

THE MILITANT

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 58/NO. 8 February 28, 1994

Trade war looms between Tokyo and Washington

BY ROBERT MILLER

The Clinton administration fired the opening shot February 14 in what could become a full-scale trade war between U.S. and Japanese imperialism. Washington announced it would slam Tokyo with sanctions if the Japanese government doesn't immediately open its domestic cellular telephone market to U.S. companies.

The decision followed the collapse of a trade summit between Clinton and Japanese prime minister Morihiro Hosokawa, held February 11 in Washington, D.C.

Before departing Washington Hosokawa warned that Tokyo could retaliate with sanctions on U.S. products. "The world's two biggest economies appeared to be poised on the edge of a trade war," stated a February 13 article in the *New York Times*.

A February 16 *Times* editorial called Clinton's announcement of cellular telephone sanctions "A Justifiable rap to Japan." The sanctions involve Motorola, which has long been an advocate of strong measures to force open the Japanese market to U.S. businesses. Robert Galvin, the company's chairman, told *Business Week* in a 1989 interview, "We cannot allow our competition to have a sanctuary."

The Clinton administration is using U.S. economic weight and threats to force up the value of the yen in relation to the dollar. This makes Japanese exports more expensive and U.S. imports cheaper. The yen soared to a five-month high against the dollar February 14, reaching 102.25 to the U.S. currency. Japan's industry analysts calculate that at 110 yen to the dollar, already surpassed, barely one in 50 of the country's exporters are profitable.

The Clinton administration had sought a trade agreement to increase sales by U.S. capitalists in the Japanese market, particularly autos and auto parts, insurance, medical equipment, and telecommunications. Washington demanded a 20 percent annual increase over the next four years in auto parts sales to Japanese car makers in Japan

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ANC makes proposals to counter election boycott

BY GREG ROSENBERG

In response to rightist threats to boycott and violently disrupt the April elections in South Africa, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela issued a statement on February 16 (see full text page 11). The ANC president's proposals are aimed at ensuring authoritative elections are held and limiting the ability of the right wing to organize violence.

The white-separatist groups and privileged homeland leaders in the Freedom Alliance are increasingly repelled by the progress of the democratic revolution unfolding in South Africa.

In the latest ANC proposal Mandela reiterated that "the elections on April 27, 1994, cannot under any circumstances be postponed," and that a unitary republic, as defined in the interim constitution, "cannot be tampered with."

The ANC's bargaining proposals include giving greater powers to provincial governments, a double ballot that allows voters to choose separately between parties for regional and national assemblies, as well as further negotiations on the demand for a "volkstaat" — a white homeland.

The Inkatha Freedom Party announced February 12 that it would boycott South Africa's April 26-28 elections. Voters are to elect a constituent assembly, which will draft a new constitution.

The white-separatist Afrikaner People's Front announced February 10 that it also would boycott the elections, and threatened that there would be "a little bit of violence." Inkatha and the People's Front are the chief forces in the Freedom Alliance. These groups are rejecting the interim constitution negotiated by the ANC, the government, and other parties.

Nineteen parties have registered for the elections. The two main contenders are the



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

People's Forum in Rustenburg January 30. ANC is fighting to maximize authority of elections.

ANC and the National Party led by South African president F.W. de Klerk.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland — an invention of the white-minority regime — said the boycott decision might "bring

casualties and even death" to South Africa. Inkatha officials said that the KwaZulu administration would not allow voting booths to be set up inside the Bantustan.

Inkatha, along with the South African gov-

Continued on Page 10

80,000 people participate in sixth Havana book fair

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

HAVANA, Cuba — A young art student pointed to the book-filled stalls all around him at the book fair and remarked, "In Cuba we've had an avalanche of information from around the world in the last few years. I think this is great." The youth leafed through several titles at the Pathfinder Press exhibit, poring over one called "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq," which is featured in the *New Internationalist* magazine of Marxist politics and theory. He returned to the Pathfinder stand four days in a row.

Eighty thousand people jammed the Sixth International Havana Book Fair over the week of February 9-15. The event drew thousands of university and high school students. Day after day, a line of people would spend the night waiting for entry the following afternoon to the hall where books were being sold in Cuban pesos.

People rode bicycles, hitchhiked, carpooled, and walked to the fair, defying the fuel shortages and consequent lack of public transportation that have prevailed since the virtual collapse of Cuba's trade with the former Soviet Union. The event was held at the PabExpo exhibition hall on the western edge of the city.

Publishers from 33 countries exhibited

more than 2,500 books and magazines. In addition to several Cuban publishers, some of the biggest displays were from Spain and Japan. There were also exhibitions from Mexico, Venezuela, Canada, Argentina, Germany, Puerto Rico, Brazil, China, and North Korea among others. One stand had books in Russian.

The fair was the site for presentations of several literary prizes, as well as numerous book launchings and readings of works by prominent Cuban authors such as Dulce Maria Loynaz and Severo Sarduy. One of the book launches was for 10 titles published by "A Book for Cuba," a solidarity campaign financed by Mexican writers and publishers. Some newspapers and publishing houses in Argentina and Venezuela donated hundreds of thousands of books to Cuba at the Havana fair.

Of the 150 new titles published in Cuba last year, some of the popular ones at this year's book fair were several on Afro-Cuban history and culture.

The Pathfinder stall was one of the busiest at the Havana Book Fair. The volunteers who staffed it — an international team from Britain, New Zealand, France, Iceland, Sweden, and Canada — could barely keep up with the crowds of eager readers who gath-

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SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND ◆ NEW YORK ◆

Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism

Report back from a recent visit

by MARY-ALICE WATERS

Saturday, March 12
Time and Location
to be announced

World Capitalist Politics in the '90s

'Downsizing,' 'Cultural War,' and
Global Instability

by JACK BARNES

Sunday, March 13
Time and Location
to be announced

For more information call (212) 388-9346 or (718) 399-7257.

Should workers support tobacco farmers' fight? — page 13



IN BRIEF

Workers protest in Poland

About 30,000 workers marched through Warsaw February 9 to demand the government keep its promise to increase wages and social spending. A leader of the Solidarity labor union said if the government did not ease its harsh measures the union would call a general strike and "shut the country down." There are divisions within the ruling coalition over how quickly to impose austerity measures in the transition to a capitalist market system. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has indicated he would like to see more social spending.

Coal miners strike in Russia

More than 160 striking coal miners at five mines in the Arctic city of Vorkuta, Russia, have stayed underground since February 9 to protest Moscow's failure to pay three months' back wages. Workers blame the government for not complying with an agreement to avert a coal strike last December between the Independent Miners Union and former economics minister Yegor Gaidar. At the time, Gaidar promised Moscow would sell diamonds to pay the miners. On February 11 Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin ordered the government to begin paying the back wages. Meanwhile communication workers ended their one-day walkout February 10 after the government promised to pay billions of rubles in back earnings.

Reports of splits in Shining Path

The Peruvian magazine *Si* reported divisions inside the Stalinist organization Shining Path between those supporting continuation of the 13-year armed struggle and others endorsing a peace accord with the government of Alberto Fujimori. According to *Si*, Shining Path members are requesting "general amnesty for all their imprisoned members" so the organization can meet to outline a peace plan. The group's official publication, *El Diario*, denied the request for an accord and said an impostor posed as Shining Path's jailed leader Abimael Guzmán in videos broadcast last October and urged members to lay down their arms and negotiate with the government.

Council of State protests U.S. troops in Colombia

The Council of State in Colombia said

President César Gaviria defied the constitution when he brought in 230 U.S. troops. Although the council is the country's highest authority on government administration, it has no power to enforce its decisions. Washington claims the soldiers are on a humanitarian mission to build a school and clinic. However, about 100 of the U.S. troops are building a military base and maintaining radar systems there.

Jamaica stock market falls

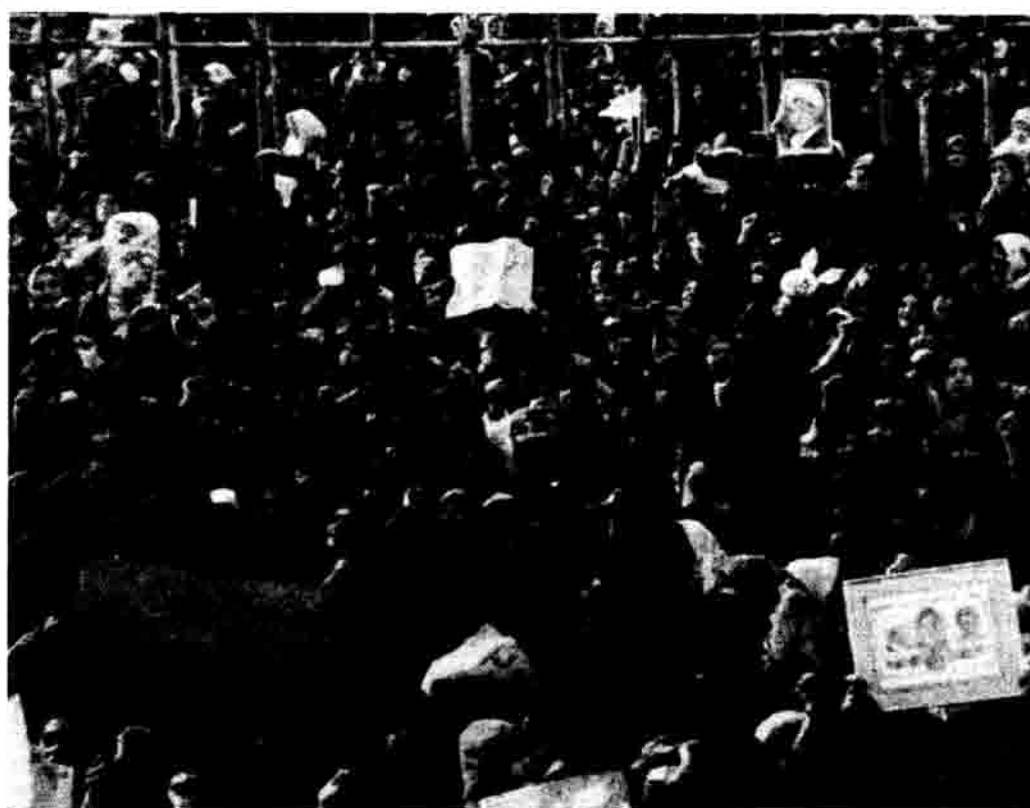
Jamaica's stock exchange has lost 60 percent of its value since January 1993, when it was listed as the fastest growing in the world. Some economists blame the crash on the government's high interest rate policy. Investors have turned away from the stock market, they say, to invest in government securities, which are currently offering interest rates of about 50 percent.

U.S. strikes at record low

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the number of major strikes in the United States reached a record low in 1993. Only 34 new strikes, involving 178,800 workers, began last year, down from 35 in 1992 and a high of 470 in 1952.

Navy closes Tailhook case

The U.S. Navy closed the books on the Tailhook sexual harassment scandal February 10 when it decided not to appeal the dismissal of the last three cases arising from the incident. Despite navy investigations that concluded 83 women had been physically abused at the Tailhook convention in September 1991, no officer will be tried on misconduct charges. About 50 of the 140 officers accused of misconduct received some form of administrative discipline. A military judge ruled that the navy's highest ranking officer, Adm. Frank Kelso, lied about his involvement in the incident and tainted the investigation. Kelso, who denied the charges, received a



Women in Iran celebrate 15th anniversary of the victory over the dictatorial regime of the U.S.-backed Shah. An estimated 300,000 people gathered for the rally. The 1979 revolution broke from imperialist domination, overthrew the monarchy, and made inroads against landlordism. Despite the drive of the capitalist government there to push back gains of the revolution, Tehran has not been able to force workers and peasants out of politics.

letter of caution, a mild reprimand that will not even be placed in his permanent files.

Lieut. Paula Coughlin, the naval aviator who brought the harassment to light, resigned from the navy earlier that week. She said the Tailhook assault and the "covert attacks" against her that followed made it impossible for her to do her job.

Angolan city besieged

About 60,000 people in Kuito, Angola's third largest city, have been cut off from relief since the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) besieged the city February 6. Angolan National Radio described Kuito as an inferno with rebel UNITA artillery shells raining down on inhabitants, despite negotiations going on in Lusaka, Zambia. The latest round of talks between the popularly elected government and UNITA are in their third month.

PLO, Tel Aviv negotiations

Officials from the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israeli government released the text of an agreement February 10 on some points in the accord signed last September. A new security plan calls for shared responsibility at border crossings into the occupied territories, with veto power for Tel Aviv. The size of the autonomous district around the town of Jericho, will be set at 21 square miles, although this may still change. Israeli officials said that until other issues are resolved, they will not withdraw their troops, which were scheduled to leave the Gaza Strip and Jericho last December. Promised releases of Palestin-

ian prisoners also seems unlikely until a full agreement is reached.

Meanwhile, Israeli police minister Moshe Shahal threatened to seal off the West Bank and Gaza following the slaying of two Israelis. Tel Aviv closed the borders last March and has gradually eased entrance restrictions. According to army figures, 53,000 Palestinians have permits to work in Israel.

World joblessness at all-time high

Some 30 percent of the world's workforce is unemployed or underemployed, according to the International Labor Organization. The study points out that more people are jobless than ever before — 120 million people are officially registered unemployed and another 700 million are underemployed. Youth are particularly hard hit. In Poland, for example, one-third of those without work in 1992 were under the age of 24.

Illegal abortion cause deaths

A study by Population Action International, a private organization based in Washington, D.C., reported that between 20 percent and 40 percent of all maternal deaths worldwide were linked to illegal abortions. In Brazil and Nepal the rate was nearly 50 percent.

The report said abortions are used as a form of birth control in China and the former Soviet republics. Between 144 and 193 pregnancies in Russia were terminated for every 100 births. The study estimated that the number of births equaled the number of abortions in urban areas of China. — PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

UN officials question plan to bomb Bosnia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As the NATO deadline approaches for possible air strikes in Bosnia, some leading United Nations military officials on the ground there have offered varying interpretations of what compliance with the ultimatum actually means.

A February 9 NATO meeting passed a resolution threatening air strikes against the Serb forces, which have besieged the capital city of Sarajevo for the past 22 months, unless they withdraw their heavy weapons 12 miles from the hills surrounding the city or place them under UN control by February 21.

The resolution was rushed through following a February 5 mortar explosion that killed 68 people in a crowded market in Sarajevo. The Clinton administration, which had in recent weeks rejected calls for air strikes, said it would now support them.

According to the February 14 *Washington Post*, UN officials told Serb military commanders "that they were not necessarily concerned" that some Serb guns would remain pointing at the capital after the NATO deadline. "That is a NATO ultimatum, it is not a UN ultimatum," stated Canadian army Lt. Col. William Aikman, chief spokesman of the UN force in Bosnia.

British Lt. Gen. Michael Rose, the UN commander in Bosnia, has worked out a plan calling for electronic monitoring of artillery positions rather than withdrawal of these weapons. According to the *Washington Post*, Clinton administration officials have said that Rose's interpretation of the NATO ultimatum would gut the requirement of a 12-mile heavy weapons exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

Rose also stated that he has "no doubt" Serb forces will comply with the deadline. Under terms of the NATO resolution, Rose, as the tactical commander on the ground, is the person empowered to order the initiation of air strikes.

In addition, Washington has agreed to a plan drawn up by UN military commanders in Bosnia to allow Serb forces to retain control over their weaponry surrounding Sarajevo as long as they "re-aim" it away from the city.

The statements by the Canadian and British military commanders in the field reflect continued differences among the imperialist powers about whether to proceed with air strikes, despite unanimity shown around passage of the NATO ultimatum.

The British and Canadian governments had previously expressed fears about what would happen to their troops in Bosnia as part of the UN force if U.S. warplanes start bombing Serb military positions.

'Some serious arm-twisting'

To win backing for NATO military action, which requires a unanimous vote of its members, Washington exerted strong diplomatic pressure to bring some of the more

hesitant imperialist powers into line. "The administration had to do some serious arm-twisting to persuade the Canadians, the Greeks, and . . . the British, to go along with the plan," stated an article in the *Wall Street Journal*. Washington — which is the dominant power in NATO — is anxious to assert its military authority in the region relative to that of the European powers.

A February 11 story in the *Financial Times* entitled "Britain bowed to US pressure on Nato plan" provided some further details of the maneuvering. The British government "acquiesced in this week's Nato ultimatum," states the article, "only after a blunt warning from the US that refusal would permanently damage the western alliance." In a telephone call February 9 U.S. president Bill Clinton warned British prime minister John Major "that if Britain blocked the strategy it might seriously undermine the US commitment to Nato," stated the *Times*.

In a visit to Russia in mid-February Major expressed confidence that air strikes would not be deployed. The Russian government, which has economic ties to Belgrade, has expressed misgivings about NATO threats to bomb positions held by Serb forces.

"Some people are trying to resolve the Bosnia question without the participation of Russia," Russian president Boris Yeltsin said February 15. "We will not allow this."

A week prior to the NATO deadline, only 33 heavy weapons from the Serb forces' arsenal and 10 guns from the Muslim-led Bosnian government had been turned over to UN soldiers.

