1 percent of U.S. families have enjoyed a 36 percent cut in real, inflation-adjusted dollars. But 90 percent of families now pay higher taxes, with the bottom 20 percent paying 21 percent per year more in real dollars.

Despite higher taxes for most of us and deep cuts in social spending, Congress still can't make up for the big cuts they have given to the rich. Lawmakers today are busy devising new ways to make working people pay even higher taxes to narrow the budget gap.

When a workers' and farmers' government eventually comes to power, spending priorities will quickly shift away from programs that protect the rich to ones that advance the interests of the rest of us. If we still have a budget deficit, it will be easy to figure out where to get the needed funds. The rich will have a lot of catching up to do!

David Marshall  
Cleveland, Ohio

### TV Martí right here

I've been keeping up with the U.S. aggression against Cuba with operation Martí. Without the *Militant* I would know nothing of this action.

Here where I am incarcerated there are about 1,600 prisoners and 90 percent are from Latin America. The United States is practicing "Martí" right here in America. They have plenty of TVs here and all of them are connected to cable. All the Latinos get a chance to see the popular rock stars singing, dancing, and hugging one another — Blacks with whites, dancing and walking down

the streets. They actually believe life is like this in America.

I leave the *Militant* around hoping they will stumble upon it. Continue sending me this paper.

A prisoner  
Marianna, Florida

### Wins a round

Jitu Sadiki, a 34-year-old Black man, was granted a new trial on March 13 in Santa Monica, California. He had been convicted by an all-white jury in November on frame-up burglary charges on the testimony of six cops, whose statements were contradictory.

"It's the people who make a difference, not the courts," Sadiki said, thanking the dozens of jubilant supporters who spilled from the courtroom after the victory.

Sadiki is a community activist and the single father of three young adopted sons. On July 24, 1988, he was seized by police reportedly looking for a man who had just robbed a nearby beauty salon. The cops shot at Sadiki, then threw him to the ground, and beat him while shouting racist epithets.

After Sadiki filed a suit against the cops who beat him, the district attorney's office discarded evidence that would have cleared him of the burglary charges.

Diane Jacobs  
Los Angeles, California

### 'Preparing for war'

Over the course of the last year, everyone living in the 28 frame houses at the upper end of Ethel Hollow in West Virginia has been kicked out by E. Morgan Massey, the Frank Lorenzo of the coalfields. In their place he has installed a small army, a prelude to the opening of a big new mining operation — non-union.

The United Mine Workers of America set up informational pickets here in mid-April, as soon as Massey put a gate across the road through the hollow. "When does a company have a right to close off a two-mile stretch of public road?" asked Howard Green, UMW International Executive Board member from District 17.

"They're getting ready for war," said one UMW picket. Massey gun



thugs have been fortifying the empty homes. "They brought in a van last week and we watched them unload machine guns and boxes of ammo for half an hour," Massey claims they are just taking core samples.

It was at a Massey mine east of Ethel that UMW picket John McCoy was murdered by scabs in January.

Most people here are pro-UMWA. Many are veterans of the strike against Pittston Coal Group. They have been relocated to a barren spot they sarcastically call "Paradise Hollow." There isn't a tree or shrub in the new spot, just a bunch of second-hand trailers atop an asphalt strip.

Greg Nelson  
Charleston, West Virginia

### West Virginia strike

Members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 3-89 in Alloy, West Virginia, won a 50-cent-an-hour raise and a \$200 bonus after a four-day strike in February. Their employer, Elkem Metals, is the world's largest producer of ferroalloys.

The strike by 375 OCAW members took place at the end of the coal miners' strike against Pittston and at the beginning of the statewide teachers' strike. Local 3-89 had a one-hour work stoppage early in the Pittston strike, holding a solidarity rally with the miners. Later, when miners picketed Elkem to stop shipments of nonunion coal into the plant, Local 3-89 members honored the picket, forcing Elkem to quickly come to an agreement with the miners' union.

Although the 4 percent raise won by Elkem workers fell short of the 10 percent sought, many strikers felt the walkout helped reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the union. Union members pitched in to organize picket duty, build picket shanties, collect wood for fire barrels, and solicit food donations.

"Quality pay for quality work" was the slogan of the strike, reflecting the view that increased productivity and workloads deserve wage compensation, not just congratulations from the plant manager.

