The Shafts of Death

Remember the Quecreek coal mine disaster in Pennsylvania last July? It left nine miners trapped 300 feet underground in rushing, frigid waters for more than three days. Bush rushed from his Crawford Ranch for a photo op with the rescued miners in Somerset County, Pennsylvania looking for a repeat of his performance at Ground Zero, the crowning moment of his presidency. “What took place here in Pennsylvania really represents the best of our country, what I call the spirit of America,” Bush proclaimed. Then he sped off to a $1.5 million dollar Republican fundraiser in Philadelphia. What took place in Quecreek was no “accident”, merely lethal normalcy, business-as-usual for the industry in the coal fields of Appalachia, where mine-and-run corporations send their workers down to extract every last yard from dwindling coal seams.

The Black Wolf Mining Company, a non-union operation, tried to pin the blame for the disaster on bad maps provided by the state of Pennsylvania, which led the mining crew to drill into the adjacent Saxman mine, abandoned in the 1950s and filled with 60 million gallons of water, which sluiced at 60 miles per hour into the Quecreek mine. But that excuse won’t wash. For one thing, officials at the company and federal regulators at the Mine Safety and Health Administration had been aware since at least 1999 that those maps were dangerously inaccurate. And in the days leading up to the disaster, the miners themselves had warned the company.

“The mine was wet from the very beginning”, says Ronald Hileman, one of the rescued miners. Hileman testified to senate investigators that the crew boss had told executives at the mining company about the bad condition at least twice before the collapse.

Black Wolf has been described in the press as a struggling local company. This is nonsense. It’s part of the coal industry’s echo of Enron’s structure, a series of shell-corporations and subsidiaries designed to maximize profits for the partners and shield them from liability.

The coal company which has only been around for a year and has already racked up 21 serious safety violations, operates the mine. It’s run by David Rebuck, an executive at Mincorp, an international mining conglomerate. Mincorp owns PBS Coal, which has operated in Pennsylvania for decades. PBS Coal controls Quecreek Mining, which owns the mine. Quecreek subcontracts the operations of the mine to Black Wolf. The parent company, Mincorp, is a spinoff from the British coal giant, Burnett and Hallamshire, once the darling of international financiers. It went belly-up in an Enron-style accounting scandal in the late 1980s.

The mining company’s executives didn’t even call the miners after they were pulled from the pit. Instead, they whined to the press that liabilities from the catastrophe might force them bankrupt unless they could find a way to cut costs.

Cost-cutting in mining means injury or death for the men down the shaft. The miners well knew Bush’s plans to slash safety funding by more than 6 percent, most of it coming from the coal mine enforcement division. The man Bush picked to head the Mine Safety and Health Administration, David Lauriski, is a long-time coal industry executive and lobbyist.

Shortly after taking office, Lauriski bragged to a group of coal industry executives that his regulatory agenda “is quite a bit shorter than some past agendas”. Indeed, death warrants usually tend towards brevity. Part of Lauriski’s abbreviated agenda is to reduce the number of times a mining company has to sample coal dust. (Mines continued on page 4)
Saddam’s Amnesty: Could It Happen Here? Are You Kidding?

If George Bush pulls 100 per cent of the vote will he proclaim a general amnesty for all prisoners, the way Saddam Hussein has just done after pulling his 100 per cent under polling conditions that would surely have excited the envy of any Florida election official? Saddam declared amnesty for not only political prisoners but also criminals. Murderers, both convicted and accused, have to get an okay from the mother of the victim, and debtors a green light from their creditors.

Clearly the Iraqi Corrections Officers’ Union hasn’t much clout in Baghdad. Nor has the prison construction industry. Imagine what would happen in this country if word leaked out that the President was thinking of amnestying any violent criminals, let alone almost all of the inmates of the federal Gulag. A blanket amnesty for all non-violent drug offenders? Within 24 hours the prison industry, the prison guards’ unions and law enforcement lobbying groups would swamp Congress with emails and personal delegations.

