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1963 civil rights march

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Detroit cops, who killed Black, guilty of murder

BY ROSE ANA BERBEO

DETROIT — A victory in the fight against police brutality was won August 23 when two police officers were convicted of second-degree murder in the beating death of Malice Green, an unemployed steelworker.

The two cops, Walter Budzyn and Larry Nevers, were allowed to remain free on bond until their sentencing October 12. Robert Lessnau, a third cop who chose not to have a jury trial, was acquitted of assault to do great bodily harm by Judge George Crockett.

Crockett had decided Lessnau's case a week earlier, but sealed the verdict until the two separate juries deciding Nevers's and Budzyn's cases reached their verdicts. All three police officers are white.

Green, who was Black, was killed when the cops savagely beat him on the head with their

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Detroit residents celebrate the cops' conviction on murder charges.

School bus heads for Cuba in blow to U.S. trade embargo

BY ROBBIE SCHERR

LAREDO, Texas — A battered yellow school bus bearing 30 chanting, enthusiastic opponents of the U.S. blockade against Cuba crossed into Mexico August 23 after a hunger strike and standoff with U.S. customs officials that lasted almost four weeks.

The school bus had been impounded by customs July 29. That same day, however, more than 300 drivers for the U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan took dozens of vehicles and 100 tons of humanitarian aid across the border in route to Cuba. Washington challenged the caravan's fight to donate the bus to a church in Cuba, claiming it had potential military use and, therefore, violated the U.S. embargo on Cuba. Customs deflated the bus tires, removed the battery, and impounded it near the international bridge that links Laredo, Texas, to Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

Rev. Lucius Walker, leader of the Minneapolis-based Pastors for Peace group, thanked the dozen reporters who had gathered around the bus for a send-off news conference for their willingness to air the truth about the events of the last month. He also thanked people in Laredo, citing the many truck drivers who brought liquids and cash donations to the protesters.

"This is a victory that gives the people of this country a new beginning to the ultimate ending of the embargo," Walker said. "It is not only in the interest of the Cuban people, but of U.S. citizens as well, who are now restricted in their right to travel and to learn."

Following weeks of demonstrations around the United States and in four other countries, the U.S. government backed down August 20, agreeing to let the bus depart for Cuba via Mexico, and replaced its front tires and battery.

"These tires are the first donation that the U.S. government has given to Cuba in over

33 years! But it won't be the last," announced John O'Connor from Berkeley, California, as he started up the bus at about 1:00 p.m. August 23.

"We're trying to bring joy to the people of Cuba who have suffered for 32 years as a result of our country's war of aggression," explained James McKenna, as he boarded the bus. McKenna, a priest from the Roman Catholic diocese of Dallas, was one of the 13 hunger strikers.

Chris Hoepfner, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle, agreed. He attributed the victory to the "good response by

people all over the country who, while they may or may not support Cuba, are opposed to the blockade because of its inhumanity." Hoepfner was one of three hunger strikers who left the bus after fasting for 16 days to build support for the fight against the embargo in their cities. He and the two others returned to Laredo to escort the bus across the border and accompany the 30 caravanistas to Cuba.

"I feel great!" was hunger striker Hilda Roberts's comment as she took her seat on the bus. Rev. Leroy Southall nodded in

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School bus crosses U.S. border into Mexico after a nearly four-week standoff with government officials. The bus is being donated to Cuba by opponents of the embargo.

California governor pushes anti-immigrant campaign

BY GREG McCARTAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Encouraged by President Bill Clinton's recent attacks on the rights of immigrants, California governor Peter Wilson and other capitalist politicians are putting forward proposals for even more draconian restrictions on immigration.

In an open letter to the president, Wilson calls for refusing undocumented immigrants access to health care and education, denying their U.S.-born children citizenship, and creating a national identity card to keep tabs on immigrants.

Clinton says he "sympathizes" with Wilson's proposals, which have caused a storm of protest among immigrant rights organizations in California and elsewhere.

"These proposals add to the misperception that immigrants are the sole cause of California's economic troubles. Governor Wilson's assault is a nativist approach. His proposals would lead to devastation of the immigrant community in health and education," said Aberlardo de la Pena, communications director of the Los Angeles-based Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF).

"President's Clinton's proposals would also lead to further discrimination," the immigrant-rights activist said in a telephone interview. "It is a Big Brother type of measure. We call for an end to immigrant-bashing."

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Clinton's plan won't solve health crisis

BY SARA LOBMAN

In an August 16 speech to a meeting of the National Governors' Association in Tulsa, Oklahoma, President Bill Clinton outlined his administration's plans for "health-care reform." His proposals promise to do little, if anything, to resolve the massive health-care crisis confronting working people and others in the United States. Rather, they will gut Medicaid and Medicare programs and cripple many small businesses while rewarding a few well-placed insurance companies.

Clinton's stepped-up campaign to slash federal spending for health care follows the

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recent approval by Congress of his antilabor austerity budget. This budget, which won the approval of big layers of the ruling class, targets workers, farmers, and small business people by raising taxes and gutting some social programs.

More than 37 million people in the United States are without medical insurance and millions more are underinsured. Clinton, who claims the health-care "system we now have works for most Americans," says his proposals will provide a "system of universal coverage" for all "Americans" by requiring both employers and workers to contrib-

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Should 'baby Jessica' have been returned to mother? — page 11



IN BRIEF

Yanomamis massacred in Brazil

At least 73 Yanomami Indians were killed August 15 in the largest massacre of native peoples in Brazil this century. Public outrage has been so intense that the government has been forced to enlist the help of the military to track down the killers who are believed to be gold diggers.

The encroachment of people looking for gold in the remote forests of Hoximú has devastated the Yanomami, who number about 10,000 in Brazil and 10,000 in Venezuela. About 1,500 Yanomami in Brazil have died in the past six years of diseases new to their environment, usually malaria and tuberculosis.

Hostage crisis shakes Nicaragua

A hostage crisis unfolding in Nicaragua is a sign of growing government instability amid an economic depression. Two groups of former members of the Popular Sandinista Army and of the rightist contras took dozens of hostages last week, including government officials, in Managua and a town in the north of the country.

Former contra rebels, who fought the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government with U.S. aid in the 1980s, released 20 of the 38 hostages they were holding in the northern town of Quilali August 22. Some mediators said the hostage takers had dropped their demand that army chief and former FSLN leader Humberto Ortega be dismissed. But former contra head José Talavera said the captives' freedom hinges on "the question of Humberto Ortega." President Violeta Chamorro retained Ortega as the head of the army after she defeated the FSLN in the 1990 elections.

The former members of the Sandinista army released 17 of the hostages they had been holding since storming the headquarters of the governing National Opposition Union in Managua August 20 to demand the release of the 38 held in Quilali. Their captives included Vice-president Virgilio Godoy Reyes, five conservative legislators, and 27 others.

On August 25 both groups released the remaining hostages.

Soldier kills four in N. Carolina

Sgt. Kenneth Junior French, a 22-year-old soldier at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, killed four people and wounded six before being shot by police at a restaurant in Fayetteville, North Carolina. A witness said he shot people



Yanomami leader Davi Kopenawa and Brazilian justice minister Mauricio Correa inspect site of slaying of 73 Yanomami. Kopenawa smudged ashes on himself as a sign of mourning. Authorities said they will expel 2,000 gold diggers from the reservation.

at random and yelled, "You think I'm not going to do this? I'll show you about gays in the military." He was referring to President Clinton's recent proposals to allow gays in the armed forces as long as they are not public about their sexual preferences. French was charged with four counts of first-degree murder and six counts of assault with intent to kill.

Some states to allow school prayer

Encouraged by federal court decisions allowing prayer in schools if it is initiated and led by students, Tennessee lawmakers brought back school prayer at graduation, sporting events, and school assemblies. The bill's sponsor, state senator Don Wright, said, "This is the most important thing to pull the people of Tennessee together in a common cause than anything since Desert Storm." The state's attorney general said the law is unconstitutional because it violates the U.S. Constitution's ban on government endorsement of religion. Similar legislation was approved by Oklahoma's House of Representatives and

was introduced to the Alabama legislature by state representative Bill Fuller.

Rita Spillenger, executive director of the Arkansas American Civil Liberties Union argued against "student-led" prayer in school. "The idea that it's student-initiated is ridiculous," she said. "Nothing will happen in these ceremonies that isn't approved by the [school] administration."

Profitable companies slash jobs

Eastman Kodak and General Electric are the latest highly profitable corporations to announce large job cuts. Kodak plans to eliminate 10,000 jobs, about 8 percent of its work force, by 1995. Company chairperson Kay Whitmore said Kodak's board expects "faster and further" moves than those he already announced.

General Electric will lay off 4,000 at its jet-engine division, which produced operating earnings of nearly \$1.3 billion last year. Pratt & Whitney, GE's major competitor in the jet-engine industry, cut its work force to 35,000 from 44,000 last year. Pratt plans to cut another 5,000 jobs by the end of next year.

Curable disease on rise in Russia

More than 4,000 cases of diphtheria have been reported in Russia so far this year, with more than 100 deaths. Deteriorating living conditions and inadequate medical care are blamed for the epidemic. The government announced a mass immunization program over the next two years, beginning with children. Only 15 percent of Russian adults are vaccinated. Tuberculosis, typhoid fever, cholera, and anthrax are also making an alarming reappearance.

Cambodia attacks Khmer Rouge

The coalition government in Phnom Penh launched what it called the biggest offensive

against the Khmer Rouge since UN troops arrived in Cambodia 17 months ago. The Khmer Rouge boycotted the UN-sponsored elections and have refused to end their violent assaults. The copremiers of the new government are demanding that the Khmer Rouge give up their army of 10,000 and the territory they control, which amounts to 20 percent of the country.

Deadline for Bosnia peace plan

Negotiators from the Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian governments were given until August 30 to return to Geneva with a decision to accept or reject a proposal by mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg to partition Bosnia and end the 17-month war there. The plan maps out borders to carve Bosnia-Herzegovina into three autonomous republics divided by nationality. It puts Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital, under UN control for two years and places the southern city of Mostar under European Community (EC) control. The EC does not have a military component and has not agreed to assume that role.

Stoltenberg told a news conference that enforcement of the plan would require at least 40,000 UN troops, noting that the Clinton administration has pledged to send soldiers once peace is declared. Radovan Karadzic, leader of the rightist Serb forces who have conquered 70 percent of Bosnia, indicated he will argue for the proposal, which gives his troops control of half the country. The Bosnian government, which has suffered endless military setbacks in the fighting, has expressed its unwillingness to accept the proposal.

Tel Aviv bombs Lebanon

Three Israeli warplanes launched airstrikes near the Syrian border in retaliation for two separate explosions in Lebanon that killed nine Israeli soldiers August 19. The Lebanese Party of God took responsibility for the attacks. After the first mine explosion, which killed seven soldiers and wounded two, Israeli warplanes retaliated with air-to-surface rockets that damaged a hospital, a Party of God training base, and the group's radio station. There was no immediate sign that Israel was preparing a large-scale assault comparable to its week-long shelling of Lebanon in late July that killed more than 130 people and displaced 250,000 from their homes.

More U.S. troops to Somalia

U.S. president Bill Clinton ordered 400 elite army troops to Somalia to join the 1,200 U.S. "rapid-response force" still there. The deployment came a day after six U.S. soldiers preparing to leave Somalia were slightly wounded when the reinforced truck they were traveling in was destroyed by a mine explosion. This was the third blast involving U.S. troops since four soldiers were killed August 8. UN officials blame the attacks on Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid, whose supporters continue to organize mobilizations against the presence of U.S. and UN troops. — PAT SMITH

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Clinton presses hard to win passage of NAFTA

BY DOUG JENNESS

MINNEAPOLIS — A full-scale drive is now underway to win U.S. congressional approval for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Top-ranking Democratic and Republican politicians; editors of leading big-business newspapers; and lobbyists for a wide range of industrialists, monopoly traders, and capitalist farmers are attempting to convince legislators to approve the trade deal in time to go into effect Jan. 1, 1994.

Although the agreement between the U.S., Canadian, and Mexican governments was signed last December, the Clinton administration insisted that supplementary

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provisions on labor and environmental standards be attached. The agreement on these was announced by the three governments August 13.

President Bill Clinton hailed the side deals, which, he stated, "turned NAFTA into a pathbreaking trade agreement." He said it "helps our workers, our environment, our businesses, and our countries . . . [and] will create thousands of high-paying American jobs."

Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari welcomed the agreement as "an important step toward building the largest free-trade zone in the world." He said that for Mexicans it will mean "generating more jobs and increasing our productivity."

Canadian trade minister Tom Hockin proclaimed the agreement to be "a great day for Canada."

The main features of the proposed trade pact agreed to last year are:

- Customs duties on nearly 10,000 products will be lifted, some immediately and others over a period of up to 15 years;
- Protectionist conditions will be established to block Japanese and European companies with plants in Mexico from shipping their products duty-free to the United States;
- Mexican banking, insurance, securi-

ties, and state-owned companies will be opened to U.S. and Canadian investors.

The side agreements require the participating countries to enforce existing laws in their countries on environmental and labor issues. Fines of up to \$20 million and limited trade and investment sanctions will be levied against governments that allow companies to gain a competitive advantage by violating domestic laws protecting labor and the environment.

Another provision seeks to remedy the effect of import surges if they appear to be devastating an industry in any of the signing countries.

Several three-country commissions will be established to deal with complaints and propose sanctions.

Up to the eve of the August 13 announcement, the Canadian government balked at agreeing to the side accords, objecting to NAFTA panels deciding on trade sanctions against Canada. Agreement was finally reached when it was provided that in cases against Canada, NAFTA rulings would be brought to the Canadian federal courts. If a NAFTA order is not enforced by the courts, however, Canada could lose whatever benefits it gets from the trade pact.

In order to placate critics in the U.S. Congress, President Clinton extracted a last-minute telephone agreement from Mexican president Salinas to link productivity gains to increases in the minimum wage, which is now \$4.60 a day.

Union officials denounce agreements

The side agreements, widely praised by NAFTA supporters as an advance for protecting workers on the job and the environment, were denounced by trade union officials and environmental groups. "It's a sell-out, and we're not going to stand for it," William Bywater, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, exclaimed.

Barbara Dudley, executive director of the environmental group Greenpeace, called it "a pale shade of green window dressing."

The fact is that the side agreements have little to do with protecting workers or natural

resources. Capitalists in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, as in other countries, cannot be counted on to safeguard on-the-job protection for workers or prevent the ruination of the environment. Prodded by stepped-up competition in the world market, they, in fact, are driven to bolstering sagging profit rates by cutting corners on job safety and environmental protection, just as they press for wage cuts. Working conditions and environmental destruction are going to get worse in all three countries whether or not NAFTA — with or without side agreements — is approved.

The reason Washington pressed for the side accords was to have more pretexts for challenging trading practices of capitalists in both Canada and Mexico than were in the original agreement.

Moreover, disputing trade activities on the grounds that they harm the environment or violate protection for workers can be used demagogically by the employers in this country to win broader public support in their conflicts with competitors in other countries.

NAFTA is not about free trade

The side agreements underscore the fact that NAFTA, far from being a "free trade" agreement, is chock full of protectionist conditions, limitations, and restrictions. "Any agreement whose printing requires two volumes weighing nearly six pounds can't truly be regarded as a free-trade pact," Craig Stock, Knight-Ridder news service correspondent, noted. "And that's before the ad-



Garment worker in Mexico. Labor officialdom's protectionist stance in the debate on North American trade accord pits U.S., Canadian, and Mexican toilers against each other.

dition of side agreements on environmental and labor standards."

Washington's aggressive push for the supplementary accords is a preview, not of increasing trade harmony, but of mounting conflict among capitalists in the three countries as pressures to get a competitive edge increase. Since the U.S.-Canada "free trade" pact went into effect Jan. 1, 1989, for example, there have been bitter disputes over beer, grain, and wood product imports between the two countries.

Opposition to NAFTA is coming from capitalists that will be harmed by lifting certain trade barriers, the labor officialdom, environmental groups, and ultraright and fascist-type figures.

While mainstream conservatives like the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* and syndicated columnist George Will are stumping for NAFTA, billionaire Ross Perot and incipient fascists such as columnist Patrick Buchanan and the followers of Lyndon LaRouche are campaigning against it.

Buchanan, who produced two columns denouncing NAFTA in the August 11 and 21 issues of the *New York Post*, linked the trade pact to his dislike for immigration from Mexico. "NAFTA," he declared, "is the economic equivalent of 40 million Mexicans, whose average wage is \$60 a week, pouring across the border to compete for American jobs."

Top AFL-CIO officials and executive bodies of state and local unions have made opposition to NAFTA their number one campaign. They argue that adoption of NAFTA will lead to a massive transfer of jobs from the United States to Mexico. Defeating NAFTA is presented as a necessity to safeguard jobs for

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Mandela blasts S. Africa gov't for violence

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela has continued to speak out and campaign against the wave of violence in South Africa, which has dramatically increased over the past two months.

At least 900 people have been killed in political violence since early July, when multi-party negotiations set April 27, 1994, as the date for South Africa's first one-person, one-vote elections. Nearly half have died in the Black townships surrounding Johannesburg.

In response to an August 22 massacre of 12 Black workers at Scaw Metals, a steel mill in Germiston nine miles southeast of Johannesburg, Mandela blasted the white minority government for not having the will or desire to end the violence.

"It is clear the government has either lost control of the security forces or elements in the security forces are doing what the government wants them to do," stated Mandela. "It is clear there are elements determined to derail the peace process. We must expect this to continue until a new, democratic, and legitimate government is in place."

The ANC leader said that the existing white-led security forces regard Blacks in the townships as the enemy and "not human beings to be protected." The ANC has called for the creation of a multiparty peacekeeping force to replace the current South African security forces. The ruling National Party government of F. W. de Klerk insists that the government-controlled security forces must remain in charge.

