

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Swedish rulers cement alliance with Washington

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Antichoice forces attack new Medicaid abortion rule

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Under the banner of "states' rights," opponents of women's right to choose abortion are campaigning against the implementation of a law that slightly loosens restrictions on Medicaid funding for abortions.

Since 1976 virtually all public funding for abortions has been prohibited by a measure known as the Hyde Amendment, for its author Rep. Henry Hyde. Until recently the only exception in which federal Medicaid payments were available was in cases where a woman's life was in danger. Less than 200 such abortions are paid for under Medicaid each year.

A new bill, signed by President Bill Clinton in October, removed the Hyde Amendment, instead saying no federal money can be used to provide abortions unless it is proved that "such procedure is necessary to save the life of the mother or that the pregnancy is the result of an act of rape or incest."

Based on the new law, the Department of Health and Human Services issued a December 28 directive requiring state Medicaid programs to cover abortion services for women who meet these criteria. Currently at least a dozen states forbid the use of state funds to provide abortions for poor women whose pregnancies are the result of rape or incest.

The administration's move was heralded as "the act of a compassionate president committed to health-care reform" by Pamela Maraldo, president of Planned Parenthood.

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NATO rejects request to expand membership

BY SARA LOBMAN

The January 10-11 summit meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization rejected a request for membership from the governments of Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Instead, the rulers of the imperialist nations that make up the alliance agreed to the Clinton administration plan, dubbed "Partners for Peace," that had been endorsed by NATO defense ministers at an October 21 meeting.

According to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, members of this partnership will have representation at NATO headquarters and will participate in the organization's political and military bodies. If there is a threat to the "territorial integrity, political independence or security" of a partner state, it will be able to "consult and engage in intense political dialogue with alliance members," Christopher says.

According to Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, the relationship will include joint military activities such as disaster relief, as well as training exercises, to bring the non-NATO "partners" up to snuff.

This arrangement falls far short of the full membership and security guarantees that the four former Warsaw Pact countries had asked for. It's a "buzz-off project," Polish foreign minister Andrzej Olechowski said.

NATO was formed at the initiative of Washington in 1949 in response to the over-



U.S. troops stationed in Europe. Clinton vowed to maintain some 100,000 soldiers in the region. Washington has dominated the NATO alliance from its birth.

throw of capitalism in Eastern Europe. It has been dominated by the U.S. armed forces from the beginning. This remains true today, in spite of the strains among the members of the organization as a result of the worldwide economic crisis. The crumbling of the Warsaw Pact agreement between the former Soviet Union and the workers states in Eastern Europe has put added pressure on the NATO alliance.

The *Wall Street Journal* commented on the imperialist summit in a January 12 editorial titled "NATO and Credibility." "What-

ever happens next," the *Journal's* editors said, "we have some serious doubts about NATO's long-term shape. The Alliance may be heading for greater fragmentation."

For the first time, the NATO member countries agreed to allow the Western European Union, the military arm of the 12-nation European Union, to command NATO military forces and equipment in "European only" situations. In exchange the French government agreed that its defense minister and chief of staff will participate in military

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APPEAL TO OUR READERS

Help the 'Militant' provide you with first-hand coverage of world politics!

Militant reporters will be traveling the world over in the next few weeks to give our readers the best, most accurate news and analysis of major world events:

Cuba — How are working people in Cuba confronting the economic crisis and standing up to Washington's aggression to defend the socialist revolution? *New Internationalist* editor Mary-Alice Waters and *Militant* managing editor Argriss Malapanis, together with Francisco Picado from Miami and Aaron Ruby from Washington, D.C., will be travelling there in late January to get the facts.

South Africa — Starting in our next issue the *Militant* will feature first-hand reports on the African National Congress Youth League conference in Johannesburg and the ANC's election campaign. *Militant* staff writer Greg Rosenberg, along with Brian Pugh from Salt Lake City and Brock Satter from Minneapolis, are already on the scene.

Puerto Rico — This issue features eyewitness coverage of the oil spill off the shore of Puerto Rico by Seth Galinsky, a garment worker and *Militant* reporter in Miami, and Ron Richards in San Juan.

The cost of these trips exceeds \$20,000. The *Militant* depends on the generous contributions of our readers — workers, students, and others who value the coverage they can find nowhere else — to make such reporting possible.



AUGUST RALLY TO WELCOME U.S.-CUBA FRIENDSHIP PARTICIPANTS IN HAVANA.

Mexico — *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* reporters Sandra Pucci and Juan Villagómez are on their way from Los Angeles to Mexico to find out what workers and farmers there are discussing and doing after the government's violent crack-down against guerrilla forces in Chiapas.

Mexican gov't unleashes repression in the south

BY JUAN VILLAGÓMEZ

LOS ANGELES — The government of Mexico has unleashed repression in the southern state of Chiapas in response to a series of guerrilla attacks in early January. At the same time, widespread public outrage at the army brutalities has caused jitters in the government.

On New Year's Day the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), a previously unknown guerrilla group, attacked and briefly took over several towns in Chiapas. As many as 2,000 combatants were involved.

About 300 guerrillas briefly occupied San Cristóbal de las Casas, a city of 85,000, before moving out. In Las Margaritas they burned several government buildings and cut off telephones and electricity.

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari immediately sent 12,000 troops to Chiapas — one-fifth of the Mexican army — along with tanks, helicopter gunships, and warplanes.

The army bombed and machine-gunned the neighborhood of San Isidro Ocotál on the outskirts of San Cristóbal. In Ocosingo, after the army recaptured the town, journalists saw the bodies of about 25 guerrillas in the main square. Several had their hands tied behind their backs and apparently had been shot in the back of the head at close range.

Thousands of soldiers carried out house-

to-house searches in San Cristóbal, while military planes dropped bombs around several towns.

In San Antonio de los Baños, Gerardo Sánchez Gómez, a Tzotzil Indian, explained, "Thirty-five families lived here. Last Monday [January 3] the soldiers came with two tanks and 10 trucks. They fired cannon, smashed doors, brutalized people."

The government repression has led to the death of more than 100 people so far. The army has cut off thousands of villagers from the outside world. It has also restricted the media's access to the area.

March against repression

Two hundred human rights activists marched January 8 from San Cristóbal to the towns of San Antonio de los Baños and Corralito to protest the repression. March organizer Marcos Arana said he and other local residents "don't want to stay home watching the events on television. We want to play a role, primarily to avoid harm to the Indian communities."

Initially the Mexican government tried to justify its repressive actions by labeling the EZLN a "foreign" movement, claiming it was linked to the Guatemalan guerrilla movement. The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union and the EZLN have both denied those charges, which the government

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Shelling ravages Sarajevo

As 1994 began, residents of Sarajevo were subjected to the heaviest bombardment in months by rightist Serb forces besieging the Bosnian capital. Nearly 50 people were killed and scores of others wounded during the first week of January. In one day alone, 1,353 shells reigned down on parts of Sarajevo controlled by the Bosnian government. Clashes also occurred in central and northern Bosnia and Croatian government forces renewed shelling of the eastern half of the Bosnian city of Mostar.

Meanwhile, United Nations officer Captain Jantora Strandas of Norway confirmed January 7 that Yugoslav army paratroopers are routinely involved in fighting in Bosnia, despite claims to the contrary by Belgrade.

Farmers protest in France

More than 10,000 poultry farmers demonstrated January 5 in Rennes, France, against new cuts in European Community (EC) price subsidies. EC aid that amounted to 32 cents per pound in March 1992 has fallen to 21 cents.

In Normandy, hog farmers in Saint Lo entered two supermarkets, running pigs inside and dumping about 650 pounds of corn feed on the floor. Organizers vow new protests unless they're satisfied by talks with the government January 18.

Marchers blast Yemen inflation

Hundreds of residents of Yemen protested high prices and a sharp drop in the value of the country's currency, the rial. The government deployed troops against the demonstrators in the capital of Sanaa and the city of Taizz, 160 miles to the south.

The rial plunged 20 percent against the dollar in the first week in January, after dropping about 25 percent in the final four months of 1993. North and South Yemen united in May 1990, but the country remains one of the poorest in the region.

A few Palestinian prisoners freed

The Israeli army announced it would release 101 Palestinian prisoners from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank by the end of January. Government officials in Israel termed this a gesture aimed at making progress in the ongoing negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. However, according to Palestinian negotiator



A house burning in a residential area of Sarajevo during heavy fighting January 6 in the sixth consecutive day of heavy shelling of the Bosnian city by rightist Serb forces.

Ghassan al-Khatib, Tel Aviv releases about 100 Palestinians who complete their sentences every month.

The Mandela Institute, a human rights group based in the West Bank town of Ramallah, estimates the Israeli government holds 11,700 Palestinians. Many are detained on minor charges like raising the Palestinian flag, acts that even Israeli authorities no longer consider illegal.

Fierce fighting in Afghanistan

More than 2,500 people, mostly civilians, have been wounded and hundreds killed since fighting broke out New Years weekend among rival political factions in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. Forces loyal to President Burhanuddin Rabbani carried out bombing raids over parts of the city. Plumes of smoke, spiraled above Kabul as rockets, shells, and mortars rained down, many missing their military targets and ploughing into residential areas.

The recent eruption of hostilities was precipitated by a switch in allegiance on the part of former army general Rashid Does-

tam. The general, who leads a militia of ethnic Uzbeks, now appears to be supporting forces aligned with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the nominal prime minister.

U.S. gov't cuts Chinese imports

The U.S. government announced plans to cut by more than \$1 billion the amount of clothing and fabrics China can export to the United States. As of January 17 import quotas from China would be reduced by 25 to 35 percent on 88 categories of clothing, cloth, and other products.

According to the state-run Xinhua News Agency, the Chinese government lodged a "serious protest" over the U.S. decision, which it described as "irresponsible."

"If the U.S. side insists on having its own way, then China will be forced to adopt corresponding retaliatory measures," Xinhua reported. China's trade surplus with the United States, now about \$25 billion a year, is second only to Japan's.

Prison revolt in Venezuela

More than 100 people were killed in the bloodiest prison revolt in Venezuela's history in Maracaibo, about 440 miles west of Caracas. Responding to what they claimed was a feud among inmates, the National Guard stormed the prison after filling it with tear gas. This jail, which was built to hold 1,500 people, houses 2,500 prisoners.

At a prison in Ciudad Bolivar, several hundred inmates began a hunger strike January 3 to demand authorities investigate the December 24 killing of a prisoner by a national guardsman. Of the country's 26,000 prisoners, only 9,000 have been tried and convicted, according to Venezuelan justice minister Fermin Marmol Leon.

Clinton criticizes Aristide

U.S. president Bill Clinton stated January

5 that his administration was reassessing its stance toward ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. "I think his own prospects are clouded," said Clinton. White House officials also chastised Aristide for remarks he made in an interview with the *Miami Herald* suggesting that the U.S. armed forces should be used to oust the military government in Haiti.

Under pressure from Washington, Aristide agreed to make changes in a conference on Haiti he plans to hold in Miami in mid-January. Previously, Aristide said the conference would focus on the refugee issue. However, he has now decided to invite members of the Haitian military to discuss prospects for involving them in a coalition government.

Cuomo's plan attacks welfare

In his 12th State of the State Message, New York governor Mario Cuomo proposed a series of measures designed to cut welfare benefits and harass those most in need of it. The governor called for expanding a program that requires the fingerprinting of state welfare recipients; forcing minors to live at home as a condition of eligibility; and providing emergency cash payments instead of welfare to some poor people while they look for work.

As part of his campaign to supposedly get tough on crime, the governor also announced plans to spend \$10 million for prison construction and to seek legislation mandating life sentences without parole for those imprisoned three times on felonies.

These proposals were a prelude to Cuomo's announcement in early January that he will seek reelection in November.

Newly-elected New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a conservative, indicated he might back the Democratic governor's campaign.

Gov't must show deportations are not politically biased

A federal district judge in Los Angeles ordered the U.S. government January 7 to show that it does not seek to deport on technical grounds only those immigrants who espouse views in opposition to government policy. The ruling stems from a case of eight Palestinians who Washington has been attempting to deport because of their political views. The eight, who are supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, were arrested in January 1987 and ordered deported, although no criminal charges were ever filed.

Judge Stephen Wilson gave six of the Palestinians a temporary reprieve from deportation proceedings while the government complies with his order. He also ordered the U.S. authorities not to rely on classified information in denying two of the Palestinians permanent resident status, unless it provides them with that information. The government has until February 11 to supply the requested records.

— BRIAN WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

Capitalism offers no solutions to working people in the Third World

The big-business press paints a picture of stability and prosperity in India, Chile, and other semicolonial countries as foreign capitalist investment there soars. But millions of workers and peasants in these countries live in grinding poverty and social inequalities grow. The *'Militant'* provides unique coverage of the capitalist economic catastrophe in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the social explosions it engenders — from Mexico to Argentina and Kenya. Don't miss a single issue!



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Germany mired in social, economic crisis

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Germany is plagued by its sharpest economic downturn since World War II, undermining Bonn's ability to unquestionably dominate capitalist Europe and to successfully compete with Washington and Tokyo for the world's markets. Tensions have also risen between the German rulers and the government of neighboring Russia. At the same time, the government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl is pushing through parliament the first major, and unpopular, cutbacks in social programs in decades.

As a result, Kohl's ruling Christian Democratic Union (CDU) is faltering. In the latest blow to the CDU, the party received only 21.9 percent of the vote in December's local elections in the eastern state of Brandenburg.

Brandenburg is the largest of five states created out of the former East Germany. The Democratic Socialists, successors of the former ruling Stalinist party, captured 21 percent of the vote. The opposition Social Democrats won 34 percent. Kohl's party suffered a loss of nearly one-third since the last election, held shortly after German reunification.

The electoral sting followed the with-

drawal of the chancellor's handpicked presidential candidate, Steffen Heitmann, after he made reactionary remarks to the press on immigrant workers and women.

Big-business newspapers in Germany are beginning to warn that Kohl's days are numbered after 11 years in office. Karl Feldmeyer, a correspondent for the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, a steadfast CDU cheerleader, said that "experienced CDU politicians will privately admit their own despondency, even resignation. They don't see any chance of winning the next federal elections."

Kohl, along with bourgeois politicians around the world, predicted at the time that the fall of the Berlin wall and the reunification of the country would lead to a new era of capitalist prosperity and rise of the power of German imperialism. Instead, reunification has plunged the country into deep trouble. "Asked about the timing of a German expansion, Lawrence Kudlow of Bear Sterns says bluntly, 'not in our lifetime,'" stated an article in the *Wall Street Journal*.

The German employers have attempted to get their rivals in Europe to foot the bill for reunification, and virulently opposed ef-

forts to equalize wages for workers in east and west. If anything, they want to press wages down in the west.

The high vote for Russian rightist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party alarmed the Kohl government. For much of modern history, the wars and crises that washed across Europe were determined by the relations between these two states.

Russo-German tensions rise

Zhirinovskiy, in an interview with German radio, warned against interference in Russia's internal affairs or risk nuclear catastrophe. "If a German looks at Russia the wrong way when I'm in the Kremlin," he said, "you Germans will pay for all that we Russians have built up in Germany."

During his election campaign, Zhirinovskiy blustered that "we took Berlin in 1945 and then gave it back. Now the Germans live well and we live badly. What was the point of taking Berlin? We should have forced millions of Germans to work for us. Then we Russians could have taken things easier."

Such statements caused a Bonn foreign ministry official to venture that "we're trying not to panic." Kohl barred Zhirinovskiy from visiting Germany at the end of Decem-

ber, claiming his trip would "prejudice German state interests."

Economic crunch

Recent economic statistics belie a December 28 statement by Günter Rexrodt, Bonn's economics minister, that the recession is over and Germany is "out of the trough."

In December, 3.7 million people were out of work, up about 150,000 from the previous month. Industrial production fell sharply, by 2.1 percent, in November. Some 15,000 firms went belly up in 1993.

Daimler-Benz, the parent company of Mercedes, suffered a \$1.19 billion loss in the first 9 months of last year. The engineering and metals giant Metallgesellschaft lost \$1.15 billion in 1993. "It was far, far worse than expected," said a participant in a meeting between bankers and company officials. "The company is effectively in the hands of the banks."

At the behest of the ruling capitalist families, Kohl's coalition government has begun a series of sharp cuts in the social wage. They include reductions in social security, unemployment benefits, and other gains won by the working class over the years, which provide a minimum safety net for workers cast off by capitalism's boom and bust cycles.

In December, the parliament voted further cuts in unemployment benefits, child support payments, and job retraining programs. Legislation became effective January 1 that eliminates compensation for construction workers laid off during bad weather. The same package raised gasoline taxes, making the price at the pump among the highest in Europe — \$3.23 for a gallon of regular unleaded.

Kohl's New Year's message called for sacrifice. "Securing the future forces us to make more cuts... what we need is courage and realism," he said. The chancellor demanded an upgrade in productivity from workers, saying that "flexibility in working hours and particularly more job sharing," was needed.

Anti-immigrant assaults

Politicians from all the major parties, including the Social Democrats, have blamed immigrant workers for the economic failure. Rightist forces operating in the streets, nurtured by the scapegoating of immigrants by government officials and other capitalist politicians, carried out more than 1,500 attacks on refugees and asylum seekers in the first 10 months of 1993. Seven people died as a result of assaults by right wing thugs.

On December 23, attackers tried to set fire to a home for Russian immigrants near Potsdam. On Christmas morning, goons threw a firebomb at a Turkish-owned shop in the town of Kaltenkirchen.

Franz Schönhuber, a former Waffen SS volunteer, heads the 23,000-member rightist Republican Party. He told the *New York Times* that decisions by the Parliament that clamp down on the rights of immigrants were "precisely what our program called for."

Reacting to the anti-immigrant onslaught, trade unions and other organizations mobilized thousands in marches and rallies during 1992 and early 1993 to oppose the attacks and demand prosecution of the right-wing assailants.