Polanco’s Bill

The cops and the guards exercise pretty much total veto power in most states, though nowhere more than in California, utopia for the prison construction industry. In late August of this year the California legislature passed a bill put up by State Senate Majority leader Richard Polanco intended to encourage peaceful protest and civil disobedience by clarifying and codifying limits of prosecution, given the fact much so-called “crime reform” has clearly been deliberately designed to limit peaceful protest. Peacefully demonstrate and you risk big trouble.

Here are some examples, as offered on the useful justdissent.org, a site which lobbied for Polanco’s bill.

- Excessive fines, exorbitant bails — some as high as $1 million — keeping peaceful protesters in prison.
- Felony charges used to threaten or punish protesters with loss of voting rights and jobs.
- Federal RICO and domestic terrorist legislation employed to stigmatize peaceful protesters.
- Permits denied for legitimate protests.
- Trespass and other false charges fabricated by police.
- Charges of “Interfering with a religion” used to prosecute protesters.
- Police granted immunity from lawsuits, leaving them free to abuse protesters’ rights.
- “Zero tolerance” rules which expel students who participate in nonviolent protests.
- Use of court orders to stifle future legitimate and non-violent protests.
- Long sentences in overcrowded and inhumane conditions meted out to protesters.
- Seizure of organizations’ bank accounts so that members who protest can be fined.
- Protesters arrested and held without charge, preventing them from further protest.

- Use of racial and other biases in the arrest and prosecution of protesters.
- Unjustified force (tear gas, pepper spray, bean bags) used against peaceful protesters.
- Legal distinctions blurred between violent and nonviolent protest, so that all protesters are demonized as “anarchists”, “hoodlums” and “domestic terrorists”.
- Pre-protest surveillance, infiltration and investigations to identify, arrest and detain nonviolent protesters prior to protest.
- Police entrapment used to fabricate grounds for arrest and charges.
- ‘Going limp’ — a traditional posture of nonviolent protesters — interpreted as “resisting arrest”, a more serious crime.
- “National security” invoked arbitrarily against peaceful protesters.
- Permits denied to activist groups to keep them from gathering on public lands.
- Nonviolent protesters barred from talking about their causes or motives during trial.
- Excessive use of court orders gag legitimate protest.

Growing numbers of protesters in California are doing serious time, swelling the populations of our already crowded prisons.

There’s Increasing use of electronic surveillance in California (street cameras, face scans, etc.), presenting police with tools for preemptive pre-protest strikes against peaceful organizations and individuals.

Some California law enforcement agencies now classify pepperball and bean bag guns as “nonlethal”, when anecdotal evidence shows that these weapons can injure and maim protesters.

Growing numbers of California citizens’ arrests are made by company security, who often “behave like” law enforcement (body searches, etc.), but do not have the actual legal powers of police.

To try to counter this trend Polanco introduced SB 1796 in Sacramento last February, designed to roll back all these dire inhibitions against peaceful, non-violent protest. If the motive for the violation is found to be political expression, punishment would be meted out as follows: for the commission of, or for a conspiracy to commit, certain misdemeanor offenses (ones that didn’t cause physical harm to people or property), a fine not larger than $100, imprisonment in a county jail for a
GAYS JOIN ASHCROFT IN WAR ON FREE SPEECH

Mind you, when it comes to restrictions on free speech and ventilation of political opinion, some liberals are up there with John Ashcroft. Consider the uproar raised by gay groups against Dr Laura, and more recently against the drag performer Charles Knipp who does a blackface skit featuring Shirley Q. Liquor, a black woman on welfare with 19 children. Last month Knipp took his act to the View, a Manhattan gay bar.

An offended member of the audience recruited protesters for the second night, including Sue Hyde of National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and performer/activist Imani Henry. When around fifty demonstrators mustered, the cops broke up the protest and issued two summonses to the View for failing to control a crowd and creating disorder in a licensed establishment, which had the effect of shutting down the club temporarily. A big victory for freedom of expression, for which Hyde and the others felt proud enough to carry their campaign against Knipp to Boston where he was scheduled to bring Ms Liquor to a gay club called Machine.