Meanwhile, an independent commission appointed by the ANC to investigate charges of human rights abuses in ANC military camps in Angola and Zambia in the 1970s and 1980s issued its report August 23. The 180-page document details some instances of beatings, torture, and killings of detainees.

The report "has made a devastating attack on the ANC for the abuses in our camps while in exile," stated Mandela, who helped set up the independent commission after an internal ANC panel substantiated allegations of abuse, which were first publicly aired by some returning exiles in late 1991.

'We have nothing to hide'

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa announced that the organization's National Executive Committee would meet to formulate a response to the report and decide what disciplinary action should be taken.

"It takes courage to take the country into your confidence," said Mandela. "The ANC has confidence in the people of South Africa. We have placed that report before the people for them to pass judgement. . . . We have nothing to hide."

The ANC leader also accused the South African government of hiding its human rights violations and demanded that these also be made public. Last November, de Klerk ordered Gen. Pierre Steyn to review the activities of the government's military intelligence division after the Goldstone Commission investigating political violence revealed evidence of a campaign of harassment and violence directed against the ANC.

"I personally have asked for this report," stated Mandela, "but Mr. de Klerk has refused to let me see it."

During the three decades that the ANC was banned in South Africa, the apartheid regime was involved in torturing captured ANC members and assassinating prominent anti-apartheid activists.

In mid-August the 70,000 member South African Democratic Teachers' Union began a nationwide strike demanding a 20 percent wage increase and a halt to teacher layoffs. "Johannesburg Radio South Africa" re-

ported August 18 that the strike is "snowballing with 100 percent stayaway in some areas."

In other news, the annual report released by the South African Reserve Bank August 23 declared that after four years of recession 46 percent of the country's labor force was either totally unemployed or involved in extremely low-paid activities in the "informal sector," such as street hawking.

U.S. planes bomb Iraq

BY HILDA CUZCO

In one of the most serious attacks since Washington invaded Iraq in 1991, U.S. warplanes bombed targets in the northern part of the country August 9.

Cluster bombs were dropped on what Washington claimed was an Iraqi air defense battery five miles west of Mosul. Two F-15E fighter bombers also dropped four 500-pound laser-guided bombs on the same site.

In Baghdad, Foreign Minister Mohamed Said al-Sahaf described the raid as "vicious aggression." Iraqi officials said that one of its soldiers and a civilian had been wounded during the raid.

According to a Pentagon spokesperson there have been 20 attacks against Iraqi missile sites and anti-aircraft batteries in the past eight months alone.

The United States and its French and British allies have imposed "no-fly zones" over northern and southern areas of Iraq. They've threatened to shoot down any Iraqi plane flying over this section of their country.

Washington claims that Iraq provoked these attacks by what the *Washington Post* described as "painting the aircraft with fire control radars, or getting off a few bursts of

anti-aircraft fire."

In July, U.S. officials admitted that navy and air force pilots fired missiles at Iraqi anti-aircraft radar position in southern Iraq in the mistaken belief that the Iraqis were preparing to shoot.

In late June U.S. warships fired Tomahawk cruise missiles at Baghdad, Iraq's capital city. Three missiles landed in residential areas killing eight civilians and injuring 20. President Bill Clinton claimed this attack was in a retaliation for Baghdad's alleged plot to assassinate former president George Bush during his visit to Kuwait in April.

Meanwhile, the United Nations economic embargo of Iraq imposed in August 1990 continues to affect the poorest areas in Iraq the most with mounting food shortages and lack of medicines. Deputy Health Minister Chawky Sabri Morcos stated that doctors are forced "to practice unethical triage, only treating the worst cases."

Industry Minister Amir Hammuda al-Sadi said that although 90 percent of the factories damaged during the Gulf War had been repaired, most operate at only 10-50 percent of capacity due to the shortage of imported raw materials and the inability to export.

Framed-up unionist remains politically active behind bars

BY NAOMI CRAINE

(Sixth in a series)

"Most people look at prisoners as scum of the earth. But we're almost all working-class people, human beings with an interest in fighting for human rights. We have common interests and the only way we're going to protect our rights is by our actions and our unity."

This is how Mark Curtis began to explain what a socialist worker does behind bars.

Curtis, a young union activist and member of the Socialist Workers Party in Des Moines, Iowa, was framed up by the police in 1988 on false charges of sexual assault and burglary. At the time, he was involved in protesting the arrest of 17 coworkers in an immigration raid at the meat-packing plant where he worked.

Earlier articles in this series explained what happened the night of Curtis's arrest, the beating he received at the hands of the Des Moines police, how he was denied a fair trial, and the political circumstances surrounding the case. In September 1988 he was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in prison.

Sitting in the visiting yard of the John Bennett unit of the state penitentiary in Ft. Madison, Iowa, Curtis described the many people he has met in prison over the last five years.

"I've met meat packers and truck drivers, some who've been involved in union fights," he said. "There are veterans from [the U.S. wars in] Panama and Vietnam, and many people who've been touched by the civil rights movement. I met one guy who had fled the regime in El Salvador. He actually got his case overturned, because the trial was conducted in English — a language he didn't know."

Curtis explained one of the biggest challenges prisoners face is that "we have to keep in contact with the outside."

Attempts to isolate prisoners

This isn't easy. The prison system is designed to cut inmates off from the rest of the world and discourage them from looking beyond the prison walls to other struggles.

Curtis ran into some of the hundreds of rules and regulations used to accomplish this soon after his conviction, when he was sent to the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa.

The prison administration there refused to allow Curtis, who is proficient in Spanish as well as English, to receive literature and letters in languages other than English. A subscription to the Spanish-language socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* was denied. A Spanish/English dictionary sent by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, a group formed immediately after Curtis's arrest to fight against the frame-up, was also rejected.

"It wasn't just me — they were denying other people that kind of thing too," Curtis noted. "One guy from Cambodia was trying to get letters from his family, and they wouldn't let him receive them."

The defense committee helped mount a campaign against this rule. The prison warden was flooded with hundreds of letters

protesting the denial. The fight was covered in various Iowa newspapers, and eventually the administration backed off and allowed Curtis to receive the literature.

"But they were still denying others their rights," he said. "Other inmates used my protest letters, and many won their cases." When he returned to the prison in Anamosa a couple years later, however, Curtis noted that the authorities had "gone back to their old ways."

"They have so many rules to prevent prisoners from sharing books, passing a newspaper around, or sharing other things. One guy got in trouble for having a copy of the *Militant* that wasn't his."

Participating in the labor movement

From within the prison walls, Curtis has "tried to participate in different battles in the class struggle," mostly through the mail. The jailed unionist has sent letters of support to machinists on strike against Eastern Airlines, British coal miners, the United Farm Workers of Washington State, striking steelworkers at Trinity Industries in Bessemer, Alabama, and others.

He has also written to victims of police brutality and political prisoners around the world, including to Rodney King, Native American activist Leonard Peltier, and fighters for Irish independence. "Me and another inmate wrote to Tim Anderson," Curtis said. Anderson is a political activist and supporter of Aboriginal rights in Australia who was framed up on murder charges.

"And I've been sent letters from prisoners in Turkey, Arizona, Texas, New Jersey, and many other places," he added. "I'm not allowed to receive those, I just get a notice from the mail room that they came." Prison authorities make sure that inmates from different institutions and parts of the world cannot communicate with each other.

Visits with other political fighters are a big part of how Curtis keeps in touch with the rest of the world. Last year, for example, he met with Andile Yawa, a leader of the African National Congress Youth League. "That visit was a big thing. Other inmates asked me to pass along questions about the struggle in South Africa, and some still ask me what's happening there."

A visit from James Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president in the last election, drew interest from other prisoners as well.

"The weekly meeting I have with members of the SWP branch in Des Moines is probably the most important," Curtis said. "We always include an educational discussion, usually on an article out of the *Militant*. And we discuss what else is happening in politics, as well as my defense campaign." Curtis is currently one of the chairpeople of the party's election campaign in Iowa.

Curtis described a typical day for him in prison: "I work full time in the printshop here" for about 50 cents an hour. "After work I exercise, spend time talking with people, have dinner. In the evening I do a lot of reading. And I set aside time to study Spanish."



Mark Curtis at 1987 rally in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in support of United Food and Commercial Workers union at John Morell packinghouse. Curtis has fought to stay politically active in prison, including supporting labor struggles.

He pointed to how Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, James P. Cannon, and other revolutionary leaders who have gone to prison used that time to study and learn. "They're good examples of what to do in prison," he said. "That's why the fight for literature is so important."

Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization

Soon after his incarceration, Curtis joined the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization in Anamosa, a group of "inmates interested in the civil rights movement and fighting for better conditions in prison," as he put it. He was elected secretary of the group until prison authorities revoked that position from him.

Curtis described the first meeting of the organization he attended in January 1989. "They had an open microphone. The bombing of Libya [by the U.S. military] had happened not long before. So I spoke about that, about how Martin Luther King had spoken against the U.S. war in Vietnam and about how the fight against racism has to be tied to events in the world. I got a very good response."

The group brought in outside speakers on different topics and kept a library of political books. One order of books from Pathfinder Press was held up by the prison administration. After a lot of protests, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization was able to win their release. "The books by Malcolm X and Thomas Sankara were popular," Curtis said, "and so were Marx and Engels. The copy of the *Communist Manifesto* was checked out a lot."

A few months after the group won the books, the prison administration decided to transfer Curtis to the prison in Fort Madison because, one prison report said, he was building "a power base." This was after he, with the help of other inmates, waged an unsuccessful fight against a disciplinary report for supposedly betting on the Super Bowl. He was also written up for spitting on the pavement during a basketball game.

"It was their admission that they couldn't stop me from talking to people and influencing them," he commented.

Curtis was sent back to Anamosa in August 1991. That time he and three other prisoners started a study group on socialism. "We started with the *Communist Manifesto*," he said. "We scrounged up three copies to share, and took turns leading the class." Before they got a chance to read more books, however, Curtis was transferred back to Fort Madison.

Discussions about world politics

Prisoners have the same kinds of discussions about politics and world events as workers in a packinghouse or auto factory, Curtis noted. Leading up to the Gulf War, for instance, "there was a lot of sentiment against the buildup." Several inmates signed a letter to the *Des Moines Register* opposing the war moves. Once the bombing started, though, most prisoners shifted to a position of support, if grudging, for the operation.

The Pathfinder book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* "really helped," Curtis said. "One prisoner who had read it began to argue with another who supported the war. 'Hey, you've got to read this. We're being pushed into cheerleading something we shouldn't.'"

There has been discussion on the U.S. government's embargo against Cuba as well. Like growing numbers of people throughout the United States, more prisoners are expressing the view that the embargo should end. "There's one guy who describes himself as a conservative and doesn't like the revolution, but he really thinks the embargo is wrong," Curtis reported. "People ask me questions about Cuba — 'Do people have freedom to express themselves? What are prisons like there? Why do people come here from Cuba?'"

Over the last five years, Curtis has written in the *Militant* about many of the discussions and struggles at the prisons where he's been. He and John Flowers, who is Sioux, wrote about the fight of Native American inmates in Anamosa to be allowed to practice their religion and culture.

He has contributed book reviews and articles on various social issues as well. Two years ago, Curtis and Rodney Palmer, another inmate at Fort Madison, coauthored an article for the *Militant* condemning the government's chipping away at the right of women to choose abortion. "He approached me about doing the article, because it was an issue he felt strongly about. It reflects the authority the *Militant* has — a lot of people read it."

'I'm very optimistic'

The other prisoners at Fort Madison have various views about Curtis's defense campaign. "A lot of people are interested. They like to see someone fighting back against the type of railroad that happened to me," he said. "When I won my lawsuit against the cops who beat me, they really liked that."

"Not everyone supports me, because of the nature of the [sexual abuse] charge. There are people who believe whatever the state says someone did. And some people don't like me being a communist," he added.

"But most people judge you by what you do — if you take the inmates' side, join in fights, and stand up for what you believe, people respect you."

Referring to his struggle for justice, Curtis said, "I'm very optimistic because of all the people supporting my fight from around the world."

"No amount of pressure or threats will make me give up this fight," he concluded. "I haven't been worn down and I'm more confident than ever that I'll leave here stronger than when I came in."

(To be continued)

The first five parts of this series appeared in the April 19, May 3, May 17, June 7, and June 28 issues of the *Militant*. They can be ordered for \$1.50 each from the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Mark Curtis Defense Committee

Literature available from the

New! Sticker. "Justice for Mark Curtis — Parole Now!" One for 25 cents/five for \$1.

"Parole Now! for Mark Curtis" leaflet. Single copies free, including copies that can be used for reproduction. Available in English and Spanish.

Who is Mark Curtis? The basic informational flier on Curtis's fight for justice. Single copies free, including copies that can be used for reproduction. Available in English, Spanish, and French.

The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis. Pamphlet. \$2.

Freedom and Justice for Mark Curtis: An Answer to a Slander Campaign. Pamphlet. \$2.

The Frame-up of Mark Curtis. 49-minute video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. \$15.

For information or to order: Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311. (515) 246-1695.



Mark Curtis should 'get paroled now!'

Letters from around the world demand Iowa prison authorities release unionist

Mark Curtis, a unionist and political activist, was the target of a police frame-up and beating in Des Moines, Iowa. He was convicted on false charges of sexual assault and burglary in September 1988 and is currently serving a 25-year sentence. Since his arrest, thousands of workers, farmers, students, and fighters for democratic rights around the world have demanded justice for Curtis.

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee have undertaken a Parole Now! campaign, launched in June, to demand his release.

Below are excerpts from several letters from the dozens received so far urging that Curtis be released on parole. To send a letter urging parole for Curtis, write the Iowa State Board of Parole at: Capitol Annex, 523 East 12th Street, Des Moines, IA 50319. Send copies to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at: P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311, or call (515) 264-1695; fax (515) 243-9869.

* * *

Coleman Young
Mayor, City of Detroit
Detroit, Michigan

For the third time I am writing to express interest and concern for the Mark Curtis case. As I have previously stated, it is my



Meat-packers and auto workers at a meeting of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, early August. The committee holds weekly meetings where working people and youth from the Des Moines area come to discuss the defense of the framed-up unionist and work to get out support materials.

hope that you will review the Curtis Record and grant him parole. It is my understanding that despite his exemplary prison record and the outpouring of support he has received he still faces several years in prison without

your intervention.

I believe that a careful review of his life prior to incarceration, his behavior in prison and the support he will receive upon release indicates that he is an ex-

California governor attacks immigrants

Continued from front page

MALDEF and dozens of other organizations and individuals held a series of press conferences in California August 17 to denounce Wilson's open letter to Clinton. The letter, published as a full-page ad in some daily newspapers, urged the federal government to take steps to restore "reason, integrity, and fairness to our immigration policy, and control of our borders to the people of the United States."

Wilson's proposals, sent "on behalf of the people of California," include:

- Revising the U.S. constitution to "deny citizenship to children born in the U.S. to illegal immigrant parents."

- Repealing federal regulations that "make illegal immigrants eligible for health, education, and other benefits."

- Creation of a "legal resident eligibility card that would be required as proof of eligibility for all legal residents who seek such benefits."

Clinton responded that the government must "show some more discipline" in regards to what it considers "illegal" immigration into the United States.

Bipartisan assault on immigrant rights

The proposals are part of the bipartisan assault on the rights and social wage of working people, taking special aim at the section of the working class in the weakest position to defend itself — immigrants. They come on the heels of the congressional passage of an austerity budget that includes cuts of \$88 billion in entitlement programs such as Social Security, Medicaid, and Medicare.

Wilson also got some wind in his sails by Washington's highly publicized frame-up campaign against a number of Palestinian, Egyptian, and Sudanese workers charged in the World Trade Center bombing in New York and the recent deportations of hundreds of Chinese refugees who were stranded in ships off the coast of California. Clinton has pressed for changes in immigration law that would institute "summary exclusion," denying immigrants the right to due process and legal protections.

In his letter to the president Wilson says that "massive illegal immigration across our land border with Mexico" is a result of the "giant magnet of federal incentives" and he attempts to pit U.S. citizens against the immigrant population.

Citing figures for expenditures on emergency medical services, education, and imprisoning of immigrants, Wilson claims the costs "have effectively compelled the denial of needed services to legal residents." He blames failures to implement programs for youth and the elderly, to improve education-

al facilities, and to address other social ills on the "harmful impact of heavy illegal immigration. These inequities are so outrageous that they simply cannot be tolerated," the governor's letter says.

Immigrant rights groups respond

In an "Open Letter to Governor Pete Wilson," immigrant rights organizations and other defenders of democratic rights countered that the governor should no longer "blame immigrants, whether undocumented or legal, for its economic problems. The Latino and immigrant communities of California have endured this frustration and nativist sentiment before. Our collective memory is short, but we must not forget the darker chapters in California and United States history, when Latinos and immigrants were made scapegoats for poor economic and social periods in our history."

U.S. laws say that those in life-threatening situations and women about to give birth must be accepted at medical institutions. In addition, children are allowed to attend school while appeals and other immigration hearings are under way.

Clinton said he opposed changing the Constitution, and that Wilson's proposals to deny all emergency medical care do not take into account that "it is probably in everyone's interest" to treat people who have communicable diseases. He claimed "just letting people die on the street" was something "none of us would tolerate."

Acknowledging the "Big Brother" aspect of a national identification card, Clinton said the measure is nonetheless being examined as part of the health care reform package being put together under the direction of his wife Hillary Rodham Clinton. This is the first admission that a tamper-proof "health security" card would be linked to a national identification card.

'Immigration Stabilization Act of 1993'

Wilson's proposals, have already been introduced in the form of legislation in the U.S. Congress. Democratic senator Harry Reid of Nevada put forward a bill in early August 'called the "Immigration Stabilization Act of 1993."

