

By Joel Bleifuss

**Drug warrior to take a spill?**

Will Dan Quayle be the next casualty in the drug war—a victim to the drug hysteria engendered by his own rhetorical excesses? Convict Brett Kimberlin has filed suit in a federal court in Washington, D.C., charging the U.S. Bureau of Prisons “with a conspiracy to silence him on the eve of a presidential election.” In the weeks before the 1988 election, Kimberlin, a prisoner at El Reno Federal Correctional Institution in El Reno, Okla., went public with the assertion that he sold marijuana to then-Indiana University law student Dan Quayle a total of “15 to 20” times between 1971 and 1973.

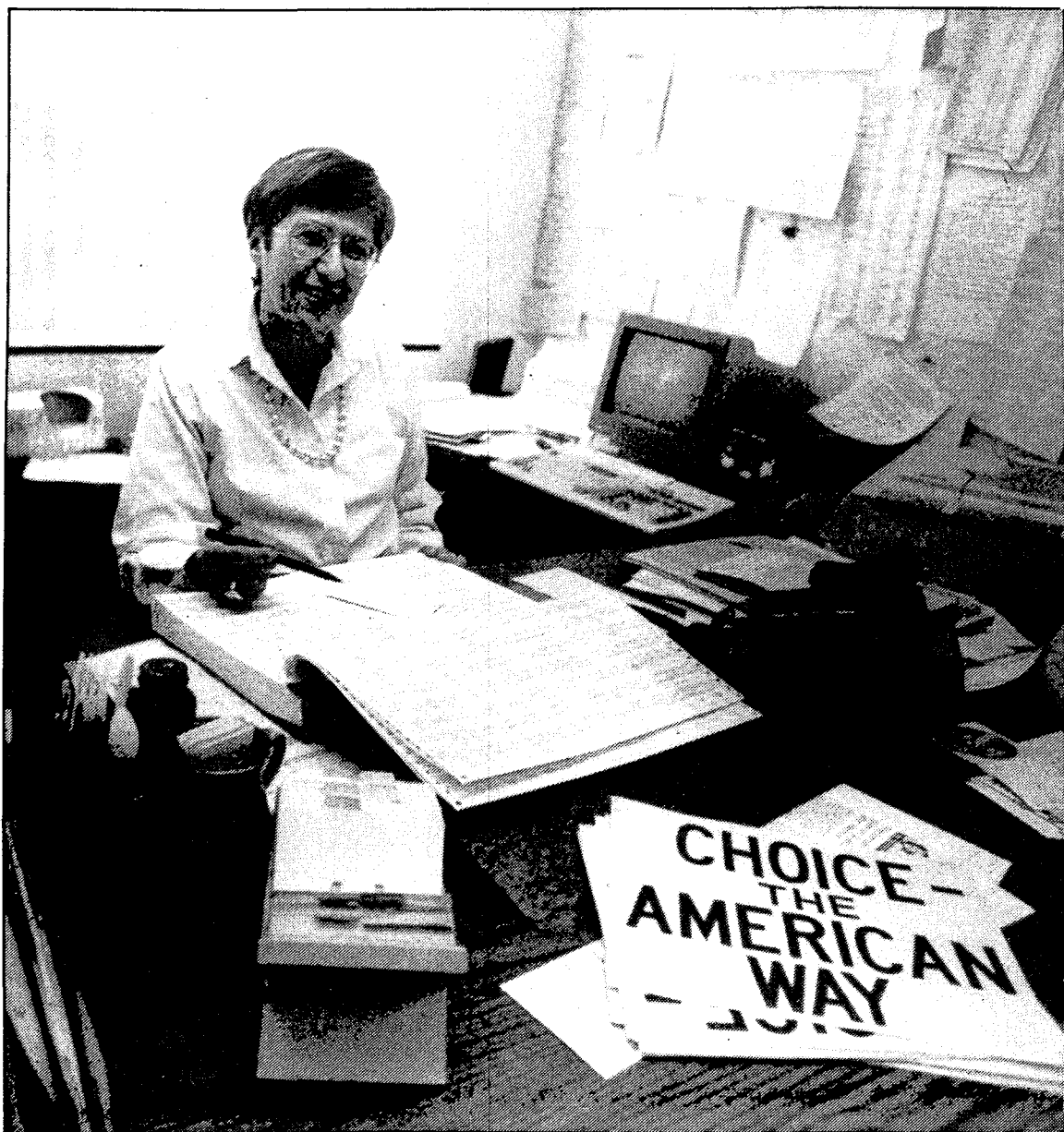
Kimberlin, 35 and originally of Indianapolis, has served 12 years of a 54-year sentence for marijuana smuggling and explosives charges. Kimberlin told WBAI radio in New York that he first met Quayle—known to him as D.Q.—at a frat party in Bloomington, Ind., where marijuana was being smoked. He related the following story: “He found out that I had marijuana available at the time. It was good quality, and he asked if I had any for sale.... I thought it was kind of strange. He looked kind of straight. I thought he might be a narc. But we talked and I felt a little more comfortable, and finally I gave him my phone number and said, ‘Hey, well, give me a call.’ He called me a couple of weeks later, and he said, ‘Hey, this is D.Q. Can we get together?’ and I said, ‘Yes. Meet me at the Burger Chef restaurant.... We struck up a relationship that lasted for 18 months. I sold him small quantities of marijuana for his personal use about once a month during that period. He was a good customer. He was a friend of mine. We had a pretty good relationship. He always paid cash.” Kimberlin went on to say that their dealings were not always contractual. “When him [sic] and Marilyn got married in 1972, I gave him a wedding present of some Afghanistan hashish and some Acapulco gold [marijuana].” For his part, Quayle insists that he has never smoked marijuana.