In the Boston Phoenix Michael Bronski had a good story reporting what happened next. Machine canceled the show after the club’s management got a call from Mayor Tom Menino’s liaison to the gay community, Jerome Smith. Smith told the Phoenix that the mayor “didn’t want to see the show happen” and that Smith was to “see if there was a way to talk to the club’s management” to make sure the show was canceled. Accordin g to Bronski “One phone call from Smith, who had worked in the mayor’s office of neighborhood services for just a month, was all it took to get the show canned.” The Phoenix also ran a strong editorial whacking the gay groups and allied censors for their disgusting assault on free expression.

As Bill Dobbs of Queerwatch remarks, this “is the all-too-common gay response to anything offensive these days — shut it down! No need to confront disagreeable ideas, just shut up the source. The campaign against Shirley Q. Liquor builds on the work by John Aravosis (stopdlaura.com), Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), Human Rights Campaign and others to shut down Dr. Laura’s TV show. Such cavalier attitudes about free expression ignore the historical and contemporary suppression of queer culture. Just in the last several weeks, Cherry, a lesbian erotic novel by Charlotte Cooper, has been seized by Canadian Customs; the shipment of books was headed for a small gay bookstore in Victoria, British Columbia.” Imani Henry is scheduled to perform at NGLTF’s Creating Change Conference next month. What does NGLTF have to say about free expression?

DANIEL’S WORLD
BY WILLIAM JOHNSON

A toxic fog has settled over Middle East Studies departments all across this beleagured nation. The toxins? Arabs. Or professors “who fan the flames of disinformation, incitement and ignorance”.

Not clear enough? How about reporting professors “who teach and write about contemporary affairs at university Middle East Studies departments,” departments, which Pipes laments, are dominated by “Middle Eastern Arabs” who “seem generally to dislike their own country and think even less of American allies abroad” and sometimes even dare to “portray U.S. policy in an unfriendly light”.

Already professors listed on the site have been harassed with hate mail and email. Ibish believes that the Campus Watch project is part of “an organized attempt to intimidate pro-Palestinian voices on campuses” across the U.S. Harassment is one way to silence these voices; slander is another. The labelling of pro-Palestinian, as well as anti-Israeli, views as anti-Semitic has become extremely common of late. In a recent speech (which is cited on the Campus Watch website), Harvard president Larry Summers conflated anti-Semitism and criticism of Israel with anti-Semitism, but remains mute as a tomb regarding attacks on Arab intellectuals.

Harvard President Larry Summers conflates criticism of Israel with anti-Semitism, but remains mute as a tomb regarding attacks on Arab intellectuals.
solidarity, some professors have volunteered to be listed on the Campus Watch website.

So has the Campus Watch campaign been successful? According to Ibish, Pipes’s McCarthyesque tactics have backfired. Recent public condemnations of Campus Watch, from both supporters and critics of Israel, suggest that Pipes has gone just a bit too far.

COPS AS ROBBERS
BY DAVID PRICE

CounterPuncher Price is an anthropologist who has worked in Egypt.

On September 22 a friend and I happened upon a tense scene in southern Cairo where white uniformed cops (serving mandatory 3-year draft terms) methodically worked their way up the street seizing property from the shop keepers and placing it in their police pickup truck. Some citizens protested with complaints that they had rights, or that the police were thieves, but most stood in frozen silence as these kalashnikov-toting thugs strong-armed their way up the street.

We made ourselves scarce after observing cops taking chairs from coffee shops, biscuits from a small dukan and a large box of tomatoes from a woman selling vegetables on the street. People hurried to their shops, tossing in wares and hurriedly zipping down their metal roll-top doors.

While this particular episode occurred in a Coptic Christian neighborhood, similar exploitative ventures occur in other poor neighborhoods in Egypt. Bad cops can be found around the world, but the poverty and desperation of Egypt’s police and military force could create problems for an administration wishing to maintain order under conditions of social unrest, conditions that an American war in the Gulf would likely fertile.

I witnessed and heard of similar episodes back in 1989-1990 when I lived out in the Fayoum Oasis, but these reports were always smaller in scale and isolated from such public viewing. Such organized, open theft as we witnessed in Cairo marks a shift in desperation relations.

