

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Caterpillar strikers, rubber workers keep up their fight

— PAGES 10-11

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White House still alone on Iran embargo

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Two weeks after announcing a trade ban against Iran, Washington is still struggling to make headway in getting its imperialist rivals, Moscow, Beijing, and other governments to go along. The embargo, assertedly aimed at halting "international terrorism" and an alleged nuclear threat from Tehran, bars the purchase of all Iranian goods by U.S. companies, their overseas branches, and in many cases their international subsidiaries.

New York Times columnist A.M. Rosenthal, in a piece titled "When Is an Ally?" bemoaned the fact that "Germany, Japan, Italy, France and other U.S. allies that have been selling high-technology tools, pesticides or other products so useful in modern war told Mr. Clinton to take his embargo and run along. Communist China and North Korea have not been that courteous."

Despite pleading and threats from the White House and U.S. Congress, Moscow has declined to give up a contract to sell two nuclear reactors in Iran. And even the Polish government announced it will proceed with the planned sale of more than 100 tanks to Tehran.

To "persuade" these governments to bow to Washington's desires, Rosenthal urged that the sanctions against Iran be extended to ban imports from any company that does business with Tehran. His complaints and similar bluster from U.S. politicians have had little impact on other governments' decisions to date, though.

Iranian president Hashemi Rafsanjani attempted to appeal directly to people in the United States to oppose the Clinton action. In a 75-minute interview with ABC anchor Peter Jennings May 15, the Iranian official said the U.S. government owes his country "a thousand apologies" for its "bullying." He noted that Washington

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'Militant' sets second target week

BY JILL FEIN

A team of *Militant* supporters from Salt Lake City, Utah, recently traveled to Denver and sold 7 subscriptions to the *Militant*, one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 4 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

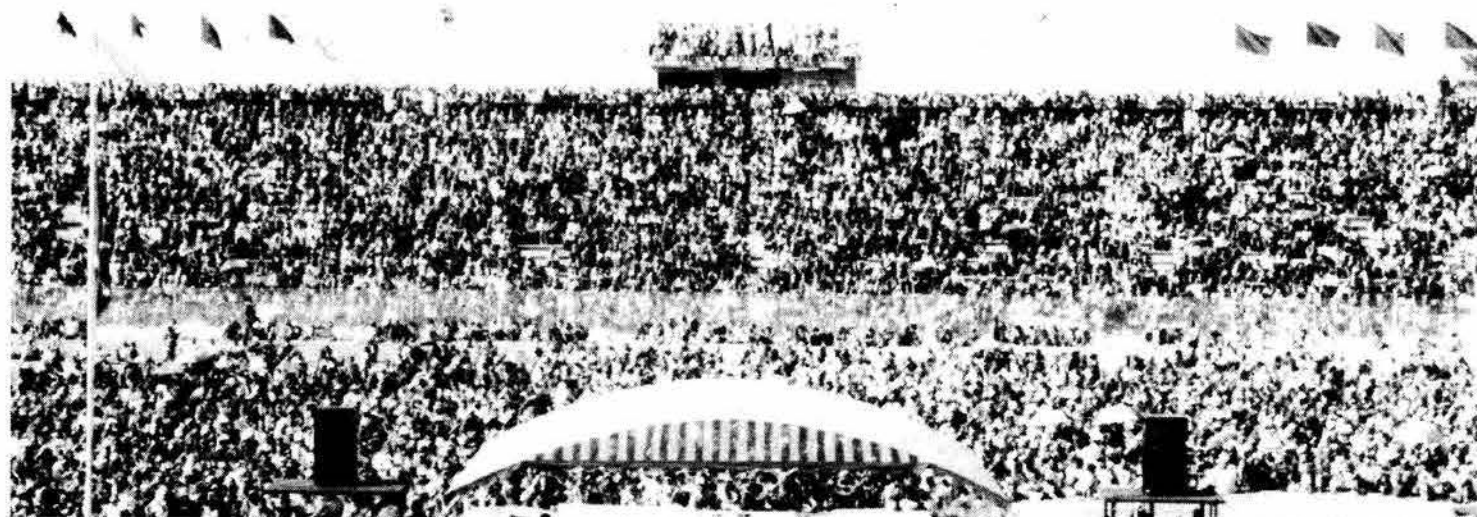
The international campaign to sell the socialist press is going into the seventh week and now stands at 44 percent of the goal, 16 percent behind schedule. Supporters have sold 1,289 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 295 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 506 copies of *New International*.

A second target week to help get the campaign on schedule is planned for May 27 through June 4. Results from the last target week showed that many opportunities exist to reach out to workers, youth, and those involved in political struggles. Special teams to visit new areas were especially important to gaining some momentum for the drive.

The success of the sales team from Salt

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S. Africa: mass rallies protest miners' deaths



Bettman/Patrick de Noirmont

More than 80,000 people rallied at Vaal Reefs stadium May 17 to commemorate deaths of 105 miners

BY JOHN HAWKINS AND GREG ROSENBERG

Hundreds of thousands of workers across South Africa joined demonstrations during a national day of mourning May 17 to commemorate the May 10 disaster at Anglo-American Corp.'s Vaal Reefs mine near Orkney, in which 105 gold miners were killed. Working people held mass rallies in eight regions of South Africa, and workers joined actions and prayer meetings for two hours at midday in factories from the Atlantic coast to the Indian Ocean. "The mining industry shut down," said Gregory Mcatsherwa, a spokesperson for the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), in a telephone interview.

"This was a turning point in the transformation of South Africa — and it was written in the blood of the workers," said Pat Matosa in a telephone interview May 17. Matosa, a former miner, is provincial chairperson of the African National Congress and a member of the cabinet in the Orange Free State. He had addressed a rally of some 35,000 people — black and white — earlier that day in the mining center of Welkom.

"The commemorations took place all

over the country," said Matosa, including that evening in the black townships surrounding nearby Bloemfontein. "The leadership of the ANC and the democratic movement now must build on the momentum to get more concessions from the other side. This was a terrible tragedy. But it has introduced a huge space to fight for change. In the past few days, thousands of workers have been demanding management take steps to ensure safety. The mood in Welkom was angry. The general feeling was that there was an element of company negligence."

Some 80,000 miners, relatives of the victims, and others packed the Oppenheimer stadium at the Vaal Reefs mine memorial meeting. "COSATU is committed to building the economy, but we cannot build the economy at the cost of human lives," said Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) president John Gomomo.

"You don't need to go to the witch doctor to find out why this accident happened," said NUM president James Motlatsi. "It is racism."

The Vaal Reefs disaster was the worst in nearly a decade. South African presi-

dent Nelson Mandela declared a national day of mourning. "The loss of an estimated 100 lives is deeply shocking to our whole nation," Mandela said in a statement issued May 12. "I urge all South Africans to mark this day with the dignity which would do honor to those who lost their lives."

At the demand of the ANC, NUM, and COSATU, the government rapidly announced the formation of a national commission of inquiry to investigate the disaster.

Mandela urged employers to allow workers to participate in commemorations across the country and to make contributions to a national relief fund. He toured the disaster site May 15, and told 5,000 miners there that the ANC was donating \$28,000 to the relief fund, and that the South African government would contribute \$1.3 million. Anglo-American subsequently announced it would contribute several million dollars to the fund.

At Orkney, Mandela urged employers to allow workers to participate in memorial rallies and workplace commemorations. "This perception [that white em-

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Sinn Fein president on U.S. tour says, 'Ireland belongs to all who live in it'



Militant/Francisco Picado

Gerry Adams at New York fund-raiser

BY KAREN RAY

PORTLAND, Maine — Gerry Adams, the president of Sinn Fein, began his U.S. speaking tour by addressing a crowd of 300 here. The Friends of Sinn Fein in Portland sponsored the meeting.

More than 50 supporters of the Irish freedom struggle welcomed Adams May 9 at the Portland airport. Workers, students, and other backers of Irish self-determination, as well as elected officials from the city and from the state legislature attended the meeting that evening. The Portland City Council welcomed Adams with a placard.

Addressing an enthusiastic standing-room-only crowd, the Sinn Fein leader explained that he would accept an invitation to speak anywhere in the world about the peace process and the ongoing struggle for a democratic Ireland. "Twenty years of

stopping me from coming here was about meeting people like you," Adams told the crowd. "It was like building a paper wall around Ireland to keep you from knowing the truth."

"We have a host of reasons to not talk to the British and the loyalists. But we have more reasons to talk about peace. We do not need the British to rule. We have the intelligence and the right to govern ourselves," he said.

Adams said the freedom struggle is fighting to build a democratic society, saying, "We need a non-sexist Ireland. We need women and men to see the rule of Ireland be based on equality." He told the audience, "This conflict is not about religious differences but about political differences. We want to see an Ireland where it doesn't matter if you are Protestant or

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Farrakhan, Shabazz speak at New York meeting — page 7



Mexico's inflation rises

Consumer prices in Mexico rose 8 percent in April, a faster pace than in previous months. The April inflation works out to an annualized rate of 151 percent. Tax increases and fuel-price hikes implemented as part of government austerity measures spurred the jump. Before the economic crisis that began with the devaluation of the peso in December, then-president Carlos Salinas predicted inflation for 1995 would be kept to a single digit.

Caracas youth demand justice

Students in Caracas, Venezuela, protested the high cost of living May 8 and demanded justice in the police killing of a classmate during a similar protest a year earlier.

No police officer has ever been charged in the shooting of 15-year-old Germán Sotillo, who died after receiving two gunshots to the chest on May 5, 1994.

This year's protest, which went on for four hours, closed businesses and forced the suspension of classes. Police responded to the demonstration with tear gas and rubber bullets. At least 10 students were detained and taken to the police station.

Chilean general admits abuses

A Chilean air force general admitted April 29 that the military committed human rights abuses during almost 17 years of military rule under Gen. Augusto Pinochet. Gen. Fernando Rojas said, "The families find it hard to reach a reconciliation due to some cases of abuse." Pinochet caused a stir two days earlier when he said an Argentine general exposed atrocities of the dirty war there because, "he was never under fire, as we were."

Moreover, a Chilean navy commander responded to the dirty-war revelations by saying that the navy "does not have to provide any explanations" about what happened during Chile's military dictatorship between September 1973 and March 1990.

Guyana gov't allows abortions

Guyana's Parliament threw out a 134-

year-old law governing reproductive rights May 4 and legalized abortion under certain circumstances. The new bill makes Guyana the second Caribbean Community member with laws allowing modern medical abortions.

After six hours of debate, Parliament passed the law by a vote of 32 to 21. Dr. Hughley Hannon, a disgruntled member of Parliament, accused supporters of the measure of "bringing western immorality into this country."

Ireland abortion ruling

Ireland's Supreme Court affirmed legislation May 12 granting women access to information on abortion services outside the country. Abortions are illegal in Ireland except when a woman's life is in danger. The new law implements part of a 1992 referendum to change the constitution guaranteeing the right to information on abortion services and travel to seek the procedure.

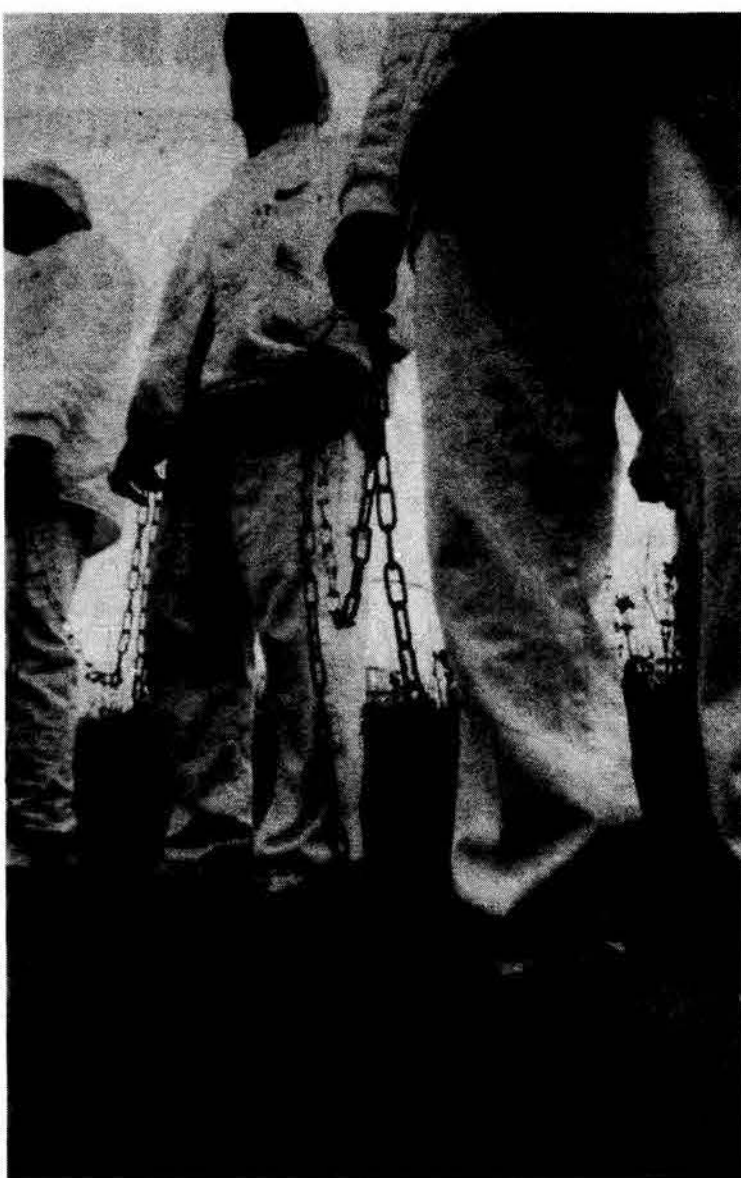
The vote followed street mobilizations demanding a 14-year-old rape victim be allowed to travel to Britain for an abortion. An estimated 5,000 Irish women a year journey to Britain to have abortions.

The legislation does not permit abortion providers to advertise on billboards or in unsolicited publications. Doctors are also barred from making arrangements for or recommending the procedure.

British union denounces anti-immigrant plan

The National Union of Civil and Public Servants in Britain condemned London's recent proposal to turn thousands of public officials and employees into de facto immigration agents.

The union called the proposal "a license for racism and a recipe for disaster." Under the plan government staff would be encouraged to identify immigrant workers and their families to immigration officials,



More than 300 Alabama inmates were forced into leg irons as the state became the first in the United States to reintroduce chain gangs. Prisoner Michael Austin filed suit against governor and prison officials, arguing chain gangs violate inmates' civil rights.

who could then use the information to block access to public housing and training courses to workers suspected of being undocumented.

Miners protest in South Korea

The *Pyongyang Times* reported more than 5,000 people protested in Sabuk, South Korea, earlier this year to demand an end to government restructuring of the coal industry. Since 1988, 303 of the country's 347 mines have been closed, the newspaper reported. The number of working miners dropped from 62,000 to about 15,000.

Burmese youth sentenced

Nine young people were sentenced to seven years in prison each in Burma for praising U Nu, the country's only elected prime minister, at his funeral in February. The youths were among about 50 people, many of them students, arrested at the February 20 burial.

U Nu became Burma's first prime minister after the Southeast Asian country

won independence from British colonialism in 1948. A military coup ousted him in 1969; the nation has been under army control since.

Parents face fines

Starting next school year, parents of every child in Virginia's public schools must sign and return a copy of school rules or pay fines of up to \$50. Gov. George Allen signed the law May 5, which also allows fines of \$500 against parents unable to meet with school officials to discuss their children. "If parents don't try, then there are penalties, and I don't think that's unfair," said Marian Van Landingham, the Democratic legislator who sponsored the bill.

Meanwhile, the government in Tennessee empowered judges to fine parents \$50 if their children miss what officials consider too many days of school. The government in Maryland increased penalties against parents whose children are truant to \$100 a day or 30 days in jail, and judges have begun enforcing the measures.

Food stamp rolls fell

The number of people receiving food stamps in the United States fell by more than 1 million from February 1994 to February

1995. Analysts credit the drop to government restrictions on the program and an upturn in hiring. More than 10 percent of the U.S. population relies on some food stamp assistance.

The number of food stamp recipients rose to nearly 28 million in March of 1994, three years after the economy went into a recovery, as incomes for many workers continued to erode.

Alabama inmate files suit

An inmate at the Limestone Correctional Facility in Athens, Alabama, filed suit against Gov. Fob James and prison officials, arguing that working on one of the state's chain gangs violates his civil rights.

Michael Austin, 29, is one of 320 prisoners forced to work on Limestone's recently reinstituted chain gangs. Austin cites the 8th Amendment, which prohibits slavery and cruel and unusual punishment, as well as the 14th Amendment, which protects the right to due process of the law, in demanding compensation from the state.

—PAT SMITH

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U.S. gov't enlarges trade rift with Tokyo

BY ROBERT MILLER

NEWARK, New Jersey — The U.S. government has sharply escalated its trade confrontation with Tokyo by announcing moves to impose steep tariffs on more than \$5 billion of imported goods. If the 100 percent tariffs on 13 luxury cars from Japan go through, this would be the largest punitive levy ever. On May 10, the Clinton administration said it was also filing a legal challenge to Tokyo's trading practices with the newly formed World Trade Organization (WTO). This double-barreled gun pointed at U.S. capitalists' rivals in Japan, however, involves a high-risk strategy that could backfire.

Washington is demanding that Japanese car manufacturers announce "voluntary plans" for future purchases of U.S.-made auto parts and the expansion of dealerships in Japan that sell cars produced by U.S.-owned manufacturers. Autos and auto parts accounted for more than 55 percent of Washington's \$66 billion trade deficit with Japan last year. Trade negotiations broke off May 5 in Canada.

The "Big Three" U.S. auto bosses rallied around President Bill Clinton's offensive. We "support whatever further action the Clinton administration takes concerning Japanese trade," said Chrysler chairman Robert Eaton.

The *Wall Street Journal*, though, editorialized that "there is a perverse quality to the Clinton team's argument that bringing out the sanctions club is a way to foster free trade with Japan." The *Journal* added, "This is a delicate moment for the global trading order, and a peculiar one for Washington to launch a game of chicken." London's *Financial Times* termed Clinton's demands "ill-judged" and the policy "misguided."