While estimates vary widely about the number of weapons falling under the NATO order, a top Bosnian commander, Gen. Jovan Divjak, estimates that the Serb forces surrounding Sarajevo have more than 1,000 such weapons including a large number of mortars, some 80 tanks and armored personnel carriers, and 14,000 to 15,000 infantrymen. He said the Bosnian government's side has 2 tanks, 50 artillery pieces, including mortars, and 45,000 infantry soldiers.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic stated February 12 that Serb forces would not continue to turn over their guns unless the Bosnian government's soldiers within Sarajevo were confined to UN-supervised barracks.

NATO officials have said they will strike at positions held by either Serb forces or Bosnian government troops if heavy weapons are located in the declared exclusion zone. The NATO ultimatum allows the Serb forces to maintain its current siege of Sarajevo. It comes at a time when Bosnian government forces were registering some moderate military gains.

Negotiations break off

Talks aimed at reaching a political settlement broke off February 12. Negotia-



British Lt. Gen. Michael Rose (left), top UN commander in Bosnia, proposes Serb forces besieging Sarajevo be allowed to keep weapons, subject to electronic surveillance.

tions are not expected to resume until early March. Under discussion is a plan presented by the European Union to partition Bosnia into three ethnically-based republics. Serb, Croat, and Bosnian government negotiators agreed in principle to such a division last August but continue to dispute how the territory should be divided.

The Clinton administration says it will step up pressure on the Bosnian government

to accept the partition plan. At the same time Washington is scaling back its commitment to help enforce an eventual negotiated agreement in Bosnia. The Pentagon had previously estimated that 50,000 ground troops would be needed and indicated that half would come from the United States. The White House now says that fewer soldiers should be sent and that U.S. ground troops would comprise "probably 15,000 or less" of this force.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

DUANE STILWELL

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

Pathfinder's reprint program is picking up steam even as new titles continue to appear. *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro and *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination* have just been reprinted with fade-resistant ink and a new "stay-flat" lamination that prevents covers from curling.

Pathfinder's newest pamphlet in Spanish, *Sendero Luminoso: Evolución de una secta estalinista* (Shining Path: Evolution of a Stalinist Sect) came off the stitcher just in time to send to the Sixth International Havana Book Fair February 9-15. An international team of Pathfinder sales representatives are on hand there exhibiting Pathfinder's growing list of titles.

A railroad worker and member of the United Transportation Union who is especially interested in Cuba and a union organizer for housekeepers at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill are the two newest members of the Pathfinder Readers Club in North Carolina. Volunteers at the Greensboro Pathfinder bookstore are planning to send out their first newsletter to all area members of the Readers Club.

At a recent Greensboro Militant Labor Forum opposing the U.S. trade embargo of Cuba, members of the Readers Club took advantage of a special discount on Cuba-related titles and bought \$110 worth of Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

From our mail bag:

Please send me another catalogue and order form. I recently read *The Changing*

Face of U.S. Politics and thoroughly enjoyed it.

D.S., Tacoma, Washington

I have just finished reading *The Truth about Yugoslavia*.

I found it to be informative and would recommend it to those seeking understanding of the situation.

G.M. Navarre, Florida

In just two days, activists in the movement for Puerto Rican Independence and young people at the "Third Hostosiano Conference" and at the University of Puerto Rico in San Juan bought \$213.00 worth of Pathfinder books, including two copies of *La revolución traicionada* (The Revolution Betrayed) by Trotsky, three copies of *50 años de guerra encubierta: el FBI contra los derechos democráticos* (Washington's 50 Year Domestic Contra Operation), and a range of other titles.

After a lengthy discussion on the worldwide economic crisis two students split the cost of a copy of the *New International* featuring the article "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq."

To See the Dawn, a recently published Pathfinder title that contains the proceedings of The Congress of the Peoples of the East held in the city of Baku, Azerbaijan, in 1920, was included in a book column in the January 19 issue of *Kayhan Hava*.

Kayhan Hava, describes itself as "The International Weekly for Iranians Abroad" and is published simultaneously in Tehran, London, Bombay, Hamburg, and New York.

Evelyn Reed's *Problems of Women's Liberation* was adopted as a text for a class of 30 students at Shelby State Community College in Memphis, Tennessee.

Trade war looms between Japanese, U.S. governments

Continued from front page and the United States.

U.S. officials also insisted on so-called numerical targets to measure increased U.S. sales, complaining that previous trade agreements have not made a dent in Japan's \$60 billion trade surplus with the United States.

Hosokawa told reporters that under no conditions would his government drop its resistance to numerical targets. An editorial in the February 13 English-language edition of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Japan's largest daily, urged a more assertive stance toward the United States. "The Japan that Said 'No,'" its headline said.

According to the *New York Times*, Japanese capitalists, while wanting to keep good relations with Washington, are in less of a mood for bargaining because of the severe recession in Japan. "Auto makers, for instance, are having enough trouble keeping their traditional suppliers afloat without worrying about buying more American components," the paper said. The Japan Center for Economic Research estimated the country's economy shrunk at a stunning annual rate of 6.3 percent in the last quarter of 1993.

According to Japanese economists, the \$140 billion temporary tax cut and public works program of early February, the fourth

economic "rescue" in the last 20 months, will only make the difference between the economy shrinking again or posting modest growth of less than 1 percent.

Among the further options being considered by Washington to "increase the tension in Tokyo" are prohibitively high tariffs on a variety of Japanese exports and renewal by executive order of a trade provision called "Super 301," which targets countries supposedly engaging in "unfair" trade practices, and requires the U.S. government to retaliate. "Tokyo hates Super 301," said the *Wall Street Journal*, "because it realizes that the law is aimed directly at Japan."

A Clinton administration spokesperson told the *Times*, "We gain credibility with the public the more we slam Hosokawa." Another government official said that there is widespread consensus that accepting Japan's standard promises for opening its markets has not worked and it is time "to go nuclear."

In a meeting with U.S. cabinet and trade negotiators the day before trade talks collapsed, Japanese foreign minister Tsutomu Hata cautioned that a clash on trade could diminish Japan's willingness to cooperate with the United States on Russian aid, Korea, and other issues.

Iowa unionist challenges cop frame-up

Mark Curtis files court brief supporting federal appeal of unjust trial

On October 6, 1993, Mark Curtis, a political and union activist in Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed up and imprisoned on charges of rape and burglary in 1988, filed a federal appeal — a Writ of Habeas Corpus — asking that his conviction be set aside.

Federal district court judge Charles Wolle ruled November 29 that Curtis's Writ was properly filed in his court, and gave the State of Iowa one month to respond.

On January 26th, a month later, Iowa attorney general Bonnie Campbell filed a response, claiming that Curtis's appeal should be denied, both on its merits and because he had not demonstrated any violations of federal constitutional rights.

We print below major excerpts from the brief filed with the court February 1 by Curtis's attorneys, William Kutmus and Jeanne Johnson. Copies of the full brief are available from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee for \$2.50.

PETITIONER'S BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF PETITION FOR WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS

I. STATEMENT OF FACTS

Petitioner Mark Curtis has been actively involved with the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance and labor union movements. After becoming employed at the Swift Packing Plant in 1987 he became active in the union and in defense of immigrant co-workers there. Petitioner was politically active in the city, serving as director of the Militant Labor Forum.

On March 1, 1988, seventeen of Petitioner's co-workers at Swift were arrested as undocumented aliens, many of whom had filed for amnesty. A community meeting to protest the arrests was scheduled for March 4, 1988, however, the management at Swift thwarted the first shift employees' attendance at the meeting. In response to management's actions, the employees walked off the line and a labor stoppage resulted.

In response to this action, management arranged for a second meeting employees could attend, held at the Mexican-American Cul-



Mark Curtis speaking to media at March 1988 protest against immigration raid at his workplace. Scar on his face is from beating he suffered at hands of cops.

tural Center. Petitioner actively participated in the second meeting, speaking in Spanish to urge the union to take the lead in defending those arrested. After the meeting he and sev-

Petitioner was beaten and suffered serious injuries at hands of Des Moines police officers . . .

eral co-workers went to a local tavern called "Los Compadres." According to the unchallenged testimony of others, he remained there until approximately 8:30 p.m.

When Petitioner left Los Compadres, he proceeded to his home, where he telephoned

Ms. Rose "Jackie" Floyd at 8:45 p.m. He also called Ms. Ellen Whitt and left a message on her answering machine.

Petitioner was concerned because he was expecting friends coming for the weekend to arrive shortly and he also had to go to the store to purchase food for the Militant Labor Forum program the next day. He left his house to go to the grocery store, and on his way to the store a young woman stopped his car, indicated that a man from a bar on the corner had threatened her, and that she needed a ride to her home.

Believing the woman to be in danger, Petitioner drove her to a house three blocks from where she had initially stopped him. The woman requested that Petitioner wait while she checked out her house to make sure the man she said was after her was not waiting for her inside. Petitioner escorted the woman to the front door of the house and, at her request,

waited on the enclosed porch while she went inside.

Shortly thereafter a police officer entered and forced him through the house to a rear bedroom. Petitioner testified that the police officer handcuffed him, pulled Petitioner's pants down, and removed his keys and wallet from his pants.

At trial, fifteen-year-old Demetria Morris testified that she was sexually assaulted on her front porch on March 4, 1988. At her deposition she testified that the assault occurred shortly after 7:30 p.m., but at trial she testified that she really couldn't remember the exact time. Nonetheless, she continually insisted she could place the time for the attack exactly — a few minutes after her favorite television program, "Video Soul," came on the air.

At the time of the alleged incident, Demetria and her brother were at home alone. Demetria testified that there was a telephone call for either her father and/or mother at 7:30 p.m. She told the caller that neither was home and shortly thereafter she responded to a knock at her front door. During her deposition she had testified that the person who called and her attacker were the same individual, but at trial she repudiated that claim.

At trial she testified that the person at the door identified himself as "Mark" who said he was looking for a certain address and requested the assistance of either her mother or father to find the address. Demetria testified that he then forced his way into the house and sexually assaulted her. At some point in the alleged attack Demetria's brother called "911" and reported that his sister was being raped on the front porch of the house. Officers Glade and Gonzales were dispatched to investigate the call. Officer Gonzales claimed to have caught Petitioner on the front porch "zipping his pants."

Petitioner was charged with burglary and sexual assault. The matter proceeded to trial on September 7, 1988, and after three days of deliberations the jury returned guilty verdicts on both charges. Petitioner filed a timely motion for new trial which was overruled in its entirety. Petitioner was sentenced to a term not to exceed ten and twenty-five years, to run concurrently. Petitioner filed a timely appeal to the Iowa Supreme Court, and the matter was transferred to the Iowa Court of Appeals, which affirmed the conviction.

Petitioner is incarcerated at the Iowa State Penitentiary at Fort Madison, Iowa.

II. THE FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT HAS JURISDICTION OF THIS MATTER PURSUANT TO 28 U.S.C. § 2254.

Petitioner filed a direct appeal of his conviction to the Iowa Supreme Court, and raised therein all of the facts relevant to his § 2254 claim and all of the federal constitutional challenges which are the subject of this Petition for habeas corpus.

III. THE STATE TRIAL COURT'S FAILURE TO INSTRUCT ON PETITIONER'S THEORY OF DEFENSE CONSTITUTED A FUNDAMENTAL DEFECT RESULTING IN A MISARRIAGE OF JUSTICE IN VIOLATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The Petitioner had requested at his state trial that the jury be given an alibi instruction, based on the witness testimony which is described in the following paragraph. The trial court refused to give the alibi instruction, without explanation, but presumably because the notice of alibi had not been filed [by Petitioner].

The victim in this case, Demetria Morris, had testified during her deposition that the alleged assault occurred shortly after 7:30 p.m. on March 4, 1988. At the state trial, Petitioner produced a witness, Brian Willey, who testified that Petitioner was at the Los Compadres bar from 7:00 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. on March 4, 1988.

Jason Morris, Demetria's brother, testified that there was a knock on the door at a little after 9:00 p.m. on March 4. Jason and Demetria went to the door, Demetria asked who was there, and a man replied that it was "Mark." Demetria opened the door, and the man asked if Bonita or Keith were there.

Letters urge immediate parole hearing

Mark Curtis has served more than five years in Iowa state prison on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

Last fall Curtis was denied a hearing by the Iowa State Board of Parole. Instead, the board told Curtis he was to be sent to a special psychiatric prison facility for "supportive information that you are able and willing to fulfill the obligations of a law abiding citizen."

On January 4 Curtis was informed that his transfer was denied because there was "no psychological issue" in his case.

Supporters of Curtis have launched a campaign to urge the parole board to immediately convene a hearing and grant him parole.

Below are excerpts from some of the first letters from the Des Moines area sent to the board.

Thomas Ross Des Moines, Iowa

I am writing to you to respectfully request that you grant Mark Curtis a parole hearing at this time. After examining all information I could reasonably obtain, I am convinced that serious questions exist as to the criminal investigation and prosecution of Mr. Curtis. I draw this conclusion from the perspective of someone who has two degrees in criminal justice and worked for many years as a police officer. The details of procedural and evidentiary errors are best left to Mr. Kutmus [Curtis's lawyer] and others far more knowledgeable than myself. Frankly, for current purposes the legal errors and omissions of those court proceedings are secondary to the present status of Mark Curtis.

If many elements involving the arrest and trial of Mr. Curtis remain in contention, there

is much more agreement over his current status. He is not a repeat offender. He has already served over five years in state correctional facilities. His work and personal conduct record in prison is excellent. There is tremendous community support for Mark Curtis. I have met and visited with his wife. Her belief in Mark and support for him has never faltered. Clearly, Mr. Curtis is no criminal threat to the public. He is, and has long been, a political activist. That will not change. He has provided a voice of support and unity for fellow workers, union members, and minority employees. He must not be further punished for that. His continued incarceration would be exactly that; the unjust further imprisonment of a political prisoner.

Please grant Mark Curtis parole at your earliest opportunity.

Thomas Ross is a medical student and abortion rights activist.

Harold Ruggless Des Moines, Iowa

I am writing to request that you set a date in the near future to hear Mark Curtis' application for parole.

He meets the requirements under Iowa law to be paroled and any further delay is unjustified.

Harold Ruggless is president of United Auto Workers Local 270.

Robert and Nellie Berry Des Moines, Iowa

It is our understanding that Mark has met the parole board's request to be evaluated by a prison psychologist who say there is no psychiatric issue in his case. We would welcome Mark and his wife as neighbors. Therefore we respectfully request you to grant Mark Curtis a hearing and a parole

without further delay.

Robert and Nellie Berry are long time anti-war and political activists.

Max Exner Ames, Iowa

As I understand it, one of the weightiest factors you must consider is the likelihood that a parolee will find gainful employment and a constructive place in society after his release. To determine that, I feel it is most important to examine the candidate's lifestyle before the time of his incarceration. Whatever one may think of his politics, it must be conceded that Mark Curtis led a selfless and dedicated life as a union organizer and never overstepped the bounds of the law in doing so. It seems to me that after serving more than five years of sentence, this man should be given unconditional release or, at the very least, immediate parole.

Max Exner is a retired professor from Iowa State University.

Janet Behrend Independence, Missouri

It is my understanding that an outpatient evaluation determined there was no psychological issue in [Mark's] case. Because of this and Mark's excellent work and conduct record in prison, the amount of community support he has, and the amount of time served (he has completely served the conviction for sexual assault) there seems to be no reasonable justification for keeping him in prison any longer. Those of us who believe in Mark's innocence will not stop demanding justice in his case.

Janet Behrend is an activist in the movement in defense of imprisoned American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier.

Demetria said that their address was 1525, Jason corrected her, and then Jason went back into the house to watch television.

After a while Jason heard scuffling on the porch, went back to the porch, tried to open the door but was prevented from doing so by the man. Jason then got a knife which was in the living room, took the telephone into his parent's bedroom and called 911. According to the records of the Des Moines Police Dispatcher, Jason's call came in at 8:51 p.m.

The trial testimony was conflicting as to the time that Demetria and Jason claimed the assault occurred. Brian Willey's testimony placed the Petitioner at the Los Compadres bar during the time that Demetria had testified without any objection being made by the State's attorney that his alibi testimony should not have been allowed.

The alibi witness in Petitioner's trial was not precluded from testifying, and the State's failure to object to his testimony for noncompliance with the alibi notice rule constituted a waiver by the State of the notice rule and any objection to an alibi jury instruction.

The Petitioner's overall defense theory was that he was the victim of a frame-up due to his political affiliation and his activism. Petitioner testified that he was at the Morris home for a humanitarian reason rather than to commit an assault, and that one of the arresting officers pulled down Petitioner's pants when he was arrested. There was no physical evidence of seminal fluid or pubic hairs linking the Petitioner with the assault on Demetria Morris.

Demetria Morris' initial description of the height of her assailant (5'6") did not match the Petitioner, who is over six feet tall. She testified that during the assault the Petitioner unbuckled his belt, and at the time of his arrest the Petitioner was not wearing a belt nor was

“ Court's failure to allow evidence of institutional bias violates due process . . . ”

a belt found at the scene. The clothing she described the attacker was wearing was different than the clothing worn by Petitioner.

She testified that the floor of the porch where the assault occurred was dirty with leaves and dog hair, and that she and her assailant wrestled around on the floor. Traces of dirt, debris and dog hair were found on Demetria's clothing, but no such debris or dog hair was found on Petitioner's clothing. Demetria also testified that her assailant had smoker's breath, and Petitioner was not a smoker.