**Sent to solitary:** In the week before the election the El Reno Federal Correctional Institution was overwhelmed with requests by the press for interviews with Kimberlin. The prison warden allowed him to set up a press conference. Then, one hour before his meeting with the press was scheduled to begin, Kimberlin was thrown into solitary confinement on orders from Bureau of Prisons Director J. Michael Quinlan. In December 1988, Aaron Friewald reported in *Legal Times* of Washington, D.C., “Quinlan’s unusual personal involvement in Kimberlin’s treatment came amid a flurry of contacts throughout the pre-election weekend among the bureau, high-ranking political appointees at the Justice Department and senior advisers at Bush-Quayle campaign headquarters.”

Headquarters was mighty concerned. The campaign’s deputy press secretary, Mark Goodin, told Friewald that during the last days of the campaign he briefed campaign chairman—now secretary of state—James Baker III on Kimberlin’s status five times and that throughout the weekend of November 4 he kept Bush campaign chairman Lee Atwater updated on Kimberlin’s status. Goodin was also in regular contact with the Justice Department. A campaign aide who declined to be named told Friewald that the Bush-Quayle campaign was ready for damage control. As it was, none was needed.

**Too hot to touch:** In their new book, *The Media Elite*, Norman Solomon and Martin Lee chronicle how the national press decided Kimberlin’s story was not fit to print: not when he was thrown into solitary prior to his press conference, not when he was thrown into solitary a second time prior to holding a telephone news conference at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, not when *Legal Times* reported on Bureau of Prison connivance with the Bush-Quayle campaign, not when the presidentially appointed U.S. Parole Board ruled that Kimberlin would not be eligible for parole until February 1994—180 months after he first entered prison and twice as long as the 64-to-92 month U.S. Sentencing Commission guidelines for similar “Category 7” convictions. Now, more than a year and a half since Kimberlin was first thrown into solitary confinement, the major media organs have begun to pay attention to his allegations. They have also begun to cover up—through the sin of omission—certain aspects of the story. The *Washington Post*’s Michael Isikoff is one such sinner. Isikoff reported that “Kimberlin’s contacts with reporters were known to have been closely monitored by top officials of the Bush-Quayle campaign after the campaign received inquiries from several news organizations.” But Isikoff failed to mention that those top campaign officials included Baker and Atwater and that the Bush-Quayle campaign communicated its concern through the Justice Department to the Bureau of Prisons.

**Charged with conspiracy:** This recent press attention is the



Polly Rothstein in her office, surrounded by computer, printouts and files—the tools of her trade.