Clinton ups the ante

The Clinton administration move ups the ante in the trade skirmish between the property-holding classes on both sides of the Pacific. In previous trade disputes, what the *Journal* termed "innocuous" goods were targeted for penalties.

This time the targets are high profile luxury automobiles like the Toyota line of Lexus cars and Nissan's Infiniti. The threatened 100 percent tariffs on these vehicles would choke off sales altogether.

According to one trade analyst cited by the *Journal*, the Japanese carmakers are "losing money in sales to the U.S. anyway," referring to the yen's 16 percent in-



U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor announces sanctions against Tokyo. At left, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown; at right, Laura Tyson, of Clinton's National Economic Council.

crease in value against the dollar since the beginning of the year. "Now that's a double whammy. So, the Japanese might compromise," he said.

The sanctions take effect May 20, but will be rescinded if an agreement is reached by June 28. This schedule is aimed at putting maximum pressure on Japanese prime minister Tomiichi Murayama, who will attend the next Group of Seven — heads of industrialized nations — meeting in Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 15.

Taking his cue from the White House, ultrarightist presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan wrote on the op-ed page of the

May 10 *New York Times*, "The hour of the economic nationalist may be at hand." Arguing that 100 percent tariffs on \$1 billion of Japan's exports "doesn't even qualify as a spanking," Buchanan bellowed that toward "predators like Japan and China, it is time for hardball." He called on Congress to impose a tariff of 10 percent on all Japanese imports.

Tokyo is digging in

Tokyo, however, is digging in its heels. "I don't think this will be resolved under pressure," said Yoshihiro Sakamoto, vice minister of Japan's ministry of international trade and industry. He warned that

if U.S. officials believed Tokyo would follow the traditional script and compromise at the last minute, they were mistaken. While the U.S. auto giants recorded record profits in 1994, the flagship industry of Japanese capitalism has been weakened by a sluggish economy after a 3-year recession and a rising yen, which puts the squeeze on profit margins on export sales.

Tokyo plans to go to the WTO charging that U.S. penalties violate world trade rules by imposing sanctions before going to the trade forum.

Japanese vehicle exports to the United States have fallen by half since 1986, from 3.4 million to 1.6 million in 1994. Toyota, Honda, Nissan, and Mazda plants now operate in the United States, and Japanese cars account for 24 percent of the U.S. market.

The 11 Japanese car manufacturers also face a squeeze on profit rates and are preparing to slash the workforce. Hiroshi Okuda, a vice president of Toyota, told the *Financial Times* the company may shut at least one plant.

The May 7 *New York Times* stated, "The fact that Tokyo has not caved in so far to U.S. demands is remarkable, and somewhat puzzling to American negotiators." The business editor of the *Financial Times* wrote May 11, "If Japan calls the administration bluff and continues to stand firm, the ploy could rebound embarrassingly."

Robert Miller is a member of United Auto Workers Local 980 in Edison, New Jersey.

Yeltsin rebuffs Clinton at Moscow summit

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Chalk up president Bill Clinton's recent trip to Russia as a fiasco for Washington. It was another sign that U.S. imperialism is operating from a position of weakness in the world today.

Clinton failed to achieve any of the major aims he announced for summit talks with Russian president Boris Yeltsin following the World War II commemorations in Moscow. The meeting opened a sharp debate and criticism of the White House in U.S. ruling-class circles.

One of Clinton's stated goals was to get Moscow to go along with Washington's campaign against Iran. Before the May 10 summit, Clinton said he would demand the Yeltsin government cancel a \$1 billion deal to sell two nuclear reactors to Tehran.

U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher declared, "We will not be satisfied by anything other than the end of the nuclear program."

The Russian government refused to budge, however, on carrying through its contract with Iran. The only "concession" Clinton got was a pledge not to sell a separate piece of equipment to Tehran that was not part of the original sale and hadn't yet been finalized.

Yeltsin did agree that Moscow would take initial steps to join the Partnership for Peace, a cooperation plan between the NATO military alliance and former Warsaw Pact countries. But the Russian president reiterated his government's opposition to any expansion of NATO to Central and Eastern Europe, something Washing-

ton has pushed for.

Even Clinton's mild criticisms of the Russian government's war in Chechnya where, he said, "the civilian casualties and the prolongation of the fighting have troubled the rest of the world greatly," got a brush-off.

At a joint news conference with Clinton, Yeltsin compared the Chechens fighting for independence to the bombers of the federal building in Oklahoma City. Then he added, "There are no hostilities under way in Chechnya right now." The same day the press service for the Russian forces in Chechnya reported that Russian troops had killed 38 Chechen "militants." Just hours after Yeltsin's speech, five Russian helicopters attacked a Chechen village, firing rockets into farmhouses, according to *Reuters*.

Republican politicians sharply criticized the Clinton administration for its handling of the meeting with Yeltsin. Before Clinton left for Moscow, Sen. Robert Dole warned that the Senate would move to cut off aid to Russia if the nuclear deal with Iran were not canceled. "It would be almost immediate," he said.

Secretary of State Christopher replied that Washington shouldn't rock the boat and risk an unstable situation in Russia. "Every bit of aid we give them is in our interest," he said.

Commenting on the outcome of the summit, Republican senator Mitch McConnell said, "It is an embarrassment for the administration that the president went to Moscow to watch a parade at Yeltsin's behest and brought nothing home."

Clinton maintained that his trip was a success. "The people of the United States, the people of Russia, and the people of the world are safer today than they were two years ago and than they were before this last meeting between us occurred," Clinton said. White House officials rebuked McConnell, Dole, and other critics for not maintaining the traditions of "amicability" and not attacking the president publicly on foreign policy questions.

Some big-business spokespeople, such as the editors of the *Washington Post*, defended Clinton, who they said, "held up the American end in Russia." Many others took a sharply opposing view, though. In a column headlined "The Pushover Presidency," conservative commentator Charles Krauthammer said, "It is bad enough to have no clout in foreign policy. Why make a point of advertising it? The Russians have not just rejected American entreaties. They have been contemptuous of them."

U.S. Army discharges officer for probing human rights violations in Haitian prison

BY LAURA GARZA

"They don't want me behind bars," said Lawrence Rockwood, a captain who was recently court-martialed and discharged from the army for actions he took while stationed in Haiti as part of the U.S. invasion force last year. "They are looking after their own self-interest."

"They want this story and the allegations against their criminal negligence to go away," he said of the military brass's actions. "By sending me to prison, of course, those allegations would not go away. It was not their ideals that motivated them. It's their lack of moral courage."

Rockwood took to heart President Bill Clinton's appeals to stop human rights abuses in Haiti.

He tried in vain to get superior officers to investigate reports of prisoners being held in the notorious national prison in Port-au-Prince. Getting no response, Rockwood went there Sept. 30, 1994, stating he wanted to inspect the facility for human rights violations.

Haitian authorities turned to the U.S. embassy for help, who dispatched a military attaché to the scene. Rockwood was ordered to leave the prison and sent to an army hospital for a psychiatric evaluation where he was cleared.

Rockwood was convicted of four charges, including leaving a U.S. compound and an army hospital without permission.

Rockwood's lawyer, Ramsey Clark, submitted reports from international groups monitoring human rights conditions in Haiti that cited a history of beatings of prisoners in Haiti. Up to 85 percent of the inmates in the national prison were said to be in jail for political reasons.

In the three years after the military coup that overthrew the government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, killings of political opponents were widespread. The current government estimates that 5,000 people were murdered.

One of the main groups organizing the terror campaign was a paramilitary outfit called Fraph, or Front for Advancement and Progress of Haiti. The head of Fraph, Emmanuel Constant, had long ties to U.S. government officials and was reported to be on the payroll of the CIA until the spring of 1994.

Constant fled to the United States, where Washington claimed it couldn't honor Haiti's request to extradite him because his whereabouts were unknown. But on March 29, Secretary of State Warren Christopher revoked Constant's visa stating his presence "would have potentially serious and adverse foreign policy consequences for the United States." Then, on May 12, the federal government announced they had found Constant, who up until then had encountered no difficulty living in Queens, New York, and had even given an interview to the newspaper *Haiti Observateur*. He is being held pending de-

portation proceedings.

While Washington is trying to give the impression it has made Haiti safe for democracy it is having problems justifying the treatment it is giving to Haitian refugees at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba. Some 450 Haitians remain on the base, about half are children, and most of the adults are receiving medical treatment before being forced to return to Haiti.

Even children with parents or others willing to care for them in the United States are being denied entry. Officials say they are preparing for their orderly return to Haiti. Held without adequate housing or medical care, and stuck relying on donated shoes and clothing, the youth organized a hunger strike and a school boycott recently. U.S. soldiers who tried to end the protest were pelted with oranges and some of the tents in the camp were burned down.

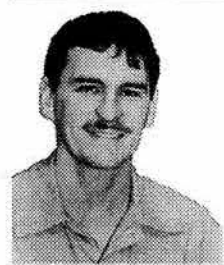
Despite pleas from many quarters, focusing mainly on the plight of the children, the U.S. government is continuing to send people back to Haiti. The *Miami Herald* reported on the case of a 12-year-old named Ronald found sobbing on the street the day he was repatriated to Haiti. His mother lives in Miami and his father is dead, but he was sent to Haiti because adults were with him when he arrived at Guantánamo, therefore he was not considered an unaccompanied minor. He is now living with strangers.

Discussion on bombing reveals distrust of gov't

BY MARK CURTIS

FT. MADISON, Iowa — The reaction to the Oklahoma bombing I've encountered here reveals something about the moods and attitudes of working people today. And the debate over its cause and what should be done show the trajectory of different forces in the U.S. ruling class as well.

I was a little shocked to hear so much



Mark Curtis

approval the morning the federal building was destroyed. A couple of guys expressed satisfaction that the cops and government "got theirs."

"This is what happens when the U.S. government bombs Libya and makes war in the Middle East," someone said to me. Another thought it was proper revenge for the federal agents' raid on the Branch Davidians' compound in Waco, Texas, in 1993. One inmate repeatedly brought up the FBI murders of the family of Randy Weaver, a white separatist who lived in

Idaho.

Much of this initial reaction came before the full picture of the bombing emerged. Most guys expressed disgust at the killing of so many innocent people.

Nevertheless, there was a lot of anti-government feeling and hostility to the federal police. Maybe it's because this is a prison full of men with bad experiences with the cops. Some discussion with factory workers from Des Moines during visits here also helps convince me that these feelings are not just limited to those behind bars.

A recently incarcerated construction worker said he thought the bombing would push back the moves to cut Social Security and welfare, and was a reaction to the decline in wages and the general difficulty in "making a living."

How he came to that conclusion is less important than the fact that the deep distrust, cynicism, and even hatred toward the "powers that be" are carried not just by so-called patriotic militias or ultra-right fringe outfits, but by many workers and farmers battered by the economic and social crisis of capitalism.

Liberals and conservatives may be alarmed by this sentiment — but socialists aren't. We do not support terrorist actions. They only harm the building of a fighting labor and communist movement, and give the government a handle to go after democratic rights.

But we do not cringe at anger towards the capitalist government, which will drive workers to reorganize their unions.

Some of the white separatist, anti-Jewish, self-styled militia groups getting a lot of attention lately will provide cadre for fascist groups. Others can be found in the groups that have already mobilized in the streets attempting to close down abortion clinics, and some are inspired by mainstream politicians like Patrick Buchanan.

Right now, however, it is the Clinton administration and capitalist politicians from both parties who are using the Oklahoma carnage as a lever to give the FBI more powers to wiretap, spy on, infiltrate, and arrest members of political organizations. Perhaps the most dangerous proposal is to allow the police to target a group without evidence of any laws being broken.

In the few weeks since the Oklahoma City bombing, we've seen media commentators interview members of rightist militia groups. The liberals ridicule the conspiracy theories but they can't answer them. The rightists come off looking like the good guys fighting "Big Brother" and condemning Clinton's murderous assault at Waco, gun control laws, and FBI abuses.

Who will be on the government's "enemy list" — people like Nojan Emad. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

snatched Emad from the Pathfinder bookstore in Toronto, Ontario. They detained the youth and pumped him for information about his political activities, religious beliefs, and why he visited revolutionary Cuba. Emad is a garment worker and a member of the Young Socialists and Communist League.

Originally from Iran, the young activist was harassed the day after the bombing when "Middle Eastern terrorists" were being blamed for the deaths.

The vast majority of workers do not agree with the rightists. They are not racists or anti-Semitic. They support a woman's right to abortion and object to the police raiding their workplace to deport immigrant co-workers.

Even so, most are not yet aware that they are part of an international class of workers or that the government represents a small class of capitalist owners that exploits them. Until more battles between these two classes occur and the working class forms its own labor party, vague anti-government and anti-rich sentiments substitute for a real working-class program of action against government abuse and capitalist exploitation.

The labor movement can lead the way in defending democratic rights. A good start would be to campaign against harassment of the "foreign looking" as terrorists and oppose the attempts to expand the power's of Washington's secret police.

INS cops raid more Illinois plants; workers respond

BY JOHN VOTAVA

CHICAGO — Immigration cops are continuing a series of raids in this area under the auspices of the Justice Department's "Operation Jobs." On May 9 at 5:00 a.m., immigration agents raided Bradrock Industries and Lefebvre Intergraphics in Des Plaines, Illinois, arresting 61 workers. It was the 11th raid in the Chicago area since February 1. The workers were thrown into the Broadview Detention Center, and by 2:00 p.m. 54 of them were shoved onto buses to the airport to be deported or sent to detention centers in other parts of the United States.

Resistance to attacks on immigrants' rights is also mounting. By noon on the day of the raid, 40 people had joined a picket line outside the immigration offices. Two days later at the Association House, a local community center in a Puerto Rican neighborhood, about 50 people met to hear reports on the sweeps and plan further protests. Moreover, the arrested workers themselves have increased their resistance because they have been learning more of their rights and because of the support and publicity that has been generated. Twenty-four of those arrested refused to sign affidavits claiming they were being deported willingly.

Susan Compernelle, a Legal Assistance Foundation lawyer, was able to get to the Broadview Detention Center within a few hours of the raids. "At first the officials

seemed quite reasonable," she said. "Then, one of the officials I had been working with came up and said, 'Look, I don't want you to think that I was lying to you before, but we just got a call from downtown and everything has changed.' Then their attitude became as uncooperative and nasty as I have ever seen it." The lawyer said she thought the change in attitude resulted from the number of workers who refused to sign the affidavits provided by the cops.

Compernelle said immigration officials are distorting information to the press. For example, they state that people are allowed a phone call and communication with relatives. "But in practice there is one small room with a single phone, a line to use it, and it's hit-or-miss whether you will get to it in the time allotted," she said.

She noted that those who demanded to see a judge and refused to sign the affidavit were required to provide a \$5,000 bond. The detainees were allowed no further communication with family or legal representation. Those who couldn't pay the \$5,000 were shipped off — men to El Paso, women to Denver — for hearings.

Weekly vigils are planned for Fridays at noon in front of the downtown Chicago immigration offices to protest the raids. A picket is also planned to take place in front of the home of A.D. Moyer, regional head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.



Militant/Kevin Jones

Workers march against anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California last year. Factory sweeps by immigration cops in Midwest are beginning to generate resistance.

Waco still haunts White House

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

U.S. president Bill Clinton continues to urge fast action in Congress on legislation to "fight terrorism" that would dramatically expand secret police powers. Proposed after the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City the White House is coming across unexpected resistance to the bill.

The measures to increase government spying and conduct unwarranted searches has been criticized by liberals and conservative alike as a threat to civil liberties. "Clinton and many lawmakers appear far too ready to give up liberty to insure safety," warned a recent editorial in the *New York Times*.

"A genuine fear of the federal government" exists in the country that would not be eased by an increase in government powers, cautioned House Speaker Newt Gingrich. Gingrich said the appointment of Larry Potts to become the FBI's deputy director "will further slow down the terrorist legislation."

Potts supervised the 1993 raid on the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, in which 80 people were incinerated following an assault by Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents. Potts received a mild rebuke for his role in the 1992 siege of the home of Randall Weaver, a radical white separatist in Ruby

Ridge, Idaho. An FBI sharpshooter killed Weaver's unarmed wife.

A full-blown debate on the conduct of federal police agents has flared in the big-business press. In full page ads published May 16, Tom Washington, president of the National Rifle Association (NRA) appealed to former president George Bush to reconsider his resignation from the organization pending Congressional hearings on the Texas and Idaho confrontations.

Bush resigned from the NRA because of its reference to federal agents as "jack-booted Government thugs." Clinton praised Bush's actions saying the group "ought to be ashamed of themselves."

The ghost of the gruesome massacre at Waco, which has been etched in the consciousness of working people around the world, continues to haunt the administration. Under mounting criticism of the administration's handling of the raid, Attorney General Janet Reno said May 14, "knowing what had happened, I would not do it again."

"I have thought about this almost every single day since April 19, 1993. It's the single hardest decision I've made in my life," she concluded on the "60 minutes" news program. Up until recently Clinton administration officials have unabashedly defended their actions in killing some 80 "cult members."

Now Available in Spanish

Why is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?

The Political Frame-Up of a Unionist and Socialist and the Campaign to Free Him
by Naomi Craine

Mark Curtis is a union activist and socialist who was framed up by police on false charges of rape and burglary in March 1988. At the time he was involved in a struggle to defend 17 Mexican and Salvadoran co-workers arrested in an immigration raid at the packinghouse where he worked in Des Moines, Iowa.

This new pamphlet explains what happened to Curtis, and the stakes for workers, farmers, youth, and other democratic-minded people in demanding his release.

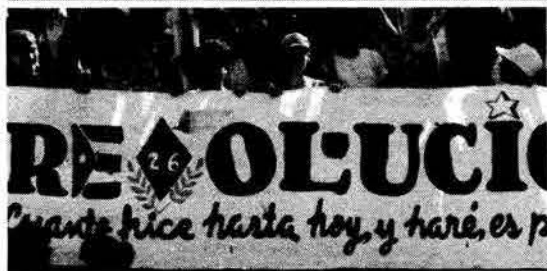
Pamphlet, \$6



Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write **Pathfinder**, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. Or contact the **Mark Curtis Defense Committee**, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.



international campaign to win new readers



Militant 2,950
Perspectiva Mundial 675
New International 1,200

sold 44%
should be 60%

Second target week is set

Continued from front page
Lake City helped push the campaign there closer to schedule. Most of the subscriptions were sold at Metropolitan College of Denver.