Petitioner's alibi evidence was an integral part of his theory of defense due to the above-described discrepancies in the State's case against him. The crux of Petitioner's defense was that Demetria Morris may very well have been assaulted, but not by the Petitioner. Without the alibi instruction, the jury was given a deficient and incomplete basis on which to weigh the evidence presented at trial. The failure of the trial court to give the alibi instruction, after the alibi witness had been allowed to testify over no objection from the State, constituted an error which did infect the entire trial to the extent that Petitioner was denied a fair trial guaranteed by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Accompanying Petitioner's motion for a new trial was the affidavit of a juror, Blanche Stockbauer, who stated that she was one of four jurors who initially voted that the State had not proven its case against Petitioner beyond a reasonable doubt. Ms. Stockbauer stated that although she eventually voted guilty, she did not believe that Petitioner was guilty of the crimes, and that she did not know that a mistrial would have resulted if she had persisted in her belief that the State had not proven its case.

There were four jurors who had a reasonable doubt of Petitioner's guilt, and the jury deliberated for three days. It would not be an unreasonable assumption under these facts that an alibi instruction could have provided those jurors with the legal basis for maintaining their belief that Petitioner was not guilty.

The state fact trier did not afford the Petitioner a full and fair hearing because the jury was not presented with a complete set of instructions on Petitioner's theory of defense. Further, if the Petitioner's allegations regarding his defense and alibi are proven, Petitioner would clearly establish a right to his release from prison.

IV. THE FAILURE OF THE TRIAL COURT TO ALLOW EVIDENCE OF PETITIONER'S GOOD CHARACTER CONSTITUTED A VIOLATION OF PETITIONER'S DUE PROCESS RIGHTS.

At his trial, Petitioner sought to introduce evidence of the effect on his character of [a sexual assault committed against] his sister. In his offer of proof, Petitioner testified that his sister's rape made him very angry at men who would do something like that, and that women who have been assaulted are entitled to help and attention by persons who are trained to give counseling. The trial court sustained the State's objection to this evidence, stating that it went beyond the scope of anything that had been introduced, was irrelevant and highly prejudicial.

The evidence concerning the rape of Petitioner's sister and the effect it had on him was for the purpose of showing that he did not possess the character to commit rape, and that his personal feelings on the rights and plights of women were such that it was in character for him to stop and assist a woman in danger.

The exclusion of this evidence contributed to rendering Petitioner's trial fundamentally unfair and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

V. THE TRIAL COURT'S FAILURE TO ALLOW EVIDENCE OF INSTITUTIONAL BIAS CONSTITUTED A VIOLATION OF PETITIONER'S DUE PROCESS RIGHTS.

At his trial, Petitioner sought to introduce the following evidence of institutional bias to support his defense theory of a police frame-up:

1. The Petitioner was beaten and suffered serious injuries, at the hands of Des Moines Police Officers Wolf and Dusenberry at the Des Moines City Jail after Petitioner's arrest, and that Officers Wolf and Dusenberry called petitioner a "Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds" at the time of the beating, indicating official knowledge of Petitioner's activist work;

2. The Petitioner and several political and activist organizations of which Petitioner was a member, had been subjected to surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and

3. The alleged victim's father, Keith Morris, had attacked and caused significant property damage to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee Headquarters at the Pathfinder Bookstore, and that the Polk county Attorney declined to prosecute Mr. Morris.

The trial court [excluded] the above described evidence, for the reasons that the evidence was irrelevant, extraneous, and immaterial.

The State opened the door to [evidence concerning] the post-arrest beating when Petitioner was asked why his employment at Swift and associated union membership was interrupted. The trial court specifically prohibited Petitioner from referring to the beating as causing the medical condition which affected his job and union membership. Petitioner subsequently prevailed in a federal civil rights action which held that the police officers were liable for injuries Petitioner suffered in the beating.

Petitioner sought to introduce evidence of pre-arrest F.B.I. surveillance on him and the political organizations of which he was a member, indicating that the federal government had targeted him.

After the Petitioner's arrest, Keith Morris caused \$2000 worth of property damage to the Pathfinder Bookstore, the headquarters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. No charges were filed against Mr. Morris. Police records show that prior to the attack, Mr. Morris told police officers that he was going to the bookstore to "kick ass" and the officers took no action. The Petitioner argued that the jury should be allowed to know that no charges had been filed against Mr. Morris for this act



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee discussing the international campaign to win justice for the jailed unionist with delegates to the Fourth Latin American and Caribbean Conference for Solidarity, Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and the Life of Our Peoples in Havana, Cuba, in January.

of terrorism, indicating bias on the part of law enforcement authorities toward Petitioner.

Each item of excluded evidence, taken in isolation from the rest of the excluded evidence, would probably not have the effect of rendering the entire trial fundamentally unfair. However, the exclusion of *all* of the evidence which supported Petitioner's theory of defense had the cumulative effect of denying Petitioner a fair trial.

“ Entire trial was rendered constitutionally defective and fundamentally unfair . . . ”

The result of both refusing the alibi instruction and excluding the evidence of bias was that the entire trial was rendered constitutionally defective and fundamentally unfair to the Petitioner.

VI. THE TRIAL COURT'S FAILURE TO ALLOW PETITIONER TO CROSS-EXAMINE A WITNESS ON PRIOR ACTS OF DISHONESTY CONSTITUTED A VIOLATION OF THE CONFRONTATION CLAUSE OF THE SIXTH AMENDMENT AND THE DUE PROCESS CLAUSE.

At Petitioner's trial, the credibility of the arresting officers was an important component of his defense that he was the victim of false arrest and a frame-up. During cross-examination of the arresting officer who

claimed to have found Petitioner with his pants down, Officer Joe Gonzales, the defense attempted to introduce evidence of prior disciplinary action taken against the officer for lying and manufacturing evidence. The defense made an offer of proof which established that officer Gonzales had been suspended previously for lying about an incident which occurred in the course of his duty as a police officer. The trial court refused to allow the admission of the evidence, ruling that the evidence lacked relevancy.

As a primary witness for the State, Officer Gonzales placed his credibility in issue, and Petitioner was entitled to cross-examine concerning the officer's character for truthfulness and untruthfulness. During the offer of proof, Officer Gonzales admitted that he had been suspended for lying in the course of a police matter. The jury should have been allowed to hear that evidence and use it to weigh the credibility of this witness.

The refusal of the trial court to allow the Petitioner to admit this evidence constituted a violation of the Petitioner's rights under the sixth and fourteenth amendments. This evidentiary error contributed to rendering the entire trial fundamentally unfair, and there is a reasonable probability that the error affected the outcome of the trial.

CONCLUSION

For all of the above-stated reasons, Petitioner Mark Stanton Curtis respectfully requests that the Court grant an evidentiary hearing as to the errors which occurred at Petitioner's state trial, and at the conclusion of the hearing, find that said errors denied Petitioner's constitutional rights to a fair trial.

Join PAROLE NOW Campaign

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is asking that letters urging the parole board to set a date for a hearing and Curtis's immediate release be sent to:

**Iowa State Board of Parole, Capital Annex,
523 East 12th Street,
Des Moines, IA 50319**

**Copies should be sent to:
Mark Curtis Defense Committee,
P.O. Box 1048,
Des Moines, IA 50311**

An important new opportunity has opened up to demand justice for Mark Curtis, a union and political activist incarcerated in Iowa on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. Curtis meets all the conditions demanded by the state of Iowa for parole: he is mentally fit; has served out the time on the sexual abuse charge; has an excellent record in prison; and a home, job offers, and massive community support. His continued incarceration is a blatant violation of democratic rights.

For more information contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at the address at left.

Gov't tries to blame victims of Waco raid in death of U.S. cops

BY NAOMI CRAINE

The prosecution rested its case February 15 in the trial of 11 members of the Branch Davidian religious sect accused of conspiring to kill four federal cops in February 1993 at the group's compound near Waco, Texas. Six members of the group were killed in the same gunfight, and more than 80 died seven weeks later when the FBI assaulted their headquarters with tanks, sparking a fire. This assault, which was the first major action of Attorney General Janet Reno, was approved beforehand by U.S. president Bill Clinton. The trial is taking place in San Antonio, Texas.

The deadly chain of events began when more than 100 cops from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) launched an armed raid on the Branch Davidians' housing complex on Feb. 28, 1993, claiming there were illegal weapons on the premises.

The government's conspiracy charges don't require proof that all the defendants actually shot the cops who were killed or wounded during the attack. In fact, one defendant was out of town at the time and two others were not present during the initial raid, but were shot at as they tried to return home later that day. One Davidian died in that shooting; no cops were killed. All 11 defendants could face life in prison without parole.

The case is being heard by an anonymous jury. Some defendants have protested this, saying it made them seem guilty — like people to be feared — before the trial even began. Such measures are usually reserved for Mafia chiefs and the like.

The prosecutors seek to blame the sect not only for the cops' deaths, but also for the lives of those who were killed in the fire. Earlier reports produced by the Treasury Department, which oversees the ATF, and the Justice Department did the same. While criticizing the police operation for being poorly executed, those reports essentially cleared the government of culpability for the massacre that occurred outside Waco.

Immediately after the April 19 assault, the Socialist Workers Party National Committee

issued a statement taking the opposite stance. "President Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno are responsible for the cold-blooded murder of 86 people, including 17 children, outside Waco, Texas," the party stated.

'The government is not on trial'

On the opening day of the trial, prosecutor Ray Jahn declared, "The government is not on trial." However, the proceedings do in large part center on the government trying to justify its actions, as well as the assertion that the Branch Davidians preached a "theology of death."

For the first few days of the trial, prosecutors hauled a long parade of charred weapons, recovered from the ruins after the fire, before the jury. While most of the guns were legal, FBI agent James Cadigan said 48 had been illegally modified to be fully automatic. Under cross-examination, Cadigan admitted that he did not know if the guns had ever been fired, let alone used against the ATF cops during the raid.

Undercover ATF agents admitted that during the investigation of the sect leading up to the raid they never saw any illegal weapons.

Defense lawyer Mike DeGeurin pointed out that the weapons found after the fire didn't justify the massive attack. "There's a lot of case law which says that no search can be justified by what it turns up," he said. "They can't even show that any of those guns have ever been fired. The guns by themselves don't mean anything."

No plans for peaceful search

The trial has made it clear that from the very beginning the government's operation in Waco was carried out with callous disregard for the lives involved. Many ATF cops testified that during several days of rehearsal for the February raid there was no thought given to peacefully serving the warrants. The plan was to carry out a massive, forcible, surprise attack. When an undercover agent warned that Branch Davidian leader David Koresh knew of the raid, the cops went ahead anyway, ensuring a deadly battle.



Remains of Branch Davidian complex near Waco, Texas, after it burned to the ground in April 1993. U.S. president Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno approved the assault that started the blaze and left 86 people dead.

Two of the prosecution's star witnesses were Kathryn Schroeder, who was originally charged with conspiracy to murder but pleaded guilty to a lesser charge, and Victorine Hollingsworth, who left the Davidians during the siege. They spoke a lot about Koresh's beliefs, and related alleged mercy killings of those wounded in the raid and supposed suicide plans.

Hollingsworth said after she left the group she decided Koresh "brainwashed us all." But in her testimony about the raid itself, she described being terrified and said the defendants who shot back at the ATF cops were protecting the women and children inside.

ATF agent Eric Evers, who was wounded during the raid, insisted that Livingston Fagan, one of the defendants, was the man who shot him. But in the original photographic line up, Evers had written that he was unsure whether his identification of Fagan was a result of seeing him on television or remembering the actual shootout. According to Fagan's lawyer, the prosecution tried to withhold this piece of evidence.

Defense attorneys have suggested that some of the cops may have been shot by their own men in the massive barrage of firepower aimed at the complex.

One agent told the jury that during the raid he shot a dog that was "barking offensively," then indiscriminately fired 25-30 shots toward the compound without looking

to aim his gun.

Used shell casings found in and around a surveillance house near the Davidians' headquarters indicate that some cops may have been firing into the compound from a distance of more than 300 yards during the raid.

Building smashed 'to smithereens'

Although the actual charges only relate to the February shootout, there has been considerable testimony on the April assault and fire. The government claims the blaze was started by the residents of the housing compound in a supposed suicide pact. Survivors maintain that the fire began when a lantern was knocked over by tanks repeatedly smashing into the wooden walls.

The jury was presented detailed photographs of the damage caused by the six-hour tank-and-tear-gas assault, which brought the siege of the Davidians' center to a deadly close. The pictures, taken by the FBI, showed large portions of the roof collapsing, sections of walls reduced to rubble, and the entire southern end of the structure crushed.

The photos "clearly show that the damage to the Mount Carmel center was far, far greater than either the jury or the public was previously led to believe," said one defense attorney. "It's obvious that the tanks smashed huge portions of that place to smithereens."

Jurors also heard FBI agents explain how they fired some 300 canisters of tear gas into the building, in addition to gas pumped in by the three tank-like combat engineering vehicles. One cop said his assignment was to gas certain hallways to prevent residents from reaching a buried bus where they might have sought refuge.

The day after the conflagration, an FBI commander had claimed that if Koresh had wanted to save the lives of the children during the fire, he could have hidden them in the bus.

Before resting its case, the government presented transcripts and tapes from bug-ging devices planted in the Davidians' complex during the siege, which supposedly showed that the inhabitants planned and set the fire themselves.

Defense lawyers challenged the accuracy of the transcripts, noting discrepancies between the jury's copy and an earlier version given to the defense. The prosecution's audio expert, Paul Ginsberg, admitted he had altered the transcripts after meeting with the chief prosecutor. Ginsberg has received \$120,000 from the government in the past year for work on various cases.

Trying to bolster the accusation of mass suicide, one FBI agent who observed the assault from a sniper's nest claimed he had seen someone inside the complex start the fire. When asked by defense lawyers if the man could have been trying to put out a fire instead of start one, the cop conceded, "I don't know what he was doing."

"The case will . . . inevitably amount to a trial of the Government's actions and tactics," wrote Sam Verhovek in the *New York Times* just before the trial opened in January. He compared the case to that of white separatists Randy Weaver and Kevin Harris, who were acquitted on charges of killing a federal marshal in Idaho in 1992. Weaver's wife and son were killed, as well as the cop, in a gunfight that broke out when federal marshals tried to arrest him on trumped-up weapons charges.

Prosecution fails to prove defendants are guilty in New York bombing trial

BY NELS J'ANTHONY

NEW YORK — Closing arguments began here February 14 in the World Trade Center bombing trial. During the four-month trial, the government failed to present any evidence placing any of the four men accused of the bombing at the site at the time of the blast. Six people died in the explosion. All told, the government presented 207 witnesses and 1,003 exhibits, orchestrating what one *New York Times* reporter called an "avalanche of circumstantial evidence."

Throughout the trial, not a single witness claimed they saw any of the men at the scene. There was no evidence as to what exactly caused the explosion. All four say they had nothing to do with it.

Much of the testimony was blatantly sensationalist, from the opening weeks, which were devoted to proving the well-known fact that a deadly explosion occurred in the parking garage of the trade center Feb. 26, 1993, to FBI investigator David Williams's summary of evidence February 7.

The prosecution played a video tape during Williams's testimony showing a staged explosion of a van that was carried out by the FBI in a field in Virginia. Later the same day, the government produced what the *Times* described as an "exquisite scale model of the trade center as it was right after the explosion." Williams switched on tiny lights placed in the model to show where pieces of the van, allegedly used during the bombing, were found.

Throughout the trial, the government continuously tried to smear the four defendants as

being "Islamic militants" or "Arab terrorists."

Two days of testimony were taken up toward the end of the prosecution by an Arabic-English translator testifying about literature seized from one of the defendants, Ahmad Ajaj. Ajaj had been in jail since Sept. 1, 1992, several months before the blast took place. Arrested for passport violations on his return to the United States from Pakistan, literature and a video belonging to Ajaj were seized. The prosecution has staked much of their case against Ajaj on the fact that some of the books in his possession contained information on the manufacture of explosives.

Ajaj's lawyer pointed out that this in no way shows Ajaj had anything to do with the blast at the trade center. Defense witnesses demonstrated that literature containing the same information is legal and readily available in the United States.

Prosecutor Gilmore Childers stressed the fact that the video taken from Ajaj depicted a car bombing of a large building flying a U.S. flag. In the judge's chambers, he bluntly asserted that it was "clearly anti-American." In cross-examination, the defense showed that the actual footage came from a Hollywood movie.

Defense lawyers have also pointed out the flimsiness of other evidence presented. For instance, a shoe found at the house of one of the defendants, Mahmud Abouhalima, had traces of sulfuric acid on it. The government used this to claim Abouhalima took part in making the bomb that exploded at the trade center. Sulfuric acid is a common

industrial chemical found in car batteries, among other things. Abouhalima worked as a driver for a limousine service.

Another government witness, FBI agent Lawrence Presley, testified that he ran DNA tests on traces of saliva found on an envelope containing a letter to the *New York Times* in which a group claimed responsibility for the bombing of the trade center. These tests supposedly showed a match with the DNA of one of the defendants, Nidal Ayyad. Under cross-examination the agent had to admit that the DNA sample would also match 2 percent of the population — hundreds of thousands in the New York area alone.