Mary Martin  
Charleston, West Virginia

### Irish freedom fighter

Thank you for all the coverage you have given to the injustice shown to Joseph Patrick Doherty, interned in Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York.

It is downright shameful to watch how our State Department has stooped so low to do the bidding of Margaret Thatcher.

Patrick Kenny  
Bridgeton, Missouri

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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.



## Unionists from 35 countries join May 1 events in Havana, Cuba

BY JON HILLSON

HAVANA, Cuba — More than 100 representatives and members of 54 unions and labor congresses from 35 countries spanning the world were hosted here by the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) for a series of events marking May Day.

The largest delegation came from Mexico, along with an array of Latin American and Caribbean union officials. African trade unionists from Angola, Guinea Bissau, and São Tomé attended.

The Soviet Union, China, North Korea, Poland, and Romania were represented by small official union delegations, as were labor organizations from France, Britain, Ireland, Greece, the Netherlands, and Australia.

The U.S. delegation included Ernie Mailhot, Eastern Airlines strike staff coordinator for International Association of Machinists Local 1018 at New York's La Guardia Airport, and Ed Childs, a chief shop steward for Hotel Employees Local 26 in Boston, Massachusetts. Marshall García, executive vice-president of Hospital Employees Local 1199 in New York City, was in Cuba with a delegation of U.S. political activists and attended several union delegation functions as well.

The visiting labor delegations occupied a place of honor on the reviewing platform for the May 1 event in Havana, as 500,000 Cuban unionists, their families, and youth from the country's capital passed by leaders of Cuba's labor movement, government, and Communist Party. That evening, the delegations were received by Cuban President Fidel Castro and other government and union leaders.

The May Day visit coincided with stepped-up U.S. provocations aimed at Cuba, and the nation's response, operation "Escudo Cubano" — Cuban Shield. Protests of Washington's military maneuvers by many of the visiting union officials appeared regularly in the Cuban media.

Manuel María Difaila, a leader of the National Union of Angolan Workers, hailed the "ties of blood" between Cuba and the African country, their common struggle against the racist troops of apartheid, and the "determination of Cuban workers" to build a "socialist homeland."

José Luis Meneses of the National Federation of Panamanian Workers pointed to the "big threats" facing Cuba. But, he said, May Day was also an expression "of the solidarity of the workers of other countries for and with Cuba."

Citing the deepening crisis facing working people in Costa Rica — where "there is everything, but we workers can't buy anything because we have no purchasing power" — Vicente Chavarría, a national leader of the United Workers Federation explained, "There is no other alternative but to seek a solution through a socialist revolution."

The delegation spent a full week in meetings at worksites, and neighborhoods, as well as in informal discussion, learning about the challenges Cuba's working people face and the advances they have made.

These included:

- A visit with leaders and members of the Blas Roca construction contingent, where director Cándido Palmero explained that long hours of work by thousands of carpenters, masons, electricians, and other men and women workers since 1987 have meant a leap in the building of daycare centers, housing, and hospitals for society's benefit.

- A discussion with 50 unionists from around the world who attend the Lázaro Peña Trade Union School, along with their Cuban teachers. They described the problems facing working people internationally, including the crushing debt Third World countries owe to imperialist bankers, unemployment, and political repression.

- A brief stay in the La Güinera neighbor-



Militant/Jon Hillson

Above, a Cuban construction workers' brigade joins in Havana's May 1 march of 500,000.

hood of Havana, home for 8,000 residents and host to a minibrigade of 470 members who volunteer labor above and beyond their normal working day and with no additional pay to build housing in the area. The leader of the minibrigade, an architect in her 20s, noted that 225 of the voluntary workers are women. They have built a daycare center and a bakery, as well as homes; have welcomed 23 former prison inmates into their ranks; and receive building materials free from the government.

The international delegation also visited family doctors in the neighborhood, who care

for about 700 people in their homes, free of charge. All medicine in Cuba is available at no cost.

- A tour of a Cuban cigar factory where workers are paid a basic rate and receive bonuses for quality production. Here, too, there is voluntary labor, with skilled cigar makers working added hours without pay to produce more for export and bring in hard currency for Cuba's national economy.

At a wrap-up meeting, a panel discussion highlighted aspects of the week. CTC General Secretary Pedro Ross Leal explained,

"Only socialism can resolve humanity's problems." He urged the unionists to increase protests of Washington's provocative threats against Cuba.