"I was just sitting in my class thinking I needed to find a newspaper that tells the truth about issues, and here you are," said one woman as she walked out of her final exam.

Another woman who bought the paper was living in Kuwait when the Iraqi army invaded. She has been looking for a paper that has coverage on Kurdish struggles. One woman who wants to go to Cuba bought a subscription to the *Militant* because of its reporting on the Cuban revolution.

A student told the *Militant* sales team that her family keeps issues of the *Militant* around the house from the 1970s when her uncle, a Chicano activist, was killed by a bomb in Boulder, Colorado. He was involved in the struggle for Chicano rights and the government blamed him and another victim of the bombing, saying that they had blown themselves up. "Only the *Militant* printed the truth and my family has had a high regard for the paper ever since, although we didn't realize it was still being published," she said.

In Auckland, New Zealand, a sales team of *Militant* readers participated in the annual May Day march and rally, which this year was led by a contingent of protesters from the two-month-long occupation of Moutoua Gardens in Wanganui. Two young people who participated in the march, have since begun attending Militant Labor Forums. One of them who bought a subscription to the *Militant* at his first forum, said he had been interested

in socialist ideas since high school, and came to the march hoping to find some socialists.

The May Day march linked up with one of the daily protests organized against the meeting of the board of governors of the

pressed with an article in the *Militant* opposing the embargo, thanked her for bringing the paper to his attention, and bought a subscription on the spot.

A Chinese co-worker bought her first *Militant* to read the arti-



Militant distributors set up a literature display in London

Asia Development Bank. They opposed the bank's policies and highlighted attacks on democratic rights during the massive security operation surrounding the conference.

On May 3, supporters of the *Militant* went to a 2,000-strong march organized by students to protest education fees, which linked up with a sit-in for several hours.

Militant supporters also attended a solidarity night that concluded a week-long conference of students from Asia and the Pacific, hosted by the Auckland University Students' Association. At the event, a student leader from Papua New Guinea who had been reading the *Militant* in the university library decided to subscribe.

The previous week, a sales team traveled to Waikato University campus, where they sold three subscriptions in the university dormitories.

A *Militant* reader in California reports that she sold three subscriptions in one day last week to co-workers at the United Airlines maintenance base in Oakland. "The discussions showed the breadth of world politics covered in the *Militant*," she wrote.

An Iranian co-worker was angry about the U.S. actions against Iran under the pretext of fighting "world terrorism." "This government conducts terror all around the world," he said. "I know — they put in the Shah."

This co-worker was im-

pressed with an article in the *Militant* opposing the embargo, thanked her for bringing the paper to his attention, and bought a subscription on the spot.

A Chinese co-worker bought her first *Militant* to read the arti-

cle on the California grocery workers strike. When she notice a major article across the page on the war in Vietnam, she asked, "Why does the U.S. government attack a small country like Vietnam?"

After a discussion about Washington's response whenever workers and peasants anywhere in the world stand up for their rights, she signed up for a subscription.

The third co-worker who bought a subscription is from Puerto Rico and was struck with the coverage about Mark Curtis. "This is outrageous!" he said. "I thought frame-ups like this only happened in my country."

He recounted what happened when he returned from a three-week tour of Cuba in the 1980s: "They locked us up and asked us if we'd learned to make bombs in Cuba. We had visited farms, schools, and factories."

A three-day sales team of *Militant* supporters went to the southern Illinois coalfields and sold 50 copies of the *Militant* and 1 subscription each to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, May 9-11. The team sold 20 copies of the *Militant* to members of the United Mineworkers Workers of America at six mine portals, and set up a literature table at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

Contributing to this article were Felicity Coggan from New Zealand, Kathleen Denny from San Francisco, and David Marshall from Peoria, Illinois.

	Militant			Perspectiva Mundial			New International		
	sold	goal	%	sold	goal	%	sold	goal	%
Sweden*	26	40	65%	9	15	60%	39	45	87%
Iceland	9	15	60%	0	1	0%	1	3	33%
Canada									
Vancouver	40	70	57%	5	8	63%	14	20	70%
Toronto	43	85	51%	8	15	53%	9	45	20%
Montreal	32	75	43%	4	25	16%	25	45	56%
Total	115	230	50%	17	48	35%	48	110	44%
Puerto Rico	1	2	50%	3	8	38%	3	5	60%
Australia	17	40	43%	4	6	67%	8	15	53%
New Zealand									
Wellington	7	10	70%	—	—	—	2	4	50%
Auckland	32	80	40%	1	6	17%	5	20	25%
Christchurch	16	40	40%	2	2	100%	4	10	40%
Total	55	130	42%	3	8	38%	10	34	29%
United States									
Atlanta	60	90	67%	14	20	70%	9	25	36%
Greensboro	44	70	63%	2	8	25%	8	20	40%
Los Angeles	114	180	63%	48	90	53%	56	90	62%
Boston	55	100	55%	9	30	30%	17	35	49%
Houston	44	80	55%	6	15	40%	13	20	65%
Peoria	27	50	54%	2	2	100%	11	20	55%
Salt Lake City	57	105	54%	12	20	60%	13	35	37%
Washington, DC	41	80	51%	16	30	53%	17	35	49%
Seattle	45	90	50%	9	15	60%	13	25	52%
Morgantown	24	55	44%	1	2	50%	6	20	30%
Philadelphia	50	115	43%	7	30	23%	18	45	40%
Pittsburgh	45	105	43%	6	12	50%	9	30	30%
Twin Cities	51	120	43%	16	17	94%	12	35	34%
Miami	43	105	41%	17	45	38%	34	60	57%
Detroit	37	95	39%	2	10	20%	15	28	54%
San Francisco	55	150	37%	9	45	20%	31	75	41%
Des Moines	25	85	29%	11	36	31%	5	30	17%
Brooklyn	37	130	28%	12	40	30%	32	65	49%
New York	38	135	28%	14	30	47%	20	75	27%
Chicago	34	130	26%	7	30	23%	1	20	5%
Cleveland	17	65	26%	10	12	83%	4	50	8%
Newark	29	130	22%	13	35	37%	12	60	20%
Birmingham	15	70	21%	5	5	100%	1	20	5%
Tucson	4	10	40%	1	2	50%	2	5	40%
Cincinnati	0	12	0%	0	2	0%	0	3	0%
New Haven	0	15	0%	0	3	0%	0	3	0%
Total U.S.	991	2357	42%	249	586	42%	359	929	39%
Greece	4	10	40%	0	1	0%	4	4	100%
Britain									
London*	34	70	49%	7	8	88%	21	30	70%
Manchester	10	60	17%	0	4	0%	6	25	24%
Sheffield	8	10	80%	1	1	100%	0	10	0%
Total	52	140	37%	8	13	62%	21	65	32%
France	2	10	20%	0	5	0%	13	20	65%
Belgium	0	3	0%	0	4	0%	0	10	0%
Other	17	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
International	1289	2977	44%	295	695	43%	506	1240	41%
Should be	1770	2950	60%	405	675	60%	720	1200	60%

IN THE UNIONS

AUSTRALIA									
AMWU (Food)	0	—	0%	0	—	—	—	—	—
AMWU (Metal)	0	1	0%	0	1	—	—	—	—
AWU-FIME	0	2	0%	1	1	—	—	—	—
Total	0	3	0%	1	2	—	—	—	—
CANADA									
CAW	1	—	—	1	—	0	—	—	—
CEP	2	—	—	0	—	0	—	—	—
IAM	7	11	64%	1	5	2	5	—	—
USWA	1	—	—	0	—	0	—	—	—
Total	11	11	64%	2	5	2	5	—	—
NEW ZEALAND									
EU	3	5	60%	0	1	0	2	—	—
MWU	0	4	0%	0	0	0	1	—	—
Total	3	9	33%	0	1	0	3	—	—
SWEDEN									
Foodworkers	0	2	0%	—	—	3	4	—	—
Metalworkers	1	2	50%	—	—	2	2	—	—
Transport	0	1	0%	—	—	1	3	—	—
Total	1	5	20%	—	—	6	9	—	—
U.S.									
IAM	40	75	53%	6	15	3	33	—	—
UFCW	8	15	53%	3	25	0	12	—	—
UTU	42	85	49%	1	7	1	44	—	—
USWA	17	40	43%	1	3	1	7	—	—
UAW	40	100	40%	3	10	24	40	—	—
OCAW	14	55	25%	0	6	5	25	—	—
UMWA	5	23	22%	—	—	0	12	—	—
ACTWU/ILGWU	13	30	17%	6	24	1	18	—	—
Total	179	423	42%	20	90	35	191	—	—
UNION TOTALS	194	439	44%	22	92	41	203	—	—
raised goal*									

ACTWU-Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEEU-Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AWU-FIME-Australian Workers Union; AMWU(Food)-Australian Workers Union; AMWU(Metal) Australian Workers Union; CAW-Canadian Auto Workers; EU-Engineers Union; IAM-International Association of Machinists; ILGWU-International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU-Meat Workers Union; NUM-National Union of Mineworkers; OCAW-Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT-National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGUW-Transport and General Workers Union; UAW-United Auto Workers; UFBGWU-United Food, Beverage and General Workers Union; UFCW-United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA-United Mine Workers of America; USWA-United Steelworkers of America; UTU-United Transportation Union.

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Youth in U.S. project activities to build for 'Cuba Lives' Festival

BY LAURA GARZA

"The auditorium was filled," said Ibis Alvisa González of the Union of Young Communists describing a meeting that took place at the University of Havana recently to discuss U.S. policy toward Cuba. Students came to hear an explanation of the Helms-Burton bill pending in Congress that aims to tighten the U.S. embargo against Cuba. Similar meetings are taking place in factories, in neighborhoods, and at schools throughout the island.

While Cuban youth can't travel to the United States to make their views heard, they have invited youth from around the world, and anyone who opposes the U.S. government's hostile policy, to visit Cuba for the August 1-7 "Cuba Lives" International Youth Festival.

"It will be important that there be good representation from the United States for the festival," said Alvisa in the phone interview, "at this time when there is discussion about trying to take further measures against Cuba."

In Houston, a group of eight students and Cuba solidarity activists has already begun making plans to join the U.S. delegation to the festival. Calling themselves "Cuba! Seeing for Ourselves," they have put together a letter inviting others to participate and requesting financial support

for the cost of the trip, estimated at \$1,000 per person.

Materials on the festival from Cuba have been translated into English and distributed. The group plans to raise funds for the trip by doing car washes, and selling raffle tickets with donated prizes. Professors from the University of Houston and from Texas Southern University are supporting this effort. Participants are planning to write about the festival for local newspapers.

The July 26 Coalition in Boston is sending out a 700-piece mailing including a flyer promoting participation in the festival. So far, about a dozen people are planning to attend. This includes a group of seven students from Cambridge Rindge and Latin High School who are working with teachers and parents to plan fundraising for the trip. They heard about the festival from Cuban youth leader Kenia Serrano when she spoke at the school April 10 to an assembly of 150 students.

Following the assembly, an after school reception drew 50 students who stayed for two hours to continue the discussion. The students presented Serrano with sweat-shirts and a banner they made and signed with messages of solidarity. Serrano presented them with a Cuban flag and invited them all to attend the youth festival. Four students signed on the spot.



Militant/David Creed

Cuban youth leader Kenia Serrano speaks to students at the University of Houston in April. Serrano invited youth throughout the United States to visit Cuba.

The July 26 coalition is also beginning a tabling campaign with literature displays at different spots in the city to campaign against the U.S. embargo of Cuba and publicize a number of events, including the festival. A party is planned in June to help raise funds for the high school students.

The visit to Cuba will give youth from around the world a chance to see first hand the measures Cuban workers, farmers, and youth are taking to confront the deep economic crisis they face.

The organizations issuing the call for

the festival include the Union of Young Communists, the Federation of University Students, the Federation of High School Students, and José Martí Organization of Pioneers. The sponsoring groups are planning for visits to a number of the country's provinces so that participants in the festival get a better idea of the conditions confronting all Cubans and the discussions underway about how best to defend the socialist revolution in Cuba.

Margrethe Siem in Houston and Karen Ray in Boston contributed to this article.

Brief filed against restrictions on Cuba travel

BY LAURA GARZA

"The right to travel is a fundamental aspect of individual liberty protected by both international law and the Constitution. It is also essential to the exercise of First Amendment freedoms," states a friend of the court brief submitted by a wide range of organizations in support of a suit challenging current U.S. government restrictions on travel to Cuba.

The brief was filed on behalf of the Northern California and the national American Civil Liberties Union, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Association of American Publishers, Center for National Security Studies, and Human Rights Watch. They are supporting a challenge to regulations restricting travel to Cuba being brought by several individuals and the Freedom to Travel Campaign, which has organized educational trips to Cuba since October 1993.

The brief outlines the interest each group has in seeing the travel ban ended, while it also notes several of the groups have taken no position on the U.S. embargo against Cuba as a whole. It states, "The ACLU has long worked to end the

travel ban to Cuba as part of its larger project to ensure the Free Trade in Ideas between Americans and persons overseas...."

Adversely affected by travel ban

"The Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) is the largest private association of scientists in the United States and the world, representing over 140,000 individual members of the scientific community, and nearly 300 affiliated scientific and engineering societies," explains the court document.

"AAAS has made the issue of freedom to travel a major policy focus. Special attention has been given to the U.S. policy restricting travel to Cuba because of the experiences of a number of our members and affiliated scientific groups who have been directly and adversely affected by these policies, including a number of psychologists and mathematicians who were denied the right to travel to Cuba to attend scientific conferences recognized and sanctioned by the International Council of Scientific Unions."

The document further explains, "AAAS is a party to this amicus brief because the

concrete experiences of mathematicians, engineers and other scientists who have been subjected to the U.S. government's travel licensing procedure demonstrate how this process is inherently arbitrary, inconsistent and capricious, imposing prior restraints and other unreasonable restrictions on the exercise of the rights of freedom of speech, association and travel, in violation of the U.S. Constitution and comparable provisions in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by the U.S. in 1992."

The Association of American Publishers (AAP) is the principal trade association of the U.S. book publishing industry. The organization watches over copyright issues, First Amendment rights, international freedom to publish, and funding for education and libraries.

"The President of AAP, Ambassador Nicholas A. Veliotis, testified regarding the travel ban before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He also led a delegation of publishers who exhibited their books in Cuba in February 1995," explains the statement to the court. "The Association strongly believes that exchanges of ideas, books and informational materi-

als among the peoples of the world must be encouraged, not impeded, especially where non-democratic societies are involved."

The Center for National Security Studies is a civil liberties organization that monitors actions taken by the government under the rubric of national security interests to insure that constitutional rights are not undermined or violated. It has long advocated ending the travel ban.

Critical right for public debate

Human Rights Watch monitors human rights abuses and has published 11 reports on conditions in Cuba, the most recent of which sharply criticized U.S. restrictions on travel to Cuba. It stated, "In the context of Cuba-U.S. relations, the right of Americans to travel abroad is critical to their ability to participate fully in public debate on foreign policy and international security matters, to share information with Cubans who are largely isolated from American viewpoints and opinions, and to return to the United States capable of informing their fellow citizens of conditions abroad."

The brief outlines the history of attempted restrictions on the right of U.S. citizens to travel, including an effort in the 1950s that was eventually struck down to ban the issuing of passports to members of the Communist Party. Because of previous rulings protecting the right to travel, the U.S. government in 1982 resorted to imposing currency restrictions under the Trading With the Enemy Act in order to render travel to Cuba illegal.

The document notes the government currently argues that constitutional rights can be restricted, in spite of laws and regulations protecting them, if the executive branch deems the restriction an "appropriate" response to national security interests. By this logic, the brief states, "it sets a standard that would sustain all restrictions on international travel because by definition there would always be some foreign policy nexus."

The Freedom to Travel Campaign has not complied with government requirements to apply for a license to organize trips to Cuba. The group has continued to successfully organize such visits. The government froze their bank account at one point, and individuals taking part in Freedom to Travel trips have been questioned, harassed, and subsequently received letters warning them of possible violations of the currency restrictions.

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For more information contact:

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Cuba coalition

Farrakhan, Shabazz speak at N.Y. meeting

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — More than 1,400 people filled a meeting at Harlem's Apollo Theater May 6 that featured Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, and Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X. Billed as "A New Beginning," the meeting was a benefit for the Shabazz family fund, originally initiated to raise money for the legal defense of Qubilah Shabazz.

Qubilah Shabazz, daughter of Malcolm X and Betty Shabazz, came under federal indictment January 12 for allegedly plotting to assassinate Farrakhan. On May 1, prosecutors dropped their murder-for-hire case against Shabazz in a plea-bargain agreement.

One of Shabazz's attorneys, Percy Sutton, told the audience that the evidence against her was cooked up by Michael Fitzpatrick, a former high school classmate and longtime FBI informer. "We're grateful to Minister Farrakhan and Congressman Rangel," Sutton said, "for intervening in a case that should never have been brought to court."

"From day one I feel he [Fitzpatrick] sought to entrap me," Shabazz told the May 9 *Minneapolis Star Tribune*.