In addition to incorporating Wilson's Clinton's measures, the legislation would reduce annual legal immigration from 800,000 to 300,000; reform asylum laws to prevent people from entering the country under "bogus" asylum requests; and increase the border patrol from 5,000 to 9,900.

Asserting that immigrants are automatically entitled to "welfare and free medical care," Reid said his bill would keep "free-loaders and scam artists from around the

world" out of the country.

Another debate broke out in Washington, D.C., as part of the campaign for the September 14 election for city council chairperson.

Wilson's proposals, and treatment by the city's cops of the immigrant population, was a prominent concern among participants in a candidates forum sponsored by the Latino Civil Rights Task Force.

Asked if they favored allowing noncitizens to vote in school board and other elections, the four Democratic candidates either answered in the negative or said voting should be allowed in only the most minor elections.

Socialist Workers candidate Emily Fitzsimmons, however, took a different tack.

"The assault on immigrants rights has nothing to do with halting immigration into this country," she said. "The wealthy owners of industry and agricultural businesses reap superprofits off of immigrant labor. These measures seek to criminalize immigrants even more — and to make them victims of chauvinist and racist attacks."

"Their aim is to try and insure that immigrant workers don't fight to become more involved in union struggles, social struggles, and in battles for their rights," the socialist candidate said. "They hope to sow deeper divisions within the working class to sap our fighting potential and weaken our organizations."

"Immigrants should not only be allowed to vote," Fitzsimmons said. The Socialist Workers Campaign "calls for opening the borders and granting citizenship rights to all."

"The wealthy owners of the banks, mines, mills, and vast tracts of agricultural land consider this to be their country, not ours. Working people and youth — whether born in the United States or immigrant — are all considered by those who rule this country to be 'aliens.' The protections against the ravages of the market system that we have fought for — Social Security, unemployment compensation, health care, and other measures — are seen by the employers as 'outrageously unfair' in the words of Governor Wilson."

Fitzsimmons, an aircraft cleaner at United Airlines, said the "crushing debt burden forced on semicolonial countries, and the conditions of underdevelopment imposed by imperialism, are the reasons why millions flee. They follow the road of the wealth that was stolen from them," she said. "The wealth of their labor fill the coffers of the banks and corporations on Wall Street."

"Rejecting the immigrant-bashing, demanding cancellation of the Third World debt, and joining in common struggles is the road forward to unify working people in face of the world economic crisis," she said.

cellent candidate for parole. I believe his request deserves your careful consideration.

Carmen Bozas Andersson
Maria Hamberg
Members, Local 4, Swedish
Foodworkers Union,
Stockholm, Sweden

We are workers at a meat-processing plant in Stockholm and members of the Swedish Foodworkers Union. We write you concerning the Mark Curtis case. Our opinion is, after following this case for some years, that it is dreadful that Mark Curtis is still kept locked up inside prison. It is soon 5 years he has been forced to spend there, accused and convicted for something which has not been proven he has done. Curtis has not committed any crime, but is still denied parole. We ask you to please give him an early parole hearing, and that he get paroled now!

Mary Rees
Coordinator, Metrowest
Abortion Rights Coalition

George Rees
Engineer

Natick, Massachusetts

We are writing to urge you to grant parole to Mark Curtis. He has completed his time in prison on the 3rd degree sexual assault charge. Mark Curtis has been a model prisoner and deserves parole.

Nik. Gavras
General Secretary,
Athens Labour Center,
General Confederation of
Greek Workers
Athens, Greece

Mark Curtis's real crime was that he was an active trade union fighter that was in the middle of a serious struggle to win solidarity for his immigrant co-workers from El Salvador and Mexico at the Swift Meat Packing factory where he worked.

Victimizations of this kind are nothing new for the workers movement. Whenever working people stand up to the bosses or their government, especially in periods of economic and social crisis, they get framed up and victimized. Mark Curtis is another one of the growing list of such victimized fighters in this world. But our fighters will be defended.

We demand the immediate release of Mark Curtis. This is something that is within the power of the Iowa State Parole Board since he has already served more years in prison than the average person convicted of the same charges.

Maire Leadbeater
Regional Authority Councillor
Auckland, New Zealand

I have been an active member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament for most of the last 30 years, and I take a close interest in international issues of peace and justice.

From this perspective I continue to follow with great interest the case of Mark Curtis, and to read the material produced both by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and also some of the material produced by those who have been campaigning in opposition to Mark's release.

If I were in Mark's shoes I would not wish to accept a parole condition that required me to undertake a course entitled "Sex Offenders Treatment Programme" which is predicated on the admission of guilt. I admire Mark's integrity and refusal to take an expedient action to secure his own freedom. Neither Mark nor any other person should be pressured in this unjust way to admit guilt.

Black farmers meet, discuss fight against massive loss of land

BY JOSÉ ALVARADO

EPES, Alabama — More than 200 farmers who are Black along with others, primarily from the South, gathered here August 20-21 for the 26th annual meeting of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. Participants discussed the fight to prevent the mounting loss of land by Black farmers, marketing problems, and challenges facing rural women.

Of the 23,000 members of the federation, 10,000 are small family farmers, most of whom are Black. These farmers own less than 50 acres and plant 2-20 acres of peas, okra, greens, and other produce crops, which they haul to the market in big cities.

Farmers came to the conference from South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Kentucky, and Missouri.

The biggest problem facing these farmers is the loss of land. According to the annual report distributed by the federation, there were more than a million Black farmers owning 15 million acres in 1910. In 1985 less than 50,000 Black farmers owned fewer than 4 million acres.

The report stated that by 1978 the rate of land loss for Blacks increased 57.3 percent — two and a half times the rate of loss for white farmers. Between 1982 and 1987 the number of Black-operated farms declined 30.9 percent compared to 6.6 percent for white farmers.

Today, 23,000 Black farmers own 2.2 million acres. According to federation executive director Ralph Paige, land is being lost at a rate of 1,000 acres per day. At that rate Black farmers in the United States will be nonexistent by the year 2000.

Since 1967 the federation has been locked in a struggle to help Black farmers market their produce and assist in land

retention.

Answering to criticism that the federation relies heavily on grants, John Zippert, director of programs for the federation, said, "The grant-seeking philosophy simply reflects the reality of what it takes to help very poor people."

Through technical assistance, education, and marketing the federation aims at making the farmers' cooperatives self-sustaining. "But we must be honest in saying that the amount of assistance needed to overcome years of neglect and discrimination is considerable," Zippert said.

FHA vicious against farmers

The Farmers Home Administration (FHA), the federal agency primarily charged with "aiding" Black and other limited-income family farmers, is vicious when it comes to processing loans. "The FHA is indifferent to the seasonal schedule of a farmer," said James Mays, a working farmer from Georgia. "Loans that were applied for in the fall for planting early the following year wouldn't be processed until the next summer." This sends farmers scrambling for money in order to get the crop in on time.

Mays is left with 350 acres but, like hundreds of other farmers in the South, he was devastated by the drought in 1983. He was unable to pay off the loans owed to the FHA and is to date paying on those loans with his job as a construction worker.

Some farmers said the FHA appraised Black farm lands at a lower value. In addition, Black farmers were not allowed to include alternate crops such as vegetables or raising feeder pigs, goats, or cattle in their farm plans. Black farmers are asked for huge collateral on loans, mortgaging all of their land to acquire a small amount of additional land thus placing all of their holdings in



In September 1992, Black farmers organized a caravan to Washington, D.C., to protest the devastating loss of their farmlands across the South drawing support on their way through the Carolinas and Virginia.

jeopardy.

Paul Alexander, a tobacco farmer from Kentucky, lost two farms to the FHA after the drought in 1983.

Along with an operations loan, he had mortgaged his 99-acre farm to finance building a house and barn on that farm.

Alexander said he applied to the FHA to restructure his debt. This was a normal course of action, considering that the farm was still working and producing livestock on it. The restructuring application forced Alexander to idle his operations without any attempt by FHA agents to work something out. The agency later called in the deed on the properties. The farms were eventually sold and Alexander ended up buying one of his own farms back — the one without his newly built home.

Protest in Washington, D.C.

In September 1992 the federation organized a 26-car caravan of Black farmers and Native American ranchers and farmers to Washington, D.C., organized "to protest the loss of land by people of color." The farmers rallied at the U.S. capital and then marched to the entrance of the United States Depart-

ment of Agriculture (USDA) offices, which were locked and heavily guarded. There they spoke out against the USDA's discriminatory policies.

It was with this backdrop that Secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy addressed the gathering. "I may not be the cavalry but help has arrived. The last elections were for change," he said. The newly appointed secretary promised to make the USDA "farmer friendly." He reported that all farm foreclosures not in litigation have been suspended.

But he refrained from addressing the concern of many farmers that they need to be fully compensated for the devastation caused by recent floods.

Other guest speakers at the conference included a delegation of striking coal miners from the United Mine Workers of America. (See article on this page.)

Kate Kaku, a steelworker in Chicago and leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, also addressed the gathering. Curtis is a unionist and political activist who was framed up by the police in Des Moines, Iowa. He is currently serving a 25-year sentence on false charges of sexual assault and burglary.

"Working people and farmers have to stand together against the assault on our living standards, our right to stay on the land, and our democratic rights," she said. "Mark's fight, like yours, is a fight for justice for all of us," Kaku, who is Curtis's wife, added.

Woodrow Keon, chairman of the meeting and federation board of directors president, said after Kaku spoke, "Listening to Ms. Kaku, I remember when the FBI had trumped up charges against us, because we were doing the right thing only too well."

Miners win solidarity at farmers' conference

BY MARY ZINS

MARISSA, Illinois — "Just as you farmers are fighting to stay on the land, we miners are fighting to keep the coal lands union," said United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) striker George Fleming as he addressed the Federation of Southern Cooperatives conference in Epes, Alabama, August 21.

Seventeen thousand UMWA members are on strike in seven states fighting for a contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Associations (BCOA).

"Our struggle is the same," the striker said. "The farmers who work the land, the miners who mine the coal, the workers in the factories. We can't let the corporations divide us. We've got to stand together." Fleming invited the farmers to attend the Evansville, Indiana, Labor Day parade and rally September 6, which will focus on support to the miners' strike.

The next day John Zippert from the federation spoke to 100 workers at a meeting to organize support for the national coal strike at Beville State Community College in Walker County, Alabama. "Farmers are fighting some of the same battles you are fighting," he stated. "And some of the same multinational companies fighting against you are fighting the farmers. We'll be bringing a truckload of fresh produce to Evansville," he said to applause.

Fleming and three other strikers from Indiana's Peabody and Ziegler mines came to Alabama especially for the farmers' conference. They joined Sonny Smith and Mike Blair from UMWA Local 9152 at the Ziegler 11 mine in Coulterville, Illinois. The miners are on the speaking tour in the Birmingham area.

The tour is sponsored by UMWA District 20 and supported by the Jefferson County and Walker County labor councils. Smith and Blair are visiting mine portals throughout Alabama, raising the issues in the strike at bathhouse meetings, and taking up collections for the strike relief fund.

The Alabama state AFL-CIO sent a letter to all affiliates encouraging unions to sup-

port the strike and inviting the UMWA members to union meetings.

International Executive Board member Bill Brumfield from Illinois explained, "It means a lot to get these speaking engagements. We can't compete with the coal companies in the media. It's through workers that we're able to get our message out. Come visit our strike headquarters and picket lines. We're there 24 hours a day, seven days a week."

Miners are planning to march in Labor Day celebrations throughout the coal fields.

UMWA Region III director John Cox says that the Evansville Labor Day activities will include contingents of miners from Indiana, Illinois, western Kentucky, and Alabama. Other unions are invited to attend and show their support for the mine workers.

A bus with UMWA president Richard Trumka, vice-president Cecil Roberts, and secretary-treasurer Jerry Jones will leave Washington, D.C., stopping for rallies in the different strike areas. An all-day picnic and rally is scheduled September 4 beginning at 9:30 a.m. at Camp Muffley near Morgantown, West Virginia.

A September 6 gathering in Bristol, Virginia, which is being widely built in coal-mining areas of the state, is slated to begin at 10:00 a.m. in Sugar Hollow Park. A leaflet for the event — The "Freedom Fighters 2nd Annual Labor Day Picnic" invites "all unions of Southwest Virginia, Northeast Tennessee, and Eastern Kentucky" to participate.

In recent years the coal operators have shut down union mines and opened up new nonunion ones. In 1988, the BCOA agreed that three out of five jobs at new mines would go to laid-off UMWA members from that company. To circumvent this contract provision, BCOA companies open up mines under a different name, claiming the new mine has no relation to the BCOA company.

Al Dunning, UMWA Local 1148 recording secretary here, explained, "There's one thing that can settle this strike. The companies can give us the contract provisions we

seek. They're trying to bust the unions. Without these provisions in the contract, it's just a piece of paper. There will be no jobs and no union."

In northern West Virginia striking miners are shutting down nonunion mines a shift at a time when they learn that these mines are filling orders for struck BCOA mines. On August 20, 100 miners stopped production at the Laurita Excavating, Inc. mine; on August 16, 300 miners blocked entrances for three hours at the Patriot Mining Co. strip mine; on August 9, 70 miners stopped production at Anker Energy's Philippi Development Corp. mine.

Strikers have also moved to prevent Peabody from producing coal at the Federal No. 2 mine in Blacksburg, West Virginia. Seventy-five miners blocked the entrance to the mine for three hours August 18 to stop a convoy of trucks led by a truck carrying cots and mattresses. Larry Knisell, president of UMWA Local 1570, told the *Dominion Post*, "When they start bringing beds into the mines, the next thing to come is scab labor."

Mary Zins is a laid-off coal miner and member of the United Transportation Union. Jeanne Fitzmaurice, a laid-off coal miner and member of United Steelworkers of America Local 7139 in Morgantown, West Virginia, contributed to this article.



Black farmers use the old system of washing kale in a bathtub, sort, and pack it before shipping it off.

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEW READERS

DRIVE GOALS: 3,000 MILITANT ■ 700 PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL ■ 1,200 NEW INTERNATIONAL

'Militant' supporters launch subscription drive

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Despite harassment by a gang of anti-abortion-rights thugs, one salesperson getting punched in the mouth, and the police shutting down their table, a team of *Militant* supporters in **Dublin, Ireland**, sold a dozen copies of the paper and \$45 worth of Pathfinder literature in one hour last week.

These supporters are among hundreds around the world who are fanning out around the world with the *Militant*, Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* beginning August 28. Trade unionists, farmers, students, and others are joining in an intensive 10-week campaign to win thousands of new readers to the socialist publications by November 6.

From **Washington, D.C.**, airline worker Emily Fitzsimmons reports that *Militant* supporters are participating in both a conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Baltimore, and the subsequent August 28 march in Washington commemorating the 1963 civil rights demonstration.

In **Miami**, Dan Fein reports that the *Militant's* coverage of the U.S.-Cuba Friendship enticed participants at a national conference of sociologists to snap up one subscription and 12 single copies of the paper, along with a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The first sales scoreboard, a weekly fea-

ture, will be printed in the next issue. Most supporters around the world are taking a few more days to adopt goals.

In **Stockholm, Sweden**, Catharina Tirsén reports that volunteers are working to get out the first issue of *New International* in Swedish, *Ny International*, by the September 9 opening of the Gothenburg book fair. This issue features the article, "Washington's Assault on Iraq — The Opening Guns of World War III." The magazine will be printed in Sweden. All the translation, typesetting, and copy editing has been done by workers in their spare time.

Supporters in Sweden who work in the metal, food, and transport industries were the first worldwide to adopt goals for sales to industrial union members.

Kristin Merriam in **Chicago** says that "a whole series of sales to steelworkers in the Chicago and northwest Indiana area are netting big results." Supporters sold all the papers they had — 40 *Militants* — at two union meetings that discussed a proposed contract with Bethlehem Steel. They also plan to travel to large college campuses in the region as schools open.

José Alvarado reported that 12 participants in the August 20-21 Federation of Southern Cooperatives conference in **Epes, Alabama**, bought copies of the *Militant* including one subscription.



Nell Wheeler (left), socialist candidate for Des Moines city council, selling *Militant* to pro-choice activist in Denver during recent mobilizations to defend abortion clinics.

Ontario gov't, unions agree on massive social cuts

BY SUSAN BERMAN

TORONTO — On August 2, the Ontario New Democratic Party (NDP) government announced agreement on imposing the most massive cuts in social programs, wages, and working conditions on working people in Canadian history.

The government, headed by Premier Bob Rae, succeeded in getting both the majority of union negotiators and public sector employer groups to agree to cuts in wages and social spending of \$1.99 billion. This includes cutting health care by \$470 million, community services by \$10 million, education by \$425 million, and universities by \$90 million.

This directly affects 900,000 workers whose contracts have been broken through this "social contract" deal. The agreements include wage freezes and rollbacks, forced unpaid days off, layoffs, and slashing pensions through wage reductions.

Teachers are expected to take 5.4 unpaid days off in the first year of the agreement with the work force being whittled down through attrition and some layoffs. Toronto Transit Commission workers, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, accepted a 4.4 percent wage cut.

These cuts will affect all working people, falling hardest on those most dependent on social services. Today Canada's unemployment rate is 11.6 percent. In Ontario it stands at 11.2 percent, where one out of every nine Ontario residents depends on welfare. In the Toronto area, 162,000 people depend on the meager subsidies available through area food banks.

As part of social service cutbacks, as much as \$40 million worth of medical services will no longer be covered by the Ontario Health Insurance Plan. The government is stripping 140,000 people of all health coverage, including refugees, foreign students, and those here on federal government permits.

Services like garbage collection, transit service, day-care facilities, park maintenance, psychiatric and other health and welfare services to 4 million people in the metro Toronto region are already being reduced.

Instead of simply legislating the cuts, the New Democratic Party government attempted to use its special relationship to the unions as a social democratic party to get the union officials on board to negotiate concessions and have the unions take responsibility for them.