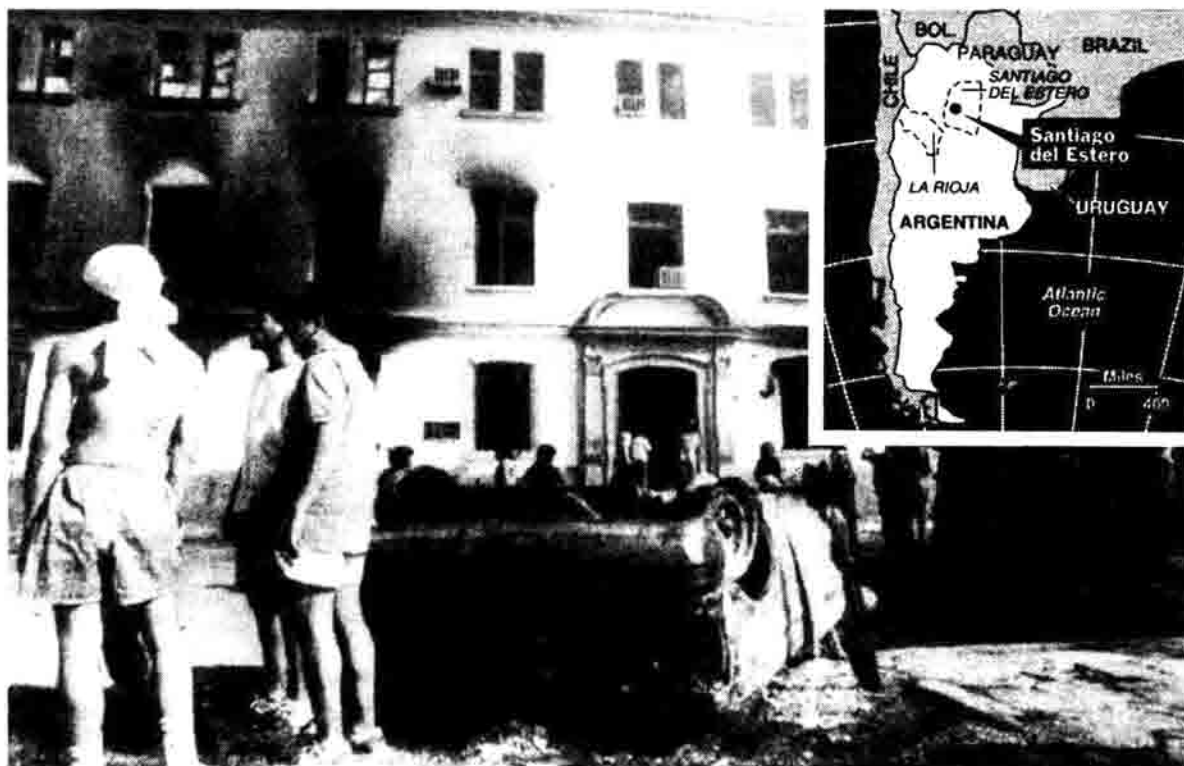
Workers in Argentina protest austerity

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In response to the worst social upheaval in Argentina in years, President Carlos Saúl Menem sent hundreds of troops into Santiago del Estero province and appointed trustees in place of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the local government until new elections are held in mid-1994.

On December 15, some 5,000 demonstrators in this northern Argentine province took to the streets to protest against the local authorities, who had not given government workers their monthly paychecks, averaging about \$350, since August. Demonstrators burned the governor's palace, the legislature, and courthouse. Santiago del Estero is one of the country's poorest provinces with a 40 percent rate of unemployment and underemployment.

In a concession to the workers, newly appointed government trustee Juan Schiavetti agreed December 20 to pay \$500 in emergency wages to each of the province's public employees, and \$350 to pensioners.



Angry demonstrators sacked the governor's mansion in Santiago del Estero in northern Argentina and burned cars December 21. The 5,000 protesters demanded the authorities pay government employees who had not seen a paycheck in more than three months.

Also in mid-December, 7,000 workers clashed with police in the neighboring La Rioja province, forcing the local government there to abandon its plan to cut 10,000 public sector jobs. Workers also demonstrated in Termas de Rio Hondo, Loreto, and Fernandez provinces demanding payment of back wages. Over the past three years, six

local governments have fallen, usually leading to rule by a federal administrator.

Despite the mounting unrest, Menem has vowed to stick to his austerity program, which has eliminated hundreds of thousands of jobs over the past four years and driven many workers and sections of the middle class into poverty.

Gunmen in S. Africa assault ANC leaders

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Gunmen at a migrant workers' hostel in the Black township of Katlehong, near Johannesburg, sprayed automatic rifle fire January 9 at a delegation of African National Congress (ANC) leaders touring the area. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party, were not hurt. But Abdul Shariff, an Associated Press photographer, was killed and two other journalists were wounded.

The ANC delegation was visiting the area to gather information for a proposal to stop the violence. More than 1,500 people have been killed in Katlehong and neighboring Tokoza in just the past year.

"Our people are living in a war zone," stated Ramaphosa after the shooting. "There's a war going on out there." After being whisked to safety, the ANC leaders continued their tour.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said residents interviewed by the touring party after the shooting demanded the urgent deployment of the national peacekeeping force in the township. This force, which includes

most of South Africa's armed formations, is to begin training on January 24 and could be in place by the end of March. It would be independent of the South African police.

"We cannot allow a situation where a hostel has now become the center of the most blatant criminal act," stated ANC president Nelson Mandela on national television later that day. Many of these hostels are strongholds of the Inkatha Freedom Party, a group that has been involved in a number of provocative attacks against ANC members.

The ANC has called for worker hostels to be closed down or sealed off by army troops. Mandela said President F.W. de Klerk previously agreed to this but never carried it out.

The ANC leader announced plans to meet with de Klerk to present "a specific proposal" for coping with the violence. The Transitional Executive Council will also begin discussing how to respond.

Self-defense unit feuds

The ANC also announced plans to set up a commission to investigate the outbreak of fighting between armed groups of its sup-

porters organized in the Self-Defense Units (SDUs) in the townships. These units were first set up in late 1990 with the avowed aim of defending Black residential areas from constant harassment by state security forces and other criminal elements. However, forces within some of these units have carried out a number of gangster-like actions themselves — demanding protection fees from motorists, attacking shops, hijacking cars, and killings.

In an article entitled "SDU 'civil war,'" the December 12 *Sunday Nation* published in Johannesburg reported, "The bodies of 11 youths were found this week — one of them beheaded — as adults of the Self Defence Unit of the squatter settlement of Moleleki in Katlehong allegedly went on the rampage, hacking and shooting young members of the unit." The incident stemmed from complaints by the youths about the burning of shacks at night, one of which resulted in the death of an elderly woman. At a meeting to discuss the issue, it was decided that the youths would monitor the SDUs in their patrols.

ANC officials have attempted to broker a

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FOR FURTHER READING



Opening Guns of World War III

Washington's Assault on Iraq

BY JACK BARNES

The U.S. government's murderous blockade, bombardment, and invasion of Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, more wars, and growing instability of international capitalism. In *New International* no. 7, \$12.00

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Activists discuss solidarity with Cuba at Minnesota forum

BY KARI SACHS
AND MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Several leading activists in the fight to lift the U.S. embargo against Cuba participated in a December 18 panel discussion here on why Washington maintains its ban on trade and travel to the island and how to broaden public opposition to U.S. policy. The meeting, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, drew nearly 40 people including a half dozen college students and members of several industrial unions.

A central theme of all the speakers was building support for the third U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan. Scheduled to depart on February 23, Friendship III participants plan to collect humanitarian aid in dozens of cities in the United States on their way to Cuba. Organizers are also expecting the participation of up to 30 Canadians, more than a dozen individuals from Europe, and increased involvement by Mexico's *Va Por Cuba* solidarity organization.

Doug Jenness, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and United Steelworkers of America Local 15199, began the forum by noting that on New Year's Eve "we will be celebrating the 35th anniversary of the Cuban revolution — one of the most significant political events in the Americas since the overthrow of slavery during the Civil War in the United States. A revolution that opened the fight for socialism in the Americas."

Jenness reviewed the gains that Cuban working people made by overturning the hated tyranny of Fulgencio Batista and establishing a government of their own.

Socialist revolution

"These achievements of the revolution still stand today despite the fact that Cuba faces its greatest economic difficulties since 1959. The leadership of the Cuban Communist Party and most working people in Cuba maintain a revolutionary socialist perspective today. This leadership has accomplished something that no other revolution has — they have stood up to imperialism for nearly 35 years, longer than any other revolutionaries holding state power, and have not been broken.

"That's why the rulers in Washington and other imperialist countries want to overthrow the government in Havana and are not willing to strike any deals with Cuban president Fidel Castro, unlike their approach to heads of state in Russia, Poland, and China," Jenness said.

"Washington's policy toward Cuba has been consistent for nine presidential administrations — Democratic and Republican alike," Jenness stated. While many people have illusions in the Clinton administration, he continued, various policy statements including recent speeches by Alexander Watson, U.S. assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, have made it clear that the U.S. government is not preparing to abandon its 35-year policy of using every means available to overturn the leadership and reverse the course of the Cuban revolution. In fact, Clinton has taken a tougher stand than the Bush administration did.

"As a candidate, Clinton pledged to deepen pressure on Cuba and that's one

promise he has kept." Clinton ensured the approval of the Cuban Democracy Act, which tightened provisions of the embargo.

"Washington's fundamental policy won't change easily," Jenness said, "precisely because the socialist revolution is alive, standing against the interests of former U.S. owners of property in Cuban and their peers."

Tom Hansen, national director of Pastors for Peace, which is based in Minneapolis, presented a different view. He told the forum that the legal basis of the U.S. embargo of Cuba and ban on travel to the island is the 1917 Trading with the Enemies Act. "The president can impose this embargo and he can lift it or modify it," explained Hansen. Under current U.S. policy, it is illegal for U.S. citizens, with a few exceptions, to spend money in Cuba, thereby effectively preventing most people from traveling there.

"However," said Hansen, "the U.S. government has not made an issue of those who have traveled quietly to Cuba. The main lesson that we can learn from this is that the U.S. government is not interested in defending this policy before the American public."

"Cuba has been a guiding light for much of the Third World and a thorn in the side of the U.S. government and this is the fundamental basis of U.S. policy towards Cuba," said Hansen.

"The Cuban revolution is worth a great deal to defend," said the Pastors for Peace leader, "and the success that we have had recently in movement building is based on directly challenging the U.S. government" through open confrontations with the embargo and travel ban. Hansen explained that in the last 14 months, Pastors for Peace has worked with more than 800 people who have openly challenged U.S. policy toward Cuba.

'Gov't can't defend its policy in public'

Hansen said that the response of Washington to these activities has been to attempt to prevent them through threats of legal action, but to not actually do anything that would bring the issue before the U.S. public.

"It's clear that they can't defend their policy in public," said Hansen, asserting that the U.S. government finds itself "between a rock and a hard place" when it comes to their policy toward Cuba.

Marv Davidov, an organizer of the October 1993 Freedom to Travel trip of 175 people to Cuba and a longtime peace activist in Minneapolis-St. Paul, told the story of a 1963-64 march through the United States to Cuba that he participated in because it "will give you an idea of the kind of spirit necessary" to fight against U.S. policy toward Cuba today. The multiracial peace walk "went through epic kinds of experiences," said Davidov, as it traveled through the segregated South. Davidov described months spent in southern jails and hunger fasts.

"We need that kind of passionate spirit and willingness to take risks today. We want to defend the Cuban revolution because it's important to our own struggle," concluded Davidov.

Brock Satter, a member of the Student Political Organizing Committee, and the



Militant/Jon Hillson

Picket line in Minneapolis last August condemning the U.S. embargo of Cuba. Clinton has tightened trade sanctions against Cuba, hoping the squeeze will bring down the socialist revolution.

Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee, told the forum, "On a mass level, people — whether they live in Minnesota or Miami — aren't very clear about what is happening in Cuba."

The Friendship caravans, explained Satter, "with their stopovers in so many cities and all the people that they involve" have a broad educational impact that is crucial to building a movement big enough to challenge U.S. aggression against the Cuban revolution and winning more people to socialism in this country.

The final panelist, Lisa Rottach, was a participant in the second Friendship caravan over the summer and is currently working as a member of the Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee to build the third one.

Rottach said that a mass movement cannot be built against U.S. policy toward Cuba because "it doesn't directly affect the U.S. population." She related the experience of driving through Iowa over the summer during the height of the flooding there in buses marked as humanitarian aid for Cuba. "People would flip us off" as we drove by, she said. "They would ask us, why are you helping Cuba, what about us?" As a consequence of this attitude, Rottach said, "our rallies are small and they haven't grown significantly."

"Nevertheless," she continued, "Pastors for Peace and the Friendships have drawn a lot of attention. At least I get a reaction now. People say, 'Oh yeah, I heard something on the radio about that.'"

"It is possible to win more people to opposing the embargo and to joining the Friendship caravans than what has been done so far," said Jenness during the discussion period. "We should recognize this fact and conduct ourselves in such a way that more people are encouraged to participate in caravans and other activities and say to themselves 'I can be part of that too,' and not be pushed into being spectators of small confrontational actions in solidarity with Cuba." Many workers don't see why Washington should deliberately try to make working people in Cuba suffer, he said.

"One thing that caravan participants could point out to angry workers and farmers in Iowa whose lives had been devastated by floodwaters," Jenness continued, "is that the same government that was denying them adequate relief is responsible for maintaining the economic embargo on Cuban working people."

Going through these kinds of discussions with workers, farmers, students, and others, Jenness said, is an important way to educate and win over fresh forces to an understanding of the importance of the example of socialist Cuba to the world's majority and the obligation to oppose the U.S. government's aggressive and inhuman policies.

Debate on direction of U.S. policy

In response to a question on the direction of U.S. policy toward Cuba, Jenness remarked, "Right now the U.S. trade embargo has been tightened and every indication is that U.S. foreign subsidiaries are complying with the Cuban Democracy Act in not trading with Cuba." In addition, not a single ship destined for U.S. harbors has docked in Cuba recently. The Cuban Democracy Act bars vessels that docked in Cuba from U.S. ports for six months.

Hansen responded that he'd like to "respectfully disagree. It's true that in some ways the embargo is being tightened, but it's

also true that there are people in the Clinton administration who are arguing against aspects of U.S. policy toward Cuba."

Hansen concluded, "This is a long and hard struggle and nobody has it in mind that the whole embargo will come down in a year or two. But it is coming down incrementally and we should celebrate as we take it down brick by brick."

"The economic gains that could be made by some companies if trade with Cuba is opened up are not decisive in determining Washington's policy," Jenness said. "The government's policy is based on political considerations first and foremost. The only debate going on in government circles is how best to smash the Cuban revolution. The U.S. capitalist class as a whole is confident it will be able to assert its economic interests in Cuba against its competitors if the revolution is brought down. Meanwhile, Washington has plenty of outlets in other parts of the world for export of capital."

Despite these political disagreements, Jenness said, it's important that all those opposed to the U.S. government's attempts to strangle the Cuban revolution continue to work together to oppose those policies.

At the conclusion of the forum, the chairperson made a number of announcements about activities to build Friendship III — a New Year's Eve party and two public meetings on January 8 and 23. The Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee has been organizing phone banking to hundreds of people to build the events.

— CALENDAR —

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Dance Fundraising Party for Pastors for Peace Friendship to Cuba featuring Cuban, Haitian, and Caribbean Music. Sat., Jan. 22, 8:30 p.m. to 1 a.m. Food and drink available. Multicultural Arts Center, 659 Center St., Jamaica Plain. Sponsored by July 26 Coalition/CASA. Donation: \$7. For more information, call (617) 492-8699 or (617) 787-6809.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Why We Must Oppose Washington's Brutal Blockade of Cuba. Speakers: Rev. Lucius Walker and others. Fri., Jan. 21, 7 p.m. Central United Methodist Church, Woodward & Adams. Donation: \$3. For more information, call (313) 836-3752.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Roe vs. Wade Commemorative Rally. Speakers from the Pro-Choice Community and musical guest: "Cross Current." Sat., Jan. 22, 1 p.m. University of Pittsburgh, William Pitt Union (Bigelow Boulevard Patio). Sponsored by Allegheny Reproductive Health Center, Alliance for Progressive Action, Campaign for Abortion Rights, CMU's Campus Association for Reproductive Rights, Cry Out-Act Up, National Abortion Rights Action League, Pittsburgh Chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women, National Organization for Women and others.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Kickoff for the 3rd Cuba Friendship. A Discussion on Cuba Today. Speaker: Bernardo Toscano, 3rd Secretary, Cuban Interests Section, Washington, D.C. Wed., Jan. 19, 7 p.m. Langston Hughes Cultural Arts Center, 104 17th South. Sponsored by the Seattle-Cuba Friendship. For more information, call (206) 329-3369 or (206) 322-5722 or (206) 527-7055.

FOR FURTHER READING

DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Joseph Hansen

Examines the place of leadership and the role of workers and peasants in making a socialist revolution in Cuba. Traces key turning points during the early years of the revolution. \$19.95

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Swedish cops detain antiracist protesters

BY DAG TIRSEN

MALMÖ, Sweden — Police arrested more than 400 people November 30 during an antiracist demonstration in Lund. Some activists were detained for several weeks. César Ruiz Vargas, a 17-year-old refugee from Chile, was kept in custody for 23 days, 14 of which were in total isolation. He was released after a campaign led by his mother Alejandra Vargas.

Vargas was collecting signatures for her son, who had been detained for more than two weeks, when I ran into her at an action in nearby Lund December 18 protesting the arrest of 400 demonstrators in November. Up to that point, the public was not aware of the police abuse of her son. Her story gives a glimpse of what the Swedish police have in store for fighting workers, farmers, and students.