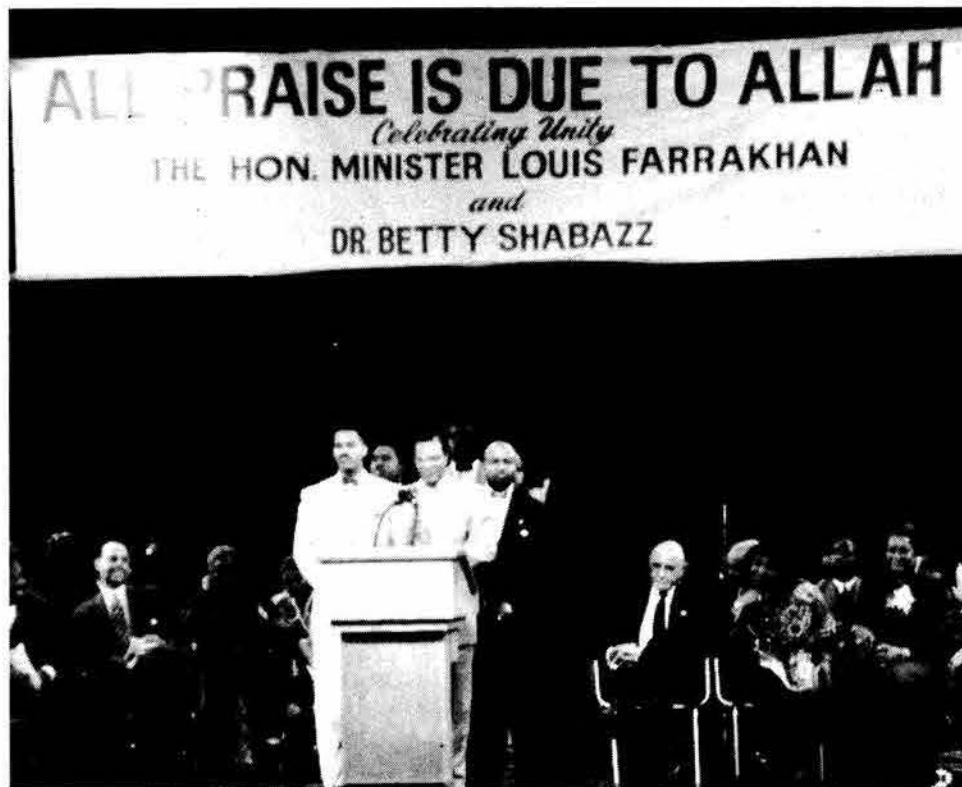
Federal officials agreed to pay Fitzpatrick \$45,000 for his help in secretly recording telephone conversations with Qubilah Shabazz. Fitzpatrick, who is in the government's federal witness protection program, currently faces a five-year prison term on an earlier drug charge.

In her remarks to the meeting, Betty Shabazz said she "would like to thank Mr. Louis Farrakhan for his original and gentle words of assurance" in defense of her daughter. "Minister Farrakhan, may your conceptual framework keep broadening," she said. "May you take up the mantle and do God's work."

Prominent figures attend meeting

The Apollo event was organized by the Nation of Islam and a number of community activists and ministers. A large banner hung over the stage that read: "ALL PRAISE IS DUE TO ALLAH: Celebrating Unity, The Hon. Minister Louis Farrakhan and Dr. Betty Shabazz."

Some prominent figures in the Black community spoke at the event, including U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel; Rev. Calvin Butts of the Abyssinian Baptist Church; Conrad Worrill, chairman of the National



Louis Farrakhan, at podium, appeared with Betty Shabazz, seated second from right, in New York. Some 1,400 people attended the meeting where they spoke.

Black United Front; Haki Madhubuti, formerly Don Lee, of Third World Press; poet Sonia Sanchez; and radio talk show host Bob Law of "Night Talk."

Other speakers included civil liberties lawyer William Kunstler, who also served as legal counsel for Qubilah Shabazz, and attorney C. Vernon Mason. Benjamin Chavis, recently ousted as executive director of the NAACP, and City University of New York professor Leonard Jeffries, were on the speakers' dais but did not address the meeting.

During the fund-raising portion of the program thousands of dollars were raised, including from celebrities like Mike Wallace of the television program "60 Minutes," who pledged \$1,000. Boxing promoter Rock Newman promised that \$1 million of the proceeds from the next title fight of his client Riddick Bowe would be split among the Nation of Islam, the Shabazz family, and the Union Temple Baptist Church in Washington, D.C. People paid \$50-100 a ticket to attend the event.

Free-speech rights upheld in New York

BY TAMAR ROSENFELD

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party and the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) recently announced a victory in an important court decision protecting the right to distribute political literature and solicit political contributions in New York City subway stations. The ruling, issued by State Supreme Court Justice Leonard Yoswein in April and entered May 1, also upholds basic due process rights for individuals charged with violating Transit Authority regulations.

The case arose when campaign volunteer Jim Rogers was canvassing for the Socialist Workers candidates two days before the 1993 mayoral election. Rogers set up a campaign literature table on the mezzanine level of the Jamaica, Queens, subway station. In the course of engaging passersby in discussions on the socialist candidates' positions, he distributed leaflets and sold copies of the *Militant* newspaper. Two transit officers closed the campaign table down and issued Rogers a summons for "selling books" without a license, citing this as a violation of Transit Authority regulations.

The NYCLU agreed to help Rogers challenge the fine. Referring to the recent court decision, Arthur Eisenberg, legal director of the NYCLU, explained, "This case is important not only for protecting free speech rights of citizens but because the decision establishes minimal principles of basic fairness and due process that must be applied whenever the Transit Authority seeks to enforce its regulations at one of its administrative proceedings."

At the hearing held before the Transit Adjudication Bureau, the hearing officer altered the charge against Rogers written on the summons. She said the socialist

campaigner was engaged in "unauthorized commercial activity" — violating the subway's prohibition on selling food, goods, services, and entertainment without a license. A separate regulation, the one that covers what Rogers was doing that day, specifically permits "public speaking; distribution of written noncommercial materials; . . . [and] solicitation for religious or political causes."

The hearing officer also denied Rogers and his attorneys the opportunity to cross-examine the transit officer who issued the summons. In essence, the hearing officer acted as both prosecutor and judge, finding Rogers guilty of the new charge and fining him \$50. A Transit Authority appeals board upheld the ruling.

In overturning the Transit Adjudication Bureau rulings on appeal, the State Supreme Court upheld Rogers's constitutional right to distribute political material and to solicit contributions. Justice Yoswein writes, "The incidental sale of a few copies of a political party's newspapers during the course of a political campaign does not constitute 'commercial activity.' The protection afforded free speech on the street . . . can be extended to include conduct of Petitioner [Rogers] on October 30, 1993."

The court also held that Rogers was denied due process when the Transit Adjudication Bureau refused him the right to cross-examine the officer who charged him, and when it changed the accusation during the course of the hearing itself. Yoswein's ruling states that "the court concurs with Petitioner that he did not receive a fair hearing."

The Transit Authority has been ordered to vacate their judgment and refund the \$50 fine paid by Rogers.

Coming 30 years after the assassination of Malcolm X, many among the hundreds who attended the four-and-a-half-hour program viewed Louis Farrakhan and Betty Shabazz sharing the same stage as a historic event.

Break with the Nation of Islam

Malcolm X was forced out of the Nation of Islam in late 1963 after being ordered to remain publicly silent by the group's leader, Elijah Muhammad.

Once he announced his separation from the organization in 1964, Malcolm X was hounded by Nation of Islam members. Malcolm explained a week before he was killed that "Elijah Muhammad invited — called all his officials, national officials, to Chicago in October and ordered them to kill or maim any of his followers who leave him to follow me."

"At that time nearly every minister in the Nation of Islam was making incendiary speeches about Malcolm," Muhammad Abdul Aziz said in the Feb. 8, 1995, issue of the Nation of Islam newspaper,

The Final Call. Aziz, formerly Norman 3X Butler, was one of the three men convicted of Malcolm X's murder.

The day of Malcolm X's assassination, Feb. 21, 1965, Talmadge Hayer was caught by members of the audience at the Audubon Ballroom in New York. He was arrested by the New York City cops and subsequently tried and convicted. At the trial, Hayer confessed to involvement in the murder. He has repeatedly denied being a member of the Nation of Islam.

Hayer said he was hired to do the job and insists that the two men convicted with him — Norman Butler and Thomas Johnson, both known members of the Nation — were not involved. Instead, Hayer named four other Muslims as his accomplices.

In the final days before he was shot to death, Malcolm X raised that more might be involved in the unfolding pattern of attempts on his life. "I'm going to tell you something brother," he said, according to Alex Haley, the writer who was helping to prepare his autobiography. "The more I keep thinking about...the things that have been happening lately, I'm not at all sure it's the Muslims. I know what they can do and what they can't, and they can't do some of the stuff recently going on."

The New York City police publicly admitted at the time of Malcolm X's death that they knew an attempt was to be made on his life. One of Malcolm X's bodyguards, Gene Roberts, turned out to be an undercover cop. He was sitting in the front row when Malcolm X was killed. Roberts said in the recently released documentary *Brother Minister* that his assignment as an undercover cop for the New York police Department's "Red squad" was to infiltrate Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Nation of Islam involvement

In his speech at the Apollo Theater, Farrakhan invoked biblical figures of forgiveness and redemption and referred to negotiations taking place among political forces around the world today.

"The Irish and the British, who have been at war with one another for years now, come together across pools of their people's blood. Their handshake has been received with gladness," he said. "It is my hope that a dialogue between Betty Shabazz and myself will be encouraged to continue."

"If we cannot forgive each other, we will go down in the dust from whence we sprung," he said.

"Members of the Nation of Islam were involved in the assassination of Malcolm," Farrakhan publicly acknowledged for the first time. "The Nation has taken the heat and carried the burden of the murder of Malcolm X. We can't deny whatever our part was."

Farrakhan then pointed to the government's role in Malcolm X's assassination, saying, "We must not let the real culprit get away with hiding their hands.... It was manipulation and stimulation of our own pettiness and weakness by outside forces. The government of America is that outside force."

"The government by its own admission had agents on both sides to manipulate the

Continued on Page 14

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Actions press fight to free Irish prisoners

BY PAUL DAVIES

BELFAST — A spirited and angry protest of 100 people picketed in downtown Belfast to oppose the exclusion of Saoirse from the Lord Mayor's parade May 6. Saoirse was formed last year to campaign for the release of all Irish political prisoners. The Belfast City Council turned down the group's request for a float in the annual parade.

"This is supposed to be a people's parade, that belongs to everyone. They let the Royal Ulster Constabulary [RUC] and the British army have floats, but not us," explained Joe Savage, one of the protesters. Armed officers of the RUC searched Savage's house the previous night at 3 a.m. This was the first time that his house had been searched since the cease-fire declared by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) last August and subsequently by the loyalist paramilitary groups. Prior to the cease-fires, Savage said, the British army would search through all the cupboards and look under floorboards several times a year.

Protesters chanted, "Go home!" as floats of British army regiments passed by. They held up placards demanding the release of the prisoners in sight of thousands who had turned out to watch the parade.

Release of the prisoners "is a central point in the resolution of the conflict. If the Brits cannot see that and act accordingly, they will eventually be forced to," said Tom Holland, the following day during the annual Bobby Sands memorial march. Holland was imprisoned in the H-blocks from 1974 to 1991. Thousands have been imprisoned in the past two decades in the course of the resistance to the British military occupation of North-

ern Ireland and the struggle to end the division of Ireland imposed by London since 1921.

Protests to free the prisoners have been a major focus for action as supporters of Irish self-determination across the island make use of the increased space today to press their struggle forward.

One sign that London's position is weakening was the May 10 talks between British government minister Michael Ancram and a Sinn Fein delegation led by Martin McGuinness. This was the first ministerial-level meeting with leaders of the republican organization in more than two decades. Previously, the British government banned such contacts with Sinn Fein, insisting it would not sit down at the table until the IRA "decommissioned," or completely disbanded.

Following the meeting in Belfast, McGuinness said, "Another obstacle on the road to a lasting peace has been removed." The Sinn Fein delegation entered the bilateral dialogue to "secure equality of treatment for our party and electorate, and work out the logistics of all-party talks," he said, "which are an essential means to a political settlement." Sinn Fein also requested a meeting with Northern Ireland Secretary Patrick Mayhew.

Ancram repeated London's precondition of "decommissioning" in order for Sinn Fein to participate in all-party talks. The republican party has repeatedly explained that the real question is demilitarization of Northern Ireland, beginning with withdrawing British troops and disbanding the RUC.



Protesters at May 7 memorial march in Belfast, Northern Ireland, commemorating Bobby Sands and other Irish fighters demand release of all Irish political prisoners.

Militant/Tony Hunt

An article in the London *Financial Times* on the talks noted, "The fact that no one in Belfast had bothered to demonstrate, despite the protestations of betrayal from anti-republican politicians, testified to the startling changes that have taken place in the nine months since the IRA cease-fire." Further bilateral talks are projected.

The day before the meeting with Ancram, 2,000 people demonstrated in Derry demanding equality of treatment for Sinn Fein in the negotiations. Addressing the Derry rally Sinn Fein member Dodie McGuinness called on republicans to continue exercising the right to protest and march peacefully. Prior to the rally Social Democratic and Labour Party leader John Hume had demanded that the action be called off.

'Equality pickets'

On the same day in Swatragh, county Derry, 80 protesters blocked the Coleraine to Cookstown Road, also demanding equality for Sinn Fein, and for inclusive negotiations with all parties to begin as soon as possible. RUC cops watched and videotaped the protest, but did not try to stop it. Such "Equality Pickets" are now a frequent event in Northern Ireland.

The weekend before the talks, residents

of some of the housing estates in the Catholic areas of Belfast hung black flags commemorating Sands and the other hunger strikers who died in 1981 fighting to regain political status for republican prisoners. Many housing estates have murals recording the names of prisoners from that area who are currently in jail. A large banner demanding, "Free all POWs" (prisoners of war) is hung from a block of flats in the New Lodge area and can be seen from parts of the city center.

"Around 450 political prisoners are held in the six counties in the north of Ireland and a further 150 are held in jails in Britain, Germany, and the USA," said Michael Brown from the Sinn Fein prisoner of war department in an interview with the *Militant*. Since the cease-fire the government in the south of Ireland has released 21 of the 50 political prisoners held in its jails. "People who don't have a history of political activity have embraced this campaign," Brown commented.

Some of the recent attempts by prison authorities to break the spirit and solidarity of prisoners and their supporters have been set back. At Maghaberry prison authorities had to reverse a ban on relatives of republican prisoners from wearing Saoirse's green ribbons. Saoirse cam-

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'There's no solution that does not include all of Ireland'

BY NELL WHEELER

NEW YORK — "The foundation stone of peace in Ireland is universal agreement on self-determination. Sinn Fein stands for a united, open, secular, representative democracy in Ireland." This was the message delivered by Gerry O'Hara at the first-ever debate between representatives of Sinn Fein and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), held at Fordham University here May 8. No such public meeting between a Sinn Fein representative and a prominent unionist has ever taken place — in Britain, the United States, Ireland, or anywhere.

O'Hara is a city councilor in Derry and chair of Sinn Fein's Six-County Executive. His opponent in the debate, Christopher McGimpsey, is a Belfast city councilor in the Shankill Road District and for-

mer honorary secretary of the UUP.

"It's very sad that I have to travel 3,000 miles to debate someone from Northern Ireland," O'Hara said in his opening remarks. He called upon all parties to negotiate.

McGimpsey opened his presentation by talking about Irish Republican Army (IRA) "death squads," and claimed that the real British presence is not the troops but "the over 1 million people who feel themselves British." Throughout the debate, the unionist continued to demand that the IRA decommission arms as a precondition to negotiations.

'We want equality'

"There is no solution that does not include all of Ireland," O'Hara said to the

overflow crowd of some 1,200 students, workers, and others. "We have lived as second-class citizens. But no more. We don't want privilege, we want equality."

O'Hara also said that to demand the IRA decommission arms was "a serious distraction." Moreover, he pointed out, "Sinn Fein is a political party and we don't have any weapons."

Demilitarization, he said, must start with the occupying British army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). "The police force is part of the Orange state," O'Hara said. "The RUC are not acceptable in our community. They are 93 percent Protestant and 100 percent unionist."

O'Hara likened the Emergency Powers Act that restricts democratic rights in Northern Ireland to repressive legislation under apartheid in South Africa. He said there has been an increase in RUC attacks on opponents of British rule, and said it was due to the British-backed police force realizing that their days are numbered. "The RUC has to go — they have to be disbanded," he said to applause.

The Sinn Fein official described the discrimination imposed on Catholics in the north of Ireland under the British partition, from the gerrymandering of voting districts that lasted until the 1970s or later, to the segregated school system that exists today. "There's a bell that still rings at 9:00 p.m. every day in Derry," he said, "a symbol of when Catholics had to be out of town."

For his part, McGimpsey talked about "self-determination for Northern Ireland," commenting, "I doubt that California would join Mexico just because some Mexican politicians said it belonged to them." He maintained that Irish people in the north are "better off as part of the liberal, multicultural, multinational democracy of the United Kingdom."

During the discussion, O'Hara spoke about the Irish political prisoners, who

"are the ultimate scapegoats. There are over 600 prisoners who wouldn't have seen the inside of a jail if it hadn't been for the British in Ireland."

One participant asked the debaters whether they would be willing to speak at a similar event in Northern Ireland.

Sinn Fein "will talk with anyone, any time, anywhere to advance the peace process," O'Hara replied.

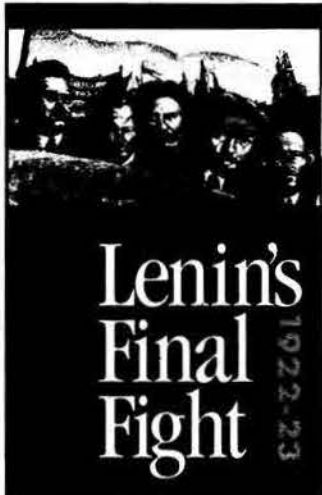
McGimpsey said, "Formal debate with Sinn Fein happens in Belfast in council chambers. But the UUP won't talk with them outside of chambers in Northern Ireland until decommissioning."

Support for Sinn Fein

A large portion of the audience supported the Sinn Fein leader's views. Many others were like Melissa Fredrickson, a Fordham University student who said, "I had no idea about what is happening in Ireland. I heard this was a historic event and decided to come to learn more." A smaller number backed McGimpsey.

"It would be a great shame if the IRA or any other force felt compelled to go back to arms. It's either peace or war," said Philip Wright, a Fordham student and member of the Gaelic Society, which co-sponsored the event. He said he supported Sinn Fein's position on pressing for negotiations.

John Francis, a student attending the meeting, said, "The British are always saying it's the IRA that causes all the violence. But it's been months now since the cease-fire and they're still stalling, and they still have their troops there. Ireland is the last foothold for the British, and I think they're just trying to hold on." Francis will be traveling to Ireland this summer to participate in Gay Pride marches "from Belfast to Dublin," he said. "Ever since the cease-fire, it's kind of like a new wave of people acting on their own, out in the streets. It's very positive."



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Adams's U.S. tour

Continued from front page
Catholic."