No witnesses reported actually seeing any of the defendants do anything illegal. One prosecution witness who supposedly saw two of the defendants together at a gas station identified two jurors instead. The next day in court he changed his mind and pointed to the defendants.

Two other witnesses who claimed to have seen one of the defendants could not recognize him in court either.

Evidence in the case included "facts" such as Abouhalima — who made his living driving — knowing the proper pronunciation of the name of a street where another defendant had lived.

Taking a look at the government's case, *New York Times* reporter Richard Bernstein stated in a February 9 article, "It is clear what the prosecutors have attempted to do: they have produced an avalanche of circumstantial evidence with which they have tried to bury the defendants."

Ottawa shares U.S. rulers' contempt for revolutionary Cuba

BY SUSAN BERMAN

TORONTO — The past few months has seen a flurry of articles, editorials, and television specials in Canada blasting socialist Cuba and announcing its imminent demise. For example, an editorial in the Oct. 29, 1993, *Toronto Globe and Mail* entitled "Cuba's downward road" says, "They say revolutions eat their children; in this case, hunger may drive the children to eat the revolution."

Propaganda pieces like this are part of the political barrage against the Cuban revolution. They are aimed at undercutting support for Cuba among working people in Canada. More than 100,000 people from Canada visit Cuba each year. Many have learned firsthand about the gains of the revolution and have been inspired by the internationalism and human solidarity at the heart of Cuba's socialist course. And they have seen the difficulties facing the Cuban people today.

Despite the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba, Ottawa has maintained trade and diplomatic relations with the Caribbean country for 35 years. Many people, including some Cuba solidarity activists, believe this reflects a fundamental difference between Ottawa's and Washington's stance toward the Cuban revolution. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Canadian capitalist class, like its U.S.

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counterpart, has nothing but hostility toward the socialist path charted by Cuban working people 35 years ago. It falsely believes that the collapse of Cuba's socialist course is imminent and looks toward doing what it can to push Cuba along the capitalist road. A Nov. 26, 1993, *Globe and Mail* editorial explains the stance of some Canadian capitalists who oppose the U.S. trade embargo from that standpoint: "Cuba is no longer a threat; it is just one more Caribbean island. In the interest of promoting opposition to Communist rule, it is time United States policy recognized that."

Decades-old hostility

However, in spite of some tactical disagreements, the Canadian government cut off all aid to Cuba in 1978 and has never restored it. In addition, many Canadian companies abide by laws restricting their trade with Cuba.

Canadian government hostility toward Cuba dates to when the revolutionary government, led by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, made it clear that it would not bend to imperialism and began leading workers and peasants to reorganize the economy and society in their own interests.

In 1959, the revolutionary government in Cuba nationalized land and made it available for peasants to till. Much of this land was held claim to by U.S. and Canadian capitalists. In late 1959, a tax was imposed for the first time on 35 U.S. and Canadian owned exploration companies. Under the Batista dictatorship, these companies had free reign on the extraction of resources and exploitation of labor.

These measures were followed by the expropriation of foreign-owned banks and industry in 1960. It was the combination of these measures, along with the mobilization, education, and organization of working people, that made it possible for Cuba to reshape society in the interest of the toilers.

These steps directly challenged both Canadian and U.S. capitalist interests. Canadian banks had operated in Cuba since the end of the 1800s. And in the eyes of the wealthy rulers, the Cuban revolution set a dangerous example for toilers throughout the region on how to combat the plunder and misery wrought by capitalism.

In 1960, in an attempt to strangle the revolution, Washington imposed a partial trade embargo. Canadian prime minister John Diefenbaker, while not extending the embargo to Canadian trade, assured the U.S. government that no U.S. goods covered by the embargo would be able to sneak through Canada to Cuba. In early 1961, Ottawa im-

posed its own restrictions, denying Cuba access to 228 "strategic" goods and services.

Diefenbaker's decision not to impose a Canadian embargo had nothing to do with political opposition to the U.S. trade restrictions. The Canadian government simply pursued trade policies that were in the interests of Canadian big business. "As a country which lives by international trade," Diefenbaker said at the time. Canada cannot "lightly resort to the weapons of a trade war."

Today, Cuba is Canada's second biggest trading partner in the Caribbean. In 1992, there was \$369 million in trade between the two countries. Canadian companies have significant contracts supplying hotels and there may be some joint ventures in the works in the tourist industry. Canadian companies, like Sheritt Gordon, are also operating in Cuba excavating nickel, gold, and petroleum. Several companies are pursuing joint ventures with the Cuban government in gold extraction.

Some people in Canada argue that Ottawa's refusal to oppose the U.S. embargo, while continuing to trade with Cuba, is simply slavish obedience to Washington. The U.S. Congress passed the Cuban Democracy Act in 1992, which extended the embargo by making it illegal for U.S. subsidiaries in other countries to trade with Cuba. Many in the labor and solidarity movements here use this law to appeal to people to oppose the embargo on the grounds that it is a violation of Canadian and Cuban sovereignty.

Canadian companies abide by embargo

But Ottawa's trade and political relations with Cuba aren't made in Washington. They're decided in Ottawa based on how best to defend Canadian capitalist interests. Canada's trade relations with Cuba are minimal compared to their trade relations with the United States. Today 77 percent of all Canadian exports are for the U.S. market.

Canadian capitalists, with access to a limited internal market, rely on their integration into the U.S. market; special protectionist blocs like the North American Free Trade Agreement, which give them a better competitive edge; and their political alliance with Washington. They aren't about to exchange all that for more trade with Cuba. At the same time, Canadian and U.S. rulers, like all imperialist powers, compete against each other in the world market.

Ottawa has never politically opposed the U.S. trade embargo, saying they can't take positions on unilateral trade sanctions.

The Canadian government raised a hue and cry over the Cuban Democracy Act. Denouncing this as an infringement of Canadian sovereignty, the Canadian rulers issued a blocking order in October 1992 prohibiting compliance with U.S. legislation by Canadian-based companies.

The Canadian delegation to the United Nations even voted in favor of a 1992 resolution sponsored by the Cubans condemning restrictions on international trade. The following year, however, they abstained.

Despite the bravado, however, Ottawa has not attempted to enforce the blocking order. Both Amsco Canada and pharmaceutical company Eli Lilly have informed Cuba they can no longer supply them from their subsidiaries in Canada. According to the November 1993 edition of *Cuba Business*, 20 U.S. subsidiaries in Canada have been told by head offices not to trade with Cuba. As their cases are slowly considered by the External Affairs department, they continue not to trade with Cuba as stipulated by the Cuban Democracy Act.

"Kinder, gentler imperialism"

It's also clear that sections of the Canadian ruling class have tactical disagreements with the embargo. They believe that greater progress could be made in undermining the revolution by opening up trade with Cuba.

There's another angle to Canada's different relationship to Cuba. As a smaller impe-



Militant
Demonstration in Canada in 1963 in defense of Cuban revolution. Ottawa's hostility to socialist Cuba is based on defending the interests of capitalist class in Canada.

rialist power, Canada postures as a kinder, gentler, imperialism — an international "peacekeeper" — which sometimes stands apart from U.S. policy. Ottawa plays the "soft cop" using aid and trade to defend imperialist interests.

An article in the April 12, 1990, *Globe and Mail* said, "A future role for Canada, as the hemisphere's largest middle power, in helping to shape a peaceful post-Castro Cuba should not be underestimated. . . . As the closest ally of the United States, Canada has maintained a continuous watching brief on Cuba because of its 30 years of unbroken diplomatic and trade relations with the Castro regime."

The Canadian government has a long history of using aid as a weapon against Cuba. In 1978, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau cut off all bilateral aid with Cuba as punishment for its sending troops at Angola's request to help repel an invasion by the racist apartheid army of South Africa. This included \$4.4 million in technical assistance as well as a \$10 million line of credit.

The Canadian government expelled five Cuban diplomats in 1977 based on a "tip" from the racist regime of Ian Smith of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) that the Cuban consulate in Montreal was serving as a training base for anti-Smith guerrillas.

Canadian aid has been used alternately to punish or help other governments in Latin America that were more or less friendly to imperialism. Ottawa pumped funds into Grenada in 1983 after the overthrow of the revolutionary New Jewel Movement government and the imposition of a pro-imperialist regime. These funds were used, among other things, to train the police forces. In 1985, the Canadian government resumed aid to the hated Duarte regime in El Salvador. Despite a history of brutal repression against thousands of Indian peasants by the armed forces, Canadian aid to Guatemala was restored in 1987.

Human rights bogeyman

But Ottawa has refused to restore aid to Cuba. In August 1993, after granting one-time emergency food aid to Cuba to counter the impact of a storm the previous March, then external affairs minister Perrin Beatty explained, "humanitarian assistance to Cuba does not signify a change in Canada's aid policy. Cuba remains ineligible for bilateral assistance because of human rights concerns."

Accusations of human rights abuse is the latest ploy of the Canadian government to put pressure on Cuba and try to undercut its support. At the United Nations General Assembly in the end of 1993, Canadian delegates co-sponsored a resolution condemning Cuba, as well as Iraq, Iran, and Burma, for human rights abuses.

Ottawa's opposition to Cuba has nothing to do with concern for human rights. The Canadian government had no problem backing Mexico's Salinas regime in brutal assaults against the peasants in Chiapas, participating in the slaughter of 150,000 Iraqis in the 1990-91 Gulf War; or murdering innocent workers and farmers as part of the UN occupation force in Somalia.

The fact is, in 1959 the Cuban revolution opened the road in that country to human rights and democracy unparalleled in Canada and the United States. It brought masses of Cuban workers and peasants into discussing and acting in politics. It opened the road to end racist and sexist discrimination.

Defend the Cuban revolution

At a recent conference in Havana, Cuban president Fidel Castro explained, "Only through struggle against the anarchy and madness of imperialism and the social system it represents can humanity survive and progress." Cuba's real crime, in Ottawa's eyes, is the socialist course Cuban working people charted 35 years ago, their internationalism, and the example they set for working people to rely on themselves to stand up to the deepening capitalist crisis.

Ottawa optimistically predicts the fall of the Cuban revolution. But in doing so it underestimates the fighting capacity of the Cuban workers and farmers and their leadership.

In 1961, a rally of 400 in Toronto to launch the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, campaigned against the U.S. embargo, and demanded Ottawa grant extensive aid and loans to Cuba. Today, fighters in defense of socialist Cuba should follow their example. The Canada-U.S. Cuba Friendshipment, which will involve hundreds of people across North America in collecting and bringing material aid to Cuba, provides an important opportunity to educate about the Cuban revolution, campaign against the U.S. embargo, and demand that Ottawa oppose the embargo and immediately establish bilateral aid with no strings attached.

Grain

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An essential source of information on the Cuban revolution.

80,000 people attend sixth international book fair in Havana

Continued from front page

ered at the booth. Many passersby were attracted by the large colorful posters portraying books published by Pathfinder, which include works by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Ernesto Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela, James P. Cannon and other revolutionary leaders.

Many who stopped at the Pathfinder exhibition already knew or had heard of the New York-based publishing house and its books. Several had met Pathfinder at the previous Havana Book Fair in 1992 and sought out the booth again this year. Some Cuban students had read Pathfinder books while working on a voluntary work brigade at the El Paraiso agricultural camp near Havana. A brigade of youth from the United States had donated the books for the camp's library. Still others had become familiar with Pathfinder literature at political and cultural conferences in the cities of Matanzas and Holguin.

Numerous people asked the Pathfinder volunteers, "Aren't you the ones who went to Moscow to rescue books by Marx and Engels from a pulping plant?" Many here had read about this in an interview with Pathfinder president Mary-Alice Waters, published last year in the weekly magazine *Bohemia*.

Still others had seen a Cuban television documentary on the United States that included a segment on the giant mural that graces a side of the six-story Pathfinder building in New York City. A reproduction of the mural drew many people to the Pathfinder stand.

Interest in U.S. politics

By far the greatest interest of the thousands who came by the Pathfinder stall was in the political situation in the United States and other capitalist countries. Many people would see the cover of "Opening Guns of World War III" and immediately pick it up. Every day young people would grab a book or two, sit in a corner of the booth, and read for an hour or more.

"Can you tell me about the conflict between Britain and Ireland?" asked a student. "Why does Britain continue with the monarchy?"

Pathfinder volunteers from Sweden and New Zealand reported that a number of people asked them about conditions facing work-

ing people there. They were keen on learning about the deep economic crisis and the efforts by the capitalist rulers to attack workers' social benefits in the two countries, which for years were held up as model "welfare states."

Hundreds of fairgoers stopped by a display explaining the campaign to win justice for Mark Curtis, a packinghouse worker in Iowa framed up on rape and burglary charges because of his union and political activities.

The Pathfinder book in highest demand was *Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X Speaks). A large number of people, young and old, had read a Cuban edition of Malcolm X's autobiography, long out of print, and were hungry to read this Spanish-language edition of his speeches.

Three young women sat down to read an article in the *Militant* on the debate surrounding the trial of Lorena Bobbitt. Afterward they looked through the book *Woman's Evolution* by Marxist leader Evelyn Reed. Significant numbers of people read or were studying English.

The Jewish Question by Abram Leon and several Education for Socialists bulletins on the fight against fascism were also popular.

Other questions asked were: What do you think of the fatal police assault on the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas? How is the Clinton administration's health-care plan going to affect working people? Do communists in the United States face government repression? What do people in the United States think about Cuba? What is going on in South Africa?

Many people browsed through the Spanish-language edition of *Socialism on Trial* and other titles by U.S. communist leader James P. Cannon.

Disintegration of Stalinist regimes

Another major topic of discussion was the disintegration of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Dozens of browsers had heard about Leon Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* and immediately reached for the Spanish-language edition on the display table. After taking notes on the book, a young woman said, "I have to read the whole book." Many other Trotsky titles were also the subject of considerable interest.

An electrical engineer who returned several times to the book exhibit, listened at-



Militant/Michael Baumann
Pathfinder booth at the 1992 Havana book fair. Several people asked volunteers at the publisher's exhibition this year, "Aren't you the ones who went to Moscow to rescue books by Marx and Engels from a pulping plant?"

tentively as one of the volunteers at the Pathfinder booth explained that the crisis of the Stalinist regimes had its roots in the consolidation of a privileged petty-bourgeois caste in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s. He nodded in agreement but commented, "I didn't know any of this before."

A woman who is an engineer from the city of Santiago, recounted a friend's experiences in the former Soviet Union and noted the discrimination in Russia against immigrants from the Asian republics. "They say there's a silver lining in every cloud, and I think it'll turn out that it was better that they [the regimes] fell. They weren't communists."

The art student who returned to the table, noted some of the harsh economic difficulties the Cuban people are facing today, including his own family, but emphasized, "I think we were too dependent on the Soviet Union and now we're going through a period of adjustment. It's a good thing." He added, "These tough times make it easier to tell who are the revolutionaries and who aren't."

Another youth who spent a while in discussions at the Pathfinder table had a very different view. "Granted, capitalism doesn't work, but socialism doesn't either." Only a few of the hundreds who exchanged opinions at the booth expressed that view, however.

A sailor on a fishing fleet picked up Pathfinder's Spanish language edition of *Socialism and Man* by Ernesto Che Guevara, another popular book at the fair. He described a recent workplace meeting — part of the current nationwide meetings called Workers Parliaments — where many of his shipmates expressed their conviction that Cuba could become less dependent on fish imports by repairing some of its existing fishing trawlers. "We're an island surrounded by fish. People [at the meeting] said, 'This is a big contribution we can make towards our country becoming self-sufficient.'"

At the end of the fair, the exhibited books were donated to several libraries and institutions in the Havana area, including the National Library, the University of Havana library, and the provincial library. The librarian at the provincial library, expressing enthusiasm for the book donation, said she planned to make a prominent promotional display of Pathfinder literature.

The book donations were made possible by financial contributions of Pathfinder book readers in the United States and elsewhere to the Books for Cuba Fund. To make a contribution to this fund send your check or money order to The Militant, 410 West St., NY, NY 10014, and earmark it "Books for Cuba Fund."

Iowa, Georgia meetings build support for Cuba aid caravan

BY PAT SMITH

Chris Mayer, a student at Roosevelt High School in Des Moines, Iowa, explained his school's participation in the third U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan at a February 3 "Speak Out Against the U.S. Embargo of Cuba." More than 40 people attended the event at Drake University, which was organized by the Des Moines-Cuba Friendship Hosting Committee.

Roosevelt students invited Rev. Don Gruber, a participant in last year's caravan, to speak to classes and an after school meeting. Gruber discussed the embargo and efforts of the upcoming aid caravan with the youth, who plan to collect school supplies as material aid for the Friendshipment.

The convoy, organized to oppose Washington's embargo of Cuba, will travel through dozens of cities in the United States and several in Canada from February 22 to March 6. Activists along the route will help organize meetings and press conferences for participants to speak out against the embargo and collect material aid for Cuba. After converging in Laredo, Texas, March 6, the caravan will cross the border to Mexico where the aid will be shipped to Cuba. Solidarity activists in Mexico will participate in this stage of the caravan.