Premier Bob Rae campaigned to win support for these cuts, including speaking at conventions of the Canadian Autoworkers and United Food and Commercial Workers unions where he argued that it was time for government workers to "share the pain" with private sector workers already hit hard

by the economic crisis.

Public sector unions and employers had until August 1 to negotiate sectoral agreements with the government. Any sector that didn't voluntarily submit a proposal would have an automatic three-year wage freeze, layoffs, and 12 unpaid days off imposed on them.

Despite cries of outrage by union officials — including at one point demonstratively tearing up the government proposals before television cameras — they share a common framework with the government. They agree that working people have to take responsibility for the government deficit by rooting out waste and accepting some sacrifices. Union leaders only protested the scope of the attacks under the legislation, and the Rae government's determination to tear up existing collective agreements.

In the end, the majority of union leaders, including Liz Barkley, head of the Ontario Secondary Schools Teachers' Federation, who was one of the most visible opponents of the social contract legislation, signed deals by the August 1 deadline, arguing that "we did the best we could for our members."

Detroit jury finds cops guilty of murder charges

Continued from front page

flashlights after stopping his car in a working-class neighborhood in this city's southwest side last November.

Budzyn, Nevers and Lessnau were fired from the police department shortly after Green's death. Charges of involuntary manslaughter were dropped against Sgt. Freddie Douglas, the supervisor on the scene of Green's murder. He was also dismissed from the police force and now faces a trial on a misdemeanor charge of willful neglect of duty. No charges were ever filed against the several other cops who were present at Green's death.

Juror Kyrn Worthy said Budzyn's statements at the trial were particularly unbelievable. Budzyn testified that he never struck Green and that he did not see Nevers or any other cops strike any blows.

After the verdicts were announced, Green's family members expressed satisfaction.

"I was surprised," said Green's father, Jesse Green, Jr. "By them being police officers. I thought they would have got off on voluntary manslaughter or something like that. I wasn't expecting them to find the police officers that way. I feel that justice was done."

Sherry Green, one of the victim's sisters,

We lessened their pain as much as we could."

"No one is happy with giving away their money," said Art Patrick, head of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 113. "But I think they realize that this is the least hit that can be made, especially when you compare it to other deals."

A small group of union officials, including members of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union and the Canadian Union of Public Employees, refused to make a deal, pointing to the experience of other unions that have signed concession contracts only to have the bosses demand more.

The cutbacks in public services have precipitated a big discussion in the labor movement on its relationship to the New Democratic Party, which was founded as a union-based party in 1961. On the eve of a federal election, NDP support has fallen to an all-time low of 8 percent nationally.

Several large union locals have disaffiliated from the NDP. According to a recent poll in the *Toronto Star*, 49 percent of the population doesn't believe the NDP represents labor, 64 percent among union members. Another 51 percent no longer believe

the NDP represents the interests of the poor.

"The employers and their governments, including the New Democratic Party in Ontario, are trying to make working people pay more deeply for the crisis capitalism has handed us," stated Tony DeFelice, a machinist who is the Communist League candidate in the upcoming federal elections.

"They appeal to our sense of fairness by saying we should share the sacrifice with the employers to help them out of their crisis," he continued. "But it's working people, not the billionaire and millionaire families that own the banks, mine, mills, and factories, are bearing the brunt of this crisis."

"Workers learned the hard way, in the early 1980s, that once we give up concessions without a fight, the employers will come back for more," he said. "We should follow the example of gold miners in Yellowknife and coal miners in the United States who are striking to defend their unions and standard of living."

Susan Berman is a member of Canadian Autoworkers Local 1285 at Chrysler and a Communist League candidate in the upcoming federal election.

said she was disappointed with Lessnau's verdict, but had expected Nevers's and Budzyn's convictions. "We're satisfied so far until they get sentenced," she said. The murder convictions carry a mandatory prison sentence with a maximum of life.

Throughout the day of the verdict, working people, young people, ministers, and others gathered at the site of Green's death, where a memorial has been kept up.

Someone brought a portable TV, and cheers and discussions broke out after the verdicts were read.

In the weeks leading up to the verdict, police department and government officials went on a campaign of intimidation. They invited the press to demonstrations of riot control training and announced plans for occupying the streets in case of protests against the jury's decision. The day the verdict was announced, however, police pledged to stay far from the site of Green's murder, and parked their cars several blocks away.

"I felt, to a certain extent, that justice was done," said Leonard Goggans, a 30-year-old steelworker who went down to the site after work, adding that Lessnau should not have been acquitted.

Goggans said he went to the site because "I knew if anything was going to happen, it was going to happen there. I wanted to be one of the people to say we must learn how to keep peace among ourselves. Not to riot. If we riot we only hurt ourselves."

At one point, the peaceful crowd at the site grew to about 300 people.

The demonstration remained calm and disciplined throughout.

Since Green's death, more working people and youth have been killed by Detroit police. Among them was José Ituralde, a Cuban immigrant who was shot six times by the cops in a largely Latino part of the southwest side of the city. Ituralde was unarmed. The two cops, who refused to cooperate with the police department's internal affairs investigation, face trial in September.

On July 8, a cop gunned down 16-year-old Gary Glenn in front of his own house, just a mile from where Green was slain. No charges have been brought against any cops in the case. A march of about 150 people went from the Green memorial to a similar one in a field across from Glenn's home on the spot where he was shot.

Rose Ana Berbeo is the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Detroit.

Defeat of 'Jim Crow' helped forge unity of working class

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Working people across the United States and around the world should join the thousands who gather in Washington, D.C., on August 28 in celebrating the 30th anniversary of the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom.

This quarter-million-strong march marked a climactic point in the civil rights movement. This massive, working-class struggle ultimately smashed the system of legal segregation and discrimination against Blacks that had existed in the southern United States since the late 1870s. It inspired the women's movement and the fight against the Vietnam War. Most importantly, it helped advance the unity and the striking power of the entire working class.

Today, working people face an unrelenting assault by the employers and their governments against our rights and standard of living.

The worldwide depression means that even in countries in recovery like the United States there is continued deterioration. There are 16.5 million workers unemployed in the United States. The burden falls even heavier on working people who are subject to racist discrimination. Official unemployment for Blacks is 12.9 percent — nearly double that of workers who are white.

By virtually every social yardstick — declining real wages, the millions of workers driven into poverty, the reemergence of diseases previously wiped out — conditions are deteriorating for working people. Moves by the Clinton administration to broaden the use of the death penalty as well as rampant cop brutality point to the rougher methods the bosses and their government are willing to use to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of working people.

Working-class fighters today — Black and white, men and women, immigrant and native-born — stand on the shoulders of the millions of people who participated in and supported the 1963 march on Washington and who smashed Jim Crow. These fighters, in turn, had learned from the experiences of other struggles in the United States and around the world.

In fact, plans for a march on Washington to oppose segregation were first discussed in 1941, in the middle of World War II. It took more than 20 years for the march to happen!

In the years during and following World War II massive independence struggles rocked the colonial world. Blacks and other fighters in the United States were inspired by these developments. Nelson Mandela, in his recent speech at the NAACP convention in Indianapolis pointed to the connection between the struggle against apartheid in

South Africa and the civil rights movement in the United States.

"Our own Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws of 1952 later found an echo in your own defiance of unjust laws and practices in this country as you launched the historic civil rights struggle to address the question of the freedom and human dignity of the black folk of the United States of America," he said, adding that the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision that made segregated public schools illegal "struck a mighty blow against the system of apartheid in South Africa."

Overthrow of Jim Crow

Under Jim Crow, Blacks were denied the most elementary rights of citizenship, including the right to vote. Lynchings were frequent. Blacks were trapped in the worst jobs with no union protection. Segregated and inferior public facilities were a central component of the Jim Crow system.

This brutal system was anti-working-class to the core. Imposed by violence and terror, Jim Crow's logical extension was apartheid — the complete subjugation of Blacks, with no right to own land and no right to compete as equals with other workers for jobs.

As long as Jim Crow segregation existed in the South, an insurmountable barrier existed to the unity of the toilers. Even many unions in the North were segregated. The conquest of the civil rights movement was to kill this barrier.

1963: a turning point

1963 was a turning point in the building of a massive civil rights movement capable of mobilizing tens of thousands in the North and South.

In the spring of 1963, the Black community in Birmingham, Alabama, escalated an ongoing drive against the racist practices of the city's downtown merchants. They demanded jobs be opened to them and that, as customers, they receive courteous, equal treatment. They also demanded fair employment practices by the city itself.

Birmingham is a major southern steel-producing city and coal-mining area. It is one of the most heavily unionized cities in the South and many of those who fought in the civil rights movement were union members.

Despite a massive cop presence, demonstrators marched through Birmingham, voicing their protest. The Black community was led by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, whose central leader was Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth.

Pitted against the community were cops



Bob Adelman

Demonstrations like one above in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 were central to the mass working-class movement that toppled Jim Crow and led to passage of the Voting Rights Act. The 1963 march on Washington was a milestone in that fight.

with dogs, commanded by Police Commissioner "Bull" Connor, a notorious racist.

Within a few days in early May, more than 2,000 civil rights fighters had been jailed. The jails were filled to overflowing. So instead of more mass arrests, the cops and their dogs moved savagely against the demonstrators.

Inaction by Kennedy administration

Meanwhile, the failure of the federal government to act in defense of the rights of Birmingham's Black community was creating a national scandal.

All the major civil rights groups of the time demanded of President John Kennedy a federal presence in Birmingham to protect the rights of people there. The NAACP called for demonstrations in northern cities in support of this demand. Tens of thousands turned out across the country.

The biggest demonstration of that time took place June 23 in Detroit, where more than 100,000 people, led by the militant wing of Detroit's Black leadership, marched, jamming the nine lanes of Woodward Avenue, the city's main thoroughfare.

The march on Washington two months later was the biggest national civil rights demonstration in U.S. history.

Labor movement and civil rights fight

Without shame, the top officials of the AFL-CIO refused to endorse the Washington action.

Many key leaders of the civil rights movement were Black unionists. E. D. Nixon, for example, the central organizer of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott launched in December 1955 to desegregate that city's public transportation system, was a veteran trade unionist.

Despite the AFL-CIO bureaucrats' treachery, a number of unions participated in the Washington march. Among the union banners in the demonstration were those of the United Steelworkers of America; United Auto Workers; National Maritime Union; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; International Union of Electrical Workers; and District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America.

Conflicting political perspectives

The major strength of the civil rights movement was its mass, direct-action character. With these working-class methods of struggle, hundreds of thousands of people mobilized in the streets, demanding "Freedom Now" from the government.

Within the movement, there were conflicting political perspectives over how to achieve the desired goals. Events at the 1963 march reflected tensions between the conservative leaderships of most of the civil rights organizations and a growing militant rank and file.

Leaders of the NAACP, Urban League, Congress on Racial Equality, and others advocated a perspective of reliance on and growing integration with the Democratic Party.

While the southern Democrats attacked and fought the civil rights movement, the northern Democrats, led by Kennedy, refused to use the power of the federal government to defend the rights of Blacks. As the movement grew and beat back the racist opposition in the South, the Democrats were forced to recognize that changes were coming whether they liked it or not. If they didn't

adapt, they risked a massive break from the capitalist parties in both the North and South.

Civil rights officials at the march worked overtime to prevent the demonstration from developing into a confrontation with the Democratic administration of Kennedy.

One result of the determination of march officials to shield Kennedy and the Democratic Party was the censoring of a speech by John Lewis, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). (For Lewis's entire, uncensored speech, see facing page.)

Many leaders of SNCC, as reflected in Lewis's speech, began to see the need for independent political action to advance the fight for Black rights.

Another development along these lines surfaced the morning of the march, when Black journalist William Worthy joined with others at a Washington, D.C., news conference calling for an all-Black Freedom Now Party.

The most important exception to the orientation to the Democratic party was Malcolm X, who refused to organize Blacks to support either the Democratic or Republican parties.

A year later, a grudging Congress was forced to make additions to civil rights statutes, and in 1965 enacted the Voting Rights Act.

Blacks and capitalist crisis

The victory over Jim Crow strengthened the entire working class politically, and the rulers have not been able to roll back this historic conquest. But while the struggles that erupt today will stand on the shoulders of the civil rights movement, they will not be repeats of those battles.

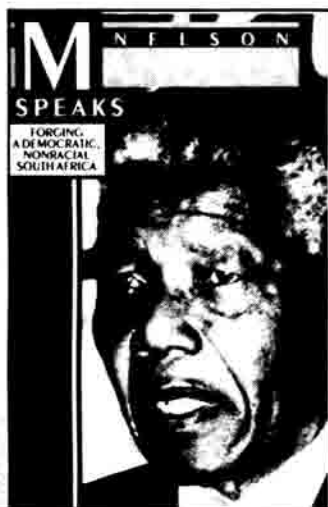
As a result of the victories that were won in the 1950s and 1960s, the class composition of the Black nationality is not the same as it was 30 years ago. Today, a substantial layer of Blacks are part of the petty bourgeoisie — businesspeople, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. This layer has been able to integrate itself into the broader middle class to a degree that would have been unthinkable to people of all classes and races in the United States at the time of the 1963 march.

At the same time, the large working-class majority of the Black nationality has borne the brunt of the sharply worsening economic and social conditions of working people over the past decade. Broad layers of workers who are Black have been driven onto the knife's edge of poverty and into social conditions that are even more segregated — by race and by class — than in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

While still concerned about racism and discrimination, Black professionals and businesspeople share the concerns and outlook of their white counterparts, including their fear and contempt for working people — Black or white. At the same time all working people — no matter what their skin color — share an interest in fighting against racism. A real fighting movement for Black rights will give a tremendous boost to the labor movement as a whole. And the struggles of working people to defend their unions, like the coal miners' strike today, can make a powerful contribution to the fight against racism.

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John Lewis's uncensored speech to '63 rally

'We can't depend on any party; both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed us'

During the 1960s, one of the most militant forces in the civil rights movement was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC was comprised mainly of young southern Black rights fighters who were in the forefront of the fight to smash official Jim Crow.

On the platform at the 1963 March on Washington rally was John Lewis, a central leader of SNCC.

But Lewis got to deliver only parts of his planned speech. In order to get the microphone at all, he was compelled to submit to political censorship by conservative elements among the platform officials who objected to his forthright attack on the two major parties.

The Militant alone, in its issue of Sept. 9, 1963, printed the complete, uncensored text of Lewis's speech.

Various reasons were given for this bureaucratic act. But, the *Militant* noted, the real objection "was to Lewis's blunt criticism of [President John] Kennedy and the Democratic Party. That is why the statement that the Republicans and Democrats had 'betrayed' was stricken out. . . ."

We believe Lewis's indictment of the two parties is as valid today as it was then. For the interest of today's readers, we again present the complete, uncensored text of that speech.

* * *

We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. For hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here. They have no money for their transportation, for they are receiving starvation wages — or no wages at all.

In good conscience, we cannot support the administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little, and too late. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality.

This bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses for engaging in peaceful demonstrations. This bill will not protect the citizens in Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear in a police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds of people who have been arrested on trumped-up charges. What about the three young men in Americus, Georgia, who face the death penalty for engaging in peaceful protest?

The voting section of this bill will not help thousands of Black citizens who want to vote. It will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama and Georgia, who are



John Lewis addressing 1963 march on Washington, D.C.

qualified to vote, but lack a sixth-grade education. "One man, one vote," is the African cry. It is ours, too. (It must be ours.)

People have been forced to leave their homes because they dared to exercise their right to register to vote. What is in the bill that will protect the homeless and starving people of this nation? What is there in this bill to insure the equality of a maid who earns \$5 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year?

For the first time in 100 years this nation is being awakened to the fact that segregation is evil and that it must be destroyed in all forms. Your presence today proves that you have been aroused to the point of action.

We are now involved in a serious revolution. This nation is still a place of cheap political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic, and social exploitation. What political leader here can stand up and say "My party is the party of principles"? The party of Kennedy is also the party of [Alabama senator James] Eastland. The party of [New York senator Jacob] Javits is also the party of [Arizona senator Barry] Goldwater. Where is our party?

In some parts of the South we work in the fields from sunup to sundown for \$12 a week. In Albany, Georgia, nine of our leaders have been indicted not by Dixiecrats, but

by the federal government for peaceful protest. But what did the federal government do when Albany's deputy sheriff beat attorney C. B. King and left him half-dead? What did the federal government do when local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King, and she lost her baby?

It seems to me that the Albany indictment is part of a conspiracy on the part of the federal government and local politicians in the interest of expediency.

Moreover, we have learned — and you should know — since we are here for jobs and freedom — that within the past 10 days a spokesman for the administration appeared in a secret session before the committee that's writing the civil rights bill and opposed and has almost killed a provision that would have guaranteed in voting suits, for the first time, a fair federal district judge. And, I might add, this administration's bill, or any other civil rights bill — as the 1960 civil rights act — will be totally worthless when administered by racist judges, many of whom have been consistently appointed by President Kennedy.

I want to know, which side is the federal government on?

The revolution is at hand, and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery. The nonviolent revolution is saying, "We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting for

hundreds of years. We will not wait for the president, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power, outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory." To those who have said, "Be patient and wait," we must say that, "Patience is a dirty and nasty word." We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our freedom, and we want it now. We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

We all recognize the fact that if any radical social, political, and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses, must bring them about. In the struggle we must seek more than more civil rights, we must work for the community of love, peace, and true brotherhood. Our minds, souls, and hearts cannot rest until freedom and justice exist for all the people.

The revolution is a serious one. Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the street and put it in the courts. Listen Mr. Kennedy; listen Mr. Congressmen; listen fellow citizens; the Black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom, and we must say to the politicians that there won't be a "cooling-off" period.