Megan Putnam, a Bowdoin College student, said she had to come and hear Adams in person. She spent a semester in Northern Ireland last year and was deeply affected by what she had seen. Putnam said she is encouraged by the peace talks. "Every talk is a step forward," she said. "There is still a long way to go but this is progress."

Moriah Coughlin, another Bowdoin College student who has traveled to Northern Ireland, said, "When you see the news it seems people don't believe Sinn Fein is being honest. But I think they are honest and these are real moves for real peace taking place."

BY NAOMI CRAINE

UNITED NATIONS — "The membership of the United Nations has increased over the years as colonial peoples won their freedom. Many of them learned from the Irish struggle, yet Ireland is still not free," Gerry Adams told reporters at a packed meeting hosted by the United Nations Correspondents Association May 10. The Sinn Fein president answered questions for more than an hour from journalists representing media around the world.

Asked whether the republican party would support sending UN troops as "peacekeepers" in Northern Ireland, Adams said, "We don't want any more foreign soldiers in our country." The decolonization of Ireland is a political question in the world, however, he said. "The British government has argued that these are internal matters for the British government to deal with. We say no, they are international questions."

Commenting on former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher's statements comparing Sinn Fein to the bombers of the federal building in Oklahoma City, Adams said, "I don't think given Thatcher's record she's really in a position to lecture anyone. I'm not concerned with her abusing us — she's not prime minister any more. Bobby Sands died 14 years ago. Margaret Thatcher is now a teacher of history. And the republican struggle hasn't gone away."

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

NEW YORK — Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams spoke at a \$1,000-a-plate dinner May 10 at the Plaza Hotel here in a packed conference hall. He announced that earlier that day, Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness had led a delegation that met with a British government minister for the first time in decades, as part of the process of negotiating a peace settlement in Ireland.

"We are not afraid to face the British government," he emphasized. "We have

never been afraid to face their soldiers, and we are certainly not afraid to make peace with their politicians."

Adams recounted the famine in the 1840s that led to the death of a million Irish as a result of British oppression, as well as other atrocities committed against the Irish people. "We have plenty of reasons to be bitter, to be spiteful, to be annoyed. And this is why I say that we come to this [process] with a spirit of generosity," he said. "And we call upon the British government to match our generosity."

"We say without any sense of prejudice that Ireland belongs to all the people who live in it," he stated to loud applause. Because, "if it happened in South Africa, why could it not happen in Ireland."

"There will be difficulties, and there will be set backs," the Sinn Fein leader said, "but I can tell you that the tide of history, of 800 years of history, is behind the struggle for freedom, and justice, and peace in Ireland. There is nowhere for the British government to go except back home to their own country."

In closing his speech, Adams paid tribute to Bobby Sands and James Connolly, who he said stood for the emancipation of oppressed peoples worldwide, as well as the "emancipation of rural and urban working people to shape our economic and political destiny."

BY CATHLEEN GUTKANST

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 400 supporters of Irish self-determination turned out May 11 to hear Gerry Adams at a \$125-per-person dinner here.

In his speech to the San Francisco meeting, Adams again stressed the importance of international support and solidarity for the Irish freedom struggle. "You people here can have an impact," Adams told the crowd. "The way that campaigns were fought here like the H-Block Four send a definite message. This will make the difference in how long it will take us to get a lasting peace."

Jimmy Smyth, one of the H-Block Four, was introduced from the podium and received an ovation. He is one of four Irish activists who are currently fighting extradition to Northern Ireland. They had escaped from Long Kesh prison in Northern Ireland and lived in the San Francisco area for many years before being targeted by the U.S. Justice Department. Smyth won his case for asylum in the United States last September, but the Justice Department is appealing the ruling. The other three men — Terrence Kirby, Kevin Barry Artt, and Pol Brennan — are currently awaiting trial.

Commenting on Sinn Fein's goals, Adams said, "We need to move more speedily toward all-party talks. I'll be attending the economic summit conference



Saoirse picket at British prime minister John Major's official residence, May 7. Activists worldwide are taking advantage of openings to fight for prisoners' release.

[the White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland] hosted by President Clinton in Washington, D.C., in late May. All of the major players in Northern Ireland — the Unionists, the Loyalists, the Social-Democratic and Labour Party, Sinn Fein, the Irish government representatives and the British government — will be attending. We hope that the economic conference will also provide a venue for meetings between all of these parties."

Richard McAuley, the Sinn Fein press aide to Adams, noted that Adams had just returned from Switzerland where he was awarded the annual Thorpe Peace Prize.

BY JON HILLSON
AND TOM O'BRIEN

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Despite their "racism and their arrogance," the rulers of Britain can see "the handwriting on the wall," said Mary Nelis, a veteran Irish freedom fighter and Sinn Fein member of the Derry City Council, "and the British are going to go."

Nelis spoke to students at the University of St. Thomas here May 11, and at Arise! bookstore in Minneapolis May 12. Minnesotans for a United Ireland sponsored the events. She also participated in several informal meetings and receptions in the area. Nelis is one of several Sinn Fein members touring the United States, backing up the current cross-country visit of Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams. Washington denied her entry on a previous attempt to visit the United States.

British imperialism's seven decades of partition in Ireland is coming to an end, Nelis said, because "it is a bankrupt pol-

icy. The six-county 'state' [of Northern Ireland] has failed, and the 26-county banana republic of Ireland has failed."

Nelis is currently awaiting trial, she said, by the British-run courts on charges she and two other Sinn Fein members kidnapped and beat a young woman. This frame-up, Nelis said, along with the continued imprisonment of more than 800 Irish freedom fighters in the jails of the north, indicates "there is more struggle ahead."

"The current negotiations are an aspect of that struggle," she said, and are a product "of the pressure the Irish people have put on the British government. They could not crush the Irish Republican Army, nor the Irish people who fight for sovereignty, freedom, and equality."

The withdrawal of British troops and the unification of the country, Nelis said, means "a new Ireland."

Nelis joined another touring fighter, from the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, Mexico, at one reception with local political activists. At another gathering, Nelis responded to the question of a Central American immigrant about Sinn Fein's support for "other struggles against oppression, in Latin America, Africa, and Cuba's permanent fight."

She said Sinn Fein has received delegations from the African National Congress from South Africa, and has supported anti-imperialist struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador. "We've got no blueprint," she noted. "We need to learn about what a new Ireland can be."

"Why not invite Fidel Castro to visit a free Derry?" she asked.

Campaign for Irish prisoners

Continued from Page 8

paigners are distributing symbolic green ribbons until all the prisoners are released.

Participants in the May 6 Saoirse action reported that teachers at a school in west Belfast had instructed pupils not to wear the ribbons on their school uniforms. A 16-year-old student at a school in the Andersontown district told *Militant* reporters the situation of political prisoners was the biggest discussion at her school and that most students wore green ribbons.

Political prisoners in jails in the United Kingdom serve a far greater percentage of their sentence than those convicted of other crimes. Inside the special security units in jails in Britain, authorities subject prisoners to 24-hour camera surveillance. In these jails Irish political prisoners never won the gains that were won in the H blocks and Armagh in Northern Ireland following the 1981 hunger strikes, explained Holland. "Within a year of the hunger strikes I was able to stop wearing prison uniforms and wear my own clothes. I was also able to refuse prison work. As a result of the hunger strikes the authorities were forced to recognize the republican command structure in the jails," he said.

Since the cease-fire, the strip searching of prisoners continues, but "it is less frequent and less a fact of daily life than it used to be," Holland noted. Body searches are one of several weapons that the authorities have used in their attempts to dehumanize political prisoners.

Outside the jails the government tries to wipe out the legacy of the hunger strike and the solidarity movement that it inspired. The RUC recently painted over the face of Bobby Sands's portrait on a mural in Twinbrook, where the young activist was raised. On May 8, a Saoirse supporter was picked up by the RUC at the end of the Belfast marathon after he and another activist ran across the finish line of the race with a banner, just in front of the winner.

Addressing the Sands memorial rally on behalf of Saoirse, Maura Fryers said "our determination will be decisive in winning the prisoners release. The British must come to terms with the fact that all the legacies of the war must be removed."

Paul Davies is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union in London.

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'Factory farms' fuel debate in Midwest

BY JON HILLSON

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — In the small towns that break the rolling landscape of the rural Midwest, in the homes of working farmers, and in the pages of local newspapers, there is a mounting debate about the growth of sprawling, capitalist-owned hog-raising operations. These large farms, sometimes called "corporate" or "factory" farms are often connected to a network of contract farmers. Increased attention is now focused on this issue as a result of protests by working farmers who fear for their future under intensified competition from hog-raising giants and contractors.

Farmers under contract are forced to take on considerable long-term risk, including going deeply in debt. In return they are "guaranteed" a short-term market for their hogs, though contracts are generally structured to make it easy for the large operators to break them, leaving the contractors with a mound of debt and no market for their products.

The number of hog farmers in the United States has decreased from 3 million in 1950 to 256,000 in 1990 — a figure that continues to spiral downward under the current restructuring of the pork-producing industry. The growth of confinement operations also poses considerable environmental problems. The lagoons where hog waste is stored can seep into the rivers, streams, and the water table. Stench from the lagoons can be smelled for great distances.

On April 1, 2,000 farmers, unionists, political activists, and young people demonstrated in Unionville, Missouri, near the Iowa border to protest against Premium Standard Farms Inc., which has 73 confinement buildings and an on-site packing house that employs 1,500 workers in Lincoln Township.

The following article is based on trips to Minnesota farm areas, discussions, meetings, and other information.

Mike Erickson has been farming on land that's been in the family since the late 1940s. He raises corn, soybeans, sheep, and with his father up the road, hogs.

"We had to sell some of the land off to keep the farm," he said, pointing to nearby acreage. Last year they sold the 30 sows they maintained for breeding. "We couldn't afford to keep them anymore," Erickson explained.

He and his father purchased 100 feeder pigs. Inside their hog barn, he noted that low corn prices have enabled them to raise the pigs for sale to a broker. "This is your basic operation," he said, as the two-month-old pigs run and jostle each other for feed. The smell in the lightly ventilated, aging barn is pungent, but it recedes as soon as you step outside.

"The barn needs all kinds of improvement, but we can't get any loans," he said. By contracting with a big company, he added, it's easy at first to get loans. "But," he emphasized, "it's not really yours. And if something goes wrong, you lose the farm."

In Renville County, 43 farmers pooled resources to set up a small mega-barn.

The shining structures of Churchill Co-operative Farms, heavily posted with "No Trespassing" signs, house nearly 7,000 pigs. The animals are brought in at 15 pounds, raised, and prepared for slaughter in Minnesota and Iowa packinghouses. These windowless metal confinement barns, stainless steel inside, and tin or zinc outside, are state-of-the-art operations, capital intensive, and computerized. The farmers have a corn-raising operation that provides the feed supply directly for their pigs at the mega-barn.

Several signs reading "We oppose factory farms" are nailed into trees along rural roads in the area.

"I don't care if something's big, as long as it doesn't hurt anybody," said Darlene Hand. She and her husband, who's recuperating from a heart attack, manage a 650-acre corn and soybean farm on the outskirts of Northfield, 35 miles south of Minneapolis-St. Paul.

Hand and four other farmers sat in her living room, explaining how they organized area farmers to win a narrow vote from Rice County commissioners last fall to declare a year-long moratorium on any expansion of Holden Farms Inc.

The owners, a partnership of two wealthy farmers and a big landholder in the area, had wanted to convert a turkey barn into a hog confinement barn of nearly 3,000 sows, build additional confinement facilities, and create a multi-site operation of more than 21,000 animals.

The issue was joined in February 1994, when farmers first learned of the expansion proposal. The principal reason for opposition to Holden Farms was "the smell," said Hand, a former hog farmer. "We know people a quarter of a mile from their existing operation, and even with central air conditioning, you can smell dead hogs in the living room. This isn't normal animal waste. It's eerie."

The other farmers vigorously agreed. They explained how summer events at their homes were canceled because of the intense odor. In photos, one farmer captured an open sewer of hog waste, including carcasses of dead animals, floating in black water.

Rubber workers in Iowa maintain strike

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Following the rubber workers' decision to call off the strike in Decatur, Illinois, union members here are demonstrating their resolve to stand firm against Bridgestone/Firestone's takeback and union-busting demands.

At informational meetings May 10 and 11, union members reviewed developments in their 10-month strike. United Rubber Workers (URW) Local 310 president Bernie Sinclair told the press, "This is not something we enjoy, this is some-



Militant/Jon Hillson

Two thousand farmers, unionists, and others rallied in Unionville, Missouri, April 1 to protest confinement operation of Premium Standard Farms.

Another farmer, whose land would abut the expansion, wrote in a letter to the *Northfield News*, "In just one of these one-square-mile areas nearly 10,000 adult and young pigs will be concentrated. My math makes that a city larger than Northfield. We are witnessing the creation of the equivalent of cities' worth of sewage with disposal plans which would be shameful in Third World countries."

"There are supposedly regulations, but they're never enforced," noted Stephanie Henriksen, who raises soybean, corn, and alfalfa. She got so involved in the opposition to the expansion she had to close down her small store.

The owners of Holden Farms just "thought they could ramrod everything through, without anybody knowing it," said Mike Daniels, a young, sixth generation farmer who raises livestock on land that's been in his family since 1856.

The informal group did research on environmental effects; addressed local and state officials; got the ear of the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency; sent letters; got hundreds of people, most of them farmers, to sign petitions; and sparked an intense, running debate in local newspapers.

Normally routine township council meetings were packed to overflowing to discuss ordinance proposals on waste management and limits on the distance confinement barns could be to residences.

Supporters of the expansion mobilized,

too. An emotionally charged county commissioners meeting drew hundreds of foes and backers of the expansion, with proponents of the project "all wearing these T-shirts that said 'FARM' for Farmers Agricultural Rights Movement," Hand noted. The expansion was backed by several contract farmers, feed merchants, veterinarians, and the Hormel meatpacking company.

The opponents won support from environmentalists, like the Sierra Club, and "some students and biology department faculty from Carleton College," according to Marlene Halverson, who lives on her family's corn and soybean farm of 55 years. They were upset because the expansion "would be just across from where the college holds their classes," she explained.

"The soil around here is very sandy," Hand said. "Leakage from the lagoons goes right into the water table."

Hand described the polarization in the area over the issue.

"The little town church split right down the middle. People I've known since I was born," she nodded in the direction of an adjoining farm, "turn the other way on the street when they see me. Friendships have been destroyed."

"We all lost friends, but we got to know each other," Darlene Hand said. "And we decided we were not going to roll over and play dead. That's made everything worth it."

thing we do out of necessity." Sinclair said the strikers are fighting for "a fair and equitable agreement" that would allow them to "return to work with pride and dignity."

More than 850 union members remain on strike in Des Moines against the tire-making conglomerate. Last July, 4,100 URW members struck the company at its plants in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Noblesville, Indiana; Decatur, Illinois; Akron, Ohio; and Des Moines. Less than 2,000 union members remain on strike at these plants, with the biggest concentration of them in Des Moines at the company's agricultural tire plant.

On May 14, 60 union members and their supporters demonstrated in a Mother's Day protest at the Iowa governor's mansion. The action focused on Gov. Terry Branstad's refusal to meet with members of the striking local.

Paul Gnade, co-chair of the union's family support group, told the crowd, "I'd like to ask him why he's never gotten involved in this and why he's allowed the company to dictate to him what he's going to do."

"Wives and husbands work long hours for low pay, while the chosen few receive the lion's share of the profits generated by our labor. We, the working people, make up the largest section of the population. It's us, the working people, the laboring people, that you [Branstad] have turned your back on," Gnade said.

Members of Local 713 in Decatur voted May 7 to unconditionally end their strike. The company responded by saying jobs in Decatur are filled by replacement workers and Bridgestone will call back the union-

ists one by one, when and if they are needed.

"We agreed to go back so that we can vote [in any future decertification election] to salvage the union and live to fight another day," said Randy Gordon, vice president of Local 713. Some members of the Decatur local are claiming that the decision to return to work should be thrown out since union members were not given proper notice that a strike vote meeting had been called.

The union received official notice May 12 that the National Labor Relations Board dismissed the URW's unfair labor practice charge that the company had failed to carry out good-faith negotiations on a new contract.

The union contended the company forced the workers on strike and imposed a last and final offer with steep takebacks that include pay cuts, mandatory 12-hour shifts, gutting of seniority and vacations, and cuts in company paid health-care coverage. Similar claims by the company of "bad faith bargaining" by the union were also thrown out by the NLRB. Other unfair labor practice charges by the union are still pending.

Last month, Federal Judge Ronald Longstaff found the union guilty of violating court injunctions and ordered a tightening of the limits on picketing at the Des Moines plant. Local 310 was forced to pay nearly \$3,000 to mail a copy of the new injunction to every member of the union.

In another development, the URW's international executive board recently approved a merger with the United Steelworkers of America.

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Hundreds attend 'Labor Notes' conference

BY JOHN SARGE
AND DENNIS RICHTER

DETROIT—How can working people fight against massive overtime for some and part-time or temporary work with low wages for others? How can workers win a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay? What can U.S. workers do to organize solidarity with workers in Mexico? Are the Labor Party Advocates an example of independent political action?

These and many other issues facing working people were discussed and debated at a gathering April 28-30 of more than 1,200 union members and officials, members of various political groups, and students who took part in a conference entitled "Stress and Struggle in the Changing Work Place." The gathering was sponsored by the publishers of the monthly journal *Labor Notes*.

The meeting drew participants from a broad range of unions — auto workers, teamsters, steelworkers, oil workers, teachers, members of rail crafts, postal workers, and public employees. Many in attendance were local union officials and shop stewards. At the opening session, when asked who was presently or had in the past been a shop steward, about a third of the room raised their hands.

The conference agenda opened daily with plenary sessions featuring a panel of speakers on different topics. In addition there were 65 workshops and 15 meetings for conference participants organized by industry. Workshops covered a broad range of topics, including "Fighting for the Shorter Workweek," "Lessons of the 1994 GM Strikes," "Stopping Sexual Harassment," "Running for Local Union Office," and "Building a Rank and File Caucus."

The organizers of the gathering called for support to Labor Party Advocates — a formation projected by a wing of the labor officialdom to try to pressure the Democrats and Republicans to make some concessions to working people — as an important priority for the labor movement. They also favored building opposition caucuses in the unions, electing progressives to union posts, and replacing top AFL-CIO officials.