**Polly Rothstein: choice politicker**

By Josh Weiss

“We have turned this country around,” is Polly Rothstein’s favorite refrain. Thanks to Rothstein, the politicians of suburban Westchester County, N.Y., who once scorned a pro-choice stance as political suicide now embrace it. In a 180-degree reversal, the county now has a pro-choice majority at every level—judges, state legislators, congressional representatives. And Rothstein believes other communities across the country can create the same situation.

A lithe, intense straight talker with a passion for bird-watching, Rothstein helped found the Westchester Coalition for Legal Abortion (WCLA) in 1972 and soon took over as director. She refers to herself as a “wheeler-dealer,” not an “activist.”

From the beginning, WCLA’s mission has been electoral politics. The organization continued its work in Westchester even after the 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision legalized abortion. Now that the U.S. Supreme Court is dismantling *Roe* step by step, the nation’s attention has returned to abortion politics at the state level. Versions of Rothstein’s strategy—developed over the past 18 years to force local elected officials to recognize the power of the pro-choice vote—are now being used all over the country. “We are in the position that I want other organizations to be in,” Rothstein says. “We’ve changed things around; we’re a model for changing things.”

That model is based on extensive voter identification and activation, solely on the basis of attitude toward abortion rights. Rothstein argues that anything beyond such single-issue politics—she prefers the term “bottom-line voting issue”—would

destroy the strategy’s effectiveness. Besides, she adds, most politicians supportive of abortion rights tend to be liberals. WCLA has, however, backed conservative Republicans who are solidly pro-choice but hostile to other issues of particular concern to women such as health care and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Rothstein’s participation in the struggle for choice dates back to 1958. When a friend from Massachusetts became pregnant, Rothstein, just out of Skidmore College, searched for a doctor to perform an abortion and finally found one in Pennsylvania coal-mining country. “We were lucky. We got a good, safe abortion for her,” she says. “It affected me profoundly, opened my mind. I saw that women could be prisoners in themselves.”

In 1965, as a young mother living in a New York City suburb, Rothstein began volunteering once a week at Planned Parenthood’s Westchester clinic, set up just across the border from Connecticut, where birth control could not be obtained. When the New York state legislature again made abortion illegal in 1972, just two years after decriminalizing it, Rothstein and several other abortion-rights proponents founded WCLA. Although Gov. Nelson Rockefeller vetoed the recriminalization act, the legislature’s action had already underscored the fragility of abortion rights. (Out of 12 Westchester County legislators, 10 voted for recriminalization.)

“WCLA was formed in a panic reaction,” Rothstein says. “It was a rude awakening that the law we’d gotten in 1970 could be taken away.” After the *Roe* decision appeared to settle abortion’s legality, many abortion-rights advocates turned to other issues. But by making a call under an assumed name to a “right-to-life” organization to ask how she



could help, Rothstein discovered that, far from giving up, the right-to-lifers were busy devising strategies to circumvent the Supreme Court ruling. "They were passionate," recalls Rothstein. She reported back to Westchester County abortion-rights supporters that the fight was not over.

While finishing her master's degree at Columbia University Teachers College, Rothstein took over as part-time coordinator of WCLA. Until 1979 she ran the group from her house—organizing within the county and lobbying in Albany. By then, she says, "the issue had escalated. Medicaid funding, minors' rights—the efforts to erode abortion rights had all started happening." As vice president of the New York state affiliate of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), Rothstein "learned the ropes of Washington," lobbying against the Hyde Amendment and other anti-abortion legislation.

Meanwhile, by setting up tables in shopping areas and polling by phone, WCLA was building a list of Westchester County residents who said they would not vote for anti-choice candidates. In 1984, WCLA used its computerized list to help elect two pro-choice legislators, including Democratic state Sen. Suzi Oppenheimer. Now running for her fourth term, Oppenheimer says she believes the pro-choice literature she and WCLA developed in 1984 represents the first time that the abortion issue was "used up-front" in a New York campaign.

In 1988 came the election that Rothstein refers to as "the prize, the big one" and "sweet victory." Nita Lowey, a solid, credible candidate with strong financial backing, took on a two-term incumbent with the second-largest war chest in Congress—a conservative Republican whose chief strategist was Bush adviser Roger Ailes.

Lowey ran hard on the pro-choice issue, and WCLA put its polling and pulling operation into high gear. Paid and volunteer canvassers called the 58,000 households that had been previously identified as strongly pro-choice. After reading a short script on the abortion stances of the two candidates, the canvassers asked respondents whom they would be voting for, and later followed up with get-out-the-vote calls to Lowey supporters.