All of us must get in the revolution. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village, and every hamlet of this nation, until true freedom comes, until the revolution is complete. In the Delta of Mississippi, in southwest Georgia, in Alabama, Harlem, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and all over this nation. The Black masses are on the march!

We won't stop now. All of the forces of Eastland, [Mississippi governor Ross] Barnett, [Alabama governor George] Wallace, and [South Carolina senator Strom] Thurmond won't stop this revolution. The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own "scorched-earth" policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground — nonviolently. We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of democracy. We will make the action of the past few months look petty. And I say to you, WAKE UP AMERICA!

High court attacks voting rights in N. Carolina case

BY MARTY BOYERS

GREENSBORO, North Carolina — In late June the U.S. Supreme Court ordered a lower court to consider a challenge to North Carolina's 12th Congressional District, which had been drawn up to ensure a second majority-Black district in the state. In doing so, it opened the door to a major attack on victories won by the civil rights movement more than 20 years ago.

Writing for the majority in the 5-to-4 ruling, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor claimed the plan resembled "racial gerrymandering" and "bears an uncomfortable resemblance to political apartheid."

O'Connor cited the "bizarre" shape of the district, which connects Black communities in different cities, winding 160 miles. At places it is no wider than the width of the highway.

The decision did not entirely rule out the drawing of district maps to ensure Black representation. However, a lower court was ordered to consider the argument that this district denies equal protection to white voters. Carolina's 10 congressional districts prior to the 1990 census had all been majority white.

Bruce Kimball, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Greensboro, blasted the court's decision. "Protecting Black voting rights is not 'reverse discrimination,'" he said. "Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities, have been the victims of systematic discrimination, this racism runs the gamut from police violence to job discrimination to unequal education. It is part of a

divide-and-rule — or, rather, divide-and-exploit — strategy, which has served U.S. capitalism throughout its entire history.

"All workers and working farmers should defend equal voting rights for Blacks, including the right of Black communities to be represented in Congress. The principle of quotas to ensure equality must be enforced."

A 1991 redistricting plan by the North Carolina legislature had been rejected by the U.S. Justice Department on the grounds that it denied representation to Blacks. Only one congressional district was majority Black, although Blacks constitute 22 percent of the state's population. The Justice Department ordered the creation of a second majority-Black district.

State Republicans proposed a 200-mile-long district in the southern part of the state that would favor their electoral plans. Democrats proposed and passed an alternative 160-mile district going north and south through the center of the state. This plan protected the seats of Democratic representatives.

In the 1992 elections, Democrats who are Black were elected in both majority Black districts, becoming the first Blacks elected to Congress from North Carolina since 1901.

The Justice Department had reviewed North Carolina's reapportionment under the provisions of the Voting Rights Act. The act was originally passed in 1965 and renewed in 1970 and 1982.

This legislation was one of the central conquests of the civil rights movement, which overthrew the system of legal segregation in the South known as Jim Crow.

The passage of the act enabled the federal government to intervene to prevent gerrymandering and other practices that made it difficult or impossible for Blacks to vote, get on the ballot, or win election to public office. In many cases new districts were created breaking up a situation of whites-only control that had existed for almost a century. In other cases the same result has been accomplished by maintaining one city-wide district where each voter received several ballots.

The Voting Rights Act outlawed discrimination in voting requirements and provided for federal registrars to guarantee equal rights. It outlawed literacy tests, and, with later amendments, covered such issues as ballots in languages other than English.

Another provision called for Justice Department preapproval of all changes in election-related laws in areas where discrimination had occurred. This now covers nine southern states and parts of 13 others that include northern cities such as New York.

In the years following the passage of the Voting Rights Act, local governments came up with all kinds of ways to dodge the effects of the law. Such practices included abolishing elective offices altogether when Blacks had a chance of winning or withholding information necessary for voting or running

for office.

In 1969 the Supreme Court ruled that every action not prohibited in the Voting Rights Act would be covered by the law, which it said "should be given the broadest possible scope."

But in January 1992, the court voted to limit the scope of the act in a ruling based on a lawsuit filed by Black elected officials from Alabama. In two counties when Blacks were elected as commissioners, they found their principal function — to supervise and control funds for road maintenance, repair, and construction — had been abolished. The county engineer had taken responsibility for allocating funds. The Supreme Court upheld that arrangement.

The North Carolina attorney general's office announced August 6 its intention to defend the redistricting. It denied the accusation of racial gerrymandering, citing the need to "eradicate the effects of past discrimination."

Melvin Alston, vice-president of the state NAACP, called the Supreme Court decision "a step backwards for African-Americans in this country. . . . I don't think [the districts] can be drawn in any other way to ensure that African-Americans have a more-than-average chance of being elected."

Marty Boyers is a foundry worker at Briggs-Shaffner Co. in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and a member of United Auto Workers Local 1597.

Cuban diplomat speaks on U.S. embargo

BY AARON RUBY

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "The U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment is a real show of unity by all the groups in the United States in solidarity with Cuba," said Alfonso Fraga, head of the Cuban Interests Section to the United States, in an interview here. The Friendshipment solidarity caravan, made up of 300 volunteer drivers, recently delivered 100 tons of aid to Cuba to promote public opposition to Washington's trade embargo against that country.

"This is a dignified act by the people of the United States," he said. "The fact that U.S. citizens and Cuban-Americans are trying to get the blockade lifted and to send aid that the Cuban people need is very commendable. The Cuban people are very grateful."

Fraga, the former Cuban ambassador to Zimbabwe and to a number of eastern European countries, was named chief of the Interests Section in 1992. Since the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba in January 1961, communications are maintained through interests sections that each government maintains in the other's capital. The Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., is sponsored by the Swiss embassy.

In the July 29 interview, Fraga addressed the growing debate in the U.S. press and government circles on whether to lift the embargo against Cuba. Some major newspapers, including the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, have recently called on the U.S. government to move toward easing the trade ban.

"A logical attitude must be accepted, based on the fact that 30 years of U.S. policy toward Cuba has been a failure," Fraga said.

"What has been the main objective of the blockade?" he asked. "To destroy the Cuban revolution. But the Cuban revolution remains alive today. Therefore, a rational approach must be taken. Steps should be taken to end this unjust and criminal blockade against us."

Pointing to the increasing trade and investments in Cuba by capitalists from Canada, Spain, and elsewhere, Fraga said, "The only companies that are prevented from trading with Cuba by their own government

are U.S. companies."

This trade competition among major capitalist powers is a factor in the growing pressure on the U.S. rulers to lift the embargo against Cuba.

Clinton administration

Asked about the Clinton administration's stance toward Cuba, Fraga said, "The current U.S. administration has lessened the level of hostile rhetoric toward Cuba. Frankly, we don't expect any dramatic change in relations with the United States. The minimum we could hope for is a little realism and logic, which have been absent for a long time in the U.S. government's view of Cuba."

Recent articles in the U.S. press reported what was purported to be a new position by the Cuban government regarding Washington's claims that compensation for nationalized properties that had belonged to U.S. corporations be a part of any future discussions on normalization of relations between the two countries.

"Our position on this is not new," Fraga said. "This was much ado about nothing. Cuba has always been willing to sit down with the United States to discuss all our differences." Such a discussion would not just take up U.S. demands such as compensation, "but would also take up the blockade, among other questions," he noted.

"Cuba has always been willing to engage in discussion, to come to the negotiations table. It must be done on the basis of respect for our sovereignty, our independence, and nonintervention in our internal affairs. This is a principled position," Fraga emphasized.

The Clinton administration recently announced it would take some steps toward easing its restrictions on telephone communications by allowing the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (AT&T) to share with Cuba half the revenues from phone calls between the two countries. AT&T maintains limited service to Cuba, but, because of the embargo, Cuba's share of the proceeds have been placed in escrow. The Cuban telephone company is currently owed \$80 million. "So far, the U.S. government has not released the \$80 million," stated Fraga, who said they were



Militant/Richard Hazboun
Alfonso Fraga of Cuban Interests Section

waiting for future decisions from the U.S. government.

Notwithstanding the slight relaxing of tension by the U.S. government, the U.S. Interests Section in Havana on July 5 formally presented a note of protest to the Cuban government leveling accusations of acts of "barbarism." Washington claimed that on June 19 and June 26 Cuban forces had machine-gunned and thrown hand grenades at Cubans swimming to the U.S. military base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

The Cuban government strongly protested the note as slanderous and threatening. Cuban foreign minister Roberto Robaina invited the international press to interview those involved.

"The people who had supposedly been killed are in very good health," Fraga stated. "The U.S. government knows very well the Cuban authorities are incapable of what they accused us," he said.

The Cuban government points out that it is the illegal occupation of the base by U.S. military forces that is the source of the tensions in Guantánamo.

Decriminalization of dollar

Referring to recent economic measures

announced by the Cuban government, Fraga stated, "The decriminalization of possession of foreign currency in Cuba will adjust the law to what has been happening in practice. It doesn't make sense to maintain a law that prohibits the possession of foreign currency in Cuba when many Cubans have dollars. Tourism has made it easy to obtain foreign currency."

This and other new measures are intended to help confront Cuba's economic crisis, which was sparked by the collapse in trade with the former Soviet bloc and intensified by the U.S. embargo. With the development of the tourist industry, aimed at bringing in much-needed hard currency, a black market in dollars is rapidly growing.

"The decriminalization of the use of dollars is a way of trying to recover foreign currency and to use it to benefit all our people — to buy medicine, food, and fuel for our country," he said. Cubans with dollars will be able to use them at state-run stores to purchase scarce consumer goods.

"There is no question that this will have a social impact that we do not like," Fraga said, recognizing that the expanded use of dollars will lead to greater social inequalities, since not all Cubans will have access to dollars through contact with tourism, relatives in the United States, or travel abroad. "We don't like this. We have been fervent defenders of equality. Anything that will create inequalities we obviously don't like. I want to emphasize that we had no alternative but to apply these measures. At the same time we told our people that these are measures which will create some inequality among our people," Fraga stated.

"I think Cuba is currently in a survival phase, with three cardinal elements: defense of our homeland, defense of the Cuban revolution, and defense of the conquests of socialism," Fraga said, describing the critical juncture the Cuban people face in mobilizing to confront the economic difficulties.

"There should be no question that capitalism is not the solution for the problems of the world," Fraga emphasized. "The miserable life that one observes in the Third World is a clear demonstration that capitalism is not the solution."

In a related measure, the Cuban government announced it would allow virtually unrestricted travel to Cuba from the United States. The *Miami Herald* reported July 28 that United Airlines had filed to establish a route to Havana from Miami.

"The policy is aimed at increasing the number of Cubans who visit Cuba," said Fraga. "This is also a measure designed to obtain foreign currency."

Fraga pointed out that the biggest obstacle to freer travel between Cuba and the United States is the U.S. government. "According to an agreement between the two countries, the U.S. government was going to grant some 20,000 visas a year. In fact the actual number of visas granted has been in the range of 4,000," Fraga explained.

"Many of those who want to go to the United States — thinking that here they're going to live well and without any problems — see that they don't get a visa," Fraga said. The aim of this U.S. policy is to "encourage illegal departures from Cuba by these people, who are treated as political refugees" by Washington and the U.S. media.

Fraga said the diplomats in the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., have several tasks. In addition to communicating the position of the Cuban government to the U.S. government, they also speak across the United States.

"We strive to participate in any activity related to Cuba, as well as many not related to Cuba, that we are invited to. We give talks about the situation in Cuba, our achievements, the difficulties we face today, and about relations between Cuban and the United States."

"This can be developed much further," he added. "For example, there are many people in the United States interested in learning about Cuban culture, in having Cuban artists visit this country. Academic exchanges from both countries have taken place." The chief representative of the Cuban Interests Section expressed the hope that such exchanges of experiences will increase.

Blow dealt to U.S. embargo of Cuba

Continued from front page

agreement, adding, "My suffering was for a good cause. The community was very supportive from day one." Southall was on a sympathy hunger strike with others in San Francisco to call attention to the situation in Laredo, Texas.

As busloads of Cuba-bound activists drove through the U.S. customs gate at the border, reporters, supporters, and curious shoppers ran behind the bus all the way across the bridge into Mexico to join in the celebration and to witness any attempt to interfere with the passage. There was none.

Participants in the 1993 U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan have produced a 12-minute video of the successful breaking of the embargo. It is available by writing to Pastors for Peace at 331 17th Ave., SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414; Tel (612) 378-0062.

Robbie Scherr is a member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227 in Houston.



Militant/Linda Joyce
Vigil in solidarity with Friendshipment in Morgantown, West Virginia, August 5.

Hunger strikers, supporters arrive in Cuba

BY CHRIS HOEPPNER
AND JOE CALLAHAN

HAVANA, Cuba — Hundreds of Cubans cheering and chanting "Solidarity" welcomed 32 U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment hunger strikers and supporters at the José Martí International Airport here August 24. The caravan participants responded, "Cuba yes, blockade no."

The group arrived after public protests around the United States, as well as in Canada, Cuba, and Mexico pressured Washington to release the school bus seized from the caravan in Laredo, Texas, June 29. This school bus was the only vehicle that U.S. customs tried to prevent from being donated to a Cuban church as part of the humanitarian aid effort. Fourteen caravanistas who

were on the seized bus protested by organizing a hunger strike, which drew wide attention in the media.

Cuban president Fidel Castro greeted the group at the airport and inquired into the details of the hunger strikers' health. The caravan and hunger strike "sowed more seeds of solidarity," Castro said.

Rev. Lucius Walker, founder of Pastors for Peace, which spearheaded the caravan, said, "We in the United States must now redouble our efforts against the trade embargo. We cannot but take advantage of the momentum of the successful aid caravan and hunger strike to continue."

"Pastors for Peace is joining a challenge to the travel ban issued by Global Exchange in October, sponsoring a construction bri-

gade to Cuba in November, and proposing another Friendshipment caravan in February 1994," he said.

Rev. Raúl Suárez, director of the Martin Luther King Center in Havana, greeted the Friendshipment activists in Monterey, Mexico, and traveled to Cuba with them. Six Cuban doctors examined the 13 hunger strikers on the flight from Monterey to Havana and reported that all were in good health.

A public rally to greet the caravan activists is scheduled for the evening of August 25.

Chris Hoepfner, a hunger striker in Laredo, is the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle. Joe Callahan, a Friendshipment driver, is the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Minneapolis.

Judge and cops exercise bias in L.A. trial

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — In a brazen display of judicial bias, the presiding judge in the case of the two men charged in the beating of truck driver Reginald Denny castigated one of the defendants for granting a media interview in which he said he was innocent.

Judge John Ouderkirk charged that in giving the prison interview defendant Damien Williams was trying to "influence members of the public or the jury."

From day one of this case, the cops, the prosecutor, the media — and the court — have waged an unrelenting campaign to "influence" and inflame public opinion against the defendants.

In the state trial now under way, Williams and Henry Watson are charged with attempted murder in the beating of Denny and felonious assault in the beating of others.

The violent attacks they are charged with being involved in occurred during the first hours of the antipolice riot that erupted with the April 29, 1992, announcement that a state jury had acquitted the four cops who beat Rodney King.

Thousands of young people, overwhelmingly Black and Latino, poured into the streets in spontaneous outbursts of anger as soon as that verdict was announced. In the absence of any organized political mobilizations to protest the acquittal, some initial looting, breaking of glass windows, and torching of stores began to spread.

Random beatings and killings began to take place. Denny, who is white, was dragged from his truck and was severely beaten at a busy intersection in the Black community where Williams and Watson live. Denny was saved by four workers who are Black, who chased the gang members away from the scene, and then drove Denny's 18-wheel

truck through the pandemonium to the hospital. The police did not respond to calls by reporters on the scene to come to his rescue.

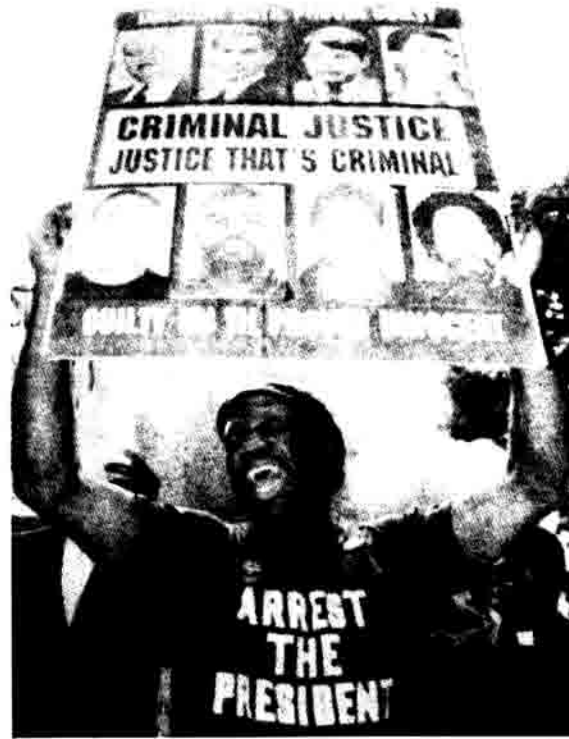
Williams is charged with hitting Denny in the head with a rock, and Watson with abetting what the prosecution calls an attempt at "premeditated murder."

The principal evidence against them disclosed so far is a videotape of the scene filmed from the medic helicopter some 70 feet above.

Williams has been in jail since his arrest 16 months ago, unable to raise bail of \$580,000. Watson's bail was set at \$500,000. He is now serving a two-year term for an alleged parole violation.

In his interview with TV Channel 13 and the *Los Angeles Times*, Williams denied he had thrown the brick at Denny. He said he has been made "a scapegoat for the whole rebellion."

Williams repudiated a videotaped statement he made, without a lawyer, immediately



Protester at Los Angeles court where two accused of beating truck driver are on trial.

after his arrest. There he said he had thrown the brick. His lawyer says he was tricked into making the statement by a promise of leniency.