More than 120 international guests from 15 countries, including South Africa and Bolivia, participated. The largest number of unionists from abroad came from Canada, Mexico, and Germany. A number of the German delegates were members of the metalworkers union I.G. Metall.

The first plenary session heard reports from members of striking union locals in Decatur, Illinois.

Other plenary sessions heard presentations from union fights around the world. Officials of the South African Chemical Workers Union spoke on the situation facing workers there. At another general session Benedicto Martinez of the Authentic Workers' Front in Mexico, spoke on the devastation caused by the economic crisis in that country. Dave Yettaw, president of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 599, reported on the successful strike last October that forced General Motors (GM) to hire hundreds of new workers in Flint, Michigan.

At a workshop on the fight for a shorter workweek, workers from the I.G. Metall union reported that the bosses were trying to get around the 35-hour workweek, won through a successful struggle, by increasing overtime work.

Wolfgang Schaumberg, an I.G. Metall worker at GM from Bochum, Germany, said, "We are part of those German workers who reject arguments of nationalism and competitiveness as a way out of the economic crisis." Schaumberg added, "That is why we're in the U.S. The fight for the shorter workweek must become an international struggle."

Other participants in the workshop pointed to the massive international movement it took to win the eight-hour day as an example for today's struggle.

At a workshop entitled "Women Maquiladora Workers Organizing on the U.S.-Mexican Border," Elizabeth Robles and Carmen Valadez described the conditions that exist for more than 600,000 workers in 2,000 U.S.-owned factories.

Sixty percent of the workforce is women; the majority are young. The companies, aided by the government, try to intimidate workers who join unions, the unionists explained. In some plants supervisors beat workers who "get out of line."

During the discussion a debate ensued when one participant asked if unions in the United States have sent organizers to help out. "We don't need unions in the U.S. to send us organizers or money, we need real solidarity," Valadez explained through a translator.

Betsy Farley, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the Socialist Workers Party, said, "We should build solidarity in the form of workers in this country opposing the policies of the U.S. government, like the agreement Washington forced on the Mexican government that requires that country to mortgage its nationalized oil industry. It's not always popular to oppose our own government but it's what we must do to build real solidarity." Valadez added that "workers in

the U.S. should call for canceling the Third World debt."

A number of participants in this workshop attended a late evening showing of *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, a video about the framed-up unionist and political activist. A worker from Guatemala, three women maquiladora workers, a union organizer from California, as well as a meat-packer, auto workers, rail workers, and a public employee, attended the showing. Two maquiladora workers endorsed the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Supporters of Mark Curtis got a good hearing for the case from conference participants. More than 30 people signed up to learn more about activities in their areas and 10 people bought the new pamphlet, *Why is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?*

John Sarge is a member of UAW Local 900 in Wayne, Michigan. Dennis Richter is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1006 in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

Caterpillar strike enters 12th month as UAW members continue to fight

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

AURORA, Illinois — As United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 145 members enter their 12th month on strike here, they continue to hang tough in their battle against Caterpillar, the world's largest earth-moving equipment company.

Some 13,300 UAW members in eight plants covering three states walked out last June to halt the company's attempts to bust their union. Prior to the strike, about 2,000 UAW members worked at the Aurora plant. Touted as one of the most modern in their system, the facility manufactures excavators and wheel loaders — two hot-selling products used in the construction industry.

The union organizes around-the-clock picket duty and every Monday a rally is held in front of the main gate at the crack of dawn. At the beginning of the strike, these rallies were larger, numbering more than 100 strikers and their supporters. In the recent period, the rallies have tailed off to a few dozen strikers. Support from other unionists has also dropped off.

Despite this, many passersby honk and give the thumbs up to the pickets.

Strikers estimate that some 500 members have crossed the picket line and returned to work. The line-crossers are overwhelmingly young and a large proportion are female. In addition, a fair number of UAW retirees have crossed the line. One striker reported that a trickle of members had recently crossed after a long period where few had. He said he is the only person left in his car pool that hasn't returned to work. On the other hand, a few workers have quit their jobs and joined the strike.

The April issue of *Contract Action Times*, published by the UAW in Peoria, reported on a new hire at the Aurora plant who decided in March to come out and



Militant/Calvin Jolley

Caterpillar strikers and others marching in Decatur, Illinois, Oct. 15, 1994.

join the strike. This reporter met a young woman, also a new hire, on picket duty who had just decided to join the walkout.

One of the key operations in the plant is welding. Many of the scabs were brought in to do this job by Worldwide Labor Support Inc., a company based in Mississippi. These temporary workers "are a major part of the makeshift workforce now running the facility," reported the *Contract Action Times*.

According to some reports, such as *Stark's Off-Highway Ledger*, Caterpillar is manufacturing only 20 machines a day here, down from 28.5 when the workforce

was UAW.

Spirits were picked up by reports that Caterpillar workers went on strike in Goselies, Belgium. This has special significance here since the Goselies plant is considered a sister plant, making the same construction equipment.

One of the picket signs leading into the plant says, "Don Fites: Robber Baron of the Year Award 1994." This was in response to Caterpillar chief Fites being chosen by *Financial World* magazine as the winner of the CEO of the Year Gold Award. A copy of the magazine was mailed to all strikers.

The *Fox Valley Labor News*, a local union paper that covers the strike weekly, printed several responses from Local 145 members.

"I am disappointed to see that Cat management still would rather employ destructive attempts to control employees' minds than to engage in constructive negotiations that could put an end to this disastrous labor dispute," said one.

"Am I supposed to be impressed because a bunch of sharks decide Fites is the best shark of the pack? I don't think so," said another.

The *Financial World* article painted a glowing account of Fites and Caterpillar. "If anyone, including the United Auto Workers, couldn't get on board, they had better get out of the way," said reporter Jennifer Reingold.

"He's a leader of a three-year war against his own employees. He's caused unnecessary tension and dissension in our communities," said Jerry Brown, president of UAW Local 974 in East Peoria, Illinois. "I don't think that's the kind of record that deserves a reward."

Frank Forrestal is a member of UAW Local 551 in Chicago.

Illinois unionists call rally for June 25

BY BETSY FARLEY

DECATUR, Illinois — Striking and locked-out unionists in this city are urging supporters to attend a June 25 solidarity march and rally. Called by United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 7837, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 751, and United Rubber Workers (URW) Local 713, the date marks the two-year anniversary of the lockout by A.E. Staley Mfg. of 760 corn processing workers here. It is also five days after the one year anniversary of the nationwide strike of UAW members against Caterpillar.

URW Local 713 members on strike against Bridgestone/Firestone, who voted May 7 to unconditionally return to work, will also be participating in the action.

"What's happening to workers here is what's in store for everyone," said Tonia Van Scyoc, a volunteer worker in the Staley Worker's Campaign for Justice office and wife of a locked-out Staley worker.

The call for the protest action comes as Caterpillar management steps up its as-

sault on the UAW. On May 1, the *Peoria Journal Star* reported that all UAW members on strike had received a letter from Caterpillar's vice president of human services, Wayne Zimmerman, informing them they must return to work by June 1 or they will cease accruing pension benefits.

"It's not going to bother me," said Don Mason, a boiler room fireman with 27 years' seniority. "They're just trying to use scare tactics to get people to cross. I'm going to stay right out here," he said, pointing to the picket shack at Caterpillar's HH gate in East Peoria, Illinois.

On May 9, Caterpillar rejected the UAW's proposal to negotiate May 11 in St. Louis. Zimmerman accused the union of not revealing its position on many of the demands the company is placing on the workers such as wages, benefits, and seniority.

"We're getting used to that," said Larry Harris, a member of UAW Local 974 in East Peoria. "We all want them to get in

there and get something settled but I'm not going back in there without a signed contract."

Several workers on the picket lines in East Peoria said they will be going to Decatur June 25. Unionists are also planning a one-day labor conference June 24 at the Allied Industrial Workers union hall.

Meanwhile, representatives of UPIU Local 7837 and A.E. Staley met with federal mediators May 10 in Hinsdale, Illinois, to discuss a settlement. In January, the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D.C., ruled against the union, upholding a regional labor board's decision that the company lockout was legal.

At a union meeting in March, the majority of the local members voted to mandate the UPIU bargaining committee to seek a resolution to the lockout and bring any company offer directly to the membership for a vote.

Company negotiators took the proposals from the meeting and said they would respond in two weeks.

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

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CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Speakout Against Omnibus Counter-Terrorism Act: In Defense of Democratic Rights. Speakers: Frank Wilkinson, ACLU and National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Tony Russo, ex-defendant in Pentagon Papers Ellsberg-Russo trial; Salam Al Margati, Director, Muslim Public Affairs Council; Don White, Veteran Organizer, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Nelson Blackstock, author, *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*. Sat., June 3, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico (2 Blks W. of Vermont) Donation \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

From World War II to Vietnam: U.S. Intervention and the Fight Against War Today. Fri., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE. 54th Street. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

IOWA

Des Moines

The Fight Against Cop Terror in Sioux City, Iowa. Speaker: A panel of activists in recent fight against police murder of a Native American woman. Sat., May 27, 7:30 p.m. Dinner: 6 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$4 Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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Boston

Campaign Rally for Socialist Candidates for Boston City Council. Speakers: Valerie Johnson and Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers candidates. Fri., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

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A True History of World War II And The

Lessons For Today. Sat., May 27, 7:30 p.m. 2490 University Av. (east side of Hwy. 280, on 16A bus line). Donation: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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Why Working People Should Oppose Megan's Law. Fri., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey. Donation: \$4. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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Victory for Free Speech - The Jim Rogers case and the struggle for First Amendment rights in New York. Speakers: Jim Rogers, Socialist Workers Party; Arthur Eisenberg, legal director, N.Y. Civil Liberties Union. Thurs., May 25, 7:30 p.m. 214 Avenue A (Between 13th and 14th Sts.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 388-9346.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The 50th Anniversary of the End of World War II: War for Democracy or Imperialist Slaughter?--A Working-Class Perspective. Speaker: Arnold Weissberg. Fri., May 26, 7

p.m. 1103 E. Carson Street. Donation: \$4. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

TEXAS

Houston

The Vietnam War - 25 Years Later. Speaker: Robbie Sherr, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway #250. (Woodridge Dr. exit off I-45 at 610 south). Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

BRITAIN

London

Ireland: New Openings in the Fight for Self-Determination. Panel of speakers from Saoirse (London), Wolfe Tone Society, and participants in recent Militant reporting team to Northern Ireland. Sat., May 27, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 0171-928 7993

Manchester

Troops Out of Ireland - Release All Political Prisoners. Speakers from recent Militant reporting team to Belfast. Sat., May 27, 6 p.m. First Floor, 60, Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 061-839-1766.

Workers in South Africa protest mine disaster

Continued from front page

ployers don't care about the lives of black workers] is not going to be removed by word of mouth, but by what the country as a whole — and the white minority in particular — do on occasions like this."

The accident occurred as workers were descending the 7,000-foot No. 2 shaft on their way to work the night shift May 10. More than a mile down the shaft, a 12-ton locomotive and a mine car fell down the shaft, cutting the hoist cables, and causing the cage to fall more than 1,500 feet to the mine floor. Moments later the train crashed down on top of the two-story cage, compressing it to about one third its original size. The driver of the locomotive leapt from the vehicle seconds before it plunged down the shaft.

Anglo-American is the biggest — and wealthiest — mining company in South Africa. In 1980, 30 miners were killed in a lift cage accident at the same gold mining complex, which announced profits of \$845 million in 1994. Dick Fisher, general manager of Vaal Reefs Mine, surmised that the accident had been caused by the failure of safety devices designed to prevent such shaft accidents. "It appears that the loco went through various safety devices and jumped a rail which changed its direction and it then fell down the shaft."

Motlatsi, who went to the accident site 112 miles southwest of Johannesburg the morning of May 11, presented a different picture. "Nothing like that can be anything more than negligence," Motlatsi said. "The safety mechanisms were not in place." Motlatsi described the disaster as the worst he had ever seen. "Pieces of flesh were scattered all over as the two-floor mining carriage was crushed into a one-floor tin box." Placing the blame for the accident squarely on Anglo-American, Motlatsi demanded that the company compensate workers and their families.

'There was no safety at all'

"There was no safety at all on that train," said Benedict Thaba, NUM chairperson at the West Driefontein mine near Carletonville. Reached at his workplace on May 18, Thaba told the *Militant*, "The gate of that shaft was open. Many miners feel there was something intentional about this. Everyone is waiting for the outcome of the inquiry." Thaba reported thousands of miners from West Driefontein, which shut down for the day, went to nearby Randfontein for the memorial rally.

The Vaal Reefs disaster comes just weeks after the Leon Commission issued a report calling for the drastic overhaul of mining legislation in South Africa. Convened in response to demands from the NUM, the commission conducted an inquiry last year into safety and health conditions in the country's coal and mineral mines. This was the first such inquiry in more than 30 years.

The Leon Commission has recommended government action to draft a new set of laws regulating mining. In a 191-page report issued at the end of March the commission acknowledged the validity of

the NUM's demands for immediate remedial action to reduce death, injury, and disease in the mining industry.

'We are really angry'

"This time, we are really angry," said Mapalo Tsatsimpe, NUM coordinator for the Carletonville region, in a telephone interview. "We say management must implement all the recommendations of the Leon Commission. No worker should work in a dangerous environment — a worker has a right to refuse it."

In a May 11 statement, Mandela declared that "the government commits itself to speedily finalize the recommendations on mine health and safety submitted by the Leon Commission." After a May 15 deadline for final submissions, said Mandela, the Cabinet and parliament will act on it "as a matter of urgency."

Tsatsimpe reported that up to 60,000 workers rallied at Randfontein, traveling from mines owned by Anglo-American, Gold Fields of South Africa, and Rand Corp. — many of them on buses donated to the union for free by bus companies.

In Durban, the largest city in KwaZulu-Natal province, some 1,000 people attended a midday rally commemorating the disaster. The union movement's main emphasis, said COSATU regional secretary Paulos Ngcobo in a telephone interview, was on workplace demonstrations. "In the factories and workplaces in this province, initial estimates indicate that 200,000

workers joined demonstrations in front of management offices and prayer meetings," Ngcobo reported.

Lena Ntuli, a shop steward for the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa at the Caterpillar, Inc. plant in Johannesburg, said that all members of the union held a commemoration at midday.

"The main demand to emerge from the Welkom rally was for full-time safety stewards," Matosa reported. Currently, the owners of various mines refuse to allow full-time union safety representatives underground. "Management has been very difficult on this question," he said.

"As an organization that was put into power by the majority of the working people — particularly African workers — the ANC will fight for safety through new legislation," Matosa emphasized. But he added, "Mine management is not prepared to restructure mines to where there is complete empowerment of workers in the mines. We need fundamental transformation, but there will be resistance."

"Tragic as this incident may be," said a COSATU statement, "it should be viewed not only as a national disaster, but as a reminder of how cheap the lives of workers are in this country.... We should bring an end to the fear that workers have every day as they go underground or to any other workplace that their lives count less, that profits are the primary concern."

All the victims in the May 10 tragedy were black workers from Mozambique,

Botswana, Lesotho, and South Africa. More than 69,000 miners, mostly black, have been killed and more than a million injured in South African mines between 1911 and 1994.

The government of Lesotho also agreed to declare a national day of mourning May 17. "Thirty thousand people attended the rally at National Stadium in the capital," said Candi Ratabane Ramainoane in an interview from Maseru. Ramainoane, the former Maseru mayor and now publisher of *Moafrica* newspaper, reported the main speakers were from the NUM, Anglo-American, and the government of Lesotho. "This was a very unique meeting for Lesotho. Many of our people work in the South African mines," he said. "The NUM speaker was the one who stirred the crowd. He pointed out that our people are still dying due to company negligence."

The NUM is preparing for negotiations with the South African mining companies later this year. High on the union's list of demands, published in a document entitled, "Addressing the legacy of apartheid," are improved safety and health conditions, along with affirmative action for black miners to allow them to move into higher-paying, more highly skilled jobs, and housing for black miners who, under apartheid, were barred from living in white towns near the mines.

John Hawkins is a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1867.

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And worse than useless — "Our enemies want to stop new prison construction and give prisoners more rights. They say we're overpaid and under worked."



Harry Ring

— Complaint by California prison guards' "union."

Seize the time — A Santa Bar-

bara newspaper ad announced "a timely workshop for local employers." Subject: "How to hire and fire in California without getting sued."

In a nutshell — That Santa Barbara seminar was led by a "firing instructor" for the American Management Assn. Sketching a firing scenario, he advised: "Simply announce a decision has been made. Never apologize, agree, or argue."

'Sorry about that' — Marisa Means, 8, was shook up when her dad took her to his job on Take Our Daughters to Work Day and

their day was abruptly cut short when he was called in and fired. A company spokesman said, "The timing of the dismissal of Mr. Means was regrettable."

Dr. IQ — In the North Carolina legislature, Rep. Henry Aldridge argued against abortion funding for low-income women. He declared that women who get raped don't get pregnant because, "the juices don't flow, the body functions don't work."

'What's good for the goose...' — In the Florida legislature, Sen. Howard Forman argued against a move to impose a

24-hour waiting period on women seeking an abortion.

He offered an amendment to make it illegal "to engage in sexual activities that may cause the conception of a child unless at least 24 hours prior to such activity, the man has received counseling regarding the ramifications of producing a child." Motion defeated.

It's the thought that counts — A California entrepreneur is marketing a pocket-size bullet-proof bible. "We wouldn't want anyone to substitute it for a protective vest," he said. "But we think it would make an ideal gift."

And how are you doing? — In 1994, the top dogs at major U.S. corporations "earned" an average of \$883,000, up 11 percent from '93.

Free-market medicine — In India, dealers do nicely selling kidneys bought from the impoverished. Now they're into stealing them.

One jobless worker, at a clinic to sell blood, was put to sleep and woke up with a big incision. He was told the blood was drawn from his waist because they needed a lot of it. Later, when getting medical treatment, he learned he was missing a kidney.

Ottawa mounts campaign against Innu rights

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — The Canadian government and big-business interests have mounted a new campaign against the rights of the Innu people of Labrador territory in eastern Canada.