The night of November 30 Vargas watched the antiracist demonstrators in Lund on television. "When I heard about the arrests I became worried because César had planned to take part in the event, and I called the police," she said. "I contacted the police four times the first night."

The police knew Ruiz. He had been arrested before during his political activity in Malmö. Once, when he was the main speaker at a march protesting cuts in the school budget, he was taken by the cops and beaten before being detained and charged. He was later released. On December 1, the police published the first list of detainees. But Ruiz's name was not on it. Vargas talked with her son's friends. They said that he had been in a car, which was stopped by the cops. The Swedish press reported that the police seized a car containing dangerous explosives, and two people riding in it. The incident became an important part of the picture painted by the cops and the media in attempting to justify the unprovoked assault by the police and the massive arrests. The items in the car were later classified by an expert as unharmed "fireworks."

That night Vargas went to the police with her son's passport. The cop at the station kept the passport for two hours then said that he was sure Ruiz was not at the station. Vargas then filled out a missing persons report. At that point the cops told her to postpone going to the media. "Maybe we can find him," a police officer told her.

When a friend of the Vargas family phoned the police the following evening, the cops responded, "Maybe we have one who just identified himself." The police kept Vargas and her friend waiting for an hour before the cops confirmed that they had Ruiz. During that time the police searched the Vargas's home in the presence of two small children. When the 15-year-old son entered the house and asked for a search warrant he was told to shut up.

On December 9 the district attorney gave Vargas permission to see her son. But the cops refused. First they said that Ruiz had to make a written request to see his mother, then she must be "cleared." That would take five days. Vargas was only allowed to see her son on December 13 after

intervention by a lawyer.

During this period the young immigrant had been denied letters, a radio, newspapers, and television reports, as well as everything his mother sent him. He was even refused a phone call to an attorney. The first time he saw his lawyer, who was picked by a judge, was in court when the district attorney asked for prolonged detention. Ruiz also told his mother that he had not only identified himself at once but had also requested the police to notify her immediately.

The right-wing organization "November 30 Association," which was the target of the antiracist march in Lund, was kept well informed of Ruiz's custody. This organization had representatives in the courtroom both times the district attorney asked the court for prolonged custody.

Ruiz was released only after his mother, with the help of many friends and supporters, waged a public campaign to win his freedom.

Vargas and her friends reached out to prominent people and journalists. The newspapers initially refused to report on the case. At the December 18 demonstration in Lund a personal plea from Vargas requesting help to get her son released was read from the platform. Following this, dozens of people attended a defense meeting and built a press conference, which was covered by local television and radio stations.

A group of young people from the organization "Stop Racism" sent out requests



Militant/Ola Nordin

Activists from the Committee in Defense of César Ruiz speak to the media December 21. An immigrant from Chile, Ruiz was detained by the cops after participating in an antiracist protest in Sweden. At right is Alejandra Vargas, his mother.

to 500 individuals in all the Nordic countries asking for letters to the district attorney. The Social Democratic Youth organization took part in the press conference and began planning to paint graffiti across the police station demanding Ruiz's release. The young immigrant was set free

December 22 after 23 days in custody without any charges being filed against him. It is still unknown whether the district attorney will drop the case.

Dag Tirsén is a member of the Swedish Foodworkers Union in Stockholm.

Tennessee opponents of cop brutality face trial

BY MARLA PUZISS

ATLANTA — Nearly a year after cops in Hamilton County, Tennessee, killed Larry Powell, eight activists face trial on charges stemming from protests against his death. Powell, a 39-year-old Black man, was arrested Feb. 5, 1993, on suspicion of drunk driving. He was handcuffed, shackled, and held face down in the gravel along a busy highway where he died of neck injuries from police chokeholds. All of the cops involved were exonerated by a grand jury in May and have since returned to active duty.

Protests followed Powell's death and the grand jury decision. Cops arrested eight people in May demonstrating outside a police memorial rally. The activists face charges of disturbing the peace and disrupting a public meeting. A February 22 trial date has been set.

The protests against Powell's murder and the grand jury's refusal to indict the cops for his death forced the U.S. department of justice to launch an investigation to determine whether Powell's civil rights were violated. The investigation is still ongoing.

In late December, Powell's widow filed a \$12.5 million civil suit against Hamilton County, the police officers, and their superiors on grounds that indifferent and poorly trained officers killed her husband.

Meanwhile, the Hamilton County Sher-

iff's Department has hired nine more police officers who are Black, bringing the proportion of Blacks on the county patrol to 18 percent. All of the eight cops involved in Powell's death are white.

Lorenzo Ervin, a longtime activist in the fight against police brutality in Chattanooga, Tennessee, was one of the eight activists arrested in May. Ervin commented in a telephone interview, "Of course, what killed Larry Powell was not lack of Black cops; it was racism. The presence of Black cops in the police department wouldn't have necessarily prevented Larry Powell from being killed."

We see no difference between Larry Powell's murder and the murder of Wadie Suttles in 1983 or the many other persons who have died in police custody over the years."

Ervin added that the Chattanooga 8, as the activists are known, are being framed up for "exercising our First Amendment right to protest police brutality." The Chattanooga 8 Defense Committee has spent thousands of dollars on bail and legal fees. Ervin said messages of support and donations are urgently needed. They can be sent to: Chattanooga 8 Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1066, Chattanooga, TN. 37404.

Iowa inmates send Christmas card, message to Larry Milton

Mark Curtis and 11 other inmates at the Iowa State Penitentiary in Fort Madison, Iowa, sent the message printed below with a Christmas card to Larry Milton.

Curtis is a unionist and political activist who was framed up by Des Moines police on false charges of rape and burglary. At the time of his arrest he was active in defending immigrant coworkers from government victimization at the meatpacking plant where he worked. Curtis has already spent five years in prison on a 25-year sentence.

Milton, a worker who is Black, was brutally beaten by Des Moines police officers in 1991. On December 22 a federal civil court jury found Des Moines police officer Thomas Heller guilty of violating Milton's civil rights. But the jury awarded Milton

only one dollar in damages.

The following is the Christmas message to Larry Milton from Curtis and other inmates.

* * *

Larry,

Congratulations on winning a judgment against police brutality — you certainly deserved much more. You stood up and fought back, that's the important thing and you have our respect and support for it.

Sincerely and in solidarity
s/
Twelve inmates at
Iowa State
Penitentiary
Fort Madison, IA

Pittsburgh activists organize march against killing by cops

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

PITTSBURGH — Community activists and civil rights leaders have called a March for Peace and Justice here January 17. The demonstration grew out of community protests against the November 20 police killing of Maniea Bey.

Bey, a Black man, was shot 16 times by the cops, 14 times in the back. The 23-year-old's body was left lying on the sidewalk for four hours before a coroner was called.

Demands by members of the Bey family and community protest meetings of up to 200 people forced city authorities to hold an open inquest into the Bey killing December 8 and 9.

The police produced a gun they claimed Bey was firing. But there were no powder burns on the youth's hands, his fingerprints were not on the gun, no bullets from the gun were recovered at the scene, and no evidence

was produced linking ownership of the gun to Bey. The police could not explain how Bey, who was allegedly crouched behind a truck firing at the cops, ended up being shot 14 times in the back.

Two of the six members of the coroner's jury recommended that charges be brought against the cops, although the majority returned a ruling of justifiable homicide.

"This was a legal execution," said Stevenson Bey, the father of the murdered youth and a leader of the campaign for disciplinary measures now pending against the police officers. However, Bey thinks there is still a chance of putting the killer cops on trial if there is an outside investigation. He and other family members are urging people to participate in the January 17 demonstration, which is sponsored by the NAACP, Citizens Coalition for Justice, Parents Against Violence, and several community organizations.

WRITE TO FRAMED-UP UNIONIST MARK CURTIS

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist currently serving a 25-year sentence on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. During his five years in prison, Curtis has kept in touch and solidified with fighters involved in struggles around the world and has taken part in numerous efforts while in jail to support prisoners' democratic rights. He has participated in politics by writing for the *Militant* and sending messages of solidarity to fighters like Larry Milton and Milton Chee.

Curtis seeks out political discussions and welcomes correspondence from workers, youth, and other activists. You can write to him about activities in your area, and send unframed photos and news clippings of events. Be sure to include your full name and address on the letter. Send all correspondence to:

Mark Curtis #805338
JBCC Box 316
Fort Madison, IA 52627

FOR MORE INFORMATION ON CURTIS'S DEFENSE EFFORT WRITE TO THE MARK CURTIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, BOX 1048, DES MOINES, IA 50311



New Alliance Party woos Perot followers

Radical middle-class sect moves in a more openly right-wing direction

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

In recent months the New Alliance Party (NAP), a middle-class sect that for years postured as socialist, has been moving in a more openly rightist direction.

NAP is now aggressively orienting toward supporters of Texas billionaire Ross Perot. It has been involved in discussions and joint projects around the country with activists from Perot's United We Stand America organization as well as several smaller groups in the pro-Perot milieu.

A public statement circulated last September by NAP chairperson Lenora Fulani, titled "For a Revolutionary Party of the Center," clearly shows the group's right-wing trajectory. The document calls for building a new political party based on "the social movement that began as Perot-style populism."

Fulani points to the nearly 20 million people who voted for Perot in the 1992 presidential elections and states, "There is a huge mass of people in America who are... open to a revolutionary restructuring of the political process, just as the followers of Ross Perot were and are." Echoing the rightist politician's rhetoric, she calls for channeling this sentiment into an organization that would "challenge political gridlock and the self-serving entrenchment of the two-party system."

Such a move, Fulani states, "requires a rejection of the traditional categories of political language (left/center/right)" in order to "effect a conservative/liberal synthesis."

Noting the relatively small percentage of Blacks who voted for Perot in 1992, Fulani argues that the proposed political group should also seek recruits in the Black community and depicts herself as a "national Black leader" who could help do so.

Perot's reactionary demagoguery

Perot has gained a hearing among certain layers of the population because of the sharp social crisis in the United States today. The depression conditions are beginning to breed radical attitudes. In the absence of a fighting labor movement, the middle class and higher-paid sections of the working class become increasingly open to radical proposals by rightists.

Perot plays on profound economic insecurities and the growing conviction of millions that politicians from both major capitalist parties are incompetent to address the crisis. He rails demagogically against the corruption and "gridlock" in Washington, insinuating government conspiracies everywhere, while presenting himself as an outsider who will cut through the red tape and "get things done." He makes a special appeal to members of the military.

While Perot postures as a representative of the "little guy," he makes it clear his perspective is to rely on executive power,

shove aside democratic rights, and crack down on the living standards of working people in order to stabilize capitalist rule.

Since the 1992 elections, Perot has remained prominent in the political arena. Most recently he led the shrill chorus of "America First" opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement, scapegoating immigrant workers for the economic crisis.

Besides Perot himself, a multitude of small "independent" parties with similar political views have emerged. Groups like the Independence Party and the Patriot Party, which operate in several states, are led by supporters and organizers of Perot's election

fascist" governments of Germany and Japan and that this is "how America has become a second rate economic power." In fact, NAP alleges, "big government and big business in this country have been sleeping with fascists since the 1940s" — an argument commonly used by fascist-type currents such as Lyndon LaRouche's group.

LaRouche and anti-Semitism

Another aspect of this outlook is NAP's increasingly loud anti-Semitism. Issue after issue of *National Alliance*, the group's newspaper, denounces the "Zionist mafia" and the "Zionist corporatists" who supposedly control New York City. It attributes

Pleasant as an unreformed "communist" and reprints some of his letters to Newman and Fulani. Pleasant, who left NAP last year, explains — in letters laced with the race-baiting and Jew-baiting that typify NAP's internal regime — his objection to the fact that the group has dropped most vestiges of its Marxist rhetoric as it courts Perot followers.

Although this split with Pleasant and other leaders may appear as a crisis, it is a necessary stage in the organization's rightist metamorphosis. *National Alliance* reprinted Pleasant's letters in a clear message to its members to get in line or get out.

While not yet resorting to physical assaults, NAP has become notorious for its attacks on democratic rights, particularly harassment lawsuits and attacks on ballot rights.

In 1990 the group went to court and knocked two other third-party candidates off the New York gubernatorial ballot, allegedly for insufficient signatures. NAP, who ran Fulani in that race, called them "spoilers" trying to deflect votes from her campaign. Such moves give a hand to the government in curtailing the rights of working-class and other candidates to run against the major capitalist parties.

While often seeking to drain its opponents' finances through court battles, NAP enjoys generous sources of money through a \$3.5-million-a-year network of businesses — ranging from the East Side Center for Short-Term Psychotherapy to the All-Star Talent Show Network.

Through a plethora of front groups NAP has also intervened in movements for social justice, disrupting or taking over rival organizations. It has also used its Rainbow Lobby, which has raised more than \$1 million a year in contributions, to mimic Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition and pass itself off as a "legitimate" group with connections to established political figures.

Through the Rainbow Lobby, for example, NAP is seeking to expand its political operations in parts of Latin America.

NAP has also politically converged with Farrakhan, seeking to recruit among middle-class layers in the Black community who are attracted to his right-wing demagoguery. Fulani spoke at Farrakhan's December 18 New York appearance, where Farrakhan peddled his reactionary "anti-crime" campaign. NAP also collaborates with other pro-cop forces such as the Guardian Angels.

Procapitalist stance

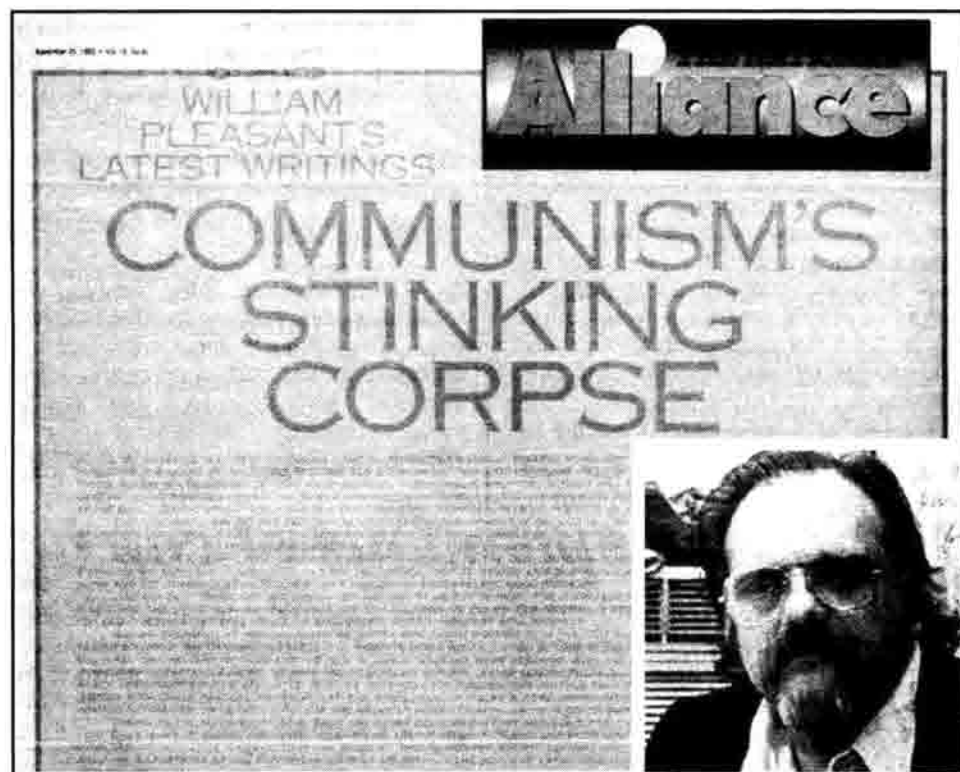
The New Alliance Party's move into the pro-Perot arena represents a further rightward shift. In her September statement, Fulani takes a decidedly procapitalist stance, calling for "a novel form of 'centrism' which intertwines the right to free enterprise with the rights of a free people."

Repeating Perot's anti-working-class arguments, Fulani declares, "Plans to reduce the deficit, including belt-tightening by the American people, may well be needed."

NAP has been rubbing elbows with various small conservative and right-wing outfits. The December 30 *National Alliance* reports on NAP's meetings with the Independence Party of Minnesota, the Patriot Party in Virginia, Perot's United We Stand group in Illinois, the Libertarian Party in Alabama, and a group called U.S. Term Limits.

The paper reports, "On December 4, Virginia's Patriot Party and New Alliance Party held their first joint meeting in Richmond." It quotes Virginia NAP coordinator Mamie Moore saying, "It was an orientation and training meeting to plan the 'Draft Colin Powell to the U.S. Senate Campaign'" to run against the Republicans' Oliver North.

The article says NAP and the Patriot Party will probe the possibility of launching a petitioning drive to put Powell, former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, on the ballot as a way "to go into the Black community and challenge the non-choices of the two old parties."



Front page of the Nov. 25, 1993, *National Alliance*, newspaper of the NAP, attacks its former editor as an unreformed "communist." Inset: NAP founder Fred Newman.

campaign. They primarily attract disgruntled professionals and small businessmen.

It should come as no surprise that the New Alliance Party has moved right into this political milieu.

Origins, nature of NAP

NAP has portrayed itself as a left-wing and socialist party speaking for working people and the oppressed. In party literature its leader and founder, Fred Newman, is even described as "a Marxist theoretician."

The group, however, has never been part of the labor movement. Run by a small circle of psychiatrists and other well-paid professionals, NAP uses radical demagoguery to appeal to middle-class elements who are horrified by the economic crisis and are looking for solutions not provided by Democratic and Republican politicians.

NAP relies heavily on antigovernment and anti-big business rhetoric. "The political system in America is run by 'insiders,'" states Fulani in a book put out by NAP. "I identify very strongly with the outsiders. I am a leader who has chosen to be outside corporate America." The book, titled *Independent Black Leadership in America*, is coauthored by Fulani, Nation of Islam chief Louis Farrakhan, and Democratic politician Al Sharpton of New York.