Gruber, a retired Methodist minister from Ames, Iowa, told the gathering that the initiative of the young people at Roosevelt inspired him to call other high schools to set up speaking engagements. He encouraged participants to sign up as drivers for the caravan. "In all my 70 years," Gruber said, "this was the most exciting involvement of my life."

The second Friendshipment involved 300 drivers who delivered more than 100 tons of aid to Cuba last August. Activists are stepping up preparations and outreach for the third caravan.

Solidarity activists in Atlanta raised more than \$940 to help buy medical supplies for Cuba at a February 12 potluck dinner. "The meeting was well beyond our expectations," said Robin Singer, coordinator of the Atlanta committee building the Friendshipment. "This shows the potential for organizing around the struggle of the Cuban people to defend their revolution," he continued.

A Cuban-American college student said she came to the event to "learn everything I could about the caravan." The young woman volunteered to cook for the February 28 fund-raiser.

Activists in Miami are building a February 16 rally and press conference featuring Rev. Lucius Walker of Pastors for Peace. The event is being advertised on English- and Spanish-language radio stations and on campuses in the city. The Miami-Cuba Friendshipment Committee has also been busy raising money and collecting material aid.

Send off celebrations and welcoming parties are being organized in dozens of cities on the caravan's route.

For more information on the Friendshipment, contact Pastors for Peace at 331 17th Avenue SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. Tel (612) 378-0062.

Angel Lariscy from Des Moines, Iowa, and Marla Puziss and Alicia Merel from Atlanta contributed to this article.

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South Africa — The *Militant* is featuring firsthand reports on the African National Congress election campaign. *Militant* staff writer Greg Rosenberg, along with Brian Pugh from Salt Lake City and Brock Satter from Minneapolis, have just returned from a three-week reporting trip.

Ireland — *Militant* reporters Pete Clifford, Julie Crawford, Jim Gordon, and Tony Hunt recently traveled from Britain to Ireland to participate in a demonstration



Youth rally outside Victor Verster prison in South Africa to commemorate unbanning of ANC.

against British domination of the island. They will be writing about the reactions of workers, young people, and political activists to the "peace" negotiations on Northern Ireland.

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

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U.S. senator joins effort to get visas for Cuban youth

BY DOUG JENNESS

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota — U.S. senator Paul Wellstone from Minnesota has added his voice to those demanding that the U.S. State Department grant visas to two Cuban youth who have been invited to the United States to exchange ideas with students at several dozen college campuses.

In a February 7 letter to Dennis Hays, director of the Office of Cuban Affairs at the State Department, Wellstone states: "I support the exchange of ideas, values and opinions that can be stimulated by such a visit and again urge your careful reconsideration of their applications. I would appreciate it if you would review this matter and advise me of your findings."

Wellstone joins two other Minnesota elected officials — Representatives Martin Sabo and Collin Peterson — in urging approval for the visit.

The youth, Arleen Rodríguez Derivet and Pavel Díaz Hernández, have been invited to the United States for a series of lectures at universities in February and March by more than 50 professors and student groups at 31 campuses in 23 cities.

Salima Marriott, delegate from the 40th legislative district to the Maryland House of Delegates, urged approval of the visas. "They have been invited by professors and students to exchange ideas, values, and opinions with young people in the U.S.," said Marriott. "The First Amendment guarantees the right of U.S. citizens to freely express and hear [various] views. This includes the right to hear the views of those from a country with a different political and economic system."

Edward Schuh, Dean of the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, recalled in a letter to Hays that the State Department official had been a guest of the Institute along with Alfonso Fraga, head of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., last November. "It is from this perspective," he wrote, "that I appeal to you to grant these two young Cubans the right to come to this country and interact with some of our citizenry."

Other messages sent to Hays so far include letters from Jon Moline, vice-president and Dean of St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota; Thomas Gumbleton, Auxiliary Bishop of the Catholic church's Archdiocese of Detroit; Rosemary Barbera, Associate Director of the Campus Ministry at LaSalle University in Philadelphia; Prof. Jose Moreno, University of Pittsburgh; Prof. Dario Euraque, coordinator of Latin American Studies at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut; and Eddie Allen, Managing Editor of the *South End*, student newspaper at Wayne State University in Detroit.

The U.S. Interests Section in Cuba initially turned down the visa requests by the two Cuban youth in January on the grounds that they had insufficient ties to their country to compel them to return after a temporary visit to the United States. Several politicians,

academics, and others denounced this immediately as an obviously spurious pretext. Rodríguez is the editor of *Juventud Rebelde*, one of Cuba's major weeklies and a member of the country's parliament, the National Assembly. Díaz has similar strong ties to Cuba.

In mid-January, U.S. officials in Havana informed the Cuban youth that an error had been made and they should resubmit their applications, which they did. On February 7, Rodríguez and Díaz were interviewed by an official of the U.S. Interests Section. Although the visit was scheduled to begin February 15, the official told the youth they will not get an answer to their visa requests before February 21.

The fight for visas for Rodríguez and Díaz occurs at the same time that U.S. travel barriers are being debated in ruling-class circles. The *New York Times* criticized some of Washington's severe travel restrictions to Cuba in a February 14 editorial titled "A Demeaning Travel Ban to Cuba."

"It is hard to deny the value of a free trade in ideas and information across international frontiers," the *Times* editors wrote. "Yet for five years, successive Administrations have resisted lifting restrictions on travel by writers and artists during trade embargoes against countries like North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba."

"The other day," the editorial continued, "the Administration completed its review of travel bans and decided that some liberalization was in order — but not for Cuba." This review came after Representative Howard Berman and Senator John Kerry proposed amendments to existing laws to ease restrictions on travel "whose purpose is informational, educational, religious, or humanitarian."

The *Times* editors, who share the U.S. rulers' hatred toward the socialist revolution in Cuba, advocated maintaining the ban on U.S. tourism to Cuba but "lowering the barrier to teachers, writers, artists, physicians, human rights advocates and church leaders."

The Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, which is coordinating the visit by Rodríguez and Díaz, is conducting an all-out effort to get dozens of additional messages from professors and other academics, politicians, clergy, student leaders, journalists, and other prominent figures urging the State Department expedite the visas.

Messages urging the visas be granted should be sent to: Dennis Hays, Director of the Office of Cuban Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2200 C Street NW, RA-CCA, Room 3250, Washington, D.C. 20520. Fax: (202) 736-4475.

Please send copies to the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, c/o Prof. Guillermo Rojas, 102, Scott Hall, 72 Pleasant Ave. SE, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455. Tel: (612) 624-6005; Fax: (612) 624-3858.



Cuban youth Arleen Rodríguez Derivet and Pavel Díaz Hernández

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ANC leader speaks on rightist threats, debate on abortion

BY GREG ROSENBERG

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — In a February 4 interview here, African National Congress leader Baleka Kgositsile outlined some of the challenges facing the democratic revolution unfolding in South Africa. Kgositsile is a member of the ANC's Negotiations Commission and was nominated as one of the organization's 200 candidates for a new constituent assembly to be elected in April. Until December she held the position of secretary general of the ANC Women's League.

The greatest threat facing the ANC-led democratic movement, said Kgositsile, "is the right wing. When I say right wing, I don't mean only the white right wing."

In negotiations with the Freedom Alliance — a coalition of the Inkatha Freedom Party, white separatist parties, and the military ruler of the Bophuthatswana bantustan — the ANC has steadfastly rejected calls for a new apartheid minstate-black or white.

Responding to the call for an Afrikaner Volkstaat, or homeland, Kgositsile asked "just where in South Africa could you possibly create this kind of place? Are you going to force all Afrikaners, who are scattered throughout the country, into this one corner? What are you going to do with black people living in whatever corner you decide you should have for this volkstaat? The right can't come up with answers to these questions," she said.

"What you are dealing with here," Kgositsile said, "is a case of fear" on the part of sections of the white minority. "These are deep-rooted fears based on the past. They know the evils that they've done through apartheid. They have been enjoying comforts," while the great majority have lived under the boot of the racist regime. "They have fears that we might want revenge."

The ANC is fighting to forge a nonracial,

nonsexist, democratic republic, she continued, and is not interested in retribution. "These fears are unfounded." In fact, the ANC's greatest weapon in this stage of the fight "is through dialogue. By talking with each other. I think we are making inroads," she continued. "Many are now admitting that they can't reverse history."

"War means all of us are going to die." The ANC leader said that those fighting for a nonracial South Africa "are not going to be folding our hands indefinitely, saying we'll do all the dying."

In the negotiations "there are those who recognize that the ANC has been quite reasonable in trying to accommodate the needs and views of its opponents," Kgositsile said.

Abortion and women's rights

The draft of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme, discussed by delegates at a national leadership conference in January, outlines the economic and social tasks that will face the new government when it comes to power following the elections. Abortion rights is one of the points in the program that has drawn the most public debate.

"Every woman," says the document, "must have the right to choose whether or not to have early termination of pregnancy according to her own individual beliefs."

"This is one issue that we must come out on before the elections," said Kgositsile. "It's a real issue, as uncomfortable as it seems to many people even within our own ranks. Some of us just feel that it's one of those things you've got to take a lead on."

"I think we've just shied away from the debate in this country. On one level we're surprised that in countries like America this is something around which there are demonstrations and such heated divisions," she said.



ANC president Nelson Mandela addresses a People's Forum January 30 in Rustenburg, South Africa. Baleka Kgositsile said demands of the right wing are based on fear.

"In November 1989 we had a workshop on women, and for the first time in the ANC the issue of abortion was discussed quite openly by both men and women," Kgositsile said. "It was said that this is a matter over which there must be a discussion between the two individuals involved. But should there be a dispute, the word of the woman must be what decides."

"It's a woman's body," she said. "The woman should have the final say on what happens. I hold that it's not a matter over which we should legislate and say what happens. A woman must make the decision depending on the circumstances surrounding the particular pregnancy. A woman might for one reason or another just not welcome this child."

"There is no reason for us to increase misery in this country," said Kgositsile. "Not only must it be legal for women to have an abortion, but in my view, the state must take responsibility and make facilities for this to be done in a healthy way. We must not have the situation where there are back-street abortions, conducted in the most unhealthy

and terrible conditions."

Kgositsile noted that the discussion within the ANC was continuing on this, and some people are expressing sharp opposition.

International solidarity needed

"All democratic-minded people must know that we need all the help we can get from you," said Kgositsile, as the ANC conducts its election campaign and prepares to assume its role in a new government. "No contribution is too small, unimportant, or insignificant."

She emphasized that during the election campaign "funding is priority number one for us. We are trying to level the playing field so that we actually have a free and fair election."

"It's very important for the international community to monitor what's going on here . . . The tendency has been since [the ANC's unbanning in] 1990 for some of our friends and people who have supported our struggle to sort of sit back and say 'Well, it's all over now.' Yet this is the most difficult time. People must learn the truth so they can be able to inform others," said Kgositsile.

She said that foreign investment is important for the future of South Africa, and that young people are encouraged to visit the country and help out prior to the elections.

Transitional executive council

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) was formed as a byproduct of gains registered by the democratic movement. It is assuming growing powers over aspects of government in the country. Some newspaper columnists have charged that the body is ineffective.

"There are difficulties with the TEC," said Kgositsile. "To start with, we lost time in negotiations. We only formed the TEC in December," three months later than the ANC had wanted. "You need time and time is against the TEC, which began to really operate only in January." The elections are in April.

The government of president F.W. de Klerk "is quite hostile to the TEC. It can be expected to continue to play a negative role in the different subcouncils," of the body, "precisely because the TEC is there to take away from what used to be its domain. We are not meeting with cooperation."

"But it's a good thing the TEC is there," said Kgositsile. "Like the act of summoning [KwaZulu police chief Roy] During." During was forced to testify before the council on allegations that a police hit squad existed in the homeland.

"The TEC creates an air that you can't get away with anything with impunity," Kgositsile pointed out. "It is in the interests of the ANC to ensure the TEC functions properly. We must take the lead, and take responsibility," for its actions.

In closing, Kgositsile pointed out that in the fight for a democratic republic, divisions foisted upon working people over the decades by the white-minority regime are being budged. "Artificial boundaries are being blown to pieces," she said. "Either you stand for good, truth, progress, and a better life for the majority of people, or you stand for the few retaining the riches at the expense of the many."

ANC makes proposals on elections

Continued from front page

ernment is one of the chief instigators of violent assaults, which have left some 16,000 people dead in the past four years. Inkatha was shaken by public disclosures in 1991 that it had accepted secret aid from the South Afri-

can military for a number of years.

King Goodwill Zwelithini, a traditional leader of Zulus who is aligned with Inkatha, met with de Klerk on February 14 in Durban. Zwelithini demanded that the entire province of Natal, which runs along the

Indian Ocean, be ceded to a monarchy under his rule. Two days later, Buthelezi distanced himself from this demand, saying he didn't support secession. If KwaZulu becomes a monarchy, the Inkatha leader would lose his legal authority and become the king's servant.

"We don't believe there is any possibility that such a separate state could be created," said Carl Niehaus, a spokesperson for the ANC Department of Information and Publicity.

In negotiations with the Freedom Alliance, the ANC has stressed its commitment "to take into account the concerns and fears of the minority," as ANC president Nelson Mandela put it on January 20.

"We have fought for more than 80 years against ethnic solutions," Mandela told a People's Forum in Johannesburg. The attempt to maintain apartheid-like enclaves will be rejected by the ANC.

On the campaign trail February 13, Mandela reiterated the ANC's nonracial perspective to an audience of several thousand people in the Cape Town suburb of Retreat. The audience was composed of people classified by the apartheid regime as Coloured.

"In some cases," said the ANC president, "the impression has been given that affirmative action is only for African people. This is not true. I want to assure you that by affirmative action the ANC means opportunities must be opened to all who have been discriminated against."

According to a January 30 report in *Rapport*, published in Afrikaans, the General Staff of the South African Defense Force (SADF) warned de Klerk that rightist groups were preparing for violent attacks, and even a possible coup. The officer corps of the army and the police are riddled with rightist sympathizers. The SADF staff said that if rightist violence exploded, a figure of "60 percent or even higher" might not remain loyal to the government, according to the report.

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Framed-up Yellowknife strikers need solidarity

BY NED DMYTRYSHYN
AND JOE YOUNG

YELLOWKNIFE, Northwest Territories — A preliminary hearing opened February 14 in the frame-up trial of Roger Warren, a member of the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW) Local 4. Warren, who was arrested in October 1993, was charged with nine counts of first-degree murder following the Sept. 18, 1992, explosion at the Royal Oak gold mine in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories that killed nine replacement workers.

Since that time, the Royal Oak owners, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and the big business

run the mine. Very quickly a special RCMP riot squad was flown in by the federal government to be used against the strike. During the course of the walkout more than 100 charges were filed against union members, many of whom were convicted. Striker Corey Wells described the violence on the picket line. "It was being spurred on by the police," he said. "A lot of arrests were trumped up. Wayne Campbell got a \$1,000 fine for pointing his finger at a helicopter. If Peggy Witte [the owner of Royal Oak] hadn't brought in replacement workers this would not have happened."

History of cop provocation

On December 4 the *Vancouver Sun* reported that 30-40 undercover RCMP agents were operating during the strike. In the past, police agents and informers have been involved in provoking violence during strikes with the intention of discrediting unions. For example, on July 26, 1974, RCMP agent Robert Samson was wounded when a bomb he was placing near the home of a Steinberg executive in Montreal exploded. At the time workers were on strike against Steinberg, a major food chain. In 1987, it was revealed that Marc Boivin had operated for 10 years as an RCMP agent and then a Canadian Security and Intelligence Service informer in the Confederation of National Trade Unions based in Quebec. His activities included trying to convince union members to set bombs during strikes.

Since the September 1992 explosion at Royal Oak, a vicious frame-up campaign has been underway to blame the union and its members for the deaths of replacement workers that resulted from the blast. Scores of strikers have been interrogated by the RCMP and obliged to submit to lie detector tests. There have been police visits to relatives and friends, including in other provinces. Recently more than 30 strikers and their families received letters confirming that their phones had been tapped.

There are many unanswered questions as to how the explosion in the mine occurred. Were explosives being transported with the miners on the mine car at the time of the blast? Alexander Mikus, a CASAW member, explained to the *Militant*, "The company always transported explosives and men on the same cars." On Oct. 16, 1992, the *Vancouver Sun*, referring to a report by Dave Turner, chief mining in-

spector for the Northwest Territories, reported that safety inspectors who went through the mine after the September 18 explosion found "blasting caps, stick powder, and bags of explosives . . . in more than 20 improper locations at the mine owned by Royal Oak Mines." It is quite possible that the explosion was due to the company's criminal negligence.

Why did the owners wait about one and a half hours after the explosion to inform the police? Why were all out-of-town replacement workers flown out of Yellowknife 44 hours after the explosion?

Most strikers do not believe that Roger Warren did it. "I've known Roger for 12 years," stated Mikus, "and there is no way he could have done what he is accused of. First of all he has a weak heart. Roger was always calming everybody down on the picket line. I don't think the RCMP are really trying to find out who is responsible for the explosion. The night before the explosion I saw a white Ford pickup truck with Saskatchewan plates come out of the mine at 4 a.m. as I was on picket duty. The RCMP refused to follow this information up."