Conspiracy theories abound in Egypt. This past month, a widely reported public talk by AUC professor Galal Amin on September 11 discussed in detail farfetched theories that groups (including Zionist conspirators) other than al-Qaeda were responsible for the previous year’s attacks on the Pentagon and the WTC. These conspiracy theories have such currency that US Ambassador David Welch penned a surreal rebuttal in the September 20th issue of the Al-Ahram newspaper. But Egyptians long accustomed to lies from Washington now disregard such occasional truth-speakers as understandably unreliable, and the gap between Washington and Egypt widens.

NORTH KOREA AND THE MOUSE THAT SQUEAKED

Suddenly the gorilla in the greenhouse has shrivelled to mouse dimensions. Listen to King Kong’s mighty war cry, thundering across the jungle: “The United States is calling on North Korea to comply with all of its commitments under the Nonproliferation Treaty and to eliminate its nuclear weapons program in a verifiable manner.” Gee, that must have scared the North Koreans.

See what happens when you fall in love with a phrase? A mature president, scanning the first drafts of his State of the Union address, would have relished that smouldering jingle, “Axis of Evil”, then hauled out the red pencil and struck it, on the grounds that it was not only silly, but would be liable to cause no end of trouble.

But Bush isn’t mature, and has only the verbal arsenal of a caption writer for silent westerns with which to handle world affairs, as in, “Saddam’s the guy who tried to kill my dad.”

So he kept “Axis of Evil” in the speech, and the person who took it seriously was the North Korean leader, who’d already listened, in May of last year, to George Bush humiliate his Secretary of State, Colin Powell, by brusquely reversing the latter’s endorsement of reconciliation talks between North and South Korea.

As soon as they read the text of the Axis of Evil speech the North Koreans bunkered down for invasion. Maybe they really did accelerate their efforts to make a nuclear weapon. Or maybe, when US envoy John Kelly accused them recently of breaching all past pledges, they said to themselves, “Screw it, let’s make ‘em jump. Let’s call their bluff.”

So now what’s Bush going to do? Re-start the Korean war, after he’s done with re-fighting the one against Iraq? Who’s next? Axis of Evil, Part One: Germany, Italy and Japan? CP

(Mines continued from page 1) levels inside the tunnels, a move that is certain to increase incidence of black lung disease. And yes, Lauriski wants to get rid of the chest X-ray program that tests miners for black lung disease.

Lauriski also wants to slash the number of mine inspectors by 25 percent, even though the lack of inspections may have been partially responsible for the Quecreek disaster. Under current guidelines, the MSHA is required to inspect mines at least four times a year. But an investigation by a Pittsburgh television station revealed that it had been more than a year since federal inspectors had visited the Quecreek mine.

In addition to Lauriski, Bush also tapped Stan Suboleski for a seat on the Mine Safety and Health Review Commission. Suboleski is an executive with the A.C. Massey Coal Company which, according to the United Mineworkers, has one of the worst safety records in the industry. Massey is also the company responsible for the annihilation of more than 70 miles of streams in eastern Kentucky, when 300 million gallons of coal sludge spilled from one of its mines. It was the worst ecological disaster in the US since the Exxon Valdez oil spill.

The planned dismantling of the MSHA comes at a time when coal-mining deaths are on the rise, 132 in the past three years. In the early part of the century, more than 1000 miners a year perished in the shafts. A US soldier during World War I had a better statistical chance of surviving the year than did a miner in the coal mines of West Virginia. Unions and mine safety laws turned things around.

But now the tide seems to be sliding back, abetted by an administration that is hostile to workers, unions and mining regulations. In September 2001, 13 miners lost their lives in a coal mine explosion in Brookwood, Alabama. In the preceding months, federal mine inspectors had cited the mining company 31 times for safety violations, including citations for accumulations of free-floating coal dust that may have led to the fatal explosion. The feds issued warnings, but never took action against the company, following the Bush administration’s script of voluntary compliance.