On May 1, Ottawa announced it would continue a jet fighter low-level flight training program over Labrador. The government will even increase the number of flights per year, from the current 6,000 to 7,000 to as many as 18,000.

The territory covered by the flights will also increase. The sorties involve the air forces of Canada and several NATO allies, including the Netherlands, Germany, and Britain.

The Innu are bitterly opposed because the ear-shattering sound emitted by the aircraft disrupts their lives and harms the animal and fish life on which they depend for food and their economic livelihood. They have fought for years to cancel the program and their fight is winning growing publicity and support.

"We're outraged and disappointed," said Stephen Dankowich of the International Campaign for the Innu and the Earth.

New Democratic Party member of Parliament Svend Robinson called the decision a "disgrace."

"The Innu have been trying for many years to persuade the government to put an end to existing flights," he said. "For this government to now increase the flights is an act of complete contempt for the Innu people."

Gov't concerned about opposition

The stakes for the government and military in continuing the flights are considerable. The May 13 Toronto *Globe and Mail* reported that Defense Minister David Collette will soon unveil a multi-billion-dollar package of expenditure for new military equipment. The government is concerned about opposition to such a program. It is currently under fire for cutting billions from education, health care, and other social services.

One of the proposals being floated by Collette calls for upgrading Canada's submarine fleet through a barter deal with London. In exchange for the submarines, Ottawa would grant the British air force long-term access to the flight training center in Labrador.

The Newfoundland Supreme Court convicted Katie Rich and two Innu colleagues of contempt April 28 in Goose Bay, Labrador. They were jailed 10 days earlier on charges that arose from a mobilization of the Innu community of Davis Inlet in December 1993. That protest expelled the Newfoundland provincial court, which was notorious for handing out harsh sentences to the Innu, along with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Rich was chief at the time and helped lead the protest.

In August 1994, the community again mobilized and repulsed a threatened RCMP invasion intended to reimpose the court and the RCMP detachment.

The jailing of Rich raised a storm of protest from human rights and Native Indian organizations. Reacting to that pressure, the court gave the three Innu suspended sentences.

Rich refused an offer from the government after her arrest to be released from jail in exchange for recognition of the government's jurisdiction in Davis Inlet.

Social conditions in Davis Inlet rival those of the poorest countries in the world. There is no running water or sewage treatment. There is no regular employment.

The Newfoundland government moved hundreds of Innu to Davis Inlet in 1967. The island location cut them off from their principal source of food and income — fishing the rivers and hunting and trapping wild animals. They are demanding the Canadian and Newfoundland governments move the community back to the mainland but the governments have refused to help.

Some 1,500 Innu live in Labrador. They are among the original inhabitants there. More than 10,000 others live across north-east Quebec.

Mining boom threatens Innu and Inuit

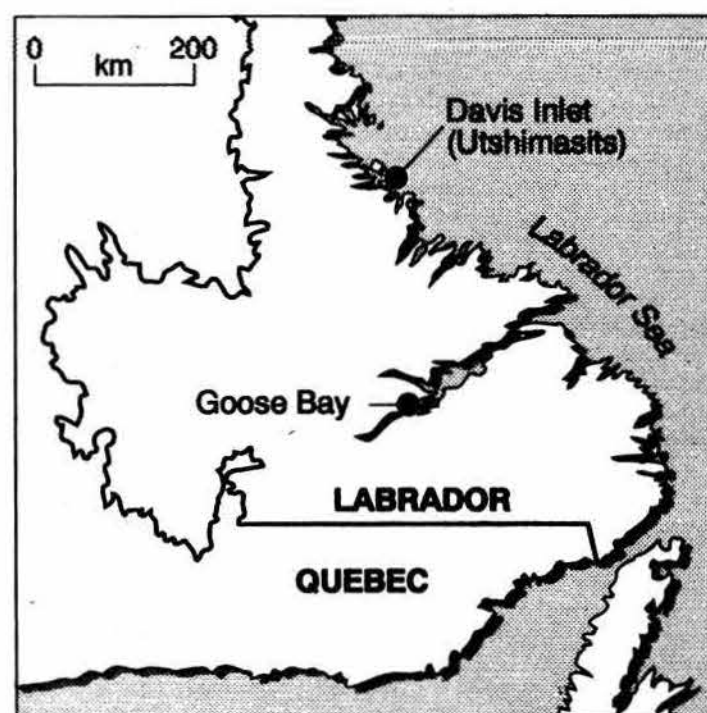
The discovery last winter of huge deposits of nickel, copper, and cobalt at Voisey Bay on the Labrador coast posed a new threat to the Innu, and to 4,000 Inuit who live in Labrador. The site is 30 miles north of Davis Inlet and 18 miles south of Nain, the principal Inuit community.

According to a mine industry analyst, the site could produce the equivalent of 6 percent of the world's current production of nickel. The discovery has touched off a bonanza of further exploration.

Inco, a Canadian company and the world's largest nickel producer, is scrambling to buy into development of the site. The Voisey Bay ore is high-grade and could be smelted at a lower cost than at Inco's existing operations in Ontario and Manitoba.

The Innu and Inuit oppose the development because it will destroy the environment and they claim title to the land. Residents of Davis Inlet occupied the site for several weeks in February to stop further exploration activity. Dozens of RCMP officers were dispatched to back the exploration.

Davis Inlet is located about 190 miles north of Goose Bay, the administrative capital of Labrador. The government of Newfoundland, Canada's easternmost



province, administers the territory. The RCMP, Canada's federal police force, acts under contract as the provincial force in many Canadian provinces, including Newfoundland.

- 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO -

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
May 26, 1970 Price 10¢

JACKSON, Miss., May 17 — Two unarmed Black students were shot to death here by state troopers and city police May 14. Fourteen others were wounded. The murders came on the second night of antiwar demonstrations at Jackson State.

Police said they were answering sniper fire. Students, however, report hearing no sniper fire.

"They were trying to kill," says James Meate, 19, a freshman at Jackson State. "And they did kill. It was nothing but a massacre.... This is worse than Kent State. They say at Kent State they killed four and just forgot about it. Here they killed two and kept trying to kill more."

Jackson State, with an enrollment of more than 3,000, was closed for the remainder of the school year yesterday by administrators. Students were sent home. But angry students, with community support, held a memorial service for the slain Jackson victims at the Masonic Temple today. More than 1,000 persons, many from Jackson, marched to the campus. They wore black armbands. Students from as far away as Alabama and Louisiana attended the services.

Students had been demonstrating against the U.S. invasions of Cambodia, as have students all over the country. More than 300 students at the predominantly Black college held a peaceful rally the previous evening, May 13.

At the university hospital this afternoon, Leroy Kinton described the rapid events: "They were marching down the street, and they stopped. They knelt to the ground. They started shooting. Every-

body tried to run. I didn't make it. I tried. I got a couple of steps. Then I got hit."

Out in the street students are carrying signs. One reads, "Jackson State, Another Cambodia."

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

May 26, 1945

"No Meat — No Work!" This appears to be the slogan of a group of West Virginia miners. According to an Associated Press dispatch, 200 men went on strike at Earling, West Virginia, on May 11 because there was no meat in the company store there. By May 17, more than 1,000 men were out.

For, declared Professor Paul Cannon of the University of Chicago at a nutritional conference in Washington last year, giving hungry people what have been highly called "energy foods" is not enough. These so-called energy foods — breads, cereals, other cheap carbohydrates — will satisfy hunger Professor Cannon pointed out, but they will not rebuild broken-down tissues nor will they build muscles. Along with vitamins and minerals, proteins are essentials in the diet. Proteins are the muscle-building, the tissue-building food.

In an article in the May 19 *Collier's*, W.B. Courtney writes "there are today more than 600 pounds of beef cattle grazing on the ranch lands or chomping in the feedlots and stockyards for every man, woman and child in this nation." And that's what the miners would like — their 600 pounds a piece of beef! Because it's beef that the workers want now. Pork is the poor man's meat. If the workers must eat pork, they want to eat "high up on the hog" — roasts and chops, not fatback and "chitlins."

New Volume of Collected Works of Marx and Engels

Volume 47, the latest addition to the complete writings of the founders of the modern revolutionary workers movement, contains Frederick Engels's correspondence from March 1883 to 1886. Of the 310 letters, more than half are published in English for the first time. International Publishers.

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The assassination of Malcolm X

A broad array of forces in the Black community attended the May 6 meeting at the Apollo Theater in Harlem that featured Louis Farrakhan and Betty Shabazz. Organized in response to government indictments against Qubilah Shabazz, in the background of this meeting stood the legacy of Malcolm X and the political repercussions of his assassination.

The only major voice of a current in the Black struggle not heard was that representing Malcolm X. The revolutionary struggle that he dedicated his life to and its lessons for today were absent at this gathering.

Farrakhan publicly acknowledged for the first time that "members of the Nation of Islam were involved in the assassination of Malcolm X." He then tried to explain away this admission by declaring the government to be the "real culprit" who manipulated "the zeal and ignorance inside the ranks of the Nation of Islam and among the followers of Brother Malcolm X" that created the climate that "allowed him to be assassinated."

Farrakhan's efforts to put in the past and minimize the responsibility of the Nation of Islam in the assassination of Malcolm X should be rejected by all supporters of the fight for Black liberation and the struggle for social justice and equality.

It is not true that Malcolm and others who left the Nation of Islam and formed the Organization of African Unity and Muslim Mosque Inc. fell into a government trap that ended in the assassination of Malcolm X.

In his speeches, interviews, and writings, Malcolm explains the moral and political factors that lay behind his parting of the ways with the Nation. He openly pointed to and helped educate fighters on the role of government police agencies in attempts to undermine the Black struggle.

Any serious fighter against racism and other evils produced by capitalism knows the government will use spies, provocateurs, dirty tricks, and assassination to try to disrupt and derail the struggle. That's a given.

Organizations that claim to advance the struggle of the oppressed and exploited are not helpless in the face of government disruption efforts. The leadership of every such organization that claims to fight for the oppressed has the responsibility to conduct itself in a manner that will make the movement, its organizations, and members as impervious as possible to the stock-and-trade of secret police operations: agent-baiting, poison pen letters, and the resolution of political differences by acts of thuggery, murder, and so on.

Ten weeks before Malcolm's assassination, Farrakhan wrote in the Nation of Islam's newspaper at the time, *Muhammad Speaks*, "Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm." At that time, Farrakhan and "nearly every minister in the Nation of Islam was making incendiary speeches about Malcolm," explained one of those convicted in the killing of Malcolm.

Before Malcolm's death, several former members of the Nation who had broken from it were physically attacked and some of them murdered by Nation of Islam members.

When Malcolm was murdered, Elijah Muhammad called him a hypocrite and said that "Malcolm X got just what he preached." Malcolm separated from the Nation of Islam after learning about the corrupt personal behavior and hypocrisy of Muhammad, who had engaged in sexual relations with a number of teenage women in the organization. Elijah Muhammad then organized humiliating internal trials and suspended the women from membership, after several had become pregnant.

As recently as 1993, Farrakhan sought to justify Malcolm's assassination when he said in a speech, "Was Malcolm your traitor or ours? And if we dealt with [Malcolm] like a nation deals with a traitor, what the hell business is it of yours?... A nation has to be able to deal with traitors and cutthroats and turncoats."

The May 6 meeting at the Apollo was Farrakhan's attempt to win credibility among Blacks who associate the Nation with the assassination. Malcolm's growing popularity among youth keeps this "albatross" around his neck.

But far from dimming the Nation's role in Malcolm's murder, Farrakhan's statements at the Apollo underline the politically destructive character of those who use the methods practiced by the Nation — then, now, or in the future.

While a leading minister of the Nation of Islam in the early 1960s, Malcolm's revolutionary political views broadened under the impact of the struggles by Blacks and other oppressed peoples in the United States and around the world. This course diverged from that of the Nation, which abstained from any political activity.

During the last year of his life, Malcolm sought to effectively fight against racist injustice and for the human rights of Blacks and all the oppressed and exploited. His identification with revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles in Vietnam, the Congo, Cuba, and Algeria ran counter to the politics and actions of the Nation of Islam.

Malcolm sought to explain, educate, and convince the oppressed of their self-worth, and capacity to think, act, and change the world and themselves. "You're living at a time of... revolution, a time when there's got to be a change," Malcolm told students at Oxford University in Britain at a nationally televised talk in 1964. "I for one will join with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth."

A fitting response to Farrakhan's admission of the Nation of Islam's involvement in the assassination of Malcolm X would be to grab hold of Malcolm's living legacy found in his speeches, writings, and interviews, to better understand and join in the struggle for the type of just and humane world he fought for.

U.S. gov't escalates trade conflict

U.S. president Bill Clinton's announcement that Washington will slap 100 percent tariffs on 13 automobiles produced in Japan for export to the United States — unless a deal can be worked out by June 28 — is the most serious escalation of the Tokyo-Washington rivalry in some years.

The bipartisan stab at the Big Three's competitors in Japan may have unanticipated consequences. The owners of auto plants across the Pacific are in no mood to comply, facing a profit squeeze of their own. The tariff hike follows right on the heels of the administration's decision to slap a trade embargo on Iran, a move that is also aimed at Japan. The U.S. government — albeit unsuccessfully so far — has put heavy pressure on imperialist powers, including Tokyo, to join in the assault on Tehran's sovereignty. This directly threatens Japan's oil supply, since it imports 600,000 barrels per day from Iran.

Governments grouped in the European Union, embroiled in their own trade conflicts with Uncle Sam, took a cool attitude toward the Clinton sanctions. The London daily *Financial Times* editors warned, "By proposing measures which almost certainly violate the rules of the World Trade Organization, Washington is signaling its disregard for the new body before it is even properly established," a worry that others will qualify for similar treatment.

The intended beneficiaries of the sanctions — the auto bosses in the United States — are in a joyous mood. Already swimming in big profits this year, they are hop-

ing the pressure on Japan will give them still more of an edge. At the same time administration strategists are pushing a cynical ploy to whip up support for their course among working people in the United States.

"The U.S. is not going to stand by and watch its workers and its products unfairly treated," said White House trade hatchet man Mickey Kantor. Since the cars on the initial sanctions list all cost more than \$25,000, the *New York Times* argued the list was "more a political masterpiece than an economic one... enabling Mr. Clinton to argue that he has punished Japan without hurting middle-class American consumers. As one of Mr. Clinton's political advisers said in half jest the other day, 'So we lose the Lexus vote in Greenwich, [Connecticut].'"

The projected sanctions are the latest in a series of trade skirmishes between the main capitalist powers. U.S. capitalists, who have gone further in the past decade in driving down the price of labor power, are using the protectionist bludgeon to make sure they stay on top. Japan's vehicle exports to the United States have fallen by half since 1986, to 1.6 million last year.

It is the working class in Japan and the United States, ultimately, that will pay a high price for the aggressive moves of the capitalist powers toward one another as these conflicts become more virulent. That's why workers should reject protectionist proposals advanced by governments, bosses, and union officials. Instead, the labor movement should organize a common movement of workers across national boundaries to fight for jobs for all.

Iran embargo

Continued from front page

owes Tehran billions of dollars from before the U.S.-backed Shah was overthrown in the 1979 Iranian revolution. "We are not asking the United States to have relations with us," Rafsanjani said. "What we are asking the United States is to stop its hostility against us."

The Iranian president denied the allegation that Iran is a terrorist state bent on acquiring weapons of mass destruction, and challenged Washington to prove it. Attempting to answer him, U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns declared that it is "objectively true to anyone who is a student of the Middle East" that Tehran "has been a major supporter of terrorism."

This is a standard charge by White House officials, but as one article in the *Washington Post* put it, the lack of facts presented "has limited their ability to convince the public that Iran is guilty beyond a reasonable doubt."

Washington does mean business with its economic aggression against Tehran. Secretary of State Warren Christopher tried but failed last year to get other imperialist governments to refuse to renegotiate Tehran's debts. Nevertheless, one third of the country's projected oil revenue for this year is already slated to go for payments on debts to banks in Japan and Europe, and the figure will probably rise to 50 percent in 1996.

This has helped fuel inflation of more than 120 percent. In the first week after the embargo was imposed, the Iranian rial plunged to its lowest value against the dollar since the Iranian revolution. Without a surge in oil prices, there will likely not be enough foreign exchange currency next year to cover the \$10 billion in annual imports of food, medicine, and other essentials that people in Iran need.

Tehran has stepped up its oil production in a show of defiance against the U.S. embargo. Officials of the state-owned National Iranian Oil Co. told reporters they intend to maintain production despite the sanctions, and are not feeling any impact so far. They said, however, that they "don't know yet if there are some spare parts that can only be bought from the U.S.," the world's leading source of oilfield equipment.

The Iranian government is also moving ahead on negotiations with the French oil company Total to develop the off-shore oilfields that U.S. rival Conoco had planned to invest in. Washington nixed the Conoco deal shortly before announcing the trade ban against Iran.

Farrakhan and Shabazz meeting

Continued from Page 7

had agents on both sides to manipulate the zeal and ignorance inside the ranks of the Nation of Islam and among the followers of Brother Malcolm X to create the atmosphere that allowed him to be assassinated," he said. "Untold sums of taxpayers' dollars were used by the FBI to hurt the legitimate movement of our people toward liberation," the Nation of Islam leader added.

Farrakhan called on the government to open its files on the case. "They know that Farrakhan had nothing to do with the murder of Malcolm X," he stated. "We in the Nation of Islam as well as those outside the Nation of Islam need to know all of the truth as it relates to the assassination of Brother Malcolm X."

Betty Shabazz said in a television interview with WNBC last year that she believed that the Nation of Islam was involved in the death of her husband. "Nobody kept it a secret," she said. "It was a badge of honor. Everybody talked about it."

In her opening remarks at the Apollo Theater, Shabazz told the audience that Malcolm X had predicted his murder and told her, "Don't be bitter."

Returning to the government's case against Qubilah Shabazz, Farrakhan suggested a broader intrigue was in the works against him. "I believe the entrapment of Sister Qubilah was part of a much wider conspiracy. It was supposed to lure me into a fight with Dr. Shabazz," he stated.