The videotape reportedly opens with a cop telling Williams that anything he says may be used against him. He did not tell Williams he had the right to remain silent. Later, cops claimed they made this legally required statement during the opening five seconds of lead time on the tape.

A partial transcript of that video was leaked to the *Times*, which published excerpts on its front page.

Then, in a pretrial session, despite defense objections, Judge Ouderkirk permitted the videotape to be played in open court.

After obtaining intended media mileage from the "confession," the prosecution said it would not present it as evidence in the case.

From the outset, there has been significant public concern that Williams and Wat-

son will not get a fair trial because of a racist double standard of justice.

Double standard of justice

The most glaring example of such a double standard is the treatment of Williams and Watson compared to that given the cops who brutalized King.

The cops were released on bail ranging from \$5,000 to \$30,000. Bail for Williams and Watson was set so high it could not be met.

The two cops finally convicted in federal court of violating King's civil rights have been given slap-on-the-wrist sentences of 30 months each.

If convicted, Williams and Watson face life in prison.

While the prosecution and media walked on eggshells to ensure a "fair" trial for the cops, they have done the opposite with Williams and Watson.

In his prison interview, Williams pointed to the most blatant example of trial-by-media in this case.

The morning of his arrest, then-police chief Daryl Gates, decked out in a bullet-proof vest, led a contingent of 100 cops and FBI agents who surrounded the Williams home while TV cameras cranked away.

On screen, Gates was depicted as personally arresting Williams.

This was simply false, Williams said. He explained that he emerged from the house after an FBI agent phoned, said the house was surrounded, and ordered him out.

As Williams approached a police car, he said, Gates suddenly emerged and grabbed his shoulder.

Should 'Baby Jessica' have been returned to mother?

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Around the country people are debating the recent court decision returning "baby Jessica" to her birth parents in Iowa. The media repeatedly showed scenes of the crying child as she was taken from the home of Jan and Roberta DeBoer, who have been trying to adopt her for the past two and a half years against the wishes of the woman who gave birth to the girl.

Cara Clausen was 28 years old, single, and working in a shipping factory when she found out she was pregnant three years ago. Soon after the baby was born on Feb. 8, 1991, Clausen put her daughter up for adoption. Days later, through a private agency, the DeBoers, from Michigan, became legal custodians of the baby they named Jessica. They were informed that it would take six months for the adoption to be finalized.

Within days after the DeBoers picked up the baby, Cara told Dan Schmidt that he was the father of a baby she had given up for adoption. On March 6 — less than a month after

rounding Jessica is not the anguish of the DeBoers — who argue that they have cared for Jessica for two and a half years — but with Cara Clausen, the child she carried and bore, and the institution of adoption.

In today's world, adoption is a social necessity. Despite the fact that it is immersed in profit-making and that abuses against both children and parents do occur, there is a need for this institution to help children without care. The basic concept behind adoption is that society must find a way to provide care to all children lacking it. That's progressive. This is its starting point — not the "need" of adults such as the DeBoers to have a child.

Under adoption law, a woman has a period of time — in this case six months — after the baby is born to decide if she wants to put the child up for adoption. Cara Clausen did change her mind only weeks after the baby's birth. At this point the baby was no longer without care, and was no longer a candidate for adoption. She should have been immediately returned to Clausen.

Father's rights?

The December 1991 court decision, however, was not based on this straight-forward reasoning, but rather on the so-called rights of Dan Schmidt, the "biological father." This is a false and dangerous precedent.

"Fatherhood" is a social, not a biological relationship. It is not even possible to prove it was Schmidt's sperm that made Clausen pregnant!

Neither egg nor sperm can be the basis for deciding who is the "mother" or "father" of a child, or who has the right to bring the child up. There is only one criterion that conforms to the reality of the society we live in and the obligation of society to act in the best interests of the child. It is the woman who carries the pregnancy to term and gives birth to the baby who has the right and responsibility to raise the child — and the right to all the social benefits she needs to do so. As long as she accepts this responsibility, the only reason the state should intervene is if she is legally guilty of child abuse.

The argument that Cara or Dan Schmidt should raise the child because she is their "flesh and blood" should also be rejected. This notion simply comes from the ruling families who profit from our labor. Bloodline is of great importance to them in defining the line of inheritance for their wealth. This ruling-class ideology gets aped by the

working class, although it has no basis since we have no property to pass on to our offspring. The greatest victims of the drive to "continue the family name" are women and children.

Even a woman's right to raise her children is not solely determined by giving birth. A woman, for example, who gave a baby up for adoption to another woman five years ago has no right to regain custody of the child based on being the child's "real mother." In this case, the woman who adopted the child has become his or her "mother." She has taken responsibility and has the right to continue raising the child. The fact that she did not give birth to the child makes her no less "fit" to be a mother.

It is the rights of Cara Schmidt — the woman who carried the pregnancy for nine months; who gave birth to the baby; who said she wanted to care for the child *before the adoption was complete* — that are at issue in this case. Cara Schmidt has a biological, social, and emotional relationship to the child that is different from anyone else. Because of this, she has the right and responsibility of raising the child if she chooses. The minute she made her intentions known, the baby should have been returned to her.

Instead, the DeBoers went on a media campaign and contacted adoptive parents organizations across the country to garner support for their desire to keep Cara Schmidt's daughter. Six months later, when the court ordered Jessica returned, they appealed arguing that Dan Schmidt was an unfit parent. After winning the legal stay to keep the child

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AS I SEE IT

the baby's birth — she filed a motion to get her daughter back. Dan Schmidt did so as well. Shortly after they were married.

An Iowa court ordered genetic tests to determine if it was possible that Schmidt, who was not named as the father on the birth certificate, was the baby's father. Six months later, in December of 1991, the entire adoption proceedings were voided by the court on the basis that Dan Schmidt had never waived his parental rights.

Rather than relinquishing Jessica to the Schmidts as ordered by the court, the DeBoers were able to win a legal stay permitting them to keep her while they appealed the decision. When the Iowa Supreme Court upheld the lower court's decision, the DeBoers successfully moved the case to Michigan where they initially won custody. On July 1, 1993, Michigan's highest court ruled that it had no jurisdiction in the case, thereby upholding the Iowa ruling to return Jessica to the Schmidts.

I, like many other workers, have participated in the debate on this controversy. Some people have argued that Jessica should have been allowed to stay with the DeBoers. They are the only parents she has ever known, they say. She will be psychologically damaged by the sudden change in parents and homes and, besides, the DeBoers are better off financially, and can provide more opportunities for the child. Others argue in favor of the decision, defending the "rights" of the biological parents and the importance of Jessica's "flesh and blood" relationship with the Schmidts.

The issues raised in this debate are well worth looking at. They help to reveal the realities of the system we live under and the progress the working class has and has not yet made in advancing the rights of women and the care and treatment of children.

The starting point for understanding the controversy sur-

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by Cindy Jaquith

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Surrogate motherhood, women's rights, & the working class

Cindy Jaquith

Clinton's health-care proposals

Continued from front page

ute toward a medical coverage policy that the company would be required to provide to its employees.

According to his scheme, employers will pay 80 percent of the cost of the coverage, while workers will pay 20 percent. Clinton says a cap on employer contributions of 3.5 percent for small businesses and 7.5 percent for large ones will protect profits and jobs and that workers will not have to pay more than 2.4 percent of their income. The federal government would pick up the difference between the cost of the coverage and the employer and worker contributions.

Clinton does not explain how unemployed workers will be covered. Small farmers and others who are self-employed do not seem to be included in Clinton's plan for universal coverage either. Instead, they would be allowed to declare all medical expenses as tax deductible, instead of the 25 percent currently allowed.

Clinton is also considering a proposal to issue a "health security card" to U.S. citizens as a way of excluding undocumented immigrant workers from any health benefits. Administration officials admit that this may be unconstitutional. Civil liberties groups have argued that such cards would infringe on the right to privacy and facilitate greater government surveillance of individuals.

Medicaid, Medicare cuts planned

Clinton made clear in his speech to the Governors' Association that his proposals are aimed primarily at slashing federal spending for health care and destroying the few islands of health-care entitlements that working people in the United States have won.

Medicare, which provides health care for 35 million disabled and elderly people, and Medicaid, which provides medical care to poor families, would be cut by tens of billions of dollars a year. This is in addition to

the billions of dollars of cuts in these two programs that are already mandated by the new budget.

Clinton also says he will fight to bring the system of workmen's compensation — which entitles workers injured on the job to medical care and income compensation — into his so-called health-care reform. Workmen's compensation, like Medicaid and Medicare, was won by workers in the course of struggle. Unlike other "benefits" that must be fought for contract by contract and factory by factory, these entitlements are considered rights by most working people.

'No free lunch'

The Clinton plan is aimed in the opposite direction — at convincing workers, farmers, and others that good medical care is a privilege, not a right.

"There are a lot of people today that get a free ride out of the present system," Clinton told the Governors' Association. "I think every American should know that health care is not something paid for by the tooth fairy, that there is no free ride." Hillary Clinton, who headed her husband's Task Force on National Health Care Reform, made the same point even more bluntly in a speech to the Democratic Governors' Association in June. "There can't be any more free health care to which people feel they are entitled," she said.

In fact, none of Clinton's proposals for "universal health care" would even begin to go into effect until the spending cuts are complete. "Mr. Clinton made it plain that his effort would seek first to reduce health care costs by revamping the insurance system and reducing Government red tape," the *New York Times* reported August 17. "Only then, his advisors said, would the Government require all employers to provide coverage to their employees."

Devastating for small businesses

The Clinton administration's "health-care" proposals will come down especially hard on small businesses who do not have

the same resources to pay for medical coverage for their employees as large corporations. Already reeling under the impact of a worldwide economic crisis, many of these small shops and companies could be forced out of business.

National Federation of Independent Business vice-president John Motley described the administration's plan as "frightening." He predicted that thousands of small businesses will close and that fewer new businesses will be started. A statement issued by the organization said the proposals would drive many companies "right off a cliff."

Clinton's top health-care adviser, Ira Magaziner, admitted the White House had not yet decided whether so-called sin taxes on cigarettes and alcohol would be needed to provide for the costs of the plan. But he said the administration may need revenue "in the high single digits" of billions of dollars a year. If this were to be met through a cigarette tax alone, it would require raising the tax from 24 cents to \$1 a pack.



Militant/Angel Lariscy
A successful forum on abortion rights was held in Des Moines August 22 in spite of a picket line by Operation Rescue, an anti-abortion outfit. Dr. Herbert Remer, shown on placards of rightists, was one of the speakers.

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Should 'baby Jessica' have been returned to mother in Iowa?

Continued from Page 11

pending appeals, they argued Jessica should stay with them since they were the only parents she had ever known. Yes, the DeBoers are the only parents Jessica has had for the past two and a half years — a situation they created by putting their "need" for a child above that of the rights of the mother and the interests of the child itself.

It is the DeBoers and the courts — who created a media spectacle, which allowed this to go on for more than two years — who are responsible for any trauma suffered by Jessica.

Finally, the argument that the DeBoers can provide a better life for Jessica than the Schmidts must be rejected. It is true that middle-class parents have more resources to provide their children with better living con-

ditions, nutrition, medical care, education, etc. — that's life in class society. It seems apparent that the Schmidts — like most working-class parents — are willing to provide the best life they can for the child. And like most of us, they'll have a hard time. Is the solution to give our children away to the "better off," or, what is more common among us, to raise them to be one of the few to "make it" as doctors, lawyers, etc?

A more rational, humane, and workable approach is to fight for putting the onus on the government to guarantee that every child has protection and nurture — decent housing, health care, education, and living conditions. And this should extend to other dependents as well such as the sick and elderly. The struggle for such demands will strengthen and unify the working class.

Clinton seeks approval for NAFTA

Continued from Page 3

workers in the United States.

It is indisputable that NAFTA will open up increased profit-making opportunities for U.S. investments and trade in Mexico and that a thin stratum of Mexican workers, particularly those with more skills, as well as middle-class layers will benefit.

To focus a jobs campaign on preventing jobs of workers in the United States being transferred to workers in Mexico, however, has two main problems.

First it puts a "U.S. only" label on certain jobs and states that they aren't available for workers in Mexico or any other country. This can only lead to pitting workers from the two countries against each other and reinforcing chauvinist notions, thus undercutting prospects for international solidarity.

Second, labor officials fail to name the real source of joblessness in Canada (11.6 percent), United States (6.8 percent), and Mexico (18 percent), which is not primarily the transfer of jobs from one country to the other, but the growing stagnation of world trade, intensified competition, and the employers' drive to cut costs by laying off

hundreds of thousands of workers. By focusing on NAFTA as a bogeyman, the union tops cop out of the real fight for jobs that will be necessary whether or not NAFTA is approved.

Workers by the millions would respond to a full-press campaign to cut the workweek to 30 hours with no reduction in pay in order to spread the available work to more workers, and for a massive public works program. This effort — coupled with demands for affirmative action programs and for cancellation of Mexico's foreign debt that can unite working people — would inspire workers in Mexico and Canada to take up the same demands, and a united North American struggle for jobs could be waged.

The labor movement would advance immensely by focusing on a struggle to organize workers in unions on both sides of the border — north and south — rather than opposing NAFTA and siding with the protectionists among the millionaire ruling families.

In fact, any moves towards lifting restriction on trade and movement of workers across borders are to the advantage of the working class.

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SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St. Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Top this one, Bill — In Italy, the dead are no longer required to pay a \$50 annual health-care tax for the year in which they die. An official



Harry Ring

said the regulation requiring the posthumous payment had been unenforceable. She hoped that survivors and heirs would pay the tax anyway.

Besides, some dinosaurs are still around — An Israeli rabbinical

court warned a dairy company that it would lose its kosher endorsement unless it stopped dinosaurs on ads and packaging. A court spokesman said the claim that dinosaurs lived millions of years ago contradicted religious teaching that the earth is less than 6,000 years old.

Printed on recycled toilet tissue — "6 surefire ways to minimize restroom time... How to motivate workers without raising their pay... What to say to the 'big-mouth' employee who challenges your authority... 7 things you can do right now to prevent union organizing... How to avoid difficulties after a strike." — *Manager's Factomatic*, \$49.95.

Arm to the teeth — Recently, Public Broadcasting's Nightly Business Report focused on how to plan for financial disasters.

Still the land of opportunity — Arguing against a proposed Texas statute that would boost the minimum age for strippers and topless dancers from 17 to 21, a club operator declared: "We're giving [them] the opportunity to better themselves rather than work at McDonald's."

An example like him? — From San Juan, we received copies of an exchange between a 12-year-old there and President Clinton. She urged independence for Puerto Rico and world peace. He replied: "Thank

you for writing and letting me know how you feel. Vice President Gore and I are committed to making our world a cleaner and safer place for everyone... You can do your part by helping in your community and striving to be an example to others."

Role model — Stew Leonard, owner of Stew Leonard's Dairy in Connecticut, pleaded guilty to swindling the feds out of \$17.5 million in taxable income. Using a specially developed computer software system, Leonard doctored sales receipts, skimmed cash, and funneled money into a Caribbean vacation home. In 1991, the supermarket was nominated for a Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award.

Act now — A book of discount tickets for doughnut shops etc., included a \$25-discount coupon for New York Downtown Hospital Emergency Room. Good for visit if bill is paid in full at time of visit. ("Limit one per customer"). Plus: "FREE Early Warning Signs of Heart Attack Wallet Card."

Thought for the week — "It is hard to keep a young man focused on an infantry mission when he is soaked, hungry, and dog-tired. When that young man has a young wife or family at home without him, it is even tougher." — Former Marine officer John Luddy in support of the brief-lived policy banning married Marine recruits.

New Zealand worker framed up on child abuse

BY CARMEN BAIN

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — The conviction of child-care worker Peter Ellis June 5, on 16 charges of sexually abusing children in his care has sparked a public debate across New Zealand. Ellis was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

The Christchurch Civic Creche case began when Ellis was arrested March 31, 1992, on a charge of indecently assaulting a female child. Forty-five charges were subsequently laid against him. They included allegations that he forced children at the center to eat urine and feces, touched children in their anal and genital areas with needles, and put sticks in their anuses."

The police created a witchhunt atmosphere from the start. Allegations of "satanic rituals" involving snakes and Asian men, of children being hung from the ceiling in cages, and of child pornography rings appeared in the media.

Four women workers at the child-care center were arrested Oct. 1, 1992, and charged with child sex-abuse. These charges were thrown out of court March and April of this year.

Frank Haden described the Ellis conviction as "insupportable," in the June 13 *Sunday Times*.

"Christchurch is guilty of a gross miscarriage of justice," he said. "[The prosecution] produced not a shred of tangible evidence to take the matter beyond reasonable doubt. There was not just reasonable doubt about the claim; the doubt was colossal."

A June 23 feature article in the Christchurch *Press* on the videotaped interviews with children from the center conducted by Department of Social Welfare staff, said, "There were enough flaws in the interviews to prompt severe doubts."

The article said interviewers refused to accept a child's denial of abuse, there was an, "almost total lack of any challenge of inconsistencies, and impossibilities and contradictions in the children's accounts," and no questioning about the source of the children's information.

The women charged along with Ellis — Gaye Davidson, Marie Keys, Jan Buckingham, and Deborah Gillespie — have publicly spoken out in his defence, declaring their belief in his innocence. They are calling for a public inquiry to investigate the methods and procedures used by the police and Social Welfare Department in the case.

Debate on verdict

A number of parents with children at the center have publicly expressed their belief in the child-care workers' innocence and supported them through the court hearings. Other parents are convinced that Ellis sexually abused their children.

Minister of Police John Banks seized on the conviction of Ellis, who is bisexual, to attack a proposed amendment to the Human Rights bill that would be ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

"Surely decent New Zealanders have learnt from the appalling saga of the Christchurch Civic Creche," Banks declared in Parliament June 9. "I cannot for the life of me understand why parliamentarians are rushing to further liberalize unnatural behaviour with this misguided bill."