Bringing 10,000 Republican and independent voters concerned about the abortion issue to her side, Lowey defeated the incumbent by 5,770 votes. "There is no question about it," Lowey said at the time. "My use of the pro-choice issue and the efforts of WCLA were indispensable." Since her election, Lowey has supported the Freedom of Choice Act, the Reproductive Health Equity Act and other pro-choice bills. And WCLA has since expanded its pro-choice voter list to represent some 25 percent of Westchester's households.

Following Lowey's election, Rothstein and Bob Fertik, a computer expert and volunteer consultant to WCLA, wrote up a 13-page description of what they called "The Pro-Choice IDEA." In their paper, which was sent out to abortion-rights leaders and the press, they argued, "The pro-choice movement will not prevail simply by lobbying, citing polls or staging demonstrations. We must focus on electoral politics." Their "IDEA": identifying, educating and activating voters who would cross party lines for a pro-choice candidate.

Six months later, in July 1989, the Supreme Court issued its *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services* ruling, opening the door to additional state restrictions on abortion. The resulting political free-for-all has helped bring to power pro-choice Democratic governors Douglas Wilder of Virginia and Jim Florio of New Jersey, but it has also brought stiff anti-abortion legislation to Guam, Pennsylvania, Idaho and, most strikingly, Louisiana.

In the battle to create and maintain pro-choice legislatures, Pro-Choice IDEA has played an important role. "We modeled our concepts on some of

the things Rothstein had done," says Terry Cosgrove, executive director of Personal Pac in Chicago. Within months of *Webster*, Personal Pac had raised \$200,000, enabling them to launch a Pro-Choice IDEA-type primary campaign against state Rep. Penny Pullen, a right-wing anti-choice Republican. That election resulted in a tie vote that was decided by a coin toss which Pullen lost.

In Southern California, the efforts of a coalition led by the California Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL) helped elect two pro-choice candidates—a Republican and a Democrat—in tight races. "Pro-choice activists delivered the elections," says Robin Schneider, executive director of CARAL-South. Schneider adds that WCLA provided her with "a critical piece of information"—how to set up an independent expenditure campaign. "It's an arcane point," she says, "but it made a big difference to our efforts."

Prior to *Webster*, however, Rothstein and Fertik had little success convincing national abortion-rights groups of the importance—and winnability—of state political races. While Rothstein is hesitant to discuss the difficulty she has had getting national organizations to consider Pro-Choice IDEA, Fertik says he and Rothstein got the cold shoulder when they went down to Washington in March 1989 to present the concept. Fertik, president of a new group called Democrats for Choice, says that in Washington Lowey's victory was ascribed to her opponent's late-breaking financial scandal. "They didn't believe that pro-choicers would vote the issue," he adds.

"Washington is a very unreal place," Fertik says. "It's not a place that understands grass roots. Over the years, the pro-choice movement had become very involved with Capitol Hill, with Washington. They had lost sight of state politics—and in this country, state politics is everything."

Ellen Carton, executive director of New York state NARAL, argues that Rothstein's Pro-Choice IDEA is nothing new. "This kind of work has been going on for years and years," Carton says. "That's what field canvassing is all about. [Rothstein] picked up on what people have been doing for years and made it more sophisticated, specifically by targeting Republicans and independents. What she did was definitely innovative, though not novel."

"They [WCLA] helped elect Nita Lowey through their efforts," says Renee Cravens, a NARAL spokesperson in Washington. "They are a very positive force, an extremely positive influence. But the *Webster* decision itself transformed the way voters look at the issue."

Rothstein says only that for many years hers has been "a voice in the wilderness." She emphasizes the contributions of all the national groups, but she does add that "some people don't want to give credit to other groups." Now, she and Fertik have expanded their original Pro-Choice IDEA paper into a 125-page manual, *Pro-Choice Power: How to Turn Pro-Choice Supporters into Pro-Choice Voters and Transform American Politics*, and WCLA has established the Pro-Choice Resource Center with a full-time staffer.