Other speakers included a top leader of the World Federation of Trade Unions; Roberto Prieto, coordinating secretary of the Permanent Congress of United Unions of Latin American Workers (CPUSTAL); Viktor Tsyganov, head of the Soviet delegation and chairman of the Regional Soviet of Trade Unions in Kalinin; and Eastern Airlines striker Ernie Mailhot.

## Eastern striker's reception in Havana

BY JON HILLSON

HAVANA, Cuba — "We will continue defending the rights of the workers."

That was a headline on the back page of *Trabajadores* (Workers), the daily newspaper of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC), on the eve of May Day. What followed was an interview with Ernie Mailhot, a leader of the Eastern Airlines strike at New York City's La Guardia Airport. A photo of the strike activist accompanied the article.

A member of Local 1018 of the International Association of Machinists, Mailhot was among more than 100 labor activists and union officials who participated in a week of activities around the big May 1 procession in Havana sponsored by the Cuban union federation. Many of the international union guests had been part of or led important battles, but Mailhot was the only unionist currently engaged in a strike, one of the most important in many years in the United States.

This, he explained in an interview, "was a source of genuine interest to Cuban trade unionists and to all the international guests."

Describing the history, stakes, and current stage of the Eastern strike took up much of Mailhot's discussions with these unionists.

The most common question, he said, was "how have we maintained ourselves for 14 months. I told them that we receive strike benefits, and that many of us have had to get other jobs. But that hasn't kept us from fighting, from staying strong and united. Everyone knew this meant we are in a real battle."

"When I explained to people that Eastern has lost \$1.2 billion," he said, "people would ask if they heard that right."

"Many of the international visitors had heard something about the strike," Mailhot noted. "The Latin American unionists know about it because that's where Eastern flies, but few of the Cubans knew much about it."

No one had heard about the most recent important development, the removal of Eastern boss Frank Lorenzo from direct management of the struck company.

Mailhot distributed union fact sheets to these workers, who made personal donations for strike buttons. He carried a kit of clippings and photos about the strike — including of picket lines, marches, and demonstrations — and showed them "to every member of the international delegation, and to Cuban working people everywhere we went."

Among such visits were trips to the Blas Roca Contingent of construction workers, the Lázaro Peña trade union school, and the Julio Milian building materials factory. At each of these worksites he gave greetings.

### Changes in U.S. labor discussed

At a concluding panel with the international unionists, Mailhot was a speaker.

In an interview with the *Militant* later, Mailhot described what he said at the panel. "I explained that for many years in the United States, there were very few strikes and fights in the labor movement. Today, this is changing. We've seen strikes of coal miners, telephone workers, hospital workers, bus drivers, garment workers, as well as airline workers. More and more U.S. workers are under attack, and this leads us to fight, to rethink much of what we thought in the past."

"I explained that I have lived in Miami and worked at the airport there, where there are many workers from Cuba, workers who thought they had it made," Mailhot continued, "but who were forced to strike, and don't have jobs, and have lost company benefits and are beginning to question the so-called paradise they thought they lived in. Cuban-born workers who are beginning to think about the Cuba they left because they know there is free health care, education, jobs, and

social benefits here."

Mailhot said he tried to get across that there "is the beginning of a change in the labor movement in the United States."

The airline worker also noted that there are increased opportunities in the United States to publicly oppose Washington's policy towards Cuba. "I explained how on April 7 in New York 1,500 people marched against the U.S.-run TV Martí and other kinds of U.S. aggression. Many people in Cuba know about this demonstration," he said.

The response, he noted, was typically warm and enthusiastic. Cuban workers, he said, "loved the idea that U.S. workers are fighting and changing."

These discussions had a big impact on the international union delegation. Mailhot urged them to "get out the truth about the strike, to inform their members in union papers, to send the Machinists union messages of solidarity from their organizations." Several delegates said they intended to do that.

Even though the visiting unionists delegation held diverse opinions on many issues, Mailhot said, they left Cuba with "greater understanding of the need for labor worldwide to oppose U.S. violations of Cuba's right to decide its own future."

This feeling was driven home by news of Washington's air, naval, and troop exercises near Cuba, which coincided with the May Day events.

These hostile actions further convinced Mailhot of the "need for working people in the United States, for those fighting and who are inspired by labor battles, to see Cuba for themselves, as I had the chance to. This means we have to protest restrictions imposed by the U.S. government on our right to travel to Cuba, which prevent us from being able to go there and make up our own minds about what is happening in Cuba."