Parliament later approved this amendment and another one banning discrimination on the grounds of carrying disease-causing organisms (such as HIV or hepatitis).

The public debate over the Ellis verdict was further fueled when Detective Inspector Brian Pearce, who headed the police inquiry of the Civic Creche case, was interviewed on Television New Zealand's "Holmes" news program to answer criticisms of the police investigation by one of the women discharged.

Describing pornography as an insidious, addictive, evil drug, Pearce said, "I believe in a God who will not be mocked. And I believe this country is starting to reap the harvest of liberalism and of compromise and of double standards."



Joan Shields, Communist League 1992 mayoral candidate in Christchurch. Frame-up shows how "rulers can manipulate genuine and progressive sentiment [on child abuse] to chip away at democratic rights," she said.

During the Civic Creche investigation, Christchurch police seized about 2,000 allegedly pornographic videotapes in the course of raids on people who often had little or no connection to Ellis or the child-care center.

The implications of the Christchurch Civic Creche case and of Ellis' conviction were discussed at a recent Militant Labour Forum at the Pathfinder Press Bookshop here, attended by 38 people.

Acquitted child-care workers speak out

The four women who had been charged along with Ellis; Stephanie Hauiti, another former worker at the center; and Taffy Jones from Parents Against Injustice, an organization formed by people falsely accused of child sex-abuse, spoke on the panel. The meeting was chaired by Joan Shields, Communist League candidate for mayor of Christchurch in last year's local body elections.

"The prosecution's case against Ellis was based solely on stories elicited from very young children through repeated videotaped interviews by so-called 'experts' supplied by the Department of Social Welfare," Shields said in her opening remarks to the forum.

"Throughout the case, not one single piece of physical medical evidence was produced that could confirm a child's story, and not one corroborating witness could be found.

This is why we say a frame-up has occurred, Shields explained. "Frame-ups rest on making charges stick without presenting evidence or facts to substantiate them.

"Like anyone accused of a crime, Peter

Ellis should have had the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty beyond reasonable doubt," she continued. "Instead, the presumption of innocence was replaced with a trial of accusation."

Several of the former child-care workers on the panel explained that their experiences throughout the case had led them to understand that the police were not interested in justice.

Police not interested in truth

"The police set out not to investigate, but to prove [the allegations] right," Gillespie said. "It was guilty until proven guilty. [They were] not interested in the truth, or anything that supported us."

Throughout the trial, the cry "Believe the children" was raised by lawyers and witnesses for the prosecution.

Hauiti pointed out that the underlying thrust of the argument that "children don't lie" was to subordinate everyone else's rights and make it impossible to protect yourself.

"There is a good deal of legitimate public

concern on the issue of child abuse," Shields told the meeting.

"But the Christchurch Civic Creche case is a good example of the way our rulers can manipulate genuine and progressive sentiment in order to chip away at democratic rights and soften determination to uphold them.

"All the institutions of the state — the police, the courts, the Social Welfare Department and other government agencies were mobilized to carry this out," she said.

Rights and protections can never be secured by denying others their rights. "Allowing ourselves to be taken in by such divide-and-rule tactics weakens everyone's fight for a better society," she explained.

Carmen Bain is a member of the United Food, Beverage & General Workers Union at Independent Fisheries. Bain is the Communist League's candidate for Christchurch Central in this year's parliamentary elections.

—30 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



WASHINGTON, D.C., August 29 — The massiveness — a quarter of a million people is the best estimate — was the outstanding feature of yesterday's March for Jobs and Freedom. This was also the most important thing about the march. For both friend and foe were carefully watching to see in what numbers Negroes would come out. To the politicians, the top union brass, the liberals, the fence-sitters and to the white supremacists — indeed to all social and political realists, the march's size would be a gauge of whether the Freedom Now fight was still in its upsurge or beginning to subside.

A moment of general attention came when Martin Luther King was introduced and given a great ovation. Another dramatic moment was the reading of the speech of CORE National Director James Farmer, who is still in jail in Donaldsville, Louisiana.

A brief speech by Chairman John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was interrupted by applause a number of times because of its militant tone. He began, "We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. Remember there are thousands in the South who can't be here because they are working for starvation wages... We support the administration's civil-rights bill but we support it with grave misgivings. This bill will not protect the citizens of Denville from police-state rule. We can't vote for the party of Eastland or the party of Goldwater. When will we have a party of our own?"



September 4, 1943

Heartened by the Soviet victories and the militancy of the Italian people, the European

masses have resumed the struggle against their fascist oppressors with renewed intensity. The most important recent developments are the general strikes and demonstrations in Denmark, anti-war and anti-Nazi demonstrations in Bulgaria, and a growing tension within Germany which is reflected in the appointment of Heinrich Himmler, head of the Gestapo as Reich Minister of Interior.

In Denmark, the actions of the masses have shattered the Nazi propagated myth of Denmark as the "model protectorate." By August 22 the transport workers of Copenhagen were out on strike. The city of Odense was tied up by a general strike on August 25 with 5,000 workers parading through the streets. The harbor cities of Helsingor and Vyle were struck, tying up shipping and shipbuilding.

The death of King Boris, reported to have been assassinated, has set off great demonstrations in Bulgaria and a general strike, calling for peace, has broken out in Sofia and Central Bulgaria.

In Germany, the Nazi government, fearful of the signs of unrest among the masses, has appointed Heinrich Himmler Minister of the Interior, in an attempt to keep the German masses in line by naked police violence. A Swedish writer reports that "the civilian courage has increased as the people begin to feel that power is no longer securely held by the government."

Everywhere the mass sentiment against the fascists is mounting. Even the local police have been compelled to bow to it. In Norway, the Oslo chief of police was executed by the Nazis for refusing to carry out Nazi orders to arrest Norwegian women who refused to go to Germany to work.

Great strikes broke out in Holland in May, and continued resistance to the labor draft is reported in Belgium and France. In Hungary and Rumania the masses, following the example set by the Bulgarian neighbors, are demonstrating for the withdrawal of troops from the Russian front and against the Nazis and their local satellites.

Repeal the Hatch Act

A flagrant abuse of democratic rights is underway in the San Francisco Bay Area that the labor movement has a vital interest in combating. The perpetrator is the U.S. government.

The U.S. Navy has pressed the Office of Special Counsel, the investigative arm of the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), to launch an investigation against Milton Chee, an aircraft sheet metal mechanic and member of the International Association of Machinists at the Alameda Naval Aviation Depot.

Chee's crime? Running for office in a nonpartisan election as a socialist candidate. According to the government this is a violation of the Hatch Act and he could be fired.

The Hatch Act was passed in 1939 as part of a package of legislation to prepare the ground for Washington's entry into World War II.

As then President Franklin Roosevelt prepared for war against imperialist rivals abroad, he launched an assault on the working class at home. The aims were to gag opponents of his foreign policy and to prevent industrial disputes from escalating into work stoppages. Toward those ends, all agencies of government were mobilized for a crackdown on the more aggressive sections of organized labor.

On the industrial front, repressive measures were instituted through a presidential decree barring "strikes against the government." This proscription extended beyond public employees and Works Progress Administration workers. It was used to justify attacks on picket lines, generally through phony "government seizure" of struck facilities in private industry.

Vicious attacks followed on the political rights and civil liberties of militant workers, especially those opposed to Washington's foreign policy. They were subjected to extensive red-baiting as a propaganda cover against them.

An assortment of presidential orders and legislative measures served as weapons in the assault. Among these were the Hatch Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and the notorious Smith Act, which allowed the government to prosecute workers for their ideas. Labor's "friend" in the White House signed this latter thought-control instrument into law in June 1940, despite widespread protests from labor and civil liberties organizations.

Today, the Hatch Act prevents millions of workers on

government payrolls from "running for office" in "partisan" elections, or even "taking part in political campaigns."

This law is used by the government to victimize workers whose ideas and activities it disagrees with. The fact that the Navy told Chee that "circulation of political literature" was on the "contraband list" proves the point.

Enforcement of the reactionary legislation is arbitrary. A worker for the city of Winooski, Vermont, for example, was found in violation of the act in 1992 for running in an alderman's election where another candidate had the word "Democratic" listed next to his name on the ballot. The endorsement of one candidate by a party in a nonpartisan ballot made the election partisan, the court claimed. The worker was fired from his job. In other cases government employees who have run as candidates have not been victimized.

Washington maintains myriad spy agencies, loyalty oaths, and antidemocratic restrictions. The targets of all these programs are fighting workers and opponents of U.S. government policy.

The Socialist Workers Party, of which Chee is a member, won a lawsuit against the U.S. government in 1986. A federal judge declared that the government's 50-year spying and disruption program against the SWP was unconstitutional. The case was instrumental in bringing to light millions of secret government documents, revealing the depth of government spying and harassment on the labor, Black, women's, and antiwar movements.

As part of the suit, OPM official Gary McDaniel admitted that one division of the Office of Personnel Management alone conducts 250,000 investigations each year.

This is part of the totalitarian kernel of the U.S. government.

The interrogations of Chee about his election campaign have nothing to do with whether the San Francisco election was partisan. It has to do with the Navy's opposition to allowing Chee's antiwar, socialist views to be heard.

Every worker, political activist, and democratic-minded individual has a stake in demanding that the government cease its harassment campaign against Chee, and that the undemocratic Hatch Act be repealed.

No to religion in schools

Emboldened by federal court rulings that allow prayer in schools if it is initiated and led by students, rightists in Tennessee, Oklahoma, and elsewhere have seized the opening step up their assault on separation of church and state. A school board in Vista, California, recently voted to require the teaching of "biblical creationism" and weaken the teaching of evolution. This is the latest attempt to reimpose religion in the public schools.

Biological evolution is the scientific view that life has existed on earth for billions of years; that life forms evolved through a process of natural selection; and that human beings evolved from the primates. Almost all scientists regard biological evolution as an established fact.

There are a few pseudoscientists, however, pushing for teaching "creation science" in the schools alongside evolution. This is aimed at upholding the tenet of some Christian sects that the version of creation in the Bible's book of Genesis is accurate.

This battle is not new. In the 1920s, the governments of Tennessee, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Arkansas outlawed the teaching of evolution. In 1925 John Scopes was convicted in Tennessee of teaching evolution to his students. His conviction was overturned on technical grounds, and the publicity given the case widely discredited the anti-evolutionists' attempts to impose their religious doctrines. The Tennessee law remained on the books until 1967, and a similar Arkansas law was declared unconstitutional as late as 1968.

The foes of separation of church and state then shifted their ground to pushing "creation science."

The separation of church and state was a tremendous gain for the working class. Before this victory the church lived in feudal dependence on the state, and citizens lived in feudal dependence on the established church. Medieval inquisitorial laws were in existence and were applied, persecuting people for their belief or disbelief, violating human consciences, and linking cozy government jobs and government-derived incomes with the dispensation of this or that dope by the established church. Bishops, cardinals, and feudal lords punished the pursuit of scientific discoveries, holding down the quality of life for the vast majority.

Conquered as a result of the bourgeois democratic revolution that overthrew feudalism, separation of church and state was put into law in the United States in 1791 with the ratification of the Bill of Rights. These amendments to the U.S. constitution are the foundation of individual democratic and political rights. Working people must defend them in order to have political space in which to function.

The Union victory in the Civil War, which abolished slavery, marked the biggest advance for public education. But even after compulsory public education was won, local and state governments continued to promote religious instruction, Bible reading, and prayers in public schools. It wasn't until the organizing drives by millions of industrial workers, which led to the formation of the CIO in the 1930s, and the civil rights movement that eliminated Jim Crow segregation that big strides were made by the working class to bar the government from imposing religion in public schools.

As Arkansas American Civil Liberties Union executive director Rita Spillenger pointed out, it is absurd to think that students are leading the campaign to reimpose school prayer today. Attempts to weaken the separation of church and state grow out of the employers' drive to protect and fatten their profits during a worldwide capitalist economic crisis, at workers' expense.

Rightist forces take advantage of the rulers' offensive to push attacks on public education, assaults on women's rights, and erode the civil rights of gays. Rightist politician Patrick Buchanan complains, "We have let this country be driven to where the Ten Commandments cannot be posted in a public school."

Prayer in school has nothing to do with freedom of religion. The constitutional right to be free of government-imposed religion includes the right to privately finance and organize schools for religious instruction. The Bill of Rights also bars the imposition of religious beliefs on the secular public school system, and guarantees the right of teachers to present scientific facts, including biological evolution, as well as the right of students to study such important subjects.

Working people should oppose re-introduction of prayer, and the teaching of creationism in public schools.

California unionist

Continued from back page

and John McKee, chief shop steward of IAM Local 1584, joined him. Both released statements echoing Chee's call for an end to the investigation.

"The real issue here is not whether the Board of Supervisors election was partisan or nonpartisan," stated Chee.

"The reason I am being investigated is that I am a socialist working in a war industry who disagrees with the U.S. government," he continued. "The U.S. government wants to cut off workers in government service from the opportunity to discuss alternative political views of the important issues of war, economic depression, racism, and sexism that affect their lives."

"I chose to run for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors," he continued, "to draw attention to the deepening crisis of the world capitalist economy, the increasing number of U.S. military actions abroad from Iraq to Bosnia, the accelerating attacks on social programs and the continued assault on Black and minority rights."

Chee said he campaigned against the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba, for support to the democratic revolution in South Africa, and an end to the "shameful treatment of Haitian refugees and other immigrants" by Washington.

He emphasized that he is "not the only target of this attack."

"Censuring me is intended to intimidate other members of my union," Chee stated, "discourage union activity, and dampen political discussion on the job."

McKee said, "The International Association of Machinists has been against the Hatch Act for as long as I can remember."

"The IAM feels the Hatch [Act] has outlived its usefulness and it is used as a tool by management to harass and control the employees," he continued.

"I feel that this is a witch-hunt by the OSC and the Alameda Naval Air Station management, because he belongs to the Socialist Workers Party," explained McKee. "Management overlook[s] violations of the Hatch Act, but in turn, go after someone that they dislike because of his political views and associations."

The IAM representative pointed out that one worker ran for Congress as a Republican. "When management found out," he said, "they told him that he was violating the Hatch Act and that he would have to drop out of the race. Management did not turn it over to OSC."

McKee asked, "Why does the federal government only go after selective individuals?"

Handsher explained the government's victimization and entrapment ploy.

"Mr. Chee came to the attention of the special counsel only because his employer was upset at the content of Mr. Chee's political views," he said. "After Mr. Chee engaged coworkers in educational discussions regarding his views, the Department of the Navy at Alameda promulgated a rule that outlawed 'material of political nature' from the base."

"Although the term has never been defined, the Navy disciplined Chee for past transgressions, transferred him and turned his name over to the special counsel."

Handsher added that Chee, "Ran for Supervisor in what is by law a nonpartisan election."

The government's harassment campaign began more than a year ago. The aircraft sheet metal worker was detained and interrogated after work by Naval Intelligence and base security. He was questioned about distributing a Militant Labor Forum flier announcing a public free-speech meeting on the Middle East.

'Contraband list'

Over the next four months, management cited Chee with two letters of caution. The first included a "contraband list." "[C]irculation of political literature" was included among the items along with drugs, weapons, photographic equipment, and drug paraphernalia.

Union leaders were unaware of the existence of such a "contraband list" until Chee was accused of bringing contraband on the base. Local 1584 filed an unfair labor practices grievance for the use of the list against Chee.

After receiving the cautionary letters, the unionist was transferred first from his normal production job to another part of the plant and finally to a clerical job away from coworkers on the shop floor.

The job transfers and cautionary letters did not deter Chee from deciding to run for San Francisco Board of Supervisors. The Navy then referred his case to the OSC.

Significant news coverage

Chee's case has drawn significant news coverage in the Bay Area. The *Alameda Journal* and *Times Star*, read by many of his coworkers and fellow union members, published articles. The Asian-American media — electronic and print — that reported on the aircraft worker's election campaign, featured prominent coverage.

Asian Week, an English-language weekly with a circulation of 20-30,000 among the 28 nationalities that constitute the U.S. Asian-American community, featured a front-page story on the case.

Terence Hallinan, who won a Board of Supervisor's seat in the last election, told *Asian Week*, "The threatened prosecution of Milton Chee is ridiculous and a complete abuse of federal law."

San Francisco's Chinese-language *Sing Tao Daily* newspaper published an article. In addition, KTSF-26, the Bay Area Asian television station, covered the news conference and interviewed Chee.

The interest in the case and its outcome has prompted Naval Air Station management to include copies of media coverage in their daily circular to supervisors.

Alabama steelworkers fight for jobs of fired strikers

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

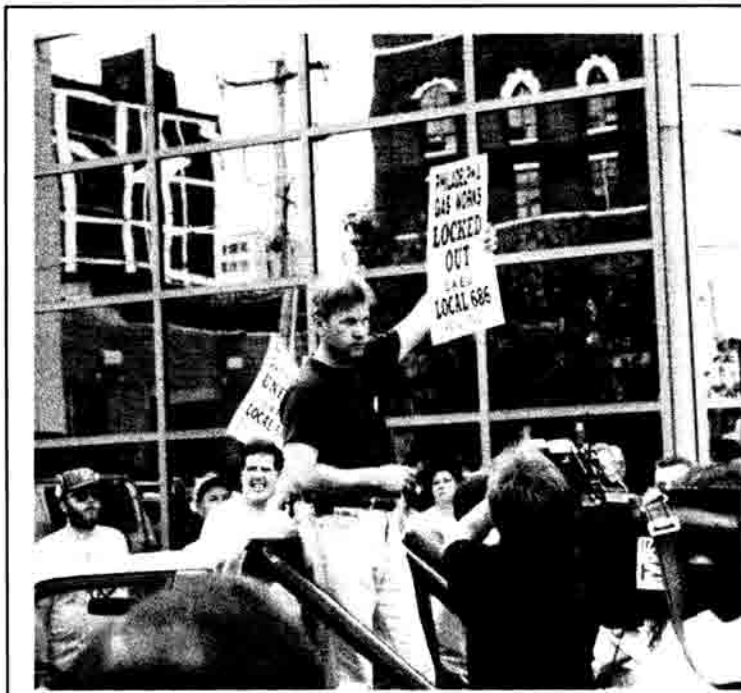
We invite you to contribute short items to this column for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 9226 launched a campaign to win back the jobs of 57 members fired during the eight-and-a-half-month strike

by company personnel and scabs during the strike. The union is seeking letters from supporters asking the district attorney to drop the charges. They are distributing stickers that say "Bring back the Trinity 57 — Drop the charges!"