The fight in WCLA's home county has essentially been won. Pro-choice majorities are solidly in place, and the remaining anti-choice Westchester County politicians are "switching sides, running scared or waffling," Rothstein says. Although the pleasure of defeating "these misogynists" remains, it is the new resource center that Rothstein says renews her energy after 25 years in the pro-choice struggle. "I want to see lots and lots of strong pro-choice organizations with politically savvy leaders," she says. "We have to play that game; we have to win that game."

Josh Weiss is a Brooklyn-based writer and researcher.

result of a suit Kimberlin has filed in federal court charging the Bureau of Prisons with conspiring to violate his First Amendment right to free speech. Kimberlin is being represented by two lawyers from the prestigious Washington law firm of Arnold and Porter, which has taken his case pro bono. A legal brief filed by Arnold and Porter lawyers states, "Evidence obtained under the Freedom of Information Act and elsewhere reveals that the true purpose of [Bureau of Prisons Director] Quinlan's order was to put a halt to Kimberlin's serious charges against the vice presidential candidate during the critical final days of the 1988 presidential campaign. ... Kimberlin was placed into solitary confinement for the purpose of silencing his statements regarding a candidate for high public office. A clearer First Amendment violation has never existed." Kimberlin spoke with me about his case from the federal prison in Memphis where he spends his time lifting weights and studying law books. "I'm always hopeful," he said, "but I'm also a realist. I realize that the government doesn't like to admit that they ever erred, so I think it will be an uphill battle. But with Arnold and Porter involved in the case, the press now knows I'm not some fruitcake trying to make headlines from prison."

**Kimberlin's convictions:** In 1979 Kimberlin was sentenced to four years for marijuana smuggling and 50 years for his alleged involvement in a series of bombings in the Indianapolis Speedway area in 1978. Kimberlin admits he was smuggling marijuana but has always denied he was involved in any bombing—refusing a plea bargain that would have led to a five-year sentence on the bombing charges. Kimberlin tried unsuccessfully to appeal his bombing conviction to the Supreme Court, represented pro bono by Erwin Griswald, former dean of Harvard University Law School and solicitor general to Presidents Johnson and Nixon. Griswald told journalist Norman Solomon that while he knows nothing of Kimberlin's alleged dealings with Quayle, he does think highly of the young man. "I always found him to be honest and straightforward in my dealings with him," said Griswald. Kimberlin was convicted of the bombing by testimony from witnesses who identified him from a photograph they were shown while under hypnosis. Griswald's appeal to the Supreme Court challenged the veracity of the testimony. "We think that with hypnosis there is a tendency of the witness to say what the inquirer wants, and that the inquirer might influence the witness, and this influence may persist after the period of hypnosis," said Griswald. "We believed that this may have been true in this case. ... There was no clear evidence against the client otherwise."

In saner times, a story about Quayle's alleged use of illicit substances would have the same journalistic merit as, say, a piece about a presidential mistress. But the Kimberlin case raises questions about the misuse of political power. Furthermore, the Bush-Quayle administration, having enlisted the dominant media in its propaganda efforts, has engaged the nation in a demagogic anti-drug crusade. Consequently, the etiquette that would normally leave the private vices of public figures alone is not relevant.

**Drug-war "hypocritter":** One favorite tactic of demagogues is to rewrite history to conform to their propaganda. Forgotten in the drug crusade is the March 1977 *Fort Wayne* (Ind.) *News-Sentinel* story that quoted then-U.S. Rep. Quayle as saying that Congress should take a "serious" look at decriminalizing marijuana because penalties for possession were too severe. Repeating that assertion in April 1978, Quayle added that he supported decriminalization of marijuana for first-time users. Ignoring the public record, the vice president's spokesmen deny that he has ever supported decriminalization of marijuana. Also missing from Quayle's official history is mention of his attendance at a party known as "The Trip." According to the 1969 *Mirage*, the De Pauw University yearbook, Quayle and his brothers in Delta Kappa Epsilon held a fall dance—"The Trip"—that provided partygoers with "a colorful psychedelic journey into the wild sights and sounds produced by LSD." *Mirage* reported it was the first party the fraternity had held without the supervision of a housemother. A former college mate of Quayle, who asked not to be named, told Doug Hissom of the Milwaukee weekly *Shepherd Express*, "LSD was not served directly by the fraternity, but it most certainly would have been taken by the members."