The United Mine Workers say the latest trend in the industry is to import low-wage workers from Latin America to work the tunnels of Kentucky and West Virginia, workers who don’t join unions and who can’t read maps, assuming these have any relation to reality. CP
**An Egyptian in Baghdad**

1987, When the Going Was Good

BY VANESSA JONES

The Interview takes place impromptu, in a café in the exclusive diplomatic suburb of “Manuka” in Canberra, the capital of Australia. The suburb, pronounced Mar-nik-a by locals, reads phonetically to out-of-towners as Ma-nuk-a, which is Arabic slang for “slut”, as a female, or, pronounced ma-nuke, it is the masculine for slut, used for a gay (receiving) male. It is an extremely offensive and derogatory label. Not quite polite to mention, I know, but an interesting choice for a Western diplomatic suburb, considering that 25 per cent of Australia’s food exports are bought by Arabic countries.

Sitting in Manuka, at an Italian café, I meet a handsome man smoking Drum and drinking a flat white. We start to chat slowly, and we comment on current politics- Afghanistan, Sept. 11, the likelihood of things spreading to Iraq. He tells me he’s been to Iraq, after minimally completing his compulsory Egyptian military service. A friend of his had refused to do military service, and had paid for it dearly, imprisoned in putrid conditions for 3 years in Cairo.

His own military service was cut short by him paying a military officer three hundred Egyptian pounds in 1987 (the equal to a couple of month’s wages) and doing some carpentry work in the man’s house, in exchange for his freedom. Not a bribe at the normal level of bribes, normal being at the thousands of pounds level, to escape compulsory military service. It was more an illegal, compassionate release from duty. The military officer was aware of the horrendous situation of being in the military for young men, and probably released many others in a similar fashion.

He was twenty, and wanted to get out, anywhere. Visas were impossible to get to the West, so he ended up in Iraq. He left Cairo by bus- over the Suez Canal- the bus went inside a ship, through the Akabah Gulf, across the Sinai desert and into Jordan. From Jordan another bus to Iraq.

Iraq was the only place it was easy to enter and get a visa to work in. At the time, in 1987, it was a wealthy and prosperous country. He’d never seen so many liquor stores.

He arrived after 3 or 4 days, by coach, in Baghdad. There was not a sign of poverty in 1987. The population in Baghdad was just under 4 million people. Food was very cheap and plentiful. There were many foreign nationals there, Thais, Filipinos, operating businesses. Unlike Gulf countries, foreigners could open and operate businesses of their own. East Europeans, Russians, Europeans.

He found a cheap hotel, and found work making furniture, sofa frames, cinema chairs, parliament chairs, furniture work in Saddam Hussein’s relative’s house- his cousin or sister’s palace home. His Egyptian co-worker was petrified of making a mistake for fear of being shot. Most government men seemed to carry guns. The Iran-Iraq war was going on. You could hear the rockets nearby and a school was bombed by an Iranian rocket during his stay.

Life was okay, as long as you didn’t speak of politics, dissent or criticize the powers that were. Prostitutes would visit the carpentry workshop. You could go to a prostitute bar anywhere in Baghdad. Iraq was the first Arab nation to legislate equal property inheritance rights for men and women. It happened in 1969, after the July 17, 1968 Revolution.

Women were also given the vote, the right to divorce and own land, the option to be a politician or to go for top jobs. The average wage was adequate to cover living expenses comfortably. It was a socialist system, so the government was responsible for food, health and education, and there were adequate government family payments to cover the well being of each child.

He noticed young women were keen students, unlike some other Arabic nations. It was a civilized, plentiful and prosperous country. No one appeared homeless, starving or medically neglected. Free healthcare was for anyone, Iraqi or foreign. Throughout 1987 he saw the Iraqi men killed in the war taken back home to their families in coffins, wrapped in the Iraqi flag, on top of taxis, tied to the roof racks. On the streets each day, taxis would speed along bearing the dead men home to their families.

In the hotel where he stayed, military men were openly, actively gay and the whole society seemed very liberal and open. People were free to go to church, or to the mosque, or to a liquor store, or to university, or to a prostitute, or to their gay lover. Without any moral or political interference.