Local 9226 recording secretary Pat Wallace, responding to the NLRB decision, said, "This is a way of busting the union. We will not let them get away with firing these men. It would be a threat to other unions and to anyone defending their rights."

Messages protesting the NLRB decision can be sent to: The General Counsel, Office of Appeals, NLRB, Washington, D.C. 20570 and should refer to Trinity Industries case #10-CA-26666. Letters asking that the



Workers at Philadelphia Gas Works struck August 6 to oppose cuts in wages and health benefits. Above, 1,000 members and supporters of Service Employees International Union Local 686 held a picket at the company's headquarters August 9.

ON THE PICKET LINE

against Trinity Industries. At the conclusion of the strike the 57 unionists filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) stating they had been unfairly discharged.

Region 10 of the NLRB upheld the firings. "The employer justifiably concluded that the 57 individuals... engaged in serious acts of misconduct during the course of the strike," the ruling said. The board reached this decision without hearing testimony from any of the unionists or their witnesses. The union is appealing the decision to the NLRB in Washington, D.C.

Since the NLRB decision, steelworkers have approached other unionists, elected officials, religious leaders, and community activists for support. The local is asking that letters be sent to the NLRB requesting that the unionists get a hearing and that the 57 be reinstated.

A number of the Trinity workers also face criminal charges brought

criminal charges be dropped can be sent to District Attorney Sam Russell, 306 Jefferson County Courthouse Annex, Bessemer, Alabama 35020. Copies of all letters should be sent to USWA Local 9226, 1919 7th Ave., Bessemer, Alabama 35020. □

Canada gold miners stand their ground

After almost 15 months, the strike against Royal Oak Mines in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, remains solid. The gold miners were locked out May 22, 1992.

The key issue in the strike is safety. The company began disciplining miners for reporting accidents and demanded serious limits on safety inspections in the mine.

Two-hundred forty workers are on strike, and 43 have crossed the picket line. In a recent vote organized by the Canadian Labor Relations Board (CLRB), 185 miners voted for the Canadian Association

of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW) and 160 for an association of replacement workers. The CLRB ruled that the replacement workers could vote and that their association was a bona fide union. CASAW has appealed both decisions. Some strikers have had to leave Yellowknife because of economic hardship.

Intense harassment of the strikers has come from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's (RCMP) investigation of an explosion in the mine last September, which killed nine replacement workers. The RCMP is treating the explosion as a homicide, but they have not revealed any evidence to substantiate the charge. They have interrogated strikers as well as their families and friends,

and subjected them to lie detector tests. The RCMP went to a number of union members' homes June 15, asking them questions about the explosion.

On Labor Day, the North West Territories Federation of Labour will organize a barbecue in solidarity with the strike.

Messages of support and donations can be sent to CASAW Local 4, Box 1628, Yellowknife, NWT, X1A 2P2. Tel: 403-873-4528 or fax 403-873-5174. □

Postal workers in Wales strike over forced shifts

Some 900 postal workers in Cardiff, South Wales, went on strike August 2, following the breakdown

of talks over shift patterns between the Post Office and the Union of Communications Workers. A 24-hour strike began at once. Workers then voted for an indefinite action.

Postal workers who now work a rotating shift, are being ordered to work permanent afternoon and night shifts. The union says this would put "severe strain" on the personal and family lives of union members. "Under the existing system," a union negotiator said, "you would work a 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. or a night shift only once every 3 weeks. With the new system you wouldn't get to see your children much."

Some 2,500 post boxes have been sealed, and over half a million letters are piled up awaiting delivery at the Royal Mail's Cardiff headquarters. Around 50 pickets are regularly on duty, day and night, at the two entrances to the main sorting office. Several pickets expressed concern at the compulsory nature of the proposed changes, and at the increased use of casual labour which would divide the workforce.

Postal workers in Bristol decided to ballot on strike action. At Oxford, and at the Paddington sorting office in London, postal workers decided to ballot on refusing to handle any work from Cardiff.

About 500 strikers and their supporters joined a march through Cardiff city center August 7. A rally was addressed by several speakers including member of Parliament Alan Michael and Tyrone O'Sullivan from the Tower Lodge of the National Union of Mineworkers. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Denise McInerney, member USWA Local 9226 in Bessemer, Alabama; Joe Young in Vancouver, British Columbia; Helen Wilkins, in Cardiff, Wales; and John Staggs in Philadelphia.

LETTERS

Coal miners strike

I read your *Militant* paper! I'm enclosing my opinion of the coal strike. I won't mention my name, because of conflict. Thank you for voicing opinions.

Remember no one is going to help the working class on job security but you, your local, or association. The working class must stick together. What is happening in the coal strike with the UMWA could be happening to you!

How secure is your job? Without locals, associations, or unions there is no job security.

An article was put in the *Dominion Post* by Eastern Associated Coal. It plainly states they don't want unionization. Eastern and other coal operators want scab mines. They're not concerned with mine safety. Just put that coal out. They're not concerned for the men and women who put their lives on the line.

A coal miner
West Virginia

Pro-choice

Enclosed is a check to renew my subscription to the *Militant*. San Jose was an exciting place to be during the Operation Rescue campaign in mid-July. OR claimed they were going to mobilize 3,500 people to come to San Jose to challenge two city ordinances: the "Bubble" ordinance which is supposed to protect women from being harassed, and antineighborhood-picketing ordinance which is supposed to prevent health care providers from being harassed in the neighborhoods where they live. Two weeks before the campaign, the "Pro-Choice" mayor of San Jose tried to pass an ordinance through

the City Council which would have made demonstrators pay for their arrests. The ordinance would have given the police the power to disperse any group of more than 20 people which they thought might be gathering for illegal purposes and if found guilty of failure to disperse, the people could be fined up to \$10,000. A number of community groups and unions mobilized to attend a city council meeting to defeat this ordinance. Operation Rescue made three serious attempts to close clinics. Each time they were out-mobilized and defeated by pro-choice clinic defenders.

Since their target week has ended, Operation Rescue has mobilized between 15 and 25 people at clinics and continued their harassment of women obtaining abortions. Pro-choice forces are still on the alert providing escort for women who have appointments.

Lenore Sheridan
San Jose, California

Pope's visit

All the news coverage of the pope's visit to Denver reminded me of some articles written for the *Militant* by James P. Cannon some forty years ago. Pope John Paul II, after being ferried around in grand style in a U.S. military helicopter, met with U.S. president Clinton and U.S. ambassador to the Vatican Ray Flynn.

After seeing Mark Curtis's review of Cannon's *Notebook of an Agitator* in the August 9 *Militant*, I started re-reading this book. In three articles written in 1951, Cannon takes up the question of state relations with the Vatican. He begins by explaining the importance of the first clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the doctrine of the separation

of church and state. "It means," Cannon asserted, "that all religions must operate on their own, that no church is entitled to a privileged position so far as the state is concerned..." He further maintained that the Catholic Church hierarchy "wants temporal as well as spiritual power. They claim the exclusive reservation of all places in heaven, but they want the real estate and money of the world, too... they have been trying to get into a preferred position to regulate public morals by police methods and to dip into public funds to support their religious schools."

In November 1951 a political firestorm erupted when President Truman nominated General Mark Clark to the newly-created post of ambassador to the Vatican. Cannon characterized this as "a concession to reactionary clericalism," one that had profound political implications. Any breach in the separation church and state "would be an unspeakable calamity aiding and strengthening the forces of reaction and obscurantism here and all over the world."

Well, the separation of church and state was breached with the sending of a state envoy to the church in Rome. And new assaults against this doctrine seem to occur daily. Cannon's message seems even more timely today: "the First Amendment to the Constitution is our amendment; and we must defend it tooth and nail against all aggressions, whether secular or religious."

Bill Kalman
Des Moines, Iowa

S. Africa conference

South Africa is currently engaged in an historic process to throw off the oppressive system of



apartheid. Leading this struggle is the African National Congress (ANC), who is fighting for a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa. The ANC Youth League has been critical to the effectiveness of the massive organizational and educational efforts of the ANC.

After a few fortuitous exchanges with the ANC Youth League, students from our Africana Student Cultural Center have been invited to participate in an international youth conference in Johannesburg to be held on the third week of October, 1993. The theme of the conference will be "Democracy, Peace, and Progress." The objectives of the conference will be to exchange election experiences and to consolidate solidarity work through direct international interaction. We see this as an extremely rare and valuable educational opportunity to witness world history in the making. We are sending two

people to attend the conference. We plan to give university-wide and community presentations about the unfolding developments in South Africa and the conclusions reached at the youth conference. We are asking for nationwide support for our envoy in the form of donations to defray our expenses, contributions to the ANC that we may present on behalf of the national delegation, or letters of support that we may bring to the conference.

Brock Satter
Vice-Chair, Africana
Student Cultural Center
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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.

Abortion doctor wounded in Kansas

BY ANGELA LARISCY

DES MOINES, Iowa — An opponent of abortion rights tried to murder Dr. George Tiller in the driveway of his abortion clinic in Wichita, Kansas, August 19.

This was the second shooting of a doctor at an abortion clinic this year. On March 10 Dr. David Gunn was shot dead by an abortion rights foe as he tried to enter his Women's Medical Services clinic in Pensacola, Florida.

Tiller is one of only a half dozen doctors in the United States who provides third-trimester abortions. His clinic was the target of attacks by the antiabortion group Operation Rescue in 1991, when the rightists successfully blockaded clinics in Wichita for weeks.

As Tiller was leaving his clinic the evening of August 19, he was shot in both arms by Rachelle Shannon who was with a group of anti-abortion protesters picketing the clinic.

Two days after the shooting in Wichita, another doctor who performed abortions was shot dead in Mobile, Alabama. Dr. George Patterson was killed when he confronted a man trying to break into his car. Police said August 22 they did not know whether the killing was related to a robbery or to his work.

Shannon, of Grants Pass, Oregon, was arrested the next day at the Oklahoma City airport and jailed on suspicion of attempted murder.

Shannon's husband, David Shannon, reported to Associated Press that his wife has edited a newsletter for John Brockhoft who is serving a seven-year federal prison sentence for firebombing an Ohio Planned Parenthood abortion clinic in 1985.

The Brockhoft Report discusses "abortion, the use of force and other issues," *Life Advocate* magazine of Portland, Oregon, stated in an article this month.

Shannon visited Brockhoft in prison earlier this summer, her husband said.

Tiller returned to work at the clinic less than 12 hours after the attack. A dozen abortion rights activists showed up at the clinic to escort patients and show support for Tiller.

Abortion rights groups and several politicians across the country condemned the shooting.

Some foes of abortion spoke against the shooting as well. But most antiabortion groups applauded Shannon's action.

"The chickens have come home to roost at Tiller's house," said Andrew Burnett, a cofounder of Operation Rescue. "It would seem he has been put out of commission at least temporarily."

Don Treshman, national director of Rescue America, said, "We are sure to see more of these incidents. This shooting, while unfortunate, will result in babies lives being saved."

Peggy Jarman, of the Pro-Choice Action League (PCAL), said in an interview that there has been an "enormous outpouring of love and support from all over the country. There have been additional people showing up at the clinic to act as escorts."

PCAL had scheduled a "Rally Revisited and Annual Meeting" for September 12 before the shooting. The meeting will commemorate the rally PCAL held August 26, 1991, to protest Operation Rescue's attacks on the clinics in Wichita.

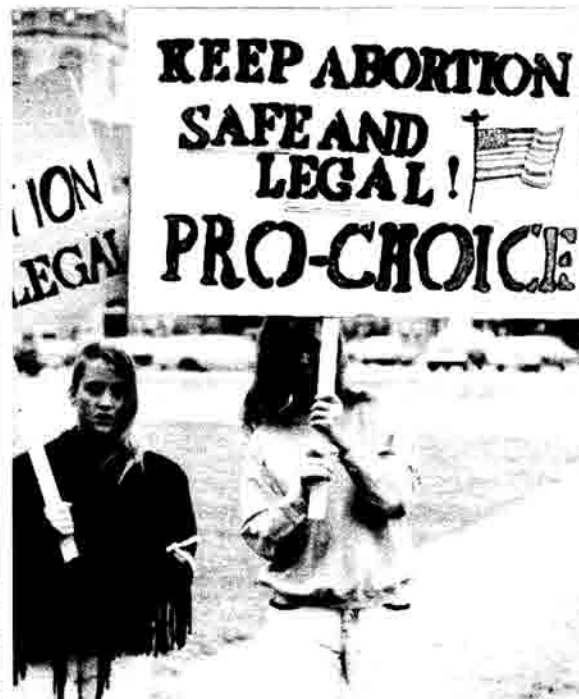
Jarman noted that because of the attempted murder of Dr. Tiller the event will "take on added importance and a somewhat different focus."

The week preceding Tiller's shooting, Operation Rescue, Rescue America, and other rightist, antiabortion organizations completely failed in their attempts to close abortion clinics in Denver during Pope John Paul II's visit.



Militant/Steve Marshall

Rightists targeted Dr. George Tiller's clinic in Wichita, Kansas, (left) during their 1991 "Summer of Mercy" campaign. Since then, many young pro-choice forces, like ones in Wichita above, have turned out to defend the clinics across the country. Tiller was shot in front of his clinic August 19.



Militant/Linda Joyce

The assassination attempt on Dr. Tiller follows on the heels of a number of threats against doctors around the country who provide abortions.

While in Colorado, Randall Terry, the head of Operation Rescue, issued a veiled call for the murder of a doctor in Boulder, Colorado, who performs third-trimester abortions. "I hope he is tried for crimes

against humanity and I hope he is executed," Terry stated.

David Trosch, a Roman Catholic priest in Mobile, Alabama, attempted to place an advertisement in a local newspaper stating, "If 100 doctors need to die to save over 1 million babies a year, I see it as a fair trade." He was dissuaded by church officials from placing the ad.

attacking doctors' offices and homes. There are death threats and bomb threats every day. So we have to stay on guard," he said.

Angela Lariscy is a member of United Auto Workers Local 270 at Fawn Engineering in Clive, Iowa. Chris Remple in Des Moines, Iowa, also contributed to this article.

California unionist fights gov't victimization

BY OSBORNE HART

SAN FRANCISCO — The Navy base command at Oakland's Alameda Naval Aviation Depot recently took a new step in a year-long campaign to silence Milton Chee, a civilian base employee and outspoken opponent of the U.S. invasion of Iraq. The Navy has turned Chee over for investigation by the Office of Special Counsel (OSC) for alleged violations of the Hatch Act. If Chee is found guilty of violating the act, he may be fired. With the support of many of his coworkers, union officials, and others in the community, Chee is fighting this witch-hunt.

Chee works as an aircraft sheet metal mechanic. He is a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 1584 and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Hatch Act is an antidemocratic law that severely restricts political rights and activities of federal employees. Federal workers are prohibited from distributing partisan election campaign literature, participating in the activities of political parties or clubs, endorsing candidates, and raising funds for partisan candidates.

Hatch Act

Congress passed the Hatch Act in 1939 because of alleged improprieties in the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which was set up by President Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930s as a federal make-work program to force millions of unemployed off the jobless relief rolls and onto government projects.

Ostensibly the Hatch Act protected federal workers from political coercion by incumbent politicians. But it had nothing to do with the protection of federal employees. It was one of a series of laws passed before World War II designed to curtail workers' political rights.

Today the OSC polices the Hatch Act as the enforcement arm of the Office of Personnel Management, formerly the Civil Service Commission, which administers federal employees.

According to Navy officials, the basis for



Militant/Osborne Hart

Milton Chee (center), being interviewed at July 19 news conference about his victimization by Navy. Half-hidden directly behind Chee is John McKee, representative of IAM Local 1584, and Chee's lawyer David Handsheer (left).

the charges against Chee stem from his campaign as a candidate in the nonpartisan 1992 elections for San Francisco Board of Supervisors. More than 12,000 people voted for Chee.

Although the Hatch Act allows participation in nonpartisan elections, the OSC contends that because Chee's candidacy was supported by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, a partisan organization, the Board of Supervisors elections were partisan elections under the Hatch Act.

The OSC subjected the unionist to two grueling three-hour-long interrogations to gather evidence to convict him of violating the Hatch Act. These interrogations are not held in front of a judge. There are no legal protections against badgering a witness. The OSC is free to ask questions without any restrictions. The effect is to intimidate and wear down witnesses who come before them.

OSC investigators demanded information about Chee's campaign activities, his relationship to the Socialist Workers Party, what

kind and how many flyers were distributed during his campaign. Chee's distribution of flyers to workers at the Alameda Naval Aviation Depot, and who the individuals were who might have received campaign literature. They wanted to know whether Chee held any official posts in the Socialist Workers Party or had ever run as a delegate to a party convention.

These interrogations form an important component of the Navy's political attack against the aircraft mechanic. In addition, Chee's already large legal expenses rise significantly each time the OSC initiates a new round of questioning.

Chee is fighting back

Chee is fighting back against the Navy's attempt to silence him. At a news conference held with supporters a few hours prior to his second OSC interrogation July 19, he demanded an immediate halt to the harassment campaign. His attorney, David Handsheer, Continued on Page 14