**A twist to the story?** There is speculation from reporters following the Quayle-Kimberlin saga that some members of the Bush team might not be adverse to Quayle getting mired in a drug scandal. The reasoning goes that if Quayle takes a fall, it would then be possible to replace him with a more moderate and politically electable Republican, such as Secretary of State James Baker. Such a move would be possible if Baker changed his Texas residency to meet the constitutional requirement that the president and vice president hail from different states. For their part, the Republican right-wingers that Quayle represents would be powerless to protest, since, as they have repeatedly maintained, using drugs is one of the most sinful things a person can do.



## Thinking globally

In the face of an upsurge of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, for the first time in more than 50 years Jewish languages, history, literature and culture will be studied at a Soviet university. In cooperation with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) and the New York-based YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, the Moscow State Institute of History and Archives (MGLAI) will sponsor a Jewish studies program beginning in the fall of 1991. According to David Fishman, a JTS professor and founder of the program, the MGLAI faculty has been at the "forefront of the movement for democracy and is outspoken in its condemnation of anti-Semitism." Each year, teams of professors from JTS and YIVO will teach in Moscow alongside Soviet faculty, and Soviet students will spend one year studying in New York.

## Acting locally

The Piedmont Peace Project, a "stunningly effective" multiracial network of mill and textile workers, farmers, teachers and other rural people from North Carolina has been named recipient of the 1990 Grassroots Peace Award. Since 1985, the project has registered more than 10,000 rural voters and brought nearly 60,000 to the polls. The project also played a crucial role in the nomination of Harvey Gantt—the first black Senate candidate in North Carolina this century. Gantt faces Sen. Jesse Helms in November. "Klan violence, intimidation at voter-registration sites, illegal polling practices and punitive workplace firings have failed to slow the growth of the [project's] movement," notes the Peace Development Fund, which awarded the project \$10,000 toward its 1990 get-out-the-vote campaign.

## Dousing discontented flames

Those who burn the flag in China may not be so lucky as those who burn it in Texas. China's first National Flag Law, approved June 28 by the National People's Congress Standing Committee, forbids the use of the flag in advertisements or as a trademark and states that those who deliberately insult, burn or deface the flag will face "punishment." The law, which will go into effect October 1, is aimed at strengthening the Chinese sense of statehood and patriotism, says the *Beijing Review*, and requires that the flag be raised every day at Tianamen Square and all political headquarters.

## All crime and no punishment

During the last 20 years, only one employer has gone to jail for safety violations that caused a worker's death, according to *Criminal Job Safety Prosecutions: Lessons Learned, Prospects for the Future*. Released by the National Safe Workplace Institute, the report criticizes the federal government for lagging behind states in criminal enforcement in the workplace and for giving environmental-crimes prosecutions greater priority than job-safety criminal prosecutions (see *In These Times*, May 23). The report comes as the Senate is debating legislation introduced by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) that would increase prison sentences for workplace-safety crimes from six months to 10 years and would make it possible for employers to be charged in cases not involving deaths.

## Charge it

An 11-year-old boy who publishes an environmental newsletter says it worries him that MasterCard recently issued him a gold card with a \$5,000 credit limit. Tommy Mullaney, publisher of the bimonthly *Pollution Solution* in Crownsville, Md., filled out the MasterCard application before he went to summer camp. He stated his birthday, Nov. 10, 1978; occupation, student and publisher; and income—\$5 a week allowance. "I'm very scared about how safe my money is right now if they are giving it away to kids like me," said Tommy, whose mother immediately canceled his credit line.

## David Goldway

David Goldway, editor and scholar, was killed in an auto accident July 24 on Cape Cod. Goldway, 83, was a founder and longtime editor and editorial board chairman of the Marxist quarterly journal of politics and economics *Science and Society*. During the '40s and the '50s, Goldway was a teacher and chief administrator of the Jefferson School of Social Sciences in New York City. He also co-edited two collections of classical Marxist writings and taught English literature at the City University of New York.



Darrell Murphy poses with his \$6,000 solar-powered Sun Driver in front of the United Nations.