The NAP, which ran Fulani in the 1992 presidential campaign, claims — like Perot — to be "independent of the two-party system."

The group seemingly espouses a variety of progressive causes, from the rights of the homeless to the fight against racism, opposition to U.S. military intervention abroad, and gay rights. It still often calls itself "pro-socialist."

But NAP has a reactionary political outlook. Playing on conspiracy theories, it attributes the social crisis not to the capitalist system but to "the Powers-That-Be."

A 1992 NAP election campaign booklet decries "the assassination of the American economy — as real and as coordinated as the assassination of President John F. Kennedy." It explains that it is "the permanent Big Government that murdered America."

The booklet hints darkly that the U.S. rulers are secretly in cahoots with the "neo-

particular influence and sinister plots to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'nai B'rith.

It might seem strange that a group with many leaders who are Jewish would become anti-Semitic. This, however, is exactly what happened with LaRouche's organization and its Jewish members. The book *Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism* by Dennis King describes how the LaRouchites evolved, from their split with the Marxist movement to their transformation into a fascist outfit.

A reader of King's book will note striking parallels in the evolution and character of Newman's group, which began in the late 1960s. In fact, from late 1973 to mid-1974, Newman and several dozen followers worked with and then joined LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC).

Today NAP vehemently plays down and falsifies its previous association with LaRouche, claiming NCLC was just one more left-wing group back then. In fact, when Newman began wooing LaRouche, NCLC had just carried out its well-publicized "Operation Mop-Up," physically assaulting meetings of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

NAP members today justify these thug attacks by claiming falsely that "other left organizations did the same thing."

Like the LaRouchites, NAP is organized around the figure of its "theoretician" and guru, in this case Fred Newman. The group's members are required to undergo "social therapy" treatment at clinics run by NAP leaders. Newman's social therapy is based on the doctrine that social problems can be resolved through behavior modification.

As with other right-wing outfits, NAP promotes theories about an FBI plot to "get" its leaders. Its paper also cranks up wild campaigns against perceived rivals, such as Congressman Mervyn Dymally, whom it labeled a "jackal." Such tirades are designed to whip up NAP's membership as the group continues its political transformation.

The latest step in this direction was signaled in the November 25 *National Alliance*. Titled "Communism's Stinking Corpse," it virulently attacks its former editor William

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Interest in fight for right to abortion is growing in Ireland

BY SHELLIA KENNEDY

BELFAST, Northern Ireland — In an interview here, Audrey Simpson, manager of the Family Planning Association, explained the growing interest in the abortion rights fight in Ireland, both north and south. "We would support the extension of the 1967 Abortion Act to Northern Ireland," she said. "But as a charity, you can only campaign to uphold the law, you can't campaign to change the law. In terms of what's actually happened to change the law here, the Birth Control Trust did a survey in June 1993, basically saying that people want the right to abortion in Northern Ireland."

The 1967 Abortion Act, which gave millions of women in Britain access to legal abortion, provides for termination of a pregnancy if the woman and or fetus is at risk. The legislation does not apply to Northern Ireland. Abortion has been illegal in Ireland since 1861.

In England the Infant Life (Preservation)

Act was passed in 1929. Northern Ireland was excluded from the provisions of that law until 1945 when it was subsequently enacted for Northern Ireland as the Criminal Justice (Northern Ireland) Act. Both acts stated that any person who with intent destroys the life of a "child" capable of being born alive is guilty of a felony — child destruction — the penalty for which is servitude for life.

In February 1992, the abortion debate in the south of Ireland became a focus of world attention. A Dublin High Court ruled for an injunction denying a 14-year-old rape victim the right to travel to Britain for an abortion. Ireland's attorney general sought a permanent injunction for the young woman after she had gone to Britain for the procedure. The young woman's parents had contacted the Irish police to find out if they should have the fetal tissue tested for DNA and gather other evidence for a court case against the rapist. The police turned that information over to the



Militant/Ian Grant

Audrey Simpson, manager of Family Planning Association in Belfast.

attorney general in order to prosecute the young woman and her family for trying to get an abortion.

A series of protests responding to this attack took place, one of which mobilized 8,000 people in Dublin. "Prior to the young woman's case in Dublin, we would have women phoning us from the South here to get information," Simpson said. "One per-

son tried to ring us, but kept getting cut off by the telephone exchange. We would have people coming up on the train from Dublin literally finding them standing on our doorstep." The clinic does not provide information now about abortion or abortion services over the telephone, because of a previous legal threat accusing the clinic of arranging an abortion for a 15-year-old.

In 1992 the Brook Advisory Center in Belfast became a focal point of debate and protest. Brook Advisory Centers are well known throughout England for providing birth control and abortion referral services. "The Director of Public Health very bravely suggested that one of the ways of tackling teenage pregnancy in the Greater Belfast Area," Simpson said, "was to perhaps provide a contraception service specifically for young people, something that we have been arguing for sometime. It was the biggest story to hit Northern Ireland for years. Forget about any bombings, it took the lead story in the news week in and week out for a year. It resulted in the clinic taking months to find a property," she added, "because the landlords were got at. One landlord, who happened to be a solicitor, was told he would lose all the Catholic church business if he let them move in. It will be over a year now and they still picket the clinic every time it opens."

There have also been pickets in defense of the clinic. Simpson referred to the center's first opening where hundreds of "Defend the Clinic" supporters turned out to escort women into the facility and defy those seeking to restrict women's rights.

Shellia Kennedy is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport workers union. Ian Grant, a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union, also contributed to this article.

Antichoice forces attack abortion funding

Continued from front page

Federation of America. "The order represents a step toward eliminating the separate and unequal treatment of lower-income women," she added.

National Abortion Rights Action League president Kate Michelman also termed it "a very important step." She noted, however, "this is a very small step, affecting very few women."

Clinton later complained to a reporter for *Time* magazine he had not been consulted before the directive was issued. Michael Kramer said Clinton told him, "I am shocked. I am pissed off. There was no decision by me."

According to Kramer, three years ago Clinton said, "I've always been ambivalent on the federal-funding issue. . . . There are lots of rights, like the right to travel, that are not exercised equally because there is no governmental obligation to provide everyone with money so they can all travel to the same degree as everyone else. Abortion is in this category. Guarantee the right, but leave the question of who pays largely to the states."

Administration officials said January 9 that the president had no objections to the policy of requiring state Medicaid programs to cover abortion in cases of rape and incest.

The shift in the law will only affect about 1,000 women each year. The big majority of those who are eligible for Medicaid and want to terminate a pregnancy will still be forced to come up with the money for a private operation.

State officials object

Many politicians in state governments have attacked the December 28 directive, claiming it violates states' rights.

Ray Hanley, head of the State Medicaid Directors' Association, argued in a letter dated December 30 that the law should merely create the option for states to cover abortion in cases of rape and incest. He said some states would voluntarily change their Medicaid rules as a result of the new law, while "some states, for different reasons, would not elect to expand abortion coverage."

"It's very important that states have the option to determine what their Medicaid programs pay for," declared Connecticut commissioner of social services Audrey Rowe.



Militant/Angela Lariscy

August rally to defend abortion clinics in Denver. The slight loosening of restrictions on public funding for abortions has drawn fire from opponents of women's rights.

Officials of the state of Utah have said they will not comply with the federal mandate.

Republican Senate minority leader Robert Dole told reporters January 7 that Congress should review whether the new law means states are required to provide abortion in cases of rape and incest. "I'm not sure that was the intent," he stated.

In addition to government officials, various right-wing forces have condemned the slight easing of the restrictions on Medicaid funding for abortions.

Douglas Johnson, a spokesman for the National Right to Life Committee, which opposes abortion rights, claimed the White House directive interprets the law much too broadly, opening the door to more abortions. Johnson grumbled that the administration violated assurances "respecting the right of states to keep abortion out of their Medicaid programs." His statements have been widely covered in the big-business press.

Right-wing columnist Cal Thomas took the opportunity to launch a tirade against women's right to abortion under all circumstances under the guise of complaining about "forcing taxpayers to underwrite abortions." In a December 30 syndicated column, which appeared in the *Conservative Chronicle* and other publications, Thomas compared Medicaid-funded abortions, even within the narrow limits established in the new law, to the Chinese government's brutal population control policies that include forced abortion. "While there are differences in degree between the policies of China and the Clinton Administration," he said, "morally they are the same."

Thomas went on to argue that women who become pregnant through rape or incest should have to carry the pregnancy to term, claiming this is less traumatic than abortion.

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Socialists fight New York subway ban

New York City transit police officers shut down a literature table set up by supporters of the Socialist Workers mayoral campaign Oct. 30, 1993, in a Jamaica, Queens, subway station. Cops gave volunteer James Rogers a ticket for "selling books."

Campaign supporters fought back against this attack on the constitutional right to free speech. Working with the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU), an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, lawyers from the firm of White & Case volunteered to represent Rogers at a December 15 hearing.

We reprint below the brief the NYCLU attorneys submitted to the court on Rogers's behalf. The judge found Rogers guilty at the hearing and fined him \$50. Rogers, with the help of NYCLU attorneys, is appealing the decision.

CITY OF NEW YORK
TRANSIT ADJUDICATION BUREAU

NEW YORK CITY TRANSIT
AUTHORITY,

Plaintiff,

- against -

JAMES L. ROGERS,

Defendant.

Preliminary statement

Two days before the Mayoral election this year [1993], defendant James L. Rogers ("Mr. Rogers"), while on the mezzanine area of the subway stop located at Parsons Boulevard in Queens, distributed political campaign literature and solicited political contributions on behalf of his party, the Socialist Workers Party ("SWP"). His efforts were thwarted, however, when he was directed to cease and Transit Officer Tucker issued Mr. Rogers a Notice of Violation.

The Notice of Violation should be dismissed because: (1) the applicable New York City Transit Authority ("TA") regulations authorize the distribution of such campaign literature and the solicitation of funds for political causes; (2) prohibiting such activity violates the First Amendment of the United States Constitution; and (3) prohibiting such activity violates Article I, Section 8 of the New York State Constitution.

Factual Background

On Saturday, October 30, 1993, at approximately 12:00 p.m., two members of the SWP, Andy Buchanan and George Chalmers, set up a table in the mezzanine area of the Parsons Avenue subway station. The table was located against the wall around a

corner and to the right of the escalator. The table was out of the path of individuals headed from the escalator to the turnstiles or the token booth. In fact, the SWP volunteers had intentionally set up out of the path of traffic in order to avoid causing any inconvenience and because an out of the way location makes it easier to engage in conversations with those people who wish to stop at the table.

At that time there were several other vendors in the mezzanine area: one man with a table and selling books, one man selling telephones and a third man selling inflatable jack-o-lanterns.

Messrs. Buchanan and Chalmers placed printed political information on their table: namely, copies of a leaflet concerning the SWP candidates in the November 2 election and upcoming SWP meetings; copies of the most recent issue of *The Militant*, the SWP newspaper, which contained a front page story about the SWP candidates and the elections; and books by political activists concerning political theory and controversial political topics. The books included *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, the writings of Nelson Mandela, and books on abortion rights and U.S. military aggression.

During the next 45 minutes, the SWP volunteers engaged passersby in discussions about the upcoming elections and political issues of particular interest to the SWP. When individuals stopped, Mr. Buchanan would discuss the election and the SWP candidates with them, using the leaflets and the newspaper as educational tools if the individual appeared interested in reading more about the candidates and the issues. If an individual asked how much the newspaper cost, Mr. Buchanan would tell him or her. Although no books were sold on that day, several copies of *The Militant* newspaper were sold.

After about 45 minutes, officer Tucker and another Transit Officer approached the table. Officer Tucker told Messrs. Buchanan and Chalmers that they would have to leave the premises. The officers explained they apparently had observed money changing hands and that they had orders from their superiors to remove all vendors from the premises. The Officers were not interested in Mr. Buchanan's explanation that he and Mr. Chalmers were campaigning for the upcoming elections and were not engaged in commercial activity.

Messrs. Buchanan and Chalmers then moved their table to the sidewalk level. Because it was cold, windy and raining, they set up in a somewhat protected spot; however, the poor weather conditions made it difficult for people to stop at the table. At about 1:30 p.m., they decided that if they hoped effectively to engage people in discussions about the elections, they needed to move back down to the mezzanine level.

After Mr. Rogers arrived, they moved the table back downstairs at about 1:45 p.m. and Mr. Buchanan left.

They again set their table up out of the line of traffic and near the escalator: this time locating the table against the wall to the right of the base of the escalator. Once again they laid out their informational materials on the table. Mr. Rogers held up a copy of *The Militant* and called out to passersby to stop and consider the SWP candidates up for election.

The two Transit Officers who had spoken with Messrs. Buchanan and Chalmers earlier returned almost immediately. Mr. Rogers had not received any money for any



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

James Rogers

SWP materials. Officer Tucker told Mr. Rogers that she would have to issue a ticket because she had seen money changing hands and her superior Officer had told her to ticket all vendors. Officer Tucker then issued Notice of Violation (No. T 048589045) to Mr. Rogers, whereupon Messrs. Rogers and Chalmers removed their table from the subway station ("Notice of Violation").

The Notice of Violation alleges that the officer "observe resp. selling books in mezz. area."

Argument

Point I

MR. ROGERS' ACTIVITIES WERE AUTHORIZED BY SECTION 1050.6(c) OF THE NEW YORK CODES RULES AND REGULATIONS WHICH PERMITS THE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL LITERATURE AND SOLICITATION FOR POLITICAL CAUSES

Section 1050.6(c) of the New York Codes Rules and Regulations permits, among other things, the distribution of written noncommercial materials and solicitation for political causes:

The following nontransit uses are authorized and permitted by the Authority, provided they do not impede transit activities and they are conducted in accordance with the rules governing the conduct and safety of the public in the use of the facilities of New York City Transit Authority and Manhattan and Bronx Surface Transit Operating Authority: public speaking; distribution of noncommercial materials; . . . [and] solicitation of religious or political causes.

21 N.Y.C.R.R. § 1050.6(c) (emphasis added).

Mr. Rogers was ticketed for engaging in precisely these types of activities. As people at the SWP table had tried to explain to Officer Tucker earlier that day, the purposes of their activities at the table were to campaign for the SWP candidates up for election the following Tuesday and to encourage general interest in and support for the SWP. Mr. Rogers simply attempted to further these goals by holding up copies of SWP materials to encourage passersby to stop and consider the candidates and the positions of the SWP on various political issues. There were no non-political materials on the table. All monies collected were collected on behalf of the SWP; and no materials were sold for commercial

profit. Therefore, Mr. Rogers' actions fell within the range of those activities expressly permitted under 21 N.Y.C.R.R. § 1050.6(c).

Accordingly, the Notice of Violation should be dismissed.

Point II

MR. ROGERS' USE OF A SUBWAY MEZZANINE TO ADVOCATE POLITICAL CANDIDATES AND TO DISTRIBUTE POLITICAL LITERATURE, ALTHOUGH ACCOMPANIED BY INCIDENTAL ACTS OF SELLING, IS PROTECTED BY THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The First Amendment to the Federal Constitution vests all citizens with the right to freedom of speech. U.S. Const[itution] amend[ment] 1. As we will show hereafter, the First Amendment also protects the solicitation and selling activities present here, and its reach extends onto the platform of a subway station.

A. The First Amendment Protection Afforded Political Advocacy Extends to Solicitations for Political Contributions and Incidental Acts of Selling

In *Village of Schaumburg v. Citizens for a Better Environment*, 444 U.S. 620 (1980), the Supreme Court extended First Amendment protection to certain fundraising efforts. The Court held that such solicitations are "characteristically intertwined with . . . speech seeking support for particular causes or for particular views on economic, political, or social issues." 444 U.S. at 632. Indeed, without the ability to raise money, many charities and political organizations that rely on solicitations to maintain their very existence might cease. *Id.*

As the Supreme Court explained in *Cornelius v. NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, Inc.*, 473 U.S. 788, 799 (1985), "the nexus between solicitation and the communication of information and advocacy of causes . . . implicates interests protected by the First Amendment." Moreover, numerous cases have held that incidental acts of selling that accompany political advocacy are fully protected under the First Amendment. See, e.g., *Hull v. Petrillo*, 439 F.2d 1184 (2d Cir. 1971); *Youth Intern. Party v. McGuire*, 572 F. Supp. 1159, 1167 (S.D.N.Y. 1983); *People v. Krebs*, 54 Misc. 2d 578, 282 N.Y.S.2d 996 (N.Y. City Crim. Ct. 1967).

The SWP has found that offering written political materials is critically important to its efforts to initiate discussions with passersby. The thought-provoking materials attract attention and lead to discussions with the workers at the table.

Furthermore, the Southern District of New York has recently held that the sale of newspapers on Transit Authority property is protected by the First Amendment notwithstanding the fact that money exchanges hands with each sale. See *New York News v. Metropolitan Transp. Authority* [MTA], 753 F. Supp. 133 (S.D.N.Y. 1990) (noting that, in the context of a preliminary injunction order, the public areas of subway stations are appropriate fora for the sale of newspapers, that MTA regulations do not prohibit the hawking of papers, and that the MTA did not offer a reasonable distinction between the sale of newspapers and other expressly permissible activities, such as the solicitation of charitable donations); see also, *Gannett Satellite Information Network, Inc. v. Metropolitan Transit Authority*, 745 F.2d 767, 772 (2d Cir. 1984) (public areas of train stations are appropriate fora for selling newspapers).

In short, Mr. Rogers' actions were supplemental to his communicative intent and consonant with the protections granted under the Free Speech Clause of the First Amendment.