The only thing disallowed was political agitation. Healthcare, education, food and housing were readily available. This is what the West’s sanctions have wrecked in many ways.

The hidden agenda of the Gulf War and the sanctions has been to shove the Iraqi people, their economic prosperity, free healthcare, education, back into the basement of the Third World. Now Iraq has been crippled and frozen. Within 14 years of his visit to Iraq, the Egyptian man has migrated out of Egypt, to the West. In 14 years from now, how will a young Egyptian find Iraq? CP

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Green and Grounded

BY DOUG STUBER

Two or three times a week we see stories on the web about people detained from flying because they show up at the check in computers, or because they’re Men of Profile (MOPs), i.e. of non-white ethnic origin. Doug Stuber was state chairman of the North Carolina Green Party and more recently its campaign coordinator. Here’s his story.

I was trying to make an important trip to Prague to gather artists for Henry James Art in Raleigh, NC, USA when I was told (ticket in hand) that I was not allowed to fly out that day. I asked “why not” and the answer at Raleigh-Durham Airport (RDU) was that because of the DC sniper attacks, no Greens were allowed to fly overseas on that day. Naturally, I went back the next morning, and instead of paying $670 round trip was forced into a $2,600 “same day” air fare. I was mad enough about the money, but what happened in the next 24 hours was mind-boggling.

So, it was 6 am and my first flight wasn’t due out until 11:45, so I had plenty of time to kill. At exactly 10:52 am, just before boarding was to begin, I was approached by Officer Stanley (the same policeman who ushered me out of the airport the day before), and he said he “wanted to talk to me”. I went with him, but reminded him that no one had said I could not fly, and that my flight was about to leave. (I also knew that I could make the Air France connection in Atlanta and still make it to Prague in time, as long as I could catch a Delta flight at 1:10pm, so I wasn’t too worried yet.)

The officer took me into a room and questioned me for one hour. By noon Stanley was introducing me to two gentlemen I will refer to as Secret Service-A and Secret Service-B (SS-A and SS-B). Here is where the story proves the US is heading toward a “totalitarian” state. SS-A and SS-B took full eye-open pictures with a digital camera. They then asked me all the details about my family, where I lived, who I ever knew, what the Greens are up to, etc.

At one point I asked if they really believed the Greens were equal to Al Qaeda. Here they made an error. They showed me a document from the Justice department that actually does show the Greens as likely terrorists. Just as likely as Al Qaeda members. Man, I wish I had had a camera to be able to copy that document! Sure enough we got out of there at about 12:45, but with enough time to catch the later flight.

Here is where they really made me mad. They walked me to the Delta counter and asked that I be given tickets for the flight so I could make my connections. The woman (she is a tall blonde with short hair and works for Delta at RDU) quickly printed out tickets so that I could make the flight, and I was relieved that the SS hadn’t stopped me from flying.

I was wrong again. By the time I was about to be quickly placed on the flight, officer Stanley once again ushered me out the door. To be fair, he told me this: “Just go to Greensboro, where they don’t know you, and be totally quiet about politics, and you can make it to Europe that way.” I felt like I was being yet again set up by this man, but I went to Greensboro anyway. In Greensboro, NC I was told flat out that I could not fly overseas or domestically. I was told this after I showed my passport, so apparently the SS had moved quickly to shut me down from any kind of air travel. (One wonders whether Greens throughout the US are now barred from flying, since our national Co-Chair, Nancy Oden had already been denied a flight from Maine to Chicago eight months ago.)

Not to be denied, I then traveled to Charlotte. This is another hour and a half away, so I’ve been up for 40 hours, with a 1.5 hour drive ahead. I stocked up on Dr. Pepper and decided I would not be denied.

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Of course, at Charlotte the same thing: “Get this terrorist out of here” was the mode the cops were in.

I then drove three hours home (43 hours trying to catch a flight) and crashed hard in bed. It appears that Greens, who have ten key values that include nonviolence, social justice, etc., are considered terrorists by the Ashcroft-led Justice Department. I had always speculated that capitalism had gone too far. Now I know for sure. CP

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Making It Illegal to Demonstrate in America