"There is no way that the government of the United States would commit Michael Fitzpatrick, a member of the Jewish community, to assassinate Louis Farrakhan knowing of the possible repercussions it could cause. I do not believe the government wants a Caucasian to be openly involved in an attempt on my assassination. Their desire would be a member of our own Black family, preferably a Muslim or a nationalist."

At the end of his talk, Farrakhan promoted a national demonstration he is organizing for Black men only. "This year Oct. 16, 1995, we propose a million-man march on Washington. We call it the 'Day of Atonement,'" he declared. "On this day of atonement we are asking the government of America to acknowledge her sins against the people. Against the struggles of poor and Black people for justice."

Correction:

The article entitled, "Houston students welcome Cuban youth" in issue no. 19 reported that University of Houston chancellor Alexander Schilts wrote a letter published in the *Houston Chronicle*. It was published in *La Informacion*.

Hospital workers rally for a decent 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

that they are not alone. Gerald McEntee of the international union urged workers at other hospitals to be prepared to adopt a striker if no agreement is reached by July 1, when the current contract expires. Harry Lombardo, president of Transport Workers Union Local 234, returned solidarity given during his union's recent strike. Joe Rausch, president of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Labor Council, also offered support.

dered a new election. The board said the union victory was tainted by improper supervision and inadequate Spanish translation at the polls. On the other hand, the board found that Kaolin Mushroom Farms violated fair labor practices by firing 11 workers during the strike. The board ordered that the 11 be reinstated with back pay.

"The decision was half and half, but more of a triumph for us," Luis Tlaseca, one of the fired workers and a leader of the union organizing effort, said. The union announced it is challenging the order for a new election at an April 20 news conference attended by some 35 workers.

"It was a clean election and the decision of the workers should be respected," Tlaseca insists. Union attorney Arthur Read believes the board's order for a new election has a good chance of being reversed on appeal.

State labor law does not require verbal translation during a union election, only that the ballots be presented in the appropriate languages. In this case they were. The charge of improper supervision applies to one incident in the first five minutes of voting. The incident could not have affected the union's margin of victory, especially if the votes of the 11 reinstated workers were to be taken into account.

Tlaseca says a new election at this point would stack things in favor of the boss. "He has put considerable pressure on the many new workers he has hired since



Shipyard workers in Brazil on strike. A nationwide strike of 300,000 public service workers halted railways, telecommunications, oil refineries, federal universities, and social security services across Brazil May 11. Unionists threatened to broaden the strike movement if demands for wage increases are not met.

ON THE PICKET LINE

workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Chanting, "No contract, no work!" 1,000 members of District 1199C of the hospital employees union demonstrated May 10 outside Children's Hospital of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. After three sessions at the bargaining table the hospital is still stalling negotiations on a new contract. The hospital administration is threatening to cut workers' pensions and refusing to adopt a retraining program that the union has won at other city hospitals.

"The hospital has been using sick children to gain the public's sympathy against the workers," a hospital employee told the *Militant*.

"They have all kinds of machines to operate on little babies; now it's the workers out here getting operated on," a union spokesperson told the crowd.

The rally showed that the unionists are ready to fight and

Mushroom workers fight for union recognition

Workers in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, are continuing the struggle to win recognition for their union at Kaolin Mushroom Farms. With more than \$30 million in annual sales, Kaolin Mushroom Farms is the country's fifth-largest mushroom producer.

On April 11, the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board (PLRB) finally issued its ruling on a disputed union recognition election won by the Kaolin Workers Union by a vote of 124-102 on May 27, 1993. That vote took place after a 30-day strike during which the mainly Mexican workers won support from area unions and the Philadelphia Central Labor Council. With the help of churches and organizations in the Asian community, the farm workers also parried an attempt to continue production with Cambodian and Vietnamese replacement workers.

The PLRB ruling was contradictory. On the one hand it or-

dered the strike, implying that known union supporters could not be assured they would still have jobs after returning from visits with their families in Mexico.

"Kaolin has also increased pay by 5 cents per basket [of 16 pounds] each year since the strike. Meanwhile, he's gotten an injunction prohibiting leaders of the Kaolin Workers Union from going near the plant and appealed the PLRB order that myself and

other union supporters be reinstated with back pay."

Tlaseca is eager for a chance to return to his job, but said, "We plan to continue our struggle to organize our union for the workers any way we can."

Contributors to this week's column include: Erin Forbes, a Temple University student and member of the Young Socialists, and Pete Seidman in Philadelphia.

LETTERS

Observations on Cuba

Here are two quotes from Cubans that encapsulate the continuing revolutionary consciousness of most of the friends and acquaintances we have made over the years on our annual holiday in Cuba.

A cigar worker: "You know, in Cuba, we don't work for me and my family; we work for all of us and then we share in what we've got. For instance, if I need a heart transplant I get it all free. And as for education, three of my children have a university education — all free."

A tourist guide: "Yes we have poverty in Cuba. But we do not have misery. Misery is poverty without dignity. And we have dignity."

And the Canadian engineer doing oil prospecting in Cuba: "The Cuban government has a reputation for scrupulously carrying out any agreements they have made, whether verbal or written, which is rare in Latin America. And they don't take bribes."

Your excellent coverage very much coincides with what we have observed in Cuba.

Bea Bryant
Blenheim, Ontario

Protesting police actions

The youth and students of Bloomington, Indiana, are now saying "enough" to the growing number of incidents of police harassment and misconduct by the Bloomington Police Department. On April 29, 60 people marched from the Monroe County courthouse to the Bloomington police station to protest an April 23 gang-rape case where the police refused to believe the woman that she was raped and did not collect the majority of the evidence involved.

This protest went off despite a call from Bloomington chief of

police Steve Sharp to a rally organizer in which he told her if there was going to be a protest he wanted to "nip it in the bud" before it happened. The organizer responded to Sharp by telling him he had no say in whether or not a protest would occur.

At the police station the protesters were able to confront Sharp. Sharp stated that the police department was doing all it could in the case, but also the woman who was raped by four men made poor choices that led to her rape. This statement brought immediate cries of "Shame!" and "How dare you say such a thing!" along with boos and hissing directed at Sharp. One protester commented that Sharp, "really proved where his sympathies are."

After confronting Sharp many protesters went to People's Park in downtown Bloomington to join a rally of more than 100 people, mainly high school-aged students, who were protesting a March 23 incident in which Bloomington police surrounded the park and without a warrant illegally searched the youth gathered in the park. This rally comes on the heels of an April 16 protest in which people marched through downtown Bloomington to the police station to demand justice. At both the rally and the march there were calls for punishment of the officers involved in the search and the firing of the chief of police, Steve Sharp.

Tom Alter
Bloomington, Indiana

Letters from prisoners

I don't have a lot of money, but ignorance will always be more expensive than education. For many years now the *Militant* has been my mentor regarding world



events. Without it I would become as ill-informed as a man trapped and lost on an island, thus cut completely off from the rest of the world. This is how I feel when relying on CNN, ABC, NBC, *Time* magazine, *Newsweek*, "60 Minutes," "20/20" and the rest of the capitalists' own information centers — or rather — misinformation centers.

The \$10 enclosed herewith is not a lot of money, but please sign me up for as many *Militants* as it can buy me.

A prisoner
Graterford, Pennsylvania

I have enjoyed reading your paper for many years now. I am presently incarcerated at Pelican Bay state prison. I am writing to you requesting to be placed on your list for indigent prisoners to receive your paper, anything you can do to help me in the above will be well appreciated.

A prisoner
Crescent City, California

I am writing to obtain a copy of a back issue of the *Militant*, and to also obtain the subsidized cost for

prisoners for a subscription. I have been unable to get the prison library to subscribe to the *Militant*, however hopefully after obtaining a back issue maybe I can then sell other inmates on the paper, in an effort we can pool our resources.

A prisoner
Beaumont, Texas

As this letter greets you with the highest form of respect, I hope that this finds you maintaining the struggle for freedom, justice, and peace. I am a prisoner that is confined in the belly of the beast (hole) and on death row. I am writing this letter requesting that you please place my name on your mailing list to receive your newspaper as soon as possible.

A prisoner
Camp Hill, Pennsylvania

Defend civil liberties

In the rush to fight terrorism with expanded police powers, U.S. working people have much to lose. By granting broader authority to the FBI and other agencies, the stage will again be set for disruption of political groups.

None of us should forget the

excess of the 1960s and '70s, especially the government's infiltration and disruption of antiwar, Black liberation, and other groups through the notorious FBI Cointelpro program. If anyone reading this thinks: "But I don't belong to any of those groups!" think again. In the future, you may wish to join a group opposing tax increases, unemployment, discrimination, or promoting any good cause. The FBI may well be there with you — as it was in the 1970's — to destroy your newspapers, foment personality conflicts, initiate break-away groups, blacklist your members, and worse.

All reasonable people oppose the heinous crime committed in Oklahoma. And the government already has plenty of power to investigate and find criminals. But under the impetus of the new fear, we should not allow politicians to take away our hard-won civil liberties — even if we have no immediate plans to use them!

Let's keep the rights we have.
Albert Fried-Cassola
Melrose Park, Pennsylvania

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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.

Kashmiris demand: India out now!

BY GREG ROSENBERG

"Azad Kashmir! (Free Kashmir)" shouted women in the charred town of Charar Sharif — the scene of a devastating inferno provoked by the Indian army May 9.

The burning of more than 1,000 houses and shops in the town galvanized new opposition to India's bloody rule over Kashmir — a territory of 7.8 million people, and the only Indian state with a Muslim majority. Tens of thousands joined in protests to angrily denounce the army's actions. "India get out!" demanded the former residents of the town, some 18 miles from the summer capital of Srinagar. "Indian killers go home!"

The events in Charar Sharif delivered a fresh political crisis to the Congress Party government of Indian prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Kashmir lies in the foothills of the towering Hindu Kush and Himalayan mountain ranges, bordering Pakistan, India, and China. Kashmir's Muslim majority has waged a decades-long battle for self-determination from New Delhi. This battle expanded into civil war in 1990, when rising worker and peasant protests convinced New Delhi to dissolve the state government and rule by fiat.

The Kashmiri fight for self-determination has its roots in British colonial rule on the Indian subcontinent, the resulting partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, and the desire of India's ruling families to keep the possession in their grip. The rival capitalist regime in Pakistan — which occupies one third of Kashmir — lays claim to the rest of it. Islamabad and New Delhi have fought three wars since 1947, and in 1990 came to the brink of nuclear exchanges following rising protests in Kashmir.

As justification for its hold on Kashmir, successive Congress Party governments have painted the self-determination struggle as a Pakistani aggression, complete with charges of "Muslim militancy" and terrorism. While some armed formations fighting Indian troops favor annexation to Pakistan, a majority of Kashmiris simply want independence.

New Delhi has continuously ignored United Nations calls for a plebiscite on independence. Rao scheduled state elections in Kashmir for next month to take the heat off his government. But after the burning of Charar Sharif, senior Indian officials proclaimed the plan "dead in the water."

The Kashmiri conflict is the most ex-



Protests rocked Kashmir after burning of town. Thousands ignored 24-hour curfew decreed by New Delhi. Above, police arrest two people alleged to have thrown stones.

plosive of several battles for national rights throughout India, and the Indian capitalist families need it kept in check to prevent a victory from inspiring fighters for self-determination from Punjab in the west to Assam in the east.

12,000 troops vs. 50 fighters

Some 12,000 Indian troops surrounded Charar Sharif over the past 10 weeks in an attempt to corner about 50 armed opponents of New Delhi's occupation. As the Indian army moved in May 9 and gun battles broke out, a fire swept through the town, which at one time was home to 25,000 people. Most of the residents had fled earlier. Among the structures destroyed was a mosque housing the 15th century mausoleum of Nooruddin Wali, the patron saint of Kashmir.

The Indian army was quick to blame "Muslim militants" for the fire. In a May 15 speech to Parliament, Rao declared the fire to be the work of "militants from Pakistan." Army commanders offered profuse explanations of their version of the events, but prevented reporters from getting closer than one mile from Charar Sharif for several days after the blaze.

New Delhi's heavy-handed censorship was too much even for reporters for the big-business press, who are prone to slav-

ishly intone the mantra that India is "the world's biggest democracy."

"On May 12, the army allowed nearly 100 foreign and Indian journalists to survey the valley," wrote Shiraz Sidhva in the May 15 *Financial Times*. "A few shots were fired and a building in the valley went up in flames in perfect timing for the TV cameras. The army displayed the bodies of five militants, who they said were foreign nationals."

"But later, when some journalists, including this correspondent, returned to Alambdar Basti, near Charar-e-Sharif, the bodies had been brought to an open field beside a road," Sidhva wrote. "Villagers wept over the corpses and said they were local people, not foreigners." Nearly 30 corpses have been recovered so far.

The Indian government maintains at least 300,000 troops in Kashmir — about one soldier for every 25 people living in the region. New Delhi rapidly swung its military machine into action in a vain attempt to quash protests that swept the region.

Police opened fire on a large crowd that gathered to protest the inferno May 11 in central Srinagar, killing two people. At Chadoora, near Charar Sharif, police attempted to shut down a march of 20,000 protesters.

New Delhi slapped a 24-hour curfew on the area. But throughout the valley, cops fired bullets and tear gas at protesters who defied it. In Srinagar, troops did not even allow residents to open their windows, ostensibly to protect two federal ministers visiting the region.

Abdul Ghani Lone, a prominent opponent of the Indian occupation, said soldiers beat him on the head with the butt of a gun as he attempted to walk through police lines to visit the burning town. As Lone was being interviewed by the press, troops arrested him and dragged him to a police wagon.

Despite New Delhi's claims that the guerrillas in the town had set the fire, area residents were adamant that the army was to blame. Some reported army helicopters hovering above the area dropping ordnance just prior to the blaze.

At least 20,000 people have died in the Kashmir conflict over the past five years — the vast majority slain by the Indian army, cops, or special hit squads. According to Amnesty International, 715 people have been tortured or shot to death while in government custody since 1990.

More than 14,400 Kashmiris have been detained under New Delhi's notorious Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA), while only 30 have been charged with any offense. TADA gives cops the powers to arrest someone as a terrorist for carrying a pocketknife and hold political opponents in jail without charges — sometimes for years.

"It is not a law, it is a tool of absolute repression," said Ravi Nair, director of the New Delhi-based South Asia Human Rights Documentation Center. Students protesting high milk prices, landless peasants demanding rights, and farmers seeking lower electricity prices for their village have been arrested under TADA. Some 80 percent of those arrested under TADA in three of India's largest states are Muslims; only 13 percent of India's population is Muslim.

Crisis for Congress Party

Attempting to deflect mounting criticism of its conduct in Kashmir, the Rao government quickly blamed Islamabad for the blaze. Internal Security Minister Rajesh Pilot warned, "Pakistan should not test the patience of this country."

The Kashmir debacle brought immediate calls for Rao's resignation. The ultrarightist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), whose followers razed the Ayodhya mosque in 1992, resulting in mass riots throughout India, blamed Rao and the Pakistani regime. "The nation will never forgive the government for failing to prevent the militants and mercenaries coming across the border from Pakistan to enter the holy shrine, burn it, and get away," said Krishna Lal Sharma, BJP general secretary.

Prominent officials of his own party also called for Rao to step down. The prime minister's political fortunes have waned following state elections earlier this year in which the Congress Party was trounced. In four of the largest states — Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh — Congress candidates were badly outvoted, and the party now retains power in only 8 of India's 26 states. In Gujarat and Maharashtra, the BJP and its ultraright ally Shiv Sena triumphed.

The Kashmir events promise to deepen opposition to Congress that has crystallized around Rao's austerity measures, which are aimed in part at attracting foreign capital. "The trouble with India's economic reforms has always been their lack of appeal to the poor who make up the bulk of the population," lamented a recent *Financial Times* article.

New Delhi has promised \$5 million to rebuild some of Charar Sharif. Muslim organizations rejected the offer, saying they will raise the funds for reconstruction.

Auckland cops target thousands for DNA

BY JAMES ROBB

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — A police dragnet operation in which thousands of men have been pressured to give blood samples for DNA testing has widened a debate over mandatory DNA testing here.

The police operation is being conducted in the name of an effort to catch the "South Auckland serial rapist." There has been extensive publicity in the news media recently of the fact that since 1988 there have been more than 30 unsolved rapes of women and young girls reported in the working-class suburbs of South Auckland.

Many of these rapes have taken place in very similar circumstances, in the victims' own homes. The police say that DNA samples taken from the rape victims indicate that at least 13 of these attacks have been carried out by the same individual. The rapist is described as a slim Maori or Pacific Islander, age 25 to 40.

Recently it was revealed that the special police squad set up to catch the rapist has been visiting shopping centers and other public places in the area, and approaching anyone who fits that description. The "suspect" is then pressured to give a blood sample for DNA testing. Many others

have been pulled over in their cars on the pretext of traffic violations, and then asked to give a sample.

While most of the thousands of people approached in this way have consented to be tested, some who have refused report serious harassment. One man has laid a complaint with the Police Complaints Authority, saying that after he refused to give a blood sample, he was visited at home several times by the police. His mother, father, wife, and employer were also visited.

Prominent criminal lawyers have publicly criticized the police "investigation." The president of the Auckland Criminal Bar Association, Isaac Koya, warned that men who were asked for blood samples in this way should refuse to give one. Condemning the police methods as unjustified, he said there was no guarantee of what would happen to any sample once the serial rapist inquiry team had finished with it.

There is at present no legal obligation for anyone to provide a blood sample to police for DNA testing. The government is trying to change that, however. The Criminal Investigations (Blood Samples) Bill, which is currently before Parliament,

would allow police to obtain a court order authorizing them to use force to obtain a blood sample.

This aspect of the bill has been criticized by the Medical Association, the Privacy Commissioner, a committee of the Auckland District Law Society, and the Council for Civil Liberties. The coordinator of Rape Crisis, Toni Allwood, said the bill overturns several traditional principles of law, including the presumption of innocence until proven guilty, and the right not to give self-incriminating evidence.

In a written submission to Parliament on the bill, the national collective of Rape Crisis groups suggested that instead of using force to collect blood samples, refusal should carry a penalty of a fine or jail term. The refusal could be used as evidence for the related case, the statement said.

The bill also provides for the creation of a national databank of DNA profiles of individuals tested in the course of police investigations, including, in some circumstances, those who have not been convicted of any crime.

James Robb is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Auckland.