B. With Respect to Political Organizations, the Transit Authority has Designated the Subway Terminals as Public Fora

As explained above, 21 N.Y.C.R.R. § 1050.6(c) expressly permits, *inter alia*, public speaking, the distribution of written

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noncommercial materials, and the solicitation of money for political causes. Such authorization constitutes a designation of the subway terminals as public fora for use by political organizations using these activities in furtherance of their political causes. See *Cornelius*, 473 U.S. at 802 ("[A] public forum may be created by government designation of a place or channel of communication for use by the public at large for assembly and speech, for use by certain speakers, or for the discussion of certain subjects"); accord *Young v. New York City Transit Auth.*, 903 F.2d 146, 161 (2d Cir. 1990) (noting that the designation of the subway system for use by charitable, religious and political organizations did not necessitate a finding of a similar designation as to begging and panhandling). Given the public forum designation of the subway terminal for campaigning and soliciting for political purposes, any regulation of Mr. Rogers' constitutionally protected expression must be narrowly tailored to achieve a compelling governmental interest. *Krishna Society v. Lee*, 112 S. Ct. 2701, (1992). There has been no showing of a compelling governmental interest for limiting incidental selling of the type in which Mr. Rogers is alleged to have engaged.

Accordingly, since the area is a public forum,¹ Mr. Rogers' activities are protected by the First Amendment.

Point III

MR. ROGERS' USE OF A SUBWAY MEZZANINE AREA TO ADVOCATE POLITICAL CANDIDATES AND TO DISTRIBUTE POLITICAL LITERATURE, THOUGH ACCOMPANIED BY INCIDENTAL ACTS OF SELLING, IS PROTECTED BY THE FREE SPEECH GUARANTEE OF ARTICLE I, SECTION 8 OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTION

The Federal Constitution simply fixes a floor for the rights of individuals; state constitutions may and do provide more expansive guarantees. See *Oregon v. Hass*, 420 U.S. 714, 719 (1975); *Immuno AG v. Moor-Jankowski*, 77 N.Y.2d 235, 248-49, 567 N.E.2d 1270, 566 N.Y.S.2d 906, 913 (1991); *People ex rel. Arcara v. Cloud Books, Inc.*, 68 N.Y.2d 553, 557-58, 503 N.E.2d 492, 494-95, 510 N.Y.S.2d 844, 846-47 (1986). Thus, New York State is free to create a broader right of freedom of speech than the one provided by the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution. See *Cloud Books*, 68 N.Y.2d at 557-58, 503 N.E.2d at 494-95, 510 N.Y.S.2d at 846-47.

New York's strong tradition of promoting freedom of expression and recognizing and permitting diversity of opinion is embodied in Article I, Section 8 of the New York State Constitution, which states in pertinent part:

Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects . . . and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press.

N.Y. Const., Art. I, § 8.

The New York State courts have interpreted this free speech clause as more expansive than its Federal counterpart. See, e.g., *Immuno*, 77 N.Y.2d at 248-49, 567 N.E.2d at 1277-78, 566 N.Y.S.2d at 913-14; *Cloud Books*, 68 N.Y.2d at 557, 503 N.E.2d at 494, 510 N.Y.S.2d at 846. As the New York Court of Appeals emphasized in *Immuno*:

[W]hether by the application of "interpretive" (e.g., text, history) or "noninterpretive" (e.g., tradition, policy) factors, the

1. Even assuming the Transit Adjudication Bureau finds the mezzanine area of the subway station is a non-public forum, under the "reasonableness" standard, the application of the transit regulations to Mr. Rogers' actions is unreasonable in that there is no rational basis for banning incidental selling that is expressly protected under the First Amendment. Cf. *Lee v. Krishna Society*, 112 S. Ct. 2709 (1992) (regulation prohibiting repetitive distribution of literature within public airport terminals deemed non-public fora held unreasonable in violation of First Amendment).



Militant/Margrethe Siem
Selling the Militant and Pathfinder books in Manhattan. City officials are trying to prevent supporters from distributing the socialist publications in subway stations.

"protection afforded by the guarantees of free press and speech in the New York Constitution is often broader than the minimum required by" the Federal Constitution.

Immuno, 77 N.Y.2d at 249, 567 N.E.2d at 1278, 566 N.Y.S.2d at 914 (citations omitted).

In this tradition, New York courts have broadly held that incidental acts of selling that accompany political or religious advocacy are manifestations of communicative thoughts supplemental to and entwined with the dissemination of ideas and thus are protected under the New York State Constitution. For example, in *People v. Krebs*, 54 Misc. 2d 578, 282 N.Y.S.2d 996 (N.Y. City Crim. Ct. 1967), the defendant was charged with violating a vendor licensing law when she engaged without a license in the selling of anti-Vietnam War leaflets, magazines, booklets and newspapers, as well as flags and buttons. The court in *Krebs* explained that the defendant "was not selling these buttons so that articles of clothing could be pinned together or otherwise adorned, but rather indeed for the central purpose of communicating in a dramatic manner, her convictions and those of others in opposition to American activity and policy in Vietnam." *Id.* at 998. Accordingly, the court characterized the sale of the buttons and flags as "part and parcel of the dissemination of Mrs. Krebs' convictions," *id.*, and held that "distributing literature, buttons and flags (even though incidental acts of selling may occur) asserting vigorous dissent from American policy in Vietnam and placing a table on the sidewalk incident to such distribution, is a clear and proper exercise of a First Amendment right . . ." *Id.* at 1000. Notably, the court also rested its decision on New York State constitutional grounds. *Id.* at 998.

Subsequent to *Krebs*, numerous decisions have reaffirmed the free speech protection afforded to incidental acts of selling by the New York Constitution as well as the Federal Constitution. See, e.g., *Hull v. Petrillo*, 439 F.2d 1184 (2d Cir. 1971) (holding licensing ordinance prohibiting persons, in this case Black Panther Party members, from vending newspapers on the streets unconstitutional under the First Amendment, despite commercial aspect of activity); *New York Public Interest Research Group, Inc. v. Village of Roslyn Estates*, 498 F. Supp. 922, 931 (E.D.N.Y. 1979) (enjoining enforcement of hawking and peddling ordinance to activities that "while involving some monetary solicitations, are clearly focused on the dissemination and not the 'sale' of ideas"); *People v. Milbry*, 140 Misc. 2d 476, 530

N.Y.S.2d 928, 931 (N.Y. City Crim. Ct. 1988) (asserting that "political speech, although accompanied by commercial activity, [is] exempt from licensing requirements").



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders of the worldwide struggles against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Just off the press is Pathfinder's 1994 catalog. Bursting at the seams with 48 pages, the new catalog features more than 300 titles Pathfinder publishes and distributes.

More than 4,000 copies went out the door in early January in an initial mailing to bookstores, libraries, and universities across the United States.

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Mr. Rogers' actions fall directly under the protection afforded by *Krebs* and its progeny. His purpose was to disseminate the views of the SWP to passersby and to encourage them to vote for the SWP candidates in the upcoming election. This is classic political speech. Accordingly, Mr. Rogers' actions are fully protected under Article I, Section 8 of the New York State Constitution and thus the Notice of Violation should be dismissed.

Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons, the Notice of Violation should be dismissed in its entirety.

Dated: New York, New York

December 15, 1993

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2. Counsel wish to thank Andrew C. Weiler, who is awaiting admission to the bar, for his assistance in the preparation of this brief.



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Rulers in Sweden cement alliance with Washington

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM — In February 1992, just after he was installed as the new prime minister of Sweden, conservative Carl Bildt was invited to Washington by then U.S. president George Bush.

"The fact that I got an invitation so soon," Bildt said in an interview at the time with the liberal daily *Dagens Nyheter*, "is because we are considered a very interesting new actor in the build up of a new European security policy and the forming of new relations between states in Europe. That is also confirmed by the fact that Sweden will chair the European Conference of Security and Cooperation [ECSC] in 1992."

The Swedish prime minister's 1992 visit to the United States included meetings with Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, and CIA chief Robert Gates. They discussed security arrangements following the end of the cold war and the possibility of investments in Eastern Europe, especially the Baltic states.

At that time Germany emerged as the economically strongest power in Europe with a special interest in developing its trade and economic ties in its traditional backyard in central, eastern, and northern Europe. As a result, the Swedish currency risked becoming a simple appendage to the German mark, something the Swedish rulers wanted to avoid.

Being the strongest economic and military power in Scandinavia, Swedish capitalists compete with their German rivals there, as well as in Poland, the Baltic countries, and Russia. Considering the relative weakness of Swedish imperialism vis-à-vis Germany, Stockholm had to look for help and alliances elsewhere to fend off being swallowed by Bonn. That's where the interests of the Swedish capitalist class converged with Washington.

Clinton meets Bildt in Washington

Thus the relationship between the governments of Sweden and the United States was not incidental. It developed further into a special partnership with certain weight in European politics. This was recently shown when U.S. president Bill Clinton invited Bildt for a short visit to Washington Dec. 1, 1993.

Bildt had just completed a trip to Murmansk, requested by Russian foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev. The Swedish prime minister was the first foreign head of state invited to the area, which may have the highest concentration of nuclear weapons in the world. Bildt and Russian officials discussed the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states, especially Latvia, a country of 2.5 million of whom 30 percent are Russians. Moscow still maintains around 18,000 soldiers there. The location of the meeting in Murmansk reflected the increased military strategic importance of the Russian armed forces bases on the Kola peninsula as Moscow has been forced to pull its troops out from central European workers states, as well as the Baltic countries more recently. Many Russian soldiers and weapons have been concentrated in the St. Petersburg and Murmansk areas bordering Finland and Norway.

According to a statement by the Swedish prime minister after his visit to Murmansk, soon, more than half of Russia's strategic nuclear arsenal will be located on 10 submarines based at the Kola peninsula.

Bildt told *Dagens Nyheter* that his good relationships with President Boris Yeltsin and other procapitalist politicians in Russia was one of the reasons Clinton wanted to meet with him in Washington in preparation for the upcoming North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) summit in Brussels, Belgium, in early 1994. "I know that the U.S. administration is very positive towards what Sweden has been able to accomplish as chair of the ECSC," Bildt said. One central question discussed in the ECSC has been the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic countries, a task Bildt believes will be completed in just a few months.

The Swedish prime minister said in a December 1 interview in the conservative daily *Svenska Dagbladet* "The U.S. future role in Europe — that is the topic I hope to be able to discuss with president Bill Clinton."

At a press conference in Washington covering Bildt's recent visit, Clinton was quoted by *Svenska Dagbladet* praising the government in Stockholm. "I am very impressed by the role Sweden has been able to play in finding constructive solutions to some of the problems in Europe and in getting involved in both the security arrangements and economically in Europe," Clinton said.

Bildt open to cooperation with NATO

Returning from his trips to Washington and Murmansk, Bildt announced that Sweden ought to be able to participate in "Partnership for Peace," Clinton's scheme for military cooperation among countries in Europe that are not members of NATO. Bildt also stated that it is in Sweden's interest that the U.S. government maintain as many of its air bases in Norway as possible to be prepared to rapidly deploy U.S. air forces. "These bases have contributed to the stability in Northern Europe for close to two decades," Bildt told *Dagens Nyheter* December 8.

Following the recent parliamentary elections in Russia the governments of the Baltic countries, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic have demanded full membership in and protection by NATO. While the Swedish government pushes for rearmament, Stock-

holm is soon buying 200 armored vehicles. Defense minister Anders Björk is demanding a 30 percent increase in arms spending for next year.

When it held the chair of the ECSC in 1993, the Swedish government pushed for incorporating Russian forces in military exercises and other security arrangements in former Soviet republics, especially in parts the imperialists consider less strategic or where they can't get a foothold such as in the Asian republics. The U.S. government backed this position.

In other former Soviet republics like the Baltic states, where the Swedish imperialists have their own interests, Stockholm demands withdrawal of the Russian troops.

In mid November 1993, Bildt said Sweden will not take a neutral stance in a military conflict in the Baltic states. Although this statement generated a public debate with social democratic party leader Ingvar Carlsson over alleged "Swedish neutrality" it is obvious that Carlsson has no alternative to Bildt's foreign policy. The Swedish prime minister has the



full backing of Washington and intends to cultivate this alliance further with the full support of Sweden's ruling capitalist class. This is the best way of promoting the interests of Swedish capital in today's world, riven by trade rivalries and wars.

Mexican gov't unleashes repression

Continued from Page 1
has been forced to drop.

The guerrilla group issued a communique January 8 stating its aim was to establish "a government of our country that is free and democratic." It called the Mexican government a "dictatorship led by a clique of traitors that represent the most conservative and sell-out groups."

The EZLN said it was continuing the history of national liberation struggles in Mexico from the struggle against Spanish colonial rule to the 1910 democratic revolution led by Emiliano Zapata, from which the group takes its name. It stated it was fighting "for work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice, and peace" as well as "independence from foreigners."

No relations with peasant groups

In San Cristóbal, Commander "Marcos" of the EZLN told the Italian newspaper *L'Unità*, "We have been preparing ourselves in the mountains for 10 years now." Asked about its relations with peasant organizations, he replied, "We have no relations with any type of open organization. Our organization is solely an armed and clandestine organization." He said the EZLN was made up mainly of Indians from Chiapas.

Commander Marcos noted that the guerrilla group had launched its attacks on the day the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect. He labeled the pact "a death sentence for the Indians."

Four bombs exploded in and around Mexico City January 8, including a car bomb in a shopping mall parking lot that injured one woman; no one took responsibility. The EZLN did claim responsibility for attacks on electrical towers in the central states of Puebla and Michoacán.

Press reports indicate a mixed response to the guerrillas among the population. Alonso Gómez Mena, a Tzeltal Indian in the village of Chacoma, said, "They are fighting for justice," reporting that among other villagers "there is some sympathy. Their cause is understandable." Other peasants expressed fear of both the guerrillas and the army.

José Rodríguez Salazar, a high school teacher in Ocosingo, complained the guerrillas had sacked his house. "They thought we were rich because we have a well-built house. But we're workers too," he said, adding that EZLN members had destroyed his furniture and stolen his clothes and television set.

The conflict in Chiapas, one of the most impoverished states in Mexico, has put a spotlight on the social conditions facing working people and growing class tensions and instability in the country.

Mexico, one of the most industrialized countries in Latin America, is undergoing an



January 8 march in San Cristóbal de las Casas protesting military crackdown.

economic boom. In the past six years the country's gross domestic product has doubled and foreign investment has poured in.

In five years Salinas has privatized banks and sold off 390 state-owned enterprises including the telephone system, television stations, airlines, shipping facilities, and mines. In the process many Mexican capitalists have become fabulously wealthy. Today 13 individuals or families in Mexico are billionaires, compared to three at the start of the Salinas administration.

Living standards have increased for a substantial section of the middle class and higher-paid workers, who enjoy greater access to imported goods. Wal-Mart, for example, just opened its largest outlet in the world in Mexico City.

At the same time, the living standards of most working people in Mexico have been driven down. As a result of the sale of state-owned companies, thousands of workers have been left jobless. The government has slashed state subsidies for food and services.

Real wages have declined to half of their 1980 value and the minimum wage is less than \$5.00 a day. Half the labor force lives below the official poverty line. Unemployment is officially close to 20 percent and many more are underemployed.

In spite of the austerity measures, Mexico's foreign debt remains above \$100 billion, the second-highest in Latin America.

Conditions worse in south

Conditions are much worse in the underdeveloped southern states, including Chia-

pas, where Indians are almost one-third of the population. Ninety-four of 111 townships in Chiapas are officially in the category of "extreme poverty." In Ocosingo, Las Margaritas, and Altamirano, most families earn an average of \$26 a month and 83 percent of adults are illiterate, according to government figures.

Most working people in Chiapas eke out a living on big plantations, especially corn plantations, which are owned by 10 or 15 rich families. Thousands of other farmers rent small plots, but in recent years the landowners have been turning them into pastures for cattle raising, leaving thousands landless.

These conditions have led to periodic peasant struggles for land rights, against debts to banks, and against repression by landlords and the government. Authorities have suppressed at least five major protest marches by Indians in Chiapas since 1991. In two of the marches, troops opened fire on demonstrators. Many fighters have been imprisoned.

The recent army repression provoked public outrage in Mexico, particularly after the EZLN requested negotiations. In Mexico City, 7,000 people demonstrated January 7 to protest the bombing of towns and other army brutalities.

The same day in Los Angeles, 500 people, mostly Mexican and Chicano youth, demonstrated in front of the Mexican consulate. Many carried signs demanding, "Stop the attacks on the Indian people," "Stop the massacre," and "Withdraw the army from Chiapas."

A construction worker at the Los Angeles protest said, "The Mexican government is feeling bolder in its attacks [on the Indians] because it's backed by the U.S. government." Another marcher said, "The people of Chiapas rose up because they were tired of poverty. The fault for all this lies with the Mexican government's austerity measures."

The guerrilla actions in Chiapas and mounting protests over the repression stunned the government. After initially calling for the insurgents to surrender, Salinas backedpedaled, appointing Foreign Minister Manuel Camacho to head a peace commission to negotiate with the EZLN. He dismissed Interior Minister Patrocinio González, who had been in charge of quelling the guerrilla activity.

In a sign of capitalists' nervousness over the social tinderbox in Mexico, the Mexico City stock market plunged by 6 percent January 10, recovering a few days later after the government made moves toward talks with the guerrillas.

Perspectiva Mundial editor Martín Koppel contributed to this article.

Workers fight GEC-Alsthom's layoff plan

BY DEREK JEFFERS

SAINT OZEN, France — One thousand workers marched December 14 in the first national demonstration of GEC-Alsthom employees in France. The protest was called by the country's three main unions — the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) and Workers Force (FO). They demanded management abandon all restructuring plans currently under discussion and cancel layoffs.

Large contingents came from the Saint Ozen and Courneuve plants in the Paris area as well as Le Havre, Belfort, and Villeurbanne.