Asked his views of the justice system CASAW member Terry Legge replied, "Pathetic. There is no justice system or there is one but it is for another group of people." Asked about the charges against Roger Warren, he said, "I don't believe it. He's a scapegoat."

The union movement in Canada needs to rise to the defense of Warren, Bettger, and Shearing and oppose the frame-up. The aim of the bosses' campaign is to blacken the name of unions across Canada. They seek to victimize union militants who stand up to the employers' attacks. Referring to the three charged unionists, Frank Mills, a former striker, said, "Now is not the time to cast them aside."

A fund has been established for the legal defense of the miners. Contributions can be sent to the Canadian Auto Workers, c/o Jess Succamore, 707-12th St., New Westminster, B.C. V3M 4J7. Checks should be made out to the Canadian Auto Workers with an indication that the amount is for the defense of Bettger, Shearing, and Warren.

Ned Dmytryshyn is a laid-off member of Teamsters Local 213 and Joe Young is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 3495.

UNION TALK

media have been waging — without a shred of evidence — a massive frame-up campaign to blame striking CASAW members for the tragedy and the violence that occurred during the strike at the mine.

Two other strikers, Tim Bettger and Al Shearing, were arrested two days after Warren and charged with a series of offenses, including setting an explosive device, possession of a prohibited weapon, and uttering threats to cause death in incidents unrelated to the explosion in the mine.

All three unionists are being held without bail. Measures have been taken to isolate and break Warren. He was denied cigarettes and reading glasses for a week after being arrested and was moved from the Yellowknife Correctional Center to Edmonton for seven days without his wife being informed. It is virtually impossible for anyone but immediate family to visit Warren.

The strike, which began on May 22, 1992, ended in December of last year as strikers began returning to work with their union intact and a contract. The strike was marked by company and police violence from the beginning, as the owners of Royal Oak and the different levels of government and police that supported them attempted to break the union.

It was the owners who immediately brought in replacement workers and heavily armed Pinkerton guards in an attempt to

Mandela: 'April elections cannot be postponed'

Printed below is the February 16 statement issued by ANC president Nelson Mandela on constitutional negotiations and elections.

South Africa is today at the crossroads. The way forward requires vision and balanced leadership which transcends narrow political interests.

Great progress has been made towards the first democratic elections on April 27, 1994. Already, parties which have committed themselves to agreements arising out of multiparty negotiations are out in the hustings competing for votes in what has become the most exciting political mobilisation that our country has ever seen. Such is true democracy.

Yet there are others, steeped in the politics of the past — the politics of racism, ethnic chauvinism and violence — who seek to drown the process in blood. This shall not and cannot be allowed to continue.

It is necessary that all South Africans unite in a common endeavour to deal with this danger. We cannot allow the birth of our society as a united, nonracial, and democratic nation to be held ransom by captives of the apartheid past.

Now is the time for all our people — black and white, whatever our language or ethnic origins — to speak with one voice. The product of the negotiations process must reach its culmination with the election on April 27 of a new democratic government based on the will of all the people.

In this regard, the National Working Committee (NWC) of the ANC has reviewed the current situation and reaffirmed the following National Executive Committee decisions:

Firstly, that the elections on April 27, 1994, cannot under any circumstances be postponed.

Secondly, that the integrity and sovereignty of South Africa, as defined in the interim constitution, cannot be tampered with.

And thirdly, that measures need to be taken to address the fears of those who feel left out of the process, either as a result of misconceptions about what it entails or deliberate misinformation by those not interested in a genuine resolution of our problems.

In order to address these issues, the NWC reaffirmed decisions of the National

Executive Committee with regard to the following matters which have recently been under negotiations:

1. Inclusion in the Interim Constitution of a Constitutional Principle on self-determination, based on the negotiations conducted with the AVF [Afrikaner People's Front] and others; as well as provisions for a mechanism and process for the consideration of the issue of a volkstaat.

2. Provision for voters to cast two votes: one each for national and provincial representatives;

3. Amendment to the Interim Constitution to address the following provincial matters:

3.1. a constitutional provision for provincial finances based on agreements reached in negotiations with the Freedom Alliance;

3.2. a constitutional provision allowing provinces, in drafting provincial constitutions, to determine their own legislative and executive structures;

3.3. in order to grant greater security to the newly-elected democratic provincial governments, amend provisions of the interim constitution to ensure that powers presently granted are not substantially diminished when the Constitutional Assembly drafts the new constitution; and

3.4. that the democratically-elected provincial legislatures will decide on names for their provinces, and that, in the interim constitution, the province of Natal can be renamed KwaZulu/Natal.

Pursuant to these decisions, the ANC will recommend to other parties and the Transitional Executive Council that, in a matter of days:

● the multiparty forum should convene to discuss these proposed amendments;

● if the multiparty forum so decides, parliament should convene to adopt amendments agreed upon; and

● the date for registration of parties should be extended by a few days.

We wish to reiterate that these measures should only be implemented if they do not result in the postponement of the April 27 elections.

The ANC reaffirms its readiness to confer with His Majesty King Zwelithini on issues of concern to the monarch and other traditional leaders.

We are firmly of the view that these pro-



Andrew Mohamed/ANC DIP

Members of South Africa's Internal Stability Unit harass youth. ANC-led democratic movement won a victory when this unit was forced to withdraw from East Rand Black townships of Tokoza and Katlehong earlier this month. Plan was implemented by the Transitional Executive Council, which is assuming growing control over government.

posals remove all the remaining obstacles for the parties which have not yet done so to register and become part of the process. We do however recognise their right not to take part in the democratic elections. But no one has the right to disrupt the elections. No one should be allowed to do so.

We wish to issue a solemn reminder to those who think that they can use force to disrupt the democratic process that the peo-

ple of this country have both the capacity and the will to use their power to defeat these attempts. We call on our people to exercise maximum vigilance and ready themselves for any such attempts.

History and future generations would judge the current South African leadership harshly if we failed to take all the necessary measures to resolve South Africa's problems peacefully and through dialogue.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

South Africa: The Struggle for a Nonracial, Democratic Republic Advances. Sat., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Celebrate Black History Month. The Victory of the Civil Rights Movement: Lessons for Today. Speaker: James Warren, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; member of United Steelworkers of America Local 3247.

The Revolutionary Legacy of Malcolm X. Speaker: Brian Taylor, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 26, Civil Rights: 3 p.m. chili supper: 4:30 p.m. Malcolm X: 6 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt

Rd. (East of I-90/94) Donation for day's events: \$10. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Anti-Semitism: Where It Comes From and How to Fight It. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass Ave.) Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Youth and the Unfolding Revolution in South Africa: A Report Back from the January ANC Youth League Conference in Johannesburg. Speakers: Brock Satter, member of Student Po-

litical Organizing Committee; Jamil Salaam, chair, education committee, African Student Cultural Center. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. (One block north of University Ave., near 16A, 21A, and 4 buslines) Donation: \$3. Dinner: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

TEXAS

Houston

Malcolm X: The Final Years. The Evolution of a Revolutionary. Speaker: Jeaniel Clement, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway #250. Donation \$4. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

CANADA

Vancouver

Eyewitness report from Chiapas, Mexico:

Capitalist Crisis Sparks Peasant Revolt.

Speaker: Juan Villagomez, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from *Militant* reporting trip to Chiapas. Sun., Feb. 27, 3 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

South Africa: Support ANC's election Campaign. Includes report from meeting to launch the new Pathfinder release: *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Non-racial South Africa.* Speaker: Carolyn Allen, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

Aristide's visit sparks debate on Haiti in Canada

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — Exiled Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide used a six-day visit to Canada in late January to boost efforts by Ottawa and several other governments to have a total economic blockade imposed on Haiti. Aristide's government was overthrown in September 1991, by a military coup.

"The more we move toward applying total sanctions," he said in Ottawa January 24, "the less the Haitian people will suffer. To the extent that sanctions are applied partially, or hardly at all, then we will suffer more. We want them to be decisive."

The Canadian government is working with the governments of France, the United States, and Venezuela — the so-called "Four Friends of Haiti" — to introduce a resolu-

tion on sanctions before the United Nations Security Council. The Canadian military is already part of the naval blockade that is stopping some oil from reaching Haiti.

Aristide visited four cities in Canada — Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec City. He spoke at public rallies in Ottawa and Montreal.

He was greeted by an enthusiastic crowd of some 3,000 Haitian-Canadians in Montreal. There are more than 50,000 people of Haitian origin here.

Aristide condemned the military dictatorship that rules Haiti, accusing it of being responsible for the deaths of 4,000 Haitian civilians.

A recent series of articles in the *Globe and Mail* newspaper explained that support for the embargo among ordinary Haitians is

declining because of the hardships it has created without at the same time appearing to weaken the military regime.

The oil embargo has crippled the Haitian economy because of the effects on electricity production, farming, and transportation. What food is being produced often cannot reach markets.

The wealthy, however, can find the means to import essential and luxury items, and their foreign bank accounts in imperialist countries have not been touched.

Role of embargo discussed

Many participants at the Montreal rally favored a total embargo. "An embargo can work either way," Jacques Jean, said. "If it drags on and doesn't stop imports from

reaching the wealthy, then it doesn't help.

"If it is total, especially if it stops airplane flights, then it could help to bring down the regime."

According to Wiener Larrieux, "If an embargo hits the rich classes hard, then it could unblock the situation. As for the poor people, well, they're suffering already so it won't change their conditions."

Aristide made a call at the rally for the formation of an international police force to take over from the armed forces of the present regime. The force would include Haitians to be trained outside of Haiti. No other details of the plan were revealed. Aristide said most Haitians were deeply opposed to a foreign military intervention on their island. "If I ask for military intervention," he told journalists in Toronto, "I will be impeached by my constituents."

The Canadian government supports Aristide's plan. It already sent a contingent of Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to Haiti last year, to help "professionalize" the hated police of the military regime. This was part of an agreement reached between Aristide and the regime that was brokered by the U.S. government last July. But the regime backed out and its agents chased the RCMP contingent out of the country.

"The real solution to the crisis," said Jean, "will be a multinational military force. But without Americans. If there are Americans, the situation will be finished, it will become another Somalia."

"Canada would be welcome," said Wilson Dominique. "It's not going to act like the U.S."

Another participant at the Montreal rally, an immigrant from Africa, opposed this perspective. "There should be no foreign troops sent to Haiti," he said. "Look at what happened in the Congo [today Zaire] in the 1960s. The UN sent in troops supposedly to protect the elected government of Patrice Lumumba. But he wanted to improve conditions for the people, so he ends up assassinated and we've had 30 years of military dictatorship ever since." Canadian troops played a key role in the UN's Congo operation.

CALENDAR

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Dinner to Welcome Third U.S.-Cuba Friendship Caravan to Atlanta. Mon., Feb. 28, 6:30 p.m. First Existentialist Church, 470 Candler Park Drive. For further information, call Robin Singer at (404) 377-1079.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Celebrate the Publication of Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa. Sat., Mar. 19, 7 p.m. Reception 6 p.m. Harold Washington Library, Multipurpose Room B, 400 S. State St. Sponsored by Pathfinder Books, Attending to Black Culture Committee of the University Church, Ethiopian Community Association of Chicago, and Chicago chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. Donation: \$5. For more information, call Pathfinder Books (312) 829-6815.

Join Us to Send-off the Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment! Sun., Feb. 27, 2-6 p.m. First Congregational Church of Chicago, 1305 North Hamlin (Near Grand and Hamlin).

MARYLAND

Columbia

Rally and Dinner to Welcome U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. Cuban Dinner, the Malcolm X Park Drummers, music by the Companions. Speakers from the Friendshipment caravan. Sat., Feb. 26, 6-9 p.m. Wilde Lake Interfaith Center, Twin Rivers & Trumpeter Roads. For more information, call (410) 467-9388 ext. 3.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Celebrate and Send-off Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. Speaker: Gail Walker, spokesperson for Pastors for Peace. Music by Sergio Reyes. Potluck dinner served. Wed., Feb. 23, 6:30-9:30 p.m. Roxbury Community College, Student Center. Sponsored by July 26 Coalition and Caribbean Focus. Donation: \$5. For more information, call (617) 395-0656.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

End The U.S. Blockade Against Cuba! Let the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan Cross the Border. Welcoming Rally for Canadian Caravan. Sat., Feb. 26, 1:30 p.m. U.S. Customs Drive (at tunnel on Jefferson Ave., east of Woodward). Send-off Rally. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. Christ Church, 960 E. Jefferson Ave. Sponsored by Justice for Cuba Coalition, Canada-Cuba Friendshipment Committee, U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange, and Worker to Worker. For more information, call (313) 836-3752.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. Public meeting to protest the embargo. Sun., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. Fund-raising dinner 5:30 p.m. Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, 607 N. Greene Street. Sponsored by Triad Friendshipment to Cuba Coalition. Donation: \$10. For more information, call (910) 275-8414 or (910) 271-6605.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Send Off. The Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan. Fri., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. Germantown Friends Meeting, 47 W. Coulter St. (Between Germantown and Greene, 2-3 blocks South of Cheltenham). Sponsored by the Cuba Support Coalition. For more information, call (215) 729-8514 or (515) 426-0364.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Rally to Welcome the Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. Sat., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. St. Alloysius Church, corner of North Capitol and "Eye" Streets, N.W. Sponsored by Supporters of the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. For more information, call (202) 452-5966.

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Never say never? — "We're pretty certain... As far as we've been able to ascertain..." — En-



Harry Ring

ergy Secretary Hazel O'Leary advising a Congressional committee that the government is no longer doing radiation experiments on human beings in secret or without their informed consent.

He's been around the block —

An elementary school teacher in a mainly Latino community of L.A. told us this one: In classroom discussion of the earthquake, one pupil said that when it hit, her father shouted to her mother, "You get the baby, I'll get the documents."

Big time — The feds are pressing their crackdown on "massive fraud" among L.A. recipients of post-earthquake food stamps. A grocery operator was charged with paying an undercover agent \$240 for \$480 worth of stamps. And the previous day, the DA said, two guys were busted making a street buy.

Now maybe they'll do something — A team of geologists

found an earthquake fault under L.A.'s busy Wilshire Blvd. They said the fault "poses a seismic hazard to some of the most expensive real estate in the world."

Quake tip — Your earthquake emergency kit should include lipstick, mascara, eyebrow pencil, and related items, advises L.A. makeup specialist Eugenia Weston. It can "help calm the psyche and restore a sense of outer and inner harmony."

There goes the farmhouse — The Farmers Home Administration has \$4 billion outstanding in bad loans. More than half this amount is owed by some 1,000 wealthy farmers whose debts aver-

age \$2.3 million each.

Good a system as any — If you're considering a firsthand whirl at the stock market, check into Wall Street's Millennium Hotel. Guest services include consultation with a tarot card reader. \$100 an hour.

Duo — A top-of-the-page headline in the business section of the *Los Angeles Times* reported: "Productivity Index Rises Moderately." And immediately below: "Major Firms' Planned Layoffs Set Record."

We're back in style! — The depression-era look was in at a recent Big Apple fashion show. For instance, jackets that look like the one gramp wore.

So what's to complain — A survey found that British shoppers pay an average of 48 percent more for U.S. products. A \$30 pair of jeans, for instance, assertedly go for \$90. But, they conceded, a few U.S. imports are relative bargains, including theater productions and condoms.

Serving the children — To sweeten up its Lunchable Fun-packs, Oscar Mayer added M&Ms to the fat and salt-loaded cold cuts and crackers. One children's heart specialist sees it as a "nutritional disaster." Resounds an Oscar Mayer spokesperson: "This is not some big corporate plot to fatten up kids. This is what kids want."

Should workers support tobacco farmers' fight?

BY JOAN PALTRINERI

GREENSBORO, North Carolina — On January 26, I rode on one of six buses to a rally in Washington, D.C., against U.S. president Bill Clinton's proposal to increase the tax on cigarettes to 75 cents a pack. The buses were organized by Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers Local 192T at the American Tobacco Co. in Reidsville, North Carolina.

More than 1,000 tobacco workers and farmers gathered on the steps of the capitol to say that a hefty tax increase will mean people will purchase fewer cigarettes, resulting in more layoffs and threatening the farmers' ability to maintain their farms.

In addition, farmers were protesting the 10 percent cut in their quota allotment for

Human beings have a right to accurate scientific information on the health effects of smoking and other activities. But the government has no right to meddle — through social engineering — in someone's decision to smoke or drink.

Clinton argues that cigarette smoking is bad and raising taxes will reduce the number of smokers. But this comes from a government that murdered scores of people in Waco, Texas, last year; is discussing plans to bomb North Korea and Bosnia; has relaxed pollution controls on deadly waste from industry; conducted radiation experiments on soldiers and citizens without their knowledge or permission; and promotes the use of nuclear power and weapons.

A November 1993 tobacco farmers tractor parade protest in Greensboro, North Carolina, also challenged an across-the-board smoking ban proposed by the Guilford County Board of Health. The ban would prohibit smoking in all public places. I believe the farmers are correct in opposing this. Some provision should be made for people who choose to smoke. In fact the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union recently fought a blanket ban on smoking in its contract with Fieldcrest Cannon. The company added to the agreement a ban that prohibits smoking on all company property. The workers felt they had the right to smoke on their breaks and that a ban could lead to victimization of some workers.