## The era of the 'green machine'

NEW YORK—The Lightwheels Festival, a nine-day exposition of innovative "green machine"-era vehicles traveling from Washington, D.C., to New York City delighted, intrigued and educated the general public late last month with an array of human-, electric- and solar-powered vehicles. "Given the gravity of environmental problems like air pollution, global warming, noise and traffic congestion, we cannot afford to ignore the fact that gasoline- and diesel-fueled cars, trucks and buses are leading

causes of these problems. We need alternatives, and we need them now," said Steve Stollman, director of Lightwheels, Inc., a non-profit agency that promotes alternative modes of transportation.

Solar-powered vehicles are one of the alternatives. They get their power from photovoltaic (PV), or solar, cells, which convert sunlight into direct electrical current. Purely solar-powered cars use only PVs to power the motor and recharge the batteries, while some cars also allow for back-up recharging from regular electrical outlets.

Such vehicles come primarily from university engineering stu-

dents and entrepreneurial builders such as Darrell Murphy, designer/builder of the solar-powered commuter car Sun Driver. Murphy, a full-time engineer for the Tennessee Valley Authority, built his first solar vehicle 15 years ago as a high school student because "there had to be some alternative to petroleum-based transportation."

—David Vita

Lightwheels is sponsoring a high school competition for human-, electric- and solar-powered vehicles. For more information, write or call Lightwheels, 49 E. Houston St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 431-0600.

## U.S.-Mexico 'free trade'—but for whom?

MEXICO CITY—The June announcement by President George Bush and Mexican President Carlos Salinas that they intend to negotiate a so-called "free-trade agreement" (FTA) has sparked angry opposition in both countries because of the effect it would have on workers and their communities.

After meetings in Washington involving government and business leaders—but not worker representatives—from the two nations, the two presidents directed their staffs to begin planning negotiations on the removal of most obstacles to the movement of goods and capital across the border.

"We are already living with free trade, although there hasn't been a formal treaty with that name," said Raul Escobar, leader of the Mexican Ford Workers Democratic Movement. "What it means is that the companies have the freedom to have plants in Mexico without real unions, without paying decent wages or fair taxes and without protecting our health and safety or the environment. The workers have the freedom to work for almost nothing. And workers in the U.S. have the freedom to lose their jobs."

An FTA is strongly supported by

most large corporations in the two countries. American transnational companies want to be able to move more of their U.S. and Canadian operations to Mexico—where workers typically make between \$3.75 and \$10 per day—and then import finished products to the rich U.S. market. Major Mexican companies also want greater access to U.S. consumers.

Already, hundreds of thousands of U.S. workers have become unemployed as corporations have shifted plants to Mexico. After the Mexican oil company Pemex, the three largest exporters of goods from Mexico to the U.S. are now Chrysler, Ford and General Motors, with IBM and Celanese not far behind.

Millions of workers whose jobs have not been moved have been pressured to accept lower pay and benefits in order to "compete" with conditions in Mexico. Lost jobs or lower pay levels in the private sector have in turn reduced the tax base in many communities, affecting public services and public-sector jobs.

Within Mexico, anti-labor policies, which are an important part of the strategy of attracting U.S. corporations, have meant increasing poverty for Mexican workers. A wage-control program has helped cut workers' buying power by more than half in the past eight years. Strikes are often ruled illegal and meet with violent repression. Since 1982 the percentage of the gross national product

that goes to Mexican wage earners has dropped from 41.7 percent to 27.7 percent, while the percentage that goes to owners of capital rose from 48 percent to 65 percent.

Cuauhtémoc Cardenas, leader of Mexico's opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution, argues that progressive forces in the two countries should push for economic policies based on raising Mexican workers' standard of living. If companies operating in Mexico paid enough so that workers could buy what they and American workers produce, jobs and local economies would be more stable in both countries.

Such a strategy would obviously require increased support for Mexican workers trying to create strong, independent labor unions, a fact that creates a dilemma for free trade's most visible critic in the U.S.—the AFL-CIO. The labor federation and many of its affiliates have historically supported the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), which is allied with the ruling party and which actively sides with transnational corporations in labor disputes. In recent months the CTM has even recruited strikebreakers when its members have demanded democratic representation and fair treatment from management. CTM chief Fidel Velasquez has said he has no objection to a free-trade agreement because he "trusts President Salinas" to keep workers' interests at heart.

—Matt Witt