Tension mounted as the demonstration reached the headquarters of Alcatel-Alsthom, which owns 50 percent of GEC-Alsthom. The other 50 percent belongs to General Electric Company in Britain. Alcatel's profits of 7 billion francs (US \$1.2 billion) were the highest of any French company's last year.

In front of Alcatel headquarters the CGT, the largest union at GEC-Alsthom, called on the company to shorten the workweek to 35 hours with no cut in pay, provide full retirement at age 55, and devote 10 percent of work time to training. These three measures would create 2,500 jobs at GEC-Alsthom in France, according to the CGT.

Important fights have broken out in several Alsthom plants in the past four months over plans to permanently lay off or transfer hundreds of employees. They have been part of a series of struggles in France since September against restructuring and layoffs of workers at Chausson, Bull, France Télécom, and Air France, where a massive strike in late October forced the government to temporarily abandon its restructuring plan.

In the days leading up to the December



Demonstrations in St. Ozen, France, Oct. 15, 1993, protesting job cuts by GEC-Alsthom. Over past four months fights against layoffs and restructuring have occurred at several Alsthom plants.

14 demonstration, GEC-Alsthom management offered a number of concessions aimed at defusing the mobilization. After 2,500 workers participated in walkouts at the Belfort plant, management reduced the number of employees to be laid off there from 100 to 10.

The transformer factories in Le Havre and Saint Ozen have been the hardest hit in the restructuring. In October, management announced the Le Havre plant would be virtually closed, with its workforce in 1994 to be reduced from 750 to 92. Broad mobilizations against the plant closing, including

several demonstrations of 10,000 in Le Havre, were organized. Many demonstrators saw an opportunity to fight back against layoffs that have caused unemployment in the region to soar above the national average. The workers compelled French prime minister Eduard Balladur to publicly call on GEC-Alsthom to modify its restructuring plan. Large walkouts also took place in Saint Ozen, where 100 workers were to be transferred 80 miles away.

But the confidence of GEC-Alsthom workers in all factories fighting restructuring plans was dealt a body blow when the

CGT and CFDT in Le Havre backed a "counter restructuring plan" drawn up by the engineers' union. This alternate plan agreed to the elimination of 460 jobs in the Alsthom transformer plants, proposing 250 job cuts at Saint Ozen, as long as the Le Havre factory was not closed. Presented with no other way to fight for their jobs, the workers at Le Havre approved the counter plan November 22.

GEC-Alsthom management welcomed the union's offer and the opportunity to break up the growing solidarity between workers in the two plants who had massively demonstrated together November 5 in front of company headquarters in Paris. In a revamped restructuring plan announced December 9, Alsthom stated it would now maintain a small factory in Le Havre with 356 workers, while cutting 160 jobs at Saint Ozen.

The willingness of the union officials in Le Havre to sacrifice jobs in Saint Ozen, together with a reduction in the number of layoffs in both Le Havre and Belfort, took some momentum out of the preparations for the national December 14 demonstration.

Discussions with British unionist

Participating in the December 14 march was Ann Fiander, a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU) at the Trafford Park GEC-Alsthom plant in Manchester, England. Alsthom factories in Britain employ 20,000 workers.

The day before the demonstration Fiander was invited by the CGT at the Saint Ozen plant to meet with workers in the factory library during their lunch break and after work. She talked with about 30 people, including several union officials.

Some workers expressed a fear that Alsthom was transferring jobs out of France to other countries. They were generally eager to talk with Fiander and emphasized the importance of Alsthom workers in all countries fighting together against the restructuring plans and layoffs.

An employee from the Villeurbanne plant expressed concern about the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks. "The United States wants to dominate the world. They want to destroy French culture and agriculture," the worker said. Fiander explained, "The GATT talks are a reflection of increasing competition between capitalists. With or without an agreement workers will have to fight to defend their jobs, wages, and living conditions."

Another worker explained that management told everyone their British counterparts did a better job, faster and more efficiently, for lower wages. Fiander replied that management at Trafford Park, which works closely with Villeurbanne, gives much the same speech, but reverses the roles. Workers in Villeurbanne have been fighting job cuts and transfers for several months. Restructuring is a real threat in Manchester as well.

Derek Jeffers is a member of the CGT at the GEC-Alsthom plant in Saint Ozen. Anne Fiander, a member of the AEEU in Manchester, also contributed to this article.

Kelso train wreck pinpoints rail bosses' disregard for safety to increase profits

BY JEFF HAMILL

SEATTLE — A head-on collision between Burlington Northern (BN) and Union Pacific (UP) freight trains November 11 killed five workers near Kelso, Washington. The accident occurred just after midnight in foggy weather at Longview Junction South, 130 miles south of here. The northbound UP train was preparing to switch over to a parallel main track to allow the BN train to continue southward.

Since the crash occurred at a control point — a system of signals, switches, and tracks designed to regulate train traffic — the immediate attention of investigators was focused on the signal system. Investigators included union representatives from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) and the United Transportation Union (UTU) and investigators from the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB), as well as BN and UP company officials.

Within two days of the accident, a spokesman for the NTSB said tests showed that the signals located within two miles of the collision appeared to be working properly, implying that the crew on the BN train was at fault.

It will be difficult to blame the collision on inexperience, inadequate training, or crew fatigue. All the crew members involved had many years of railroad experience, were well rested, and were working a regular job, which began at its scheduled time. The BN engineer, Wayne Kronberger, had 14 years on the job.

Burlington Northern workers, however, had expected an accident in this area for some time. Some of the signals in this locale had in the past failed to show a yellow warning signal to oncoming trains when the following signal was red, indicating that the tracks ahead were occupied.

Signal problems are common on the nation's railways. During 1992 there were 140 reports to the Federal Railway Administration that a slow or stop signal failed for an oncoming train somewhere in the United States, according to the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen in Mt. Prospect, Illinois. Nearly twice a day there are signal rule violations that are serious enough to warrant a federal fine against the railroad companies, government statistics show. The Federal Railroad Administration, however, has only

42 signal inspectors for the country's 300,000 miles of railroad track.

A number of safety systems, designed to prevent precisely this sort of accident, already exist. One device is called an Automatic Train Stop. Another system uses cab signals, an instrument on the engines themselves, to warn the crew of upcoming signals. The cab signal system will automatically stop the train if there is no response from the crew to a warning to slow down or stop.

For 16 years the NTSB has strongly recommended that the bosses install such safety systems, which might have prevented the Kelso collision. Various versions of these devices have been in use since the 1930s.

Safety systems removed

But instead of installing these systems on freight and passenger routes, the railroads, with the approval of the Federal Railway Administration, have dismantled the existing systems in order to cut costs. Railroad industry officials claim that "cab signals" and "positive train-control systems" are unneeded on routes where train traffic has declined.

Today, the best train-control systems are located on the commuter lines in the Northeast, where Congress has mandated them.

The UP locomotives were equipped with cab signals. But the UP system is only operational in parts of Iowa and Utah.

Gene Harmon, chairman of a Missouri company that manufactures train-control devices, said in an interview printed in the Nov. 13, 1993, *Seattle Times* that wiring train tracks to add these safety systems would cost millions of dollars, in addition to several thousand dollars per locomotive.

Harmon added that the railroads' delays in installing this safety equipment is understandable because the costs are high "and the economic payback is unproven."

"The NTSB has no economic mission here," said Harmon. "Their position is that money grows on trees. In the real world, these railroads have shareholders, and they have a rate of return, and they must look at everything very closely."

In the real world, however, rail workers also die for the greater profits of the railroad companies.

In recent years, the UP, the BN, and all

the other railroad companies have orchestrated a massive campaign to boost sagging profits by reducing crew sizes, cutting back on safety and maintenance costs, and combining jobs. In the last 15 years, the UTU alone has declined in membership from 285,000 to only 85,000. Two-person crews now routinely handle trains 6,000 to 8,000 feet long.

An editorial in the *Columbian*, a newspaper published in Vancouver, Washington, summed up the problem well.

"The Burlington Northern Railroad has led the industry in researching safety devices, but the line has in effect used the research to explain why it is too soon to lay out the money for installation and maintenance. The crash near Kelso cost an estimated \$1.4 million and five lives..."

"Such is the cost of delay and procrastination in the name of short-term profit," the *Columbian* wrote.

Jeff Hamill is a member of UTU Local 117 in Seattle.

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Gunmen assault ANC leaders in South Africa

Continued from Page 3

cease-fire between rival self-defense units following clashes in which at least 10 people have been killed in the two-week period following Christmas. According to the ANC, some of these units have been infiltrated by police agents who are involved in organizing some of the provocative actions. "The ANC is aware there is a problem," ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus told Reuters in reference to the "out of control" SDUs. "We are not trying to cover it up... we are at the moment going to these areas to investigate... and to try to reestablish control of these so-called rogue elements."

In an effort to defuse the conflict in the townships, the ANC invited people from "across the political spectrum" to a meeting in Johannesburg January 15 to discuss plans to end the fighting. "This peace plan is a call from South Africans to help rebuild the social fabric there... We want to go beyond singing peace," stated ANC regional executive committee member Jesse Duarte.

Speaking at a January 8 news conference to mark the 82nd anniversary of the ANC, Mandela reiterated his charge that de Klerk's security forces were involved in promoting



Abdul Shariff/Impact Visuals
Photographer Abdul Shariff was killed in January 9 attack on ANC leaders. Above, picture he took of victims of 1992 massacre in Boipatong, South Africa.

violence in the townships. "[De Klerk] believes that by allowing [black] violence to take place it will scare away black voters," he stated.

"Now is the time that we make a decisive break with the past," Mandela continued. "Now is the time that we join forces as South Africans to make our country free at last."

Rallies celebrating the ANC's founding were held throughout the country. At Orlando stadium in the Soweto township outside Johannesburg, about 8,000 people sang and danced between speeches by ANC leaders.

That same weekend the Inkatha Freedom Party decided not to participate in the April 27 elections. The group said it will also continue to boycott the Transitional Executive Council.

Meanwhile, the National Party (NP) is aggressively pursuing its election campaign. It hopes to cut into the ANC's popular base of support by projecting itself as a new nonracial party that's broken from its apartheid past.

In a campaign tour of Overberg in the Cape region at the end of December, de Klerk proclaimed, "The outside world will have faith in the country only if the NP is strong... The election would not be about what happened 20 years ago." He added, "We represent the peaceful, silent majority."

This party, which has ruled South Africa for decades, also hired Satchi and Satchi as its main outside consultant. This is the firm that ran President Daniel arap Moi's reelection campaign in Kenya.

De Klerk's party is also attracting a few former ANC members to its election effort. The January 10 *New York Times* reported on the story of Sidney Ramasodi and Vrona Banda—who were once active in the ANC's military wing, Spear of the Nation. For salaries of \$600 a month, the two switched sides, becoming National Party organizers. But even the *Times* article noted that these cases are isolated, rare, and do not reflect a trend.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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Stop the Repression in Chiapas, Mexico! Speakers: Rodrigo Argueta, Construction worker from Chiapas; Lucas Cruz Fentanes, Frente Mixteco-Zapoteco Binacional; Jorge Mancillas, Professor at University of California Los Angeles, traveled to Chiapas on Southern California Delegation for Human Rights; Representative, Proyecto de Acción Educativa sobre Guatemala; Juan Villagómez, Socialist Workers Party, just returned from *Militant* reporting trip to Mexico. Sat., Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. (Two blocks west of Vermont). Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.
Washington's Continuing War Against Cuba. Speakers: Dr. Hesham Ragab, Pediatricians for Peace; Sherrie Love, member, United Transportation Union and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

ILLINOIS

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Feminism and the Marxist Movement. In commemoration of the 21st Anniversary of Roe vs. Wade. Sat., Jan. 22. Open House: 3 p.m. Pro-

gram: 5 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The U.S. Secret Nuclear War: What Recent Revelations Show. Speaker: Jack Wiley, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

How the Fight for Abortion Rights Was Won. Speaker: Susan LaMont, member Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 365. Sun., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Combating Violence Against Women: Are Censorship and "Codes of Conduct" Useful Tools? Panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. (One block north of University Ave., near 21A, 16A, and 4 buslines).

NATO rejects membership requests

Continued from front page

meetings at NATO headquarters. France pulled out of NATO's integrated military command in 1966.

However, U.S. government officials have made it clear they have no intention of giving up either their control of NATO or their international military domination, which includes hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops stationed around world.

"We are going from 326,000 troops in Europe to 100,000. I don't believe we should go any further below that," Clinton told journalists in early January. This level of troop strength is needed, he said, both to secure the interests of Washington and its allies in Europe and "as a forward deployment" for trouble spots in other regions.

Clinton administration officials say their decision to reject expanding the membership of NATO is due to concern over the increasing instability in Russia, particularly following the strong showing of rightist politician Vladimir Zhirinovsky in the recent parliamentary elections.

"[Boris] Yeltsin's our guy," one administration official explained, speaking of the Russian president. "We're not going to undermine him with a policy... that boosts the hard-line empire builders."

Moscow had opposed any expansion of NATO's membership. "If the East European states immediately join NATO, this will play into Zhirinovsky's hands and do little to enhance their security in practical terms," Russian foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev said.

The Polish government, however, pointed to comments by Zhirinovsky to the effect that Russia and Germany should

share common borders, eliminating Poland from the map entirely, to argue that its immediate admission into NATO was necessary.

"The Americans would like to tame the bear but they keep forgetting that they can't do that while it's in the forest. You have to do it in a cage," Polish president Lech Walesa said January 3. "This may sound vicious but you cannot civilize the bear unless you know where he stands."

According to an article in the January 11 *New York Times*, the "Partnership for Peace" is open to all former Soviet bloc countries. However, in a *Times* article that appeared at the end of December, Steven Erlanger argued that "countries like the Ukraine... [are] a different matter." Erlanger said that Willy Claes, the Belgian foreign minister, called it "unthinkable" for Ukraine to join the Partnership for Peace without destroying its nuclear weapons.

Clinton announced part way through the summit meeting that an agreement had been reached between the governments of the United States, Russia, and Ukraine. Kiev had allegedly conceded to destroy its nuclear weapons or turn them over to Moscow in exchange for a few fuel rods for its nuclear power plants and a few million dollars in financial assistance. The following day, however, a spokesperson from the Ukrainian foreign ministry was quoted saying that a final document had not been agreed to. "A final agreement and the end of talks are two completely different things," Anton Buteiko, top foreign policy advisor to President Leonid Kravchuk, said.

The members of NATO also voted to threaten air strikes against Serbian positions

Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Defend Rights of Immigrant Workers! Panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

WASHINGTON

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Defend Native Fishing Rights. Speakers: Chief Johnny Jackson, Klickitat Tribe; Wilber Stockish, Klickitat Tribe. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

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Defend Workers' Democratic Rights! Stop Employers' Drug Testing. Sat., Jan. 22, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-401-2409.
A Working-Class Answer to the Government's "Back to Basics" Campaign. Sat., Jan. 29, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-401-2409.

in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

If past track record is any indication, however, this is more bluff than threat. While this is at least the second time the organization has issued such a threat, no action has ever been taken. Last August it was Washington that demanded the resolution calling for air strikes while Paris, London, and other governments with troops in Bosnia urged caution. This year the positions were reversed. The U.S. government has no soldiers in Bosnia.

The majority of the U.S. ruling class has decided that the slaughter of working people in Bosnia by rival bureaucratic factions poses no serious problems for them.

"Eastern Europe's current conflicts, however numerous, are parochial," Ted Carpenter and Alan Tonelson wrote in a column in the *Washington Post*. Carpenter is the director of foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute, a conservative think tank. Tonelson is a Washington, D.C., foreign policy analyst. Their January 9 article argued against the expansion of NATO.

Douglas Hurd, Britain's foreign secretary, agreed. "Are the U.S. Congress, the House of Commons, the French Assembly, [and] the Bundestag solemnly ready to guarantee... the frontiers of, say, Slovakia," he was quoted as asking in an article in the January 10 *Financial Times*.

"New security obligations should never be undertaken lightly," U.S. Senator Nunn echoed in a *Washington Post* column. "To both our NATO allies and Eastern European friends we must also make it clear that NATO membership provides little or no immediate or direct relief from domestic economic problems, political difficulties and ethnic tensions," he added.

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For mom and country — In 1995, the National Air and Space Museum of the Smithsonian Institution



Harry Ring

tute will mark the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima by displaying the "Enola Gay," the plane that dropped the bomb. The day before takeoff, the Army colonel who commanded the mission had "Enola Gay" inscribed on the side, after his mother.

A thought — We wonder if the Smithsonian display of the Enola Gay will be accompanied by a photographic exhibit of the aftermath of the bombing, which caused at least 200,000 deaths.

No worse than a bad cold — The late Dixy Lee Ray chaired the Atomic Energy Commission from 1973-75 and then did a stint as governor of Washington. A few days before her recent departure, Ray expressed irritation about the public focus on the government's radiation experiments on unknown victims. "Everybody is exposed to radiation," she declared. "A little bit more or a little bit less is of no consequence."

Her epitaph — She was "the

best friend business ever had." — A lobbyist for Boeing, the Washington-based aircraft folks.

They do offer pie in the sky — The Catholic Archdiocese in Hartford, Connecticut, created quite a to-do when it denied it's downtown church the right to make basement space available to a soup kitchen. A local paper reported: "The archbishop was concerned that a soup kitchen at that downtown location would harm potential development, affecting the parish's image negatively and strain what the archdiocese said was the parish's 'shaky' financial prospects..."

"Why pay rent?" — In Britain, one in four who bought homes be-

tween 1988 and 1991 are now living in properties worth less than the value of their mortgages.

How about an intramural competition? — A Russian police chief gave a rap to cops in Des Moines, Iowa. According to the *Des Moines Register*, he told them: "The laws aren't soft. Showing disrespect to an officer even by facial expressions is punishable by an automatic five days in jail. Anybody who lays a hand aggressively on a Russian police officer receives at least 15 days in jail..." A Des Moines cop inquired, jokingly, "Are you hiring?"