Fieldcrest workers also stated that they found it hard to believe the company was interested in their health. They countered by saying the company should pay more attention to the question of cotton dust in the mills, which leads to a serious respiratory disease called brown lung.

Most of the tobacco workers on the buses are facing short work weeks. In addition, both R.J. Reynolds and Phillip Morris announced layoffs for 1994. Unlike some anti-smoking advocates who say the tobacco plants should shut down, these workers explain that the short weeks and layoffs should be opposed by all working people.

Tobacco industry made record profits

The layoffs, the smoking bans, and the proposed tax increase are attacks on the rights and living standards of all workers. It is not the tobacco companies who suffer. The tobacco industry made record profits right through the recessions of the 1980s. The layoffs are their way of protecting their profits. These attacks are an attempt by the ruling class to get workers and farmers in every state to pay for the capitalists' economic crisis.

The biggest challenge facing these activists is organizing a revolutionary movement of workers and farmers that can replace the political rule of the capitalist families with a government of workers and farmers that will fight for the rational use of the land and labor. The immediate concerns of tobacco workers and farmers are important and need to be addressed in this context. If not, these fighters will simply rely on Democratic or Republican Party politicians to pass reform legislation to patch up a capitalist system that does not work in the interests of working people.

Moreover, a fighting alliance of workers and farmers leads away from in any way relying on the tobacco companies as allies. Their brutal drive for profits is counterposed to our rights and living standards. It is time to build a movement of working people that can fight in our own interests.



Militant/Joan Paltrineri

More than 1,000 tobacco workers and farmers protested U.S. president Bill Clinton's proposed cigarette tax at January 26 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

AS I SEE IT

1994. The Department of Agriculture uses quotas to determine how many acres farmers can grow tobacco on. Nancy Strader, a farmer from Ruffin, North Carolina, explained that the cut will mean a decline in her income by \$17,500 in 1994 while expenses will remain constant at \$125,000.

The allotment system, first introduced in the 1985 Farm Bill, comes up with quotas based on the tobacco companies' buying intentions; the amount of imported tobacco, which the government sets through tariffs; and the amount of tobacco surplus from the previous year.

According to John Rogers, a tobacco farmer from Reidsville, the surplus is high this year — which means farmers are forced to grow less crops. Rogers said this was a result of fewer people smoking and a greater use of imported tobacco.

One pound of tobacco produces 26 packs of cigarettes, which sell for more than \$2 each. For each pound the farmer earns \$1.75, while the government collects \$6.32 in taxes.

John Ashe, another Reidsville tobacco farmer, pointed out that most tobacco farms are small. The average is 50 acres or less. This is in contrast to the much larger grain farms that can be hundreds of acres. "The 10 percent cut will hit us pretty hard," Ashe said, "but the worst thing is that this is just the beginning of the cuts. They claim next year there will be more."

One young Black worker from the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co. in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, said he wasn't convinced how much good it does. "I went to Washington last year with the workers from the R.J. Reynolds plant in Winston-Salem," he said. "Whenever we go to visit the congressmen they never seem to be in."

Clinton has defended the tax increase by arguing that it will help pay for his proposed health-care reforms. "People who smoke should pay more for a pack of cigarettes," he said in his State of the Union speech to Congress the evening prior to the rally.

Some of those traveling to the march argued that Clinton should tax other "bad habits" and not just pick on tobacco. "Why not raise the tax on alcohol?" was a common comment.

I disagree with this. Taxes on consumer items such as clothes, food, automobiles, alcohol, and tobacco hit working people the hardest and should be eliminated. Urging the government to levy or raise taxes on some goods over others acts to divide working people and reduce the discussion to morals.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

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The strike of black students and their supporters at the University of Wisconsin entered its second week in high morale and with a determination to see the struggle through. The high point of the first week of the strike was a torchlight parade of over 12,000 to the State Capitol on Thursday, Feb. 13. The march was in response to the university's failure to meet the 13 demands of the black students and in answer to the call-up of more than 2,000 National Guardsmen to police the campus.

The 13 demands center around:

- An autonomous black studies department.
- Full five-year scholarships for all athletes.
- Immediate admission to the University of Wisconsin of all black students expelled from Oshkosh State University last November.
- Enrollment of 500 more Afro-American students by September 1969.

The strike began on Monday, Feb. 10, with students picketing the main classroom buildings. Despite continued proclamations by Chancellor Edwin Young that the demonstrators were only a small fringe group, the base of the strike continued to grow.

The university — which claimed to have no funds and no power to implement black student demands — called out the National Guard on Wednesday afternoon. The cost for the Guard and riot police is \$38,000 a day — more than it would cost to hire two full professors for a year!

By Thursday night, support for the strike

had grown to truly massive proportions, largely because of the resentment against the cops and troops on campus. The response was a turnout of more than 12,000 people for an "illegal" torchlight parade to the State Capitol.

The next day, the National Guard was reinforced by another 1,200, bringing the total Guard contingent to around 2,100. Yet even with the extra troops, plus 400 riot cops from throughout southern Wisconsin, the strikers continued to march through the campus, outflanking the armed forces and gaining even greater support from the students. At the high point, there were about 4,000 students and their supporters in the streets, reaffirming their support for the black students' demands.

THE MILITANT

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February 26, 1944

Strikes and labor demonstrations "prompted more by political than economic reasons" broke out in various parts of Argentina last week, according to a special wire to the *N.Y. Times*, Feb. 19. The strikes began among construction workers in Quilmes in the Province of Buenos Aires and rapidly spread to thousands of construction and metallurgical workers in Buenos Aires and elsewhere when they received word of an assault by the police on the Quilmes strikers. The *Times* reports the dictatorial [Pedro Pablo] Ramirez regime is taking exceptional measures to suppress the strikes quickly, since the government fears the strikes may become general and take the form of revolutionary action against the regime.

This is the first news of the efforts of the Argentine proletariat to intervene in the present critical political situation by means of their own independent class action.

New shots in trade war

The Clinton administration, eager to demonstrate its Japan-bashing prowess, has initiated trade sanctions against Tokyo while using its economic muscle to force a shift in the value of the yen in relation to the dollar.

The U.S. administration is threatening to unleash a trade war to accomplish its goals. Trade wars lead to shooting wars. It was trade conflicts, in fact, that characterized U.S.-Japan relations leading up to World War II. U.S. big business like the owners of the Big Three auto companies, Motorola, Pittston Coal, and the like are perfectly willing to sacrifice the lives of millions of working people if that is what they perceive is in their interests.

Capitalists worldwide are engaged in a frenzy of other speculation and capital investment. They are pouring money into stocks, bonds, and other speculative ventures, building up a huge bubble of paper values. It's not profitable any more to invest in expanding productive capacity of industry. But the bubble is bound to burst. When it does, workers and farmers, who are already bearing the brunt of the effects of the depression, will face an economic catastrophe akin to what developed in the 1920s and '30s.

The bipartisan campaign in Washington, repeated by every boss around the country, is aimed at blaming someone else for unemployment, the assault on wages and working conditions, and growing social breakdown. Japan is a favorite scapegoat. Despite this, more cautious elements in the ruling class, concerned about worldwide instability, warn Clinton not to go too far. "Japan Inc. is dead or at least dying," said an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* February 15. "Even the Japan-bashing American automakers are reporting record profits," the *Journal* editors wrote.

But it is precisely the relative weakness of Japanese

imperialism, and the continued military and economic dominance by Washington around the world, that leads Clinton and company to feel they have the taste of blood in their mouth. The rulers in Tokyo haven't even begun the "downsizing" and slashing of social programs that has given Washington a big advantage in labor productivity. U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor, Clinton, and the capitalist families they speak for are bent on using this edge.

The U.S. president, the chief executive of the world's most powerful imperialist regime, aims to draw workers and farmers into siding with Washington in its conflict with Tokyo. Working people on both sides of the Pacific, however, have no interest whatsoever in supporting either the U.S. or Japanese capitalists in their rivalry, over the world's markets.

The labor movement should reject all protectionist demands and trade sanctions initiated by Washington or its rivals in Tokyo.

What workers need is international collaboration and solidarity in a common fight to defend their standard of living and democratic rights against attacks by the employers and their governments. The top labor officials in the United States are cheerleading Clinton's Japan bashing. This is a disastrous course for the working class.

Advancing demands for a shorter work week with no cut in pay and affirmative action programs can unite workers. Such a campaign should link up with the fight to cancel the onerous debt faced by working people in the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Through struggle for such demands, working people can build the kind of leadership that can challenge the war makers for power and begin to build a society based on human needs, not profits.

Gov't is guilty of Waco deaths

"The government is not on trial," asserted Ray Jahn, prosecutor in the trial of the survivors of President Bill Clinton's massacre in Waco, Texas. But that's precisely who should be on trial. The evidence presented proves beyond a shadow of a doubt it was the government and its cop agencies, at the highest levels, who were directly responsible for the deaths of more than 90 human beings there last year.

The conflagration in Waco, which inaugurated the tenure of Attorney General Janet Reno, stands out as a symbol of the Clinton presidency as a whole. The same cold-blooded disregard for human life is repeated over and over in White House policies at home and around the world — from attacking entitlements such as Medicare and welfare to forcibly returning Haitian refugees and gunning down civilians in Somalia.

Reno and Clinton ordered the tank assault in Waco knowing that dozens of lives, including those of young children, were at risk. They then tried to blame the victims for the deaths. The same duo is now pushing measures to expand executions and mandatory sentencing in the so-called anticrime bill.

Through the trial of the survivors, the government and big-business media are trying to numb working people to the brutality shown by the cops in Waco. That's why so much of the prosecutors' case revolved around the sect's supposed "theology of death," as well as alleged suicide pacts and mercy killings. The message workers are supposed to get is "they got what they deserved."

But the Branch Davidians' beliefs are not on trial. Unpopular views are not an excuse for police brutality under any circumstance, and the working class cannot afford to

give one inch on this question. If a small religious group can be labeled fanatics and on that grounds subjected to murderous assault, what does that mean for the labor movement? For Black and immigrant rights groups? For opponents of Washington's wars?

There are basic democratic rights at stake in the Waco trial. The government pointed to guns found in the ruins to claim the initial assault by 100 heavily armed police was necessary. But as one defense attorney pointed out, a groundless search cannot be justified after the fact by what it turns up. And the government's own agents admitted they had never seen any illegal weapons.

Another issue involved is the presumption of innocence and burden of proof. The 11 defendants are charged under conspiracy statutes that do not require the government to prove they actually carried out specific criminal acts. Even those who prosecutors admit never fired a gun at a cop face life imprisonment without parole.

The day after the lethal fire, Clinton praised the cops who executed the attack, calling them "the same FBI that found the people that bombed the World Trade Center in lickety-split record time." There are similar abuses of democratic rights in that trial as well. At one point the prosecutor complained that a video belonging to one defendant was "clearly anti-American." The government has no proof that the four accused men carried out the bombing, however, and their beliefs have no bearing on the question.

Working people need to reject these attempts to take away democratic rights through frame-up trials. It is the U.S. government — above all Reno and Clinton — who are guilty in the Waco massacre.

End farm foreclosures

The U.S. Department of Agriculture's decision to lift a moratorium on farm foreclosures will deal a devastating blow to thousands of working farmers. The labor movement should speak out against this latest move by the government to protect the profits of the banks and other capitalists at the expense of small rural producers.

The ruling class tries to make farmers out to be lazy freeloaders if they can't pay back the banks. "You are not operating a charity," one U.S. senator said, demanding that the Farmers Home Administration force tens of thousands of rural producers to pay up their loans. The implication is that farmers are greedy, using up scarce government resources that working people need.

This is a complete lie. As farm activist Larry Ginter explained, the government pits "worker against farmer and then rips us all off." The overwhelming bulk of subsidies and price supports go to large capitalist farmers and agricultural traders, not to small family farmers. When floods, drought, or other natural disasters strike, relief for those who lose their crops is totally inadequate.

The resumption of foreclosures will hit farmers affected by last year's flooding especially hard. But capitalism creates problems for small farmers that go far beyond conjunctural crises caused by bad weather. When farmers have a good crop, the market works to drive down the price

they receive for their produce. Either way, farmers are squeezed between high prices for equipment, fertilizer, and loans and the low price they receive from the large processors and food monopolies.

The banks, grain monopolies, and large capitalist farms get rich off this system, while many small working farmers have to get jobs off the farm just to make ends meet.

Tobacco farmers are now feeling this squeeze. Allotments for how much they can grow will be slashed 10 percent this year, while production outlays remain roughly the same.

The huge cigarette makers pay farmers low prices for their product while throwing many workers onto the streets in an effort to maintain profits.

The working class and small working farmers have a common interest in getting rid of capitalism, the source of their problems. As part of building an alliance between workers and farmers, the labor movement can put forward concrete demands such as:

- adequate government relief for all small farmers hit by floods and other disasters;
- an immediate ban on all farm foreclosures;
- and a guaranteed living income plus production costs for all working farmers.

Movie portrays frame-up of the Guildford Four

In the Name of the Father. Directed by Jim Sheridan. Screenplay by Terry George and Jim Sheridan. Starring Daniel Day-Lewis, Emma Thompson, and Pete Postlethwaite.

BY MARC LICHTMAN

NEW YORK — Since the movie industry usually deals with the conflict in British-occupied Northern Ireland through fantasies of Irish Republican Army psychopaths, as in "Patriot Games" and the "Crying Game," it's refreshing to see a major film on the subject that is not a "game," but rather based on true events.

"In the Name of the Father" tells the story of Gerry Conlon, one of the Guildford Four. These three young men from Belfast and one young English woman were framed up and imprisoned for 15 years for two IRA pub bombings in England. Five people died as a result of the blasts. Another group of people, the Maguire Seven, were convicted as bomb makers. They included Conlon's aunt, Annie Maguire; two cousins aged 13 and 15 at the time of their arrest; and Gerry's father Giuseppe Conlon, who had been in poor

IN REVIEW

health for years and died while in prison in 1980.

In 1974 the British government had seized on a series of IRA bombings in England to launch major attacks on democratic rights. The Guildford Four were among the first arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. This law — which is still in effect today — allows the British government to hold people in custody for up to seven days without access to a lawyer. The terrorism act and the frame-ups of innocent people like the Guildford Four and the Maguires were an attempt to intimidate and stigmatize all Irish immigrants, as well as opponents of the occupation of Northern Ireland. While the British government is very successful at keeping the British and Irish working classes divided, the fact that after long campaigns all of these frame-up victims have been exonerated and released shows that it is possible to build broad solidarity.

The movie appears at a particularly important time — when the British imperialists and the capitalist government in the south of Ireland are trying to find a new formula to stabilize Northern Ireland. The news media is full of talk about negotiations and the usual nonsense about "religious war," but working people are looking for answers to what the conflict is really about, and how it can be solved.

One of the first scenes in the film shows the terrifying presence of British troops in West Belfast, and the mass resistance to them common in the early 1970s (and revived again for a few years in the early 1980s.) The film then follows Gerry Conlon (played convincingly by Daniel Day-Lewis), who moves to London after being threatened by the IRA for his activities as a petty thief. The movie shows the interrogation sessions at the hands of the British police, the forced confessions, the role of activist British lawyers like Gareth Peirce (Emma Thompson), and gives a small glimpse of the campaign that led to the release of the Guildford Four in 1989.

"In the Name of the Father" is very loosely based on Gerry Conlon's autobiography, *Proved Innocent*, now re-issued with the same title as the movie. Some of the fictionalized portions are clearly for the purpose of creating a fast-paced film, centered around a moving story of the often tumultuous relationship between Conlon and his father, played by Pete Postlethwaite.

But some of the fictionalization has political content. The interrogation scenes, while quite brutal, do not come close to conveying the physical torture that was used to obtain false confessions.

More importantly, the movie bends to the pressure of British imperialism and to the usual Hollywood image by creating a familiar character — the IRA psychopath. The fictional Joe McAndrew is based on Joe O'Connell, an IRA member who later confessed to the Guildford bombing. "The indictment does not include two charges concerning the Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings," O'Connell said while on trial for other bombing incidents. "I took part in both, for which innocent people have been convicted." He later became a friend of Gerry Conlon in prison.

Conlon says in his book that the IRA prisoners "were a strong influence for good over me, offering the protection and sense of belonging which I so badly needed. They were like an extended family. That will sound strange only to those who have the IRA Monsters stereotype in their heads." Conlon had arguments with screenwriters Terry George and Jim Sheridan over the totally fictional scene in the movie where McAndrew sets a prison guard on fire. But he told the *Irish Voice* that he agreed to it because "we decided to make an anti-violence film, and the scene became relevant."

The IRA bombings are an obstacle to victory in the Irish freedom struggle and to uniting British and Irish workers. But demonizing these anti-imperialist fighters simply clouds the political issues involved.

Still, it's a good movie — catch it while you can, because the next films on the conflict are likely to have nothing to offer except IRA monsters.

Marc Lichtman is a member of International Union of Allied, Novelty and Production Workers Local 139.

Gov't lifts farm foreclosure moratorium

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — In a move that will force thousands of debt-ridden working farmers off the land, aides to U.S. Department of Agriculture secretary Mike Espy announced February 3 that he would lift an 11-month moratorium on farm foreclosures.

The information appeared in a small article in the February 4 financial section of the Minneapolis *Star-Tribune*.