Why not have another war? — In Britain, the Leeds City Council is urging the jobless and impover-

ished to grow their own food on vacant city lots. Declared one council member: "If people don't have much money then it makes sense for them to save and grow their own food. People were often healthier in wartime when they were more self-sufficient."

Soulmeter — "Daedalus," the tongue-in-cheek columnist for the British science magazine *Nature*, suggests that currently available technology could measure the direction, velocity, and spin of the soul as it departs a corpse. And the changed body weight would establish the soul's mass. Soul measurements, he also suggests, could check theologians who argue that the soul enters an embryo a week or so after conception.

U.S. Navy won't void racist courts-martial

The U.S. Navy has rejected a request to overturn the 50-year-old courts-martial of 258 Black sailors who refused to load ammunition after an explosion. The Navy's decision came in response to a request by four members of Congress that this case be reviewed.

So much for claims by Pentagon and White House officials that the U.S. military has overcome racism!

The incident occurred July 17, 1944, after an explosion at the Port Chicago munitions center in California had killed 327 men, including 202 Black sailors. The blast was the deadliest military accident in the United States during World War II. It destroyed two ammunition ships, leveled much of the town of Port Chicago, and was felt as far away as Nevada.

FROM PATHFINDER

Two weeks later, when the Black sailors at the port were ordered back to work, hundreds refused, saying conditions were unsafe. Military authorities shipped hundreds of protesters to the South Pacific, and arrested 258. Fifty sailors who continued their boycott even after being threatened with court-martial were convicted of 'mutiny' and spent 16 months in a military prison.

The *Militant* has had a proud record of exposing the rampant racism in the U.S. armed forces and the fight against it by sailors and other servicemen during World War II.

We are reprinting below an article on this case that first appeared in the Nov. 11, 1944, issue, under the title, "Fifty found guilty of Navy 'mutiny.'" It can also be found in the recently reprinted Pathfinder book *Fighting Racism in World War II*. Copyright © Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY ROBERT CHESTER

SAN FRANCISCO, October 26 — In a drastic move to maintain its vicious Jim Crow segregation policy, a seven-man, gold-braid, Navy court-martial has found

fifty Negro sailors guilty of "mutiny." Penalties may range from extended prison sentences to the maximum, death. The verdict was brought in after only forty-five minutes of deliberation upon the conclusion of thirty-three days of contradictory testimony and summation arguments.

The case goes back to the Port Chicago disaster, when a ship being loaded with ammunition blew up, causing the death of 327 men and tremendous damage. The great majority of the men were Negro sailors in "labor battalions" doing longshore work. All the men brought to trial were involved in the tragedy, being either survivors or among the squads that cleaned up the wreckage and remnants of bodies dismembered by the explosion.

This disaster caused a profound reaction in the men and appears to have brought to the surface their resentment against Navy Jim Crow policy. Up to the outbreak of hostilities, Negroes were accepted in the Navy only in the capacity of messmen. "Only after things got hot," stated Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the NAACP, "did the Navy open up other opportunities to Negroes in other capacities." Even then they were Jim Crowed into segregated units. "Somehow or other," Marshall pointed out, "these units happen to get assigned to the dirtiest, hardest, and most dangerous jobs."

The Navy uses Negro labor gangs extensively in the San Francisco area to load ships. They usually work under the direction of white officers. Training for skilled types of work is often insufficient. It has been pointed out that the longshoremen's union does not permit men to work ammunition until they have had five years' experience. Yet some of the men at Port Chicago were put in ammunition after two or three months' training. On top of that, Navy officers often use speedup methods, pitting one crew against another. It has been reported that officers in charge would make side bets with each other on the comparative outputs of their gangs.

The trial testimony showed that the men feared to continue loading ammunition after Port Chicago. Petitions had been circulated asking for transfers to other types of work,

stating that they feared to work ammunition after seeing the effects of the blast. These petitions were used as the basis for the charge of "conspiracy to mutiny." Although much reference was made during the trial to "refusal to work" lists, no clear-cut evidence was presented that the men had refused to obey direct orders from their officers.

One important point stands out from the testimony. Any exhibition of resentment by the men against their lot was immediately translated by the officers into a threat against their authority and discipline. The whole Navy system of intimidation was brought into play.

When the news that the men did not wish to handle ammunition reached the officers, a series of questionings and musters were held. Men were questioned individually and statements drawn up by the officers were given to them for signature. Groups were lectured and the Navy manual on mutiny read. Many of the statements were not taken verbatim.

One ensign testified that he asked the men to tell him "all about it" and then selected that which he thought was "important." Another officer testified that he took down notes longhand and then dictated statements that he considered were "the substance of what the men said... excluding irrelevantities." Many of the men testified that they were told to sign the statements, and did so

because "they thought they had to."

The army and Navy have made a whole system of allowances for battle fatigue, shell shock, and psychological reactions to the horrors of war. Yet in this case, where the men went through one of the severest munition disasters of the war, no consideration for its effect was made.

In his final statement Prosecutor Lt. Cmdr. James F. Coakley, who has been accused by Thurgood Marshall of prejudice, said: "Any man so depraved as to be afraid to load ammunition deserves no leniency."

The case has held the interest of Negroes all over the country. They see in it a representation of the whole system of discrimination as practiced by the U.S. armed forces. They see in it a repetition of the discrimination they have experienced all their lives. Many young Negroes, believing this a "war for democracy," hoped that by joining the armed forces they could win some for themselves. Their experience has proved otherwise. All the conflicts in society are reproduced in the army and Navy with intensified force.

This trial, the largest mass trial in Navy history, bids fair to become the Negro cause célèbre of the war. Resentment is piling up. The imposition of sentences will touch off movements of protest by colored workers all over the country. Their demand will be "Free the fifty sailors."

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



The black community is solidly united behind the 65 black students who on Jan. 8 took over Ford Hall at Brandeis University and renamed it Malcolm X University. Support statements have come from the Boston Black United Front, the New Urban League, and the Metropolitan Clergy.

Community support has been forthcoming from organizations such as the Urban League, the NAACP and the United South End Settlement.

Over 50 students from the Boston area met Jan. 12 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to organize a committee to gain support for Afro [Brandeis Afro-American Organization]. The committee, which is called the Malcolm X University Solidarity Committee, fully supports the demands and actions of the black Brandeis students and sees their struggle as part of a larger struggle for black self-determination. The committee agreed to distribute 15,000 copies of the first issue of the *Brandeis Black Bulletin* from Malcolm X University to circulate the true facts concerning Afro's struggle.



January 22, 1944

[U.S. president Franklin Delano]

Roosevelt's message to congress requesting the adoption of "a national selective service act" to outlaw strikes was the culmination of weeks of a carefully planned campaign directed against the trade unions. The campaign was initiated immediately upon the President's return from the Cairo and Teheran conferences. Part of the build-up was Roosevelt's spectacular action ordering the army to seize the railroads. This contrasts with his previous actions in the coal strikes where he instructed a civilian agency, the fuels administrator, to take over control.

In his message, Roosevelt presented a five-point program which included: (1) "A realistic tax law — which will tax all unreasonable profits," (2) "a continuation of the law for renegotiation of war contracts," (3) "A cost of food law," (4) "Early reenactment of the stabilization statute of October 1942," and (5) "A national service law." "These five measures," Roosevelt added, "together form a just and equitable whole."

After he had delivered his message, Roosevelt summoned Philip Murray and William Green to the White House for a "conference." He confronted the leaders of the AFL and CIO with the ultimatum: either to endorse a National Service Act or face drastic anti-strike legislation by Congress. "The labor chiefs," says the N.Y. Post "asked for assurance that the rest of the President's program — calling for higher taxes, control of profits, food price subsidies, and continuance of the stabilization program — would be approved. Mr. Roosevelt replied that he was unable to give that assurance." Roosevelt, who can hardly be considered a political infant, was only too well aware of the reception his "five-point program" would receive in congress.

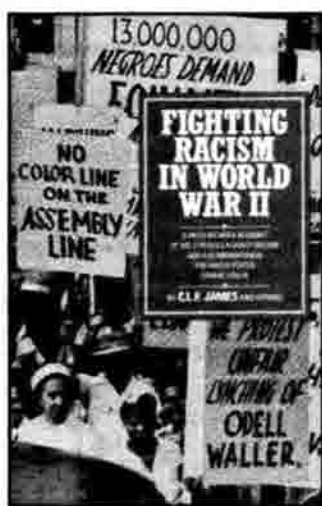
FOR FURTHER READING

FIGHTING RACISM IN WORLD WAR II

C.L.R. JAMES, GEORGE BREITMAN, EDGAR KEEMER, and others

A week-by-week account of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination in the United States from 1939 to 1945, taken from the pages of the socialist newsweekly, the *Militant*. \$20.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail please add \$3.00 for shipping and handling.



The splintering of NATO

"Partnership for Peace," new world order, and other myths of unity and growth notwithstanding, the real forces at work in NATO today are causing it to splinter.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed in 1949 by the governments of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United States. Their common denominator was hatred of the workers states that had resulted from the overthrow of capitalism in Eastern Europe. The employer class was basking in the glow — and the profits — of a powerful capitalist upswing, fueled by the massive destruction of the second World War.

But the world is a different place today. The 1987 stock market crash was a sure signal that the post-war boom, which had run its course by the early 1970s, was surely headed for a historic bust — another world depression. What this means for working people the world over is increasing attacks on our jobs, our rights, and our standard of living. For the bosses it means more competition, trade rivalries, and increasing inter-imperialist conflict.

Just two years after the crash, the bureaucratic regimes that had stolen power from the working class in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe began to shatter. This massive crisis of Stalinism and the crumbling of the Warsaw Pact military alliance that went with it contributed even further to the disintegration of NATO. It is less likely today that any Eastern European countries will ever become full members of the U.S. military alliance.

Today, the capitalist classes in the 16-member countries

of NATO are increasingly competing with each other for a larger share of shrinking profits. From grain to movies every day brings new tariffs and new arguments.

The French and German regimes continue to push for using institutions like the Western European Union to replace NATO in calling the shots over military matters in Europe. That's what the calls from Paris for bombing Bosnia, and the crocodile tears from all the imperialist governments about the slaughter of working people in the former Yugoslav republic, are all about.

The future that capitalism promises is one of more instability and more wars, which increases the possibility of tactical nuclear wars as more governments get their hands on atomic weapons.

One thing hasn't changed since the founding meeting of NATO, however. Washington remains the dominant military power in the world today. The U.S. government's military might is not based just on its position in the NATO alliance, but on the direct role of U.S. troops in every part of the world. This military supremacy allows the U.S. rulers greater muscle within the world imperialist system than their relative economic and political strength would allow.

But the same forces that under the imperialist powers are driving together working people the world over. The breakup of the Warsaw Pact, like the unification of Germany, makes it easier for working people across Europe to fight together against their common enemy — capitalism — than at any time in more than four decades.

Mexico's social tinderbox

The repercussions of the guerrilla activity in the rural state of Chiapas, in the south of Mexico, reveal the growing instability in that country, the second-largest in Latin America.

The capitalist government of Mexico responded to the January 1 takeover of several towns in Chiapas by mobilizing one-fifth of its army and brutalizing the civilian population there. For years the government and wealthy landlords repressed peasant struggles with near-total impunity. But Mexico is becoming a social tinderbox and the army's brutality in Chiapas provoked widespread outrage throughout the country. The government of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari is also concerned about its international image of stability as it tries to attract foreign investment and strike favorable trade deals.

The capitalist class in Mexico has enjoyed relatively stable rule for decades. But the economic crisis that opened in the 1980s has heightened social differences and class tensions, as well as cracks in the political monopoly of the ruling party. While Mexico's capitalists and big sections of the middle class have seen an economic boom in recent years, the rulers have dealt big blows to the wages and living conditions of working people.

The cause of the increased exploitation of working people in Mexico is not the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as some argue, but capitalism. In Mexico as elsewhere, the ruling families today can only prosper by brutally lowering workers' living standards, intensifying labor, driving farmers into debt, and pushing

millions more into unemployment.

But there is another side. In recent decades capitalism has drawn millions of working people throughout Latin America off the land and into the factories, swelling the size and potential power of the working class. Capitalism is also pushing working people together. For example, while few know anything about the Zapatista guerrilla group — which appears to have few connections with mass struggles in Chiapas — the recent events there have evoked widespread working-class sympathy with the peasants of southern Mexico, who for years have waged fights for land and rights.

The recent social explosions in northern Argentina, where thousands of workers stormed the government offices and battled police to protest government austerity, are an even clearer sign of the future of working-class resistance in Latin America.

For working people in the United States, Canada, and other countries, what is decisive about Mexico is to look to fellow fighters there. A militant strike last December by 22,000 teachers in Monterrey, which defeated government plans to cut retirement pensions, is one example of the struggles that working people elsewhere can link up with. Rather than focus on NAFTA and promote nationalist arguments of saving "Mexican jobs" or "American jobs," the labor movement should join the fight to demand the cancellation of Mexico's foreign debt as well as defend and help organize immigrant workers.

Extend abortion rights

January 22 marks the 21st anniversary of the *Roe vs. Wade* decision legalizing abortion in the United States. Today opponents of the right to choose are raising a vocal campaign against a tiny concession by the White House allowing Medicaid-funded abortions in cases of rape and incest. Most of the opponents of the measure pretend the issue isn't really abortion rights, but rather the supposed "right" of each state to make its own laws on the question. A few, such as columnist Cal Thomas, openly attack women's right to choose abortion under all circumstances.

The labor movement and all supporters of women's rights need to answer these attacks and fight for abortion to be not only legal but also accessible, especially to working-class women. It's the only way for women to have the right to control their own bodies. This includes demanding an end to all restrictions on Medicaid funding, along with opposing parental consent laws and mandatory waiting periods. All of these rules hit working-class women particularly hard. A determined effort to expand access to abortion — like the successful efforts to defend clinics from attempts by rightist thugs to shut them down — can result in further gains in the fight for women's equality.

There is an offensive against women's rights today. The wealthy capitalist families that run Washington have chipped away over the last two decades at access to safe, legal abortion and other gains won through the civil rights movement and the fight for women's equality, such as affirmative action. The Hyde Amendment, which banned Medicaid funds for abortions, was one part of this offensive.

This drive against women's equality, however, has made limited headway.

Women are not being pushed back in any general way today. And the rulers are nowhere near being able to significantly roll back women's right to abortion. Women are in the workforce in greater numbers, and are more a part of social and political life, than ever before. This breaks down women's isolation and strengthens their confidence, putting male and female workers in a better position to fight side by side as equals to defend their interests. Sexual harassment on and off the job is less acceptable to workers — both men and women — than it used to be, and most people support the right to choose abortion.

The Clinton administration's decision to implement the law extending Medicaid coverage to abortions in a handful of cases is not "the act of a compassionate president committed to health-care reform," as the head of Planned Parenthood put it. Bill Clinton doesn't give a damn about working people, including working-class women. According to Michael Kramer of *Time* magazine, the president has said in the past that he does not consider abortion to be a right if the woman cannot afford to pay for the procedure. Clinton's much-touted health-care reform plan is itself an attack on working people, many of whom will pay more money for less medical attention.

Young women and others who have rallied to defend clinics in every corner of the United States are a powerful example of how to defend abortion rights. Supporters of the right to choose abortion can build on the strength of these actions to demand an end to all restrictions that limit working-class women's access to abortion — including the sharp restrictions on government funding. Supporters of women's rights should call for free abortion on demand for all.

Who's to blame for radiation victims?

In a letter on the opposite page, reader J.E. Tuite asks who were the government officials who made it possible for the cover-up to take place at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant where workers, and residents of the area, were callously subjected to radiation dangers.

I think ultimate responsibility rests with the various occupants of the White House — from Harry Truman, who was president when the plant opened, through to Bill Clinton today.

While a federal grand jury in Colorado was investigating criminal misconduct at Rocky Flats, the Justice Department, made a deal — behind the backs of the jurors — with the Rockwell company, which then operated the plant for the government.

Rockwell pleaded guilty to minimal charges, paid a small fine, and the grand jury was discharged.

A report drawn up by the jury was ordered sealed. Angry jurors made some of their findings available to a local paper and, for this, were threatened with federal prosecution.

The prosecution threat was tabled. The Justice Department warned the jurors that if there were any further disclosures it would "reopen the investigation."

Negotiations with Rockwell were begun by the Bush administration. But the plea bargain deal and the subsequent moves to gag the grand jurors were made in 1992 — that is, as the Clinton administration was assuming office. Is it at all likely that the Justice Department would

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

make political decisions of such substance without White House consultation and approval?

Reader Tuite also apparently objects to the assertion that Washington is guilty of hypocrisy in accusing such Third World countries as North Korea and Pakistan of nuclear proliferation. But isn't it the ultimate in hypocrisy for a government, which has nuclear weapons deployed around the globe, to be warning about proliferation?

And by what legal or moral right does Washington assume the role of world cop and threaten action against those it deems to be proliferators?

U.S. nuclear weapons point at North Korea from bases in South Korea. U.S. troops engage in joint maneuvers with South Korean troops in a naked threat against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Pyongyang denies that it has nuclear weapons. But, if you assume it does have such weapons you have to ask yourself: Wouldn't ultimate responsibility for this rest with Washington and its bellicose threats against the country — a land it invaded in 1950?

And isn't it a bit hypocritical for concern about nuclear proliferation to be voiced by the only government that has ever dropped nuclear bombs on people? And it should never be forgotten that the U.S. government dropped the A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki after Japan had been defeated militarily and was suing for peace.

Tuite agrees the government showed disregard for the people of Rocky Flats but wants to know, specifically, which of their democratic rights were violated.

Legal definitions aside, I would say the right to know. The right not to be lied to by the government.