Federal initiatives to collect payment will fall most heavily on farmers who owe money to the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), supposedly the financial lender of last resort for rural producers.

The FmHA has more than 225,000 outstanding direct loans to farmers, valued at nearly \$14 billion. Of that amount, \$4.2 billion represents loans to more than 50,000 farmers and is considered overdue. The FmHA sustained \$7.6 billion in loan losses between October 1988 and June 1992.

Espy had announced in March 1993 that he would block foreclosures that farmers had not yet appealed in court. During the subsequent moratorium, the FmHA reconsidered 1,090 foreclosures. Of these, it upheld 692 and rejected 398. Another 1,800 farmers who legally could have appealed foreclosures did not. The period of "reconsideration" is now apparently over.

Implementation of foreclosure proceedings would be a massive "disaster," Larry Ginter, a Rhodes, Iowa, hog farmer, told the *Militant*.

"We can't stand too many hits like this," said Ginter, who is a member of the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition and American Agriculture Movement.

"The whole farm lending system is rotten to the core," he continued. The federal government "pits farmer against farmer, worker against worker, farmer against worker, and worker against farmer, and then rips us all off."

Ginter explained that he is not, "a borrower," but because he did not lose enough crops in the floods to qualify for minimum disaster relief, the future of his farm is "tenuous."

Delores Swoboda, a leader of the family farm organization, Groundswell, was also shocked to hear news about the end of the foreclosure moratorium.

The blow of foreclosures would be heavy in flood-ravaged southern Minnesota, she

said. Farmers owing money to the FmHA, "just like everybody else, can't make it go."

The January issue of *Top Producer*, a national farm journal, stated that 33 percent of Minnesota farmers had a "negative cash flow" in 1993, Swoboda said. Of Minnesota's 88,000 farmers, 38 percent are unable to pay all or most long-term and operating expense debts.

Top Producer expects 6 percent of Minnesota's most devastated producers to "significantly liquidate assets." "That's a lot of farmers no matter how you add it up," stated Swoboda.

Many of the "delinquent" farmers are those hit hardest by the huge floods in the Midwest last year.

These farmers received little or no relief from the government for their crop and livestock losses, and are simply unable to pay back mounting interest, let alone principal, on loans.

Their worsening plight has not won sympathy in Washington. "You are not operating a charity," Indiana Republican senator Richard Lugar told FmHA administrator Michael Dunn at the February 3 hearing. "These [loans] are not grants."

Worst crop yield in decades

The announcement of the lifting of the foreclosure moratorium came on top of more bad news for Minnesota farmers.

Confirming what farmers knew in their bones, the annual report issued by the Minnesota Agricultural Statistics Service January 12 states that crop yields here were the worst in decades.

Minnesota farmers suffered more than a billion dollars in losses due to heavy flooding, cool summer temperatures, and an early autumn crop-killing frost.

The report indicates farmers had their smallest corn crop in more than three decades, while soybean production dropped to near the record lows of the drought-ravaged 1976 harvest.

National harvests for corn and soybean fell below 1992 yields by 33 percent and 17 percent, respectively.

Sugar beets, a major western Minnesota crop harvested primarily by Mexican and Chicano workers, declined by 22 percent,



Militant/Jon Hillson
Gene and Delores Swoboda point to damage caused by 1993 floods to wheatfields on their farm in Redwood County, Minnesota. Lifting of the farm foreclosure moratorium means many more farmers may lose their land.

throwing thousands of these farm laborers out of work. Spring wheat production for 1994 is down 49 percent from 1993.

"It's probably the worst [harvest] in the last 50 years in Minnesota for the number of farmers that are affected," stated Wally Sparby, Minnesota director of the federal Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS).

The ASCS governs, regulates, and enforces farmer compliance with federal farm laws and pricing procedures.

Sparby estimated that up to 90 percent of Minnesota's farmers suffered crop losses in 1993. These rural producers received an average of 42 cents on the dollar in federal assistance for their ruined yields.

Since only a third of Minnesota corn farmers had any crop insurance coverage, the "average" aid figure in reality means that thousands of farmers suffered virtually total losses on their crops. Nationally, about 35 percent of farmers have crop insurance.

"For young guys with a lot of debt," said George Howse of the Minnesota Agricultural Statistics Service, "one bad year like this

might just wipe them out. And this year could convince a lot of older farmers to retire."

To add insult to injury, farmers learned in January that if their crop insurance payments came after December 31, as thousands did, they would be figured into their 1994 incomes for tax purposes.

This change will reduce a farmer's flood-deflated 1993 income below the level needed to claim key exemptions, while inflating 1994 income into a higher tax bracket.

Curt Gillespie, a farmer from Graceville, Minnesota, told *Agri-News*, a farm news-weekly published in southern Minnesota, the crop insurance delay will cost him close to \$6,000 in additional taxes. "This is a disaster for '93," said the soybean, corn, and wheat farmer, "and it's going to carry into '94."

The ASCS has set a March 4 deadline for its remaining disaster relief programs. To qualify for aid, farmers without crop insurance had to have lost a minimum of 40 percent of their crop.

Jon Hillson is a member of the United Transportation Union.

LETTERS

'New human beings'

Estelle DeBates's February 7 Discussion With Our Readers column regarding Antioch College's sexual code of conduct commented about substituting "a utopian search for improved personal relations for a real fight for women's rights." DeBates brought out many useful and thought provoking points about the code but this statement of hers implies to me that all cultural and social struggle for "new human beings" is futile until after the workers and farmers take political power. In other words, only political struggle is worthwhile until that "great getting up morning," the day of revolutionary victory.

In my view, this perspective flies in the face of the life and teachings of Malcolm X, who is so often featured in the *Militant*. While his greatness extends to the political arena, he offers us a one, two punch for revolution. He lived a life characterized by "cleaning up his own act." He sobered up from drug and alcohol addiction, he spoke out and acted on a program to counter psychological self-hate, he cleaned up his promiscuous behavior with women and he broke with his blind obedience and workaholic behavior with the Nation of Islam. His life was best characterized in my view as a personal revolution as well as him being a political revolutionary.

To make a well thought out case against a policy is the trademark of a revolutionary. But, in my opinion, to make a sweeping dismissal of the struggle to improve life on a personal level is dogmatic and wrong.

Phillip Amadon
Cincinnati, Ohio



Prisoners' rights

There are currently three cases in defense of prisoners' rights pending before state and federal courts. These cases take on the issue of prison officials' deliberate indifference to rape and assault. They challenge the notion that such actions are inevitable, or worse yet, part of a prisoners' punishment.

One case, argued recently before the U.S. Supreme Court, is about whether prison officials are responsible for ignoring the obvious possibility of a rape of a transsexual prisoner. The inmate, after taking female hormones for years, has a feminine appearance but male genitals. He was raped within two weeks of being put in prison.

In Broward County, Florida, an inmate won a court order allowing him to stay in isolation for his three years in prison. Despite having

been raped and beaten twice, he had been moved back into the general population a third time.

A 1982 suit on prison conditions won by 10 prisoners is now being contested by the state of Florida. The judge ruled against a prison superintendent for permitting "lawless" conditions at Glades Correctional Institution, awarded damages, and ordered the prison to protect inmates and offer rape counseling.

In the current climate of increased attacks on democratic rights in the name of fighting drugs and crime, cases like these deserve full support. Local and state officials in Florida have recently instituted boot camps and curfews aimed at youth. They proudly point out that boot camps offer less amenities and are a cheaper alternative to prisons. One can only imagine what condition and wholesale violations of rights inmates will face in these

innovations of the "crime-fighting," "tax-saving" politicians.
Maureen Coletta
Miami, Florida

Small businesspeople

I just finished reading *The Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* and would like to raise some ideas.

I am an airline worker but eventually I hope to own my own business. I am a victim of an industry in shambles and will probably be laid off soon.

First, you write you want a shorter (30 hour) work week.

How would this cap on hours work for small businesspeople who want to be independent and create things?

The American spirit came out of the opportunity to work and achieve. The economy grows from the new ideas of risk-taking entrepreneurs.

I think capitalism started because the common people wanted to excel and motivate people. That's how technology came about.

Capitalism fuels technology. How are you going to keep the fire burning if you eliminate capitalism?

And what's the point of being creative if you can't be rewarded for it financially or by other means? Otherwise anybody can take advantage of you.

If socialists want to appeal to everyone they have to create a program for everyone. There are socialists that own their own businesses.

Chris Georgoulas,
Miami, Florida

Concessions at Northwest

As employees at Northwest Airlines and members of the International Association of Machinists we thought *Militant* readers might be interested in what life has been like for us since we became "part owners" of the airline and had 11 percent pay cuts shoved down our throats in late 1993.

One of the first things the company did was to cut back staffing on the ramp crews in spite of increased loads of freight, bags and mail. Ticket and reservations agents experienced speed up as well.

Northwest has increased its use of on site drug testing for employees involved in even the smallest of accidents.

Giving money to United Airlines will only give the company cover to beat the hell out of you even harder.

The only security any of us have is the degree to which we stick together to defend ourselves from the real owners of the airlines who don't give a damn about us. Many workers on the ramp here in Minneapolis have started wearing union buttons to protest the company's policies. If unionists at United decide to fight this plan they will be doing themselves and every other worker a big favor.

Bob Krueger and Kip Hedges
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.

Antiracist fighter in Canada contests guilty verdict on conspiracy charges

BY GARY KETTNER

TORONTO, Canada — Antiracist fighter Dudley Laws, his lawyers, and supporters are charging police with entrapment in the wake of a guilty verdict in his trial here. A jury returned its decision February 8, after two days of deliberations, on five counts of conspiracy to violate U.S. and Canadian immigration laws.

Laws, who runs a consulting business that advises immigrants and refugees on citizenship and immigration matters, was originally arrested Oct. 15, 1991, after a four-month large-scale surveillance, wiretapping, and undercover operation by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Metropolitan Toronto Police.

Police originally claimed he was running a commercial "alien smuggling" ring that regularly transported people across the U.S.-Canada border using a boat, van, tractor-trailer truck, and other means. But in the end the only hard evidence presented involved the transporting of undercover cops.

Spy operation targets Black community

Laws is also a leader of the Black Action Defence Committee (BADC) and one of the best-known fighters against police brutality in Canada. In 1991 the Metro Toronto Police Association sued him for libel after he called the Toronto cops "the most murderous in North America." He has worked for many years as an immigration consultant.

"You know the verdict," Laws told reporters, "and you also know that I am not guilty."

The judge declared a mistrial in the two other counts involving conspiracy to smuggle undercover cops into the United States.

Despite the jury's verdict, the convictions have not been registered. Laws's lawyer, Peter Rosenthal, filed a motion to have the decision stayed on the grounds that Laws was the victim of police entrapment. Under Canadian

law the issue of entrapment can only be raised after a finding of guilty is reached.

Larry Motley, an associate of Laws from Michigan, pleaded guilty to related charges in November 1993. He was sentenced January 25 to a three-month jail term.

During Laws's trial, which began January 5, the prosecution spent more than a month presenting the testimony of the undercover cops and playing selections from the thousands of hours of audio and video tapes that resulted from the wiretap operation.

Defense lawyers presented no evidence at the trial. They did not challenge the basic outlines of the prosecution's evidence regarding the transporting of the undercover cops. Instead, they argued that given the extent of the police surveillance, the failure of the prosecution to provide clear evidence of the transport of anyone other than the undercover cops demonstrated that there was no ongoing "alien smuggling" operation.

The defense also argued that no offense was committed because the undercover cops who posed as undocumented immigrants actually had the right to cross the border legally.

They argued that the scale and conduct of the police operation showed that it was part of a police vendetta against Laws.

Justice Arthur Whealy, in his instructions to the jury, said that evidence of police bias provided no defense against the charges. He insisted that conspiracy charges relate to an agreement to commit



Militant/Helen Nelson
Dudley Laws addressing a meeting in Toronto in 1992

an offense; whether or not an actual offense is committed is not relevant.

The hearing on the entrapment motion began February 9. The onus in the hearing is on the defense to prove to the judge on the balance of evidence that the police entrapped Laws.

During the hearing, which is expected to last several days, Rosenthal can recall and

question some of the cops involved in the investigation of Laws.

One of the first cops to testify at the hearing was Denny Dias, a member of the Metro Toronto Police Intelligence Services. He was the author of an April 1989 "Confidential Intelligence Report" which appeared in the police files disclosed to the defense. The report dealt with "Activists within the Black Community and their affiliation with various Radical Groups."

It identified 13 groups and 18 individuals including Laws, Charles Roach, and others who are active in the fight against police brutality and racism, as well as opponents of the apartheid government in South Africa.

Among the groups targeted were the "Black Action Defence Committee and Supporting Organizations," the Justice for Wade Lawson Committee and the Albert Johnson Committee Against Police Brutality (two groups established after police shootings of Blacks), the Anti-Apartheid Coalition of Toronto, the National Black Coalition of Canada, the National Council of Jamaicans, the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, the Freedom Ride Against Apartheid, and the Universal African Improvement Association.

The report contains brief summaries of the political activities and views of the individuals mentioned as well as personal information including home addresses and phone numbers, drivers' license numbers, and type of cars owned. It also gives police file numbers for some of those listed.

"The police have been targeting every person who speaks out in the Black community, whether or not they are radicals," commented Laws. "I think they worry we might do things against the establishment, so they keep an eye on us."

Dias testified that the police Intelligence Services were mandated "to look at all groups in certain communities."

Copies of the report were sent to various cop agencies, including the RCMP; the Toronto police security section, which monitors demonstrations; and Staff Inspector Julian Fantino, who later initiated the investigation of Laws.

Details of the report were front-page news in *The Toronto Star*, the largest-circulation Toronto newspaper.

Montreal rallies protest cop brutality

BY ROSEMARY RAY

MONTREAL — Public protests are growing in Montreal against the cop beating of Richard Barnabé who has been in a coma at the Montreal Neurological Institute since the December 14 assault. Doctors don't expect him to recover.

Fifty protesters against police brutality marched February 1 outside the hospital where Barnabé is staying. One protester carried a sign which said, "Griffin, Francois, Barnabé:

Enough is Enough." Anthony Griffin and Marcellus Francois, who were both Black, were shot dead by Montreal Urban Community (MUC) cops in 1987 and 1991 respectively.

Friends of Richard Barnabé, a group set up by the Black Coalition of Quebec, organized a demonstration outside the Montreal courthouse February 3 where six cops pleaded not guilty to charges of assaulting the 38-year-old taxi driver.

Cecile Hauchecorne, an organizer of the protest, which included other victims of police violence, called for a "general house-cleaning" of the MUC police department. Cops are treated "by a special set of rules," she said. "A normal person charged with what they're charged with would have been in prison a long time ago."

Barnabé, who is a white French-speaking Quebecois, went to see his parish priest at St. Martyrs Canadiens Church December 14 at 3 a.m. While banging on the church door, he broke a window. Twelve police cruisers arrived and 15-20 cops chased Barnabé as he attempted to get to his brother Raymond's home, who is himself a MUC cop. The police beat Barnabé in his brother's driveway and attacked him again while in police custody at Station 44.

The beating left Barnabé with a cranial trauma and broken ribs and arm. Hospital spokespeople have said that Barnabé will never regain consciousness and will remain in a vegetative state for the rest of his life.

Barnabé's family, along with church, civil rights, and Black groups have called on Quebec's public security minister, Claude Ryan, to hold a public inquiry into Barnabé's beating. The fact that there are no witnesses to the beating except the cops gives added weight to the need for an inquiry. The cops as defen-

dants in their own trial, have the legal right to refuse to testify against themselves.

The widespread concern that has erupted in Montreal about how dangerous and violent the city's cops are was reinforced January 21 when 26-year-old Stéphane Renaud was beaten by transit cops at the McGill Metro Station after he squashed a soda can on the floor. A videotape by a security camera recorded the beating and has resulted in two transit cops being charged with assault.

Rosemary Ray is a member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1900.

Abortion rights activists plan to defend clinics in Alabama

BY DENISE McINERNEY
AND HONEY GILMORE

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — Supporters of a woman's right to choose abortion are preparing to defend area clinics here from an attack by antiabortion rights forces. At a January 22 rally abortion rights opponents announced plans for "Passion for Life Week" to be held March 25-April 2. Rev. Jim Pinto, a local Episcopal priest and leader of actions at clinics, said the week's activities would include picketing, praying, and blocking entrances to clinics, physically denying people their right to enter. Pinto went on to invite people from throughout Alabama and the nation to participate.

In response, local pro-choice activists formed the Emergency Coalition for Choice. "Our goal is to mobilize as many supporters of the right to choose as possible to guarantee patients and staff have access to the clinics,"

stated coalition activist Rebecca Dobrinski.

Twenty people, including representatives from several organizations, attended the first coalition meeting. Two days after the initial meeting coalition members set up an organizing office.

A number of coalition members participated in the successful defense of clinics in Jackson, Mississippi, during Operation Rescue's Cities of Refuge campaign last July. They intend to use this experience to help prepare other activists to respond to the anticipated attack.

"We want to work with anyone who wants to be a part of the fight to keep the clinics open," said Dobrinski.

Anyone interested in participating or making a financial contribution can contact the Emergency Coalition for Choice at (205) 322-3232.



Richard Barnabé after police beating. He is not expected to recover from coma.