Democratic rights are trampled on when a government falsely tells workers at a nuclear weapons plant that their health is not endangered. When it lies to area residents about the fact that their land, water, and air are being poisoned.

Tuite sees one point in my article as suggesting that the government "hates the workers." That wasn't quite what I had in mind. There is no data available on how many members of the government hate the workers, and how much so. (If there was such data, I suspect it would show that a good many of them hate the workers a lot.)

But there was a more basic point to what I was saying about Washington's nuclear crimes. Such abominations are committed because the government is a capitalist government. It doesn't act on behalf of "all the people," that's a fiction. Rather, it acts in the interest of the capitalist class, which mainly includes the big industrialists and bankers who own the mines, mills, factories, land, and financial institutions and rule this country in order to fatten the coffers of their class and increase their profit rates.

The Democratic and Republican parties, which run the government, are firm partisans of capitalism. These parties are financed and controlled by the wealthy families that rule the United States. For that good and simple reason they defend the interests of the capitalist class.

When push comes to shove in a conflict between workers and bosses, the government can be counted on to come down on the side of the bosses. Wherever big growers are in conflict with working farmers, the government comes down on the side of the wealthy growers.

Wherever in the world workers strive to take their destiny into their own hands the U.S. government — like the other imperialist governments of the world — can be counted on for stiff resistance. Just look at Washington's 35 years of unrelenting effort to strangle the Cuban revolution.

For the capitalist rulers, nuclear weapons are their ultimate club against working people of the world, and against their imperialist rivals as well.

Basically that's why the capitalist government in Washington commits its gruesome nuclear crimes.

— HARRY RING

Meatpackers in Iowa accept concession contract

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Meatpackers at the John Morrell plant in Sioux City, Iowa, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1142, voted 372 to 145 November 27 to accept a four-and-a-half-year contract.

In September, Morrell officials

In 1993 Chiquita management announced they had lost \$62 million from their Morrell operations.

Citing the ratification of the new labor contract and a \$1.4 million "aid" package agreed to by local and state officials, Morrell executives announced December 1 the canceling of their plan to close the packinghouse. Part of the "aid" package was an agreement by Sioux City administrators to turn over \$1 million of city funds to Morrell to help them upgrade plant equipment.

UFCW Local 1142 members approved the contract with more than a year remaining on the old agreement. According to press reports and union officials, wage increases totaling \$1.20 an hour over four-and-a-half-years are included in the new pact. The current hourly base wage is \$8.60.

throughout the South in 1993, even as union membership nationwide is at its lowest level in decades.

Officials from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) said 1993 was their most successful year organizing in the South, where ACTWU represents about 50,000 workers and expects its membership to grow by 5 percent.

Unions won 45 percent of organizing votes in North Carolina in 1993, up from 23 percent in the early 1990s, according to statistics compiled by the National Labor Relations Board. ACTWU's biggest win in the state was at Kmart Corp's distribution center in Greensboro, which has nearly 500 employees. □

Unionists fight political firing in Iceland shipyard

Employers broke an agreement reached at the end of November in Labor Court in Reykjavik, Iceland, in the case of union activist, Gylfi Páll Hersir. He was fired from his job at the Stálsmidjan shipyard at the end of September in a dispute over enforcing terms of the union contract guaranteeing five hours of overtime a week. Management demanded the



About 30,000 unionists demonstrated outside the parliament building in Stockholm, Sweden, December 15. Workers were protesting the government's economic austerity policies, including new attacks on jobless benefits. Official unemployment in Sweden is at a near-record 8.4 percent.

Militant/Lasse Johansson

ON THE PICKET LINE

announced they would be closing the Sioux City plant December 10, citing mounting economic losses and their inability to find a buyer for the packinghouse.

The new contract was part of a package of concessions Morrell demanded from the union, as well as from state and city administrators, in exchange for agreeing to keep the plant open. The Sioux City packinghouse employs 1,300 workers and is one of the largest industrial companies in northwest Iowa.

John Morrell is owned by Chiquita Brands, which plans to sell all seven of its Morrell plants.

Workers will have to pay more for health-care coverage. Their share will rise from the current \$4.60 per week to close to \$9.00 per week by the time the contract expires. Morrell also insisted on cut-backs in the severance pay should they close the plant in the future.

For the first time the union also agreed to a no strike clause as part of the contract. □

Unions make gains in North Carolina

Unions have won some important victories in North Carolina and

right to reorganize this work in violation of the labor agreement.

Officials of the trade union Dagsbrún (Dawn) characterized Hersir's dismissal as a political firing, which violated the country's labor legislation. The union filed a suit against the shipyard's management in an effort to reverse the company's action.

In a compromise settlement, the court ruled that Hersir could have his job back until the end of December. At that time if the workload was light he would be released and be the first person called back when

the company hires. Despite a busy work schedule and a recommendation from the foreman and shop steward that Hersir stay, the boss let him go.

The union is continuing the fight to get his job back. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Mike Galati, member of UFCW Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa; and Sigurlaug Gunnlaugsdóttir, member of the union Framsókn in the fish-processing industry in Reykjavik, Iceland.

LETTERS

Leaked radiation

The article "Secret nuclear tests leaked radiation" from the December 27th issue of the *Militant* was unfortunate. It does not take much genius to observe that the United States government has acted negligently in some aspects of the Rocky Flats nuclear plant case and was willfully negligent in other aspects of the case. It is inconceivable that anyone could disagree.

Mr. Ring stated, suggested, or claimed that the truth about the Rocky Flats nuclear plant "shines a spotlight on Washington's contempt for the lives of thousands of working people, its utter disregard for democratic rights, and its sheer hypocrisy when it accuses governments of third world countries... of nuclear proliferation."

Without belaboring logical assumptions sewn together in flowery symbolic language by Mr. Ring, the point is that Mr. Ring made blatantly reckless statements assigning meaning to these events that he has not even begun to demonstrate in his article. For example, it is safe to assume he meant the government when he wrote "Washington" in the above quote. To mind, Mr. Ring is telling me that the government hates the workers. Why, Mr. Ring, does the government hate the workers? How can the government feel hate, or even contempt? Does the government think with one brain as well? Doesn't the government like benefits of using the workers?

I doubt very seriously that the people of Rocky Flats would say that the government felt contempt for them. Although they would agree with Mr. Ring when he wrote that government showed "utter disregard," but I would not say "democratic rights" as Mr. Ring did. In particular which rights did the government violate? I am not familiar with the rights Mr. Ring is alluding to in his article.



Finally, Mr. Ring's story had promise. There is a story that should be heard from the Rocky Flats nuclear plant, and the subsequent cover-up by the Justice Department and the Rockwell officials. Mr. Ring failed when he began to editorialize in his story. He might have used the space allotted him to provide answers to questions such as: what government officials enabled the cover-up, what position has R.G.&G. taken on this issue, or what dangers still remain from the unprocessed plutonium? Further information such as the half-life of this plutonium would have made this article a very good one. J.E. Tuite, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Nuclear 'close calls'

In a new book *The Limits of Safety* published by Princeton University Press, author Scott Sagan documents many previously undisclosed and accidental "close calls" with the use of U.S. nuclear weapons.

Two chapters are devoted to the so-called "Cuban missile crisis" in October of 1962 as Washington was

on the brink of launching an enormous invasion and nuclear attack of Cuba.

In one incident, on Oct. 25, 1962, an Air Force guard on base in Duluth, Minnesota, set off a warning alarm after he thought a saboteur had climbed the base fence. Military ranks had been trained to expect sabotage prior to a missile attack, writes Sagan.

But when the sabotage alarm in Minnesota relayed to Volk Field in Wisconsin, the wrong alarm sounded there, instead ordering an aircraft launch to Cuba. Pilots taxied nuclear-equipped interceptor aircraft down the runway, believing that a "war had just started."

Fortunately, the error was discovered before takeoff. The "saboteur" climbing the fence was found to have been a bear.

The author relates another incident on Oct. 28, 1962, when radar operators at the Air Force Command in Moorestown, New Jersey, reported to national command headquarters that a Soviet-placed missile had been launched from Cuba and would detonate near Tampa, Florida, in about two minutes.

As it turned out, a training test

tape simulating a Cuban missile launch had been inserted on the radar screen, while coincidentally a real satellite came over the horizon, confusing the operators who reported the "attack" from Cuba.

Sagan also reveals that during October Pentagon officials continued their regularly scheduled practice missile launches from bases in Florida leading to another erroneous "missile from Cuba" sighting by confused radar operators on October 26.

Janet Post, Miami, Florida

Censorship in Mauritius

We in LALIT, a revolutionary organization in Mauritius, are writing to keep you informed about a serious attack on freedom of expression here: an attack that has come simultaneously from the fundamentalist elements of the "Hindu Council" and the state itself.

December 3, Lindsey Collen launched her second novel, *The Rape of Sita*. The book is about the issue of sexual violence against women and women's rights in general: issues which inevitably get "on the goat" of fundamentalists of all ilk.

Almost immediately, the "Hindu Council" objected violently to the title of the book, saying that it represented an outrage against the Hindu religion; they had not even bothered to read the novel itself.

The author, Lindsey Collen, started receiving a series of threats of violence by anonymous telephone calls. On Tuesday December 7, the prime minister, under pressure from the Hindu fundamentalists, made a statement in the National Assembly declaring the book to be an "outrage against public and religious morality," and he even went so far as to say that the book was "blasphemous." He also had not read the book itself, but had, to quote him, "glanced" at the front

and back covers.

This is probably the first time that the prime minister in a secular state has taken it on himself to declare a novel "blasphemous," a privilege usually claimed by Ayatollahs in religious states. The prime minister ended his statement in parliament by saying that he was asking the police to take action against Lindsey Collen under a section of the Criminal Code that carries a one year jail sentence.

Faced with threats of physical violence as well as state repression, Lindsey Collen and the publisher, *Ledikasyon pu Travayer*, chose to withdraw the book from circulation and to consider altering its title.

After the initial negative reactions and threats from the fundamentalists had decreased, the debate about the literary content of the book itself is now getting the upper hand in the press and in the public in general: the book is being received as one of the best works of literature ever produced in the country. Fortunately enough copies of the book are already in circulation to make this possible.

Ram Seegobin, Port Louis, Mauritius

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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Profit drive causes Puerto Rico oil spill

BY SETH GALINSKY
AND RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — U.S. Coast Guard commander Jerry Kichner hesitated for a moment to consider a reporter's question. "Yes," he said finally, "a double hulled vessel in this case would have made a difference."

Kichner is in charge of 28 members of a Coast Guard crew trying to transfer 750,000 gallons of oil from the barge Morris J. Berman, which struck a reef here January 7. Another 750,000 gallons of fuel oil spilled out of dozens of holes punctured in at least three of the nine tanks in the vessel.

This is the worst oil spill in Puerto Rico since 1973 when 1.5 million gallons were dumped off shore.

Crews are working feverishly to transfer the rest of the oil out of the ship before it breaks apart and sinks.

Although double-hulls are now required on many new vessels, older ships are exempted from the regulation and oil companies continue to argue that single hulls are sufficient.

Hundreds of onlookers watched the cleanup effort with the damaged barge as a backdrop, stuck just 300 yards from shore.

Both Washington and the government of Puerto Rico have tried to give the impression that they are on top of the situation, doing everything possible under the circumstances to contain the damage.

Within hours from the time the barge began spewing oil into the sea, Coast Guard and other cleanup crews were on their way to San Juan. The Puerto Rican government announced it was suing the U.S. owners of the barge and the tugboat for negligence.

Capitalist greed

The oil spill, however, occurred the same day that the Clinton administration announced new rules that would significantly reduce the amount of money for which companies are liable to compensate for damage caused by oil spills. The rules call for a formula "that would understate the natural resource damage rather than overstate [it]."

The U.S. government announced plans to investigate the accident. But the underlying cause is not so hard to pinpoint — capitalist greed.

Worldwide oil production more than doubled from an average of 800 million gallons per day in 1960 to 1.9 billion gallons per day in 1970. That figure reached 2.4 billion gallons in 1980, where it has remained in the 1990s.

With multinational oil companies reaping

huge sums of money and concerned only with increasing their profit rates, the number of oil spills has increased along with production. All but one of the world's 15 worst oil spills has occurred since 1970.

The New York-based company that owned the barge that caused the latest spill off Puerto Rico's shores is notorious for a number of spills. In March 1991, the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation expelled the Morris J. Berman and 18 other barges belonging to the Frank family because of pollution violations.

The government of Puerto Rico, a colony of the United States, is mostly concerned with the spill's effect on tourism. The hardest hit area is a two-mile stretch of beaches and tourist hotels.

To counter the disaster's dampening effect on travel by visitors to the island during the height of the tourist season, the government immediately organized an aggressive campaign of television commercials. An advertising agency, hired by the government, shot video footage of San Juan beaches not directly affected by the spill and beamed it to every major news organization in the United States.

Management of hotels along the contaminated beaches are busing guests to shores

further away.

The full extent of the ecological damage is not yet known. But hundreds of parrot fish, octopus, limpets, sea urchin, sea cucumbers, and shrimp were killed in the first days.

When asked at a press conference to describe the permanent damage to the environment and the effect on local fishermen, Hector Russe, director of the government Environmental Quality Board, just shook his head. "It's very bad," he said. "But it will be weeks before we know the full picture."

Seth Galinsky is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 2594 in Miami. Ron Richards is a member of American Federation of Government Employees Local 1503 in San Juan.



Militant/Seth Galinsky
A portion of the 750,000 gallons of spilled fuel oil washing up on the shores of Puerto Rico's beaches.

Unionists celebrate victory in Hatch Act case

BY OSBORNE HART

OAKLAND, California — "This is the highest privilege I've had in years," remarked Leon Ford, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1584 vice-president, as he welcomed the audience gathered in the union hall January 8 for the Milton Chee Defense Fund victory celebration.

Speaking on behalf of his union and its president, Ford said, "We're extremely happy for the victory... we're with you all the way Milton."

Chee is a mechanic at the Alameda Naval Aviation Depot and a member of IAM Local 1584 and the Socialist Workers Party. He was singled out by the federal government for alleged violations of the Hatch Act. In a November 23 letter, the Office of Special Counsel (OSC) informed Chee that they "decided not to seek disciplinary action against" him.

The Hatch Act severely limits federal workers' political rights and prohibits them from running in partisan elections.

The act was passed in 1939 as part of a series of antidemocratic measures, including the Foreign Agents Registration Act and the Smith Act, which were designed to curtail workers' rights as Washington prepared to enter World War II. It has been used ever since by the government to victimize socialists and other militant unionists who disagree with U.S. foreign and domestic policy.

As the police arm of the Office of Personnel Management, the OSC had been conducting an investigation of Chee since he ran as a socialist in the 1992 nonpartisan San Francisco Board of Supervisors election. The unionist received 13,000 votes. The endorsement of Chee by the local Socialist Workers Campaign Committee — in the government's view — made the election partisan. The OSC still maintains that the aircraft mechanic violated the Hatch Act.

Caitlin Dixon, a sponsor of Chee's candidacy, cochaired the rally, which featured a broad panel of labor representatives and democratic rights fighters who have supported Chee's case. The platform included: John McKee, IAM Local 1584 chief shop steward, who was the first to come to Chee's defense; Richard Trujillo, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 265 vice-president; Omari Musa, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union Local 1326 member and 1992 Socialist Workers congressional candidate, who cochaired the event; David Handscher, Chee's attorney; Froben Lozada, Merritt College Chicano Studies professor; and Jim White, representative of

the San Francisco branch of the SWP.

"I'd like to thank local 1584 for their continuing support for me and democratic rights," Chee said. "This support is based on union solidarity — an injury to one, is an injury to all — not necessarily on political agreement."

"The victory is important," he continued, "not just for Alameda workers, but all federal workers, and all workers. It is a victory in our ability to explain political ideas."

Chee described his political activity that prompted the government's victimization, which included speaking out against the U.S. war in Iraq, publicizing African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's 1991 visit to Oakland, and discussing and expressing outrage over the 1992 Rodney King verdict in Los Angeles with coworkers. The aircraft sheet metal worker attributed his victory to the "broad public support and public attention that is forcing the government to back off."

Among the many messages sent to the rally was one from Terence Hallinan, a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. He wrote, "My congratulations to Milton Chee. This is not only a great victory for him, but for all Americans!"

Before introducing McKee, cochair Musa read greetings from Mark Curtis, an Iowa meatpacker and SWP member who is serving time on police frame-up charges of rape and

burglary stemming from his political activity.

"Your victory... dealt the government a blow they'll have to remember before they try and threaten someone else. I salute you and thank you for fighting and winning a victory for democratic rights that can only make my own battle against a police frame-up stronger," wrote Curtis.

McKee told the meeting, "It was because of Milton's political views that they went after him. This is a victory in the sense that there is no disciplinary action against Milton. I'd like to see the whole thing [Hatch Act] thrown out."

Chee's "case gives proof to the lie that the government, whether Democrat or Republican, is the protector and guardian of our political rights," said Trujillo, who extended an invitation to Chee to speak before the ATU membership.

"We celebrated the victory of Milton Chee in his battle against attempts to suppress his right of political speech," Handscher said. "We celebrate... [for] everyone who showed support for Milton, everyone who believes that all citizens regardless of the popularity of their views... has a right to express those views."

The rally concluded with a discussion and fund appeal, where the nearly 70 participants contributed more than \$1,100 to cover legal and publicity expenses incurred during the aircraft mechanic's fight against the government.



Militant/Susan Zarate
Participants in January 8 meeting in San Francisco celebrate U.S. naval station worker Milton Chee's victory over government harassment. From left: Chee, Omari Musa, IAM Local 1584 shop steward John McKee (speaking), and Caitlin Dixon.

For further reading...

**PUERTO RICO:
U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN**
by José Pérez

**Puerto Rico:
U.S. Colony in the Caribbean**
José G. Pérez



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