

## Gorbachev denounces crimes of Stalin

The November 2 speech given by Mikhail Gorbachev, head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, marked a new stage in his campaign to win support both in the CPSU and among the Soviet people for the political and economic changes he has been promoting. The political reforms are called *glasnost*, or openness, and the economic measures are termed *perestroika*, or restructuring.

The nationally televised speech was given before an audience of 5,000 Soviet officials and foreign guests at a meeting

### EDITORIAL

held to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the October 1917 Russian revolution.

Gorbachev made the most far-reaching denunciation of the crimes of Joseph Stalin, who held a dominant position in the Soviet government and party for nearly 30 years until he died in 1953, that any top official has made since Nikita Khrushchev was ousted from power in 1964. "The guilt of Stalin and his immediate entourage before the party and the people for the wholesale repressive measures and acts of lawlessness is enormous and unforgivable," Gorbachev said.

Khrushchev denounced Stalin in 1956 at a party congress in a speech that was initially kept secret. Khrushchev's sharpest attack was against the frame-up character of the Moscow Trials, held between 1936 and 1938.

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## What Wall Street crash shows about the economy

BY FRED FELDMAN

The entire capitalist world was rocked October 19, when the biggest stock market crash since 1929 hit the New York Stock Exchange. The prices of stocks plunged by an average of nearly 23 percent — for an estimated total loss of \$500 billion.

The crash took on an international character as stock prices on markets in Hong Kong, London, Sydney, and Singapore plummeted.

Since that "Black Monday," millions of people — from corporation presidents to college students to garment workers — have been trying to size up what these sudden gyrations of the stock exchange will mean for them.

The crash has deepened uncertainty and fear about the future among working people. It has shaken not only those who had placed their savings in a few shares of stock or had received them as part of company "profit sharing" gimmicks; or the millions depending on the stability of company or union pension funds; but the big mass of working people who know they will be hard hit in any sharp downturn in the U.S. business cycle.

In big-business circles, the collapse of stock market prices opened a debate over whether a major international recession is near and what, if anything, can be done to delay it or lessen its impact.

The London *Economist*, which voiced hope that a severe international downturn could be avoided, conceded that many others argue "that stockmarket crashes of this magnitude have 'always' been followed a year or so later by the onset of an economic depression."

"So far the market is sending one strong signal: recession," argued the November 9 *Business Week*.



Selling hits fever pitch in the pit at Chicago Mercantile Exchange. Stock market's crash signaled investors' dim view of prospects of world capitalist economy.

Regardless of the timing of the next downturn in the business cycle, "Black Monday" has been widely recognized for what it was — a major turning point in the world capitalist economy. It registered a new stage in the long-term stagnation this system has been suffering for more than 15 years.

Following World War II, U.S. capitalism — which had emerged in a position of overwhelming economic, military, and political dominance in the capitalist world — experienced nearly three decades of

prosperity. While periodic recessions in the business cycle occurred, these were relatively short, and full-scale depressions were avoided. On the other hand, the upswings often reached unprecedented heights.

Prosperity was powered by the rebuilding of war-shattered Western Europe and Japan; the mechanization, automation, and computerization of whole new branches of industry; and the expansion of U.S. capital into the Middle East and parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America where other imperialist powers had previously been dominant.

But the rebuilding of Japan and West Germany led to the emergence of the capitalists of these countries as major competitors of the U.S. capitalists in world markets. Even colonies like Hong Kong, or semicolonies like South Korea, Brazil, and Taiwan, began winning shares of the world market in some industries — such as auto, steel, and garment — from U.S. manufacturers.

While industry expanded significantly in these and other countries of Asia, Africa,

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## Tenn. 'Jobs with Justice' rally draws 3,000

BY TOM LEONARD

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Some 3,000 trade unionists, civil rights, community, antiwar, and women's rights activists, together with religious groups, participated in the mid-South "Jobs With Justice" rally here November 1.

The featured speaker was James Motlatsi, president of South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers.

The main organizers of the Nashville rally were the United Mine Workers union, the United Paperworkers International Union, and the Tennessee State AFL-CIO.

The largest union contingent was from the UMWA. Over 700 miners attended from Illinois, Alabama, Virginia, Tennessee, Indiana, Ohio and eastern Kentucky. The event was held in conjunction with congressional hearings and was aimed at building support for three demands: a fair standard of living, job security for all U.S. workers, and the right to organize on the job.

Motlatsi opened his talk by thanking members of the UMWA for the support they have given the South African miners' union.

He described the strike by miners last August and the repression they faced at the hands of the apartheid regime during their struggle. Motlatsi explained that some miners were forced to work underground at gunpoint by South African police. The mining companies themselves function like a "government within a government" and have their own armed private police, he said.

He talked about the use of scabs and why

it is important to get all workers to support a strike, not just those who are working in a particular plant or mine.

The South African union leader made a special appeal to the UMWA members and other unionists present to take part in coordinated actions against common employers around the world.

When asked about the similarities between trade unionists in South Africa and the United States, he replied that union members in both countries unions face severe, unjust legal repression. Motlatsi later told the rally he had changed his prepared remarks after hearing the conditions described by U.S. union speakers.

One of them was Larry Funk, president of United Paperworkers Local 2650 whose members have been locked out of their jobs at International Paper's Mobile, Alabama, plant since last March after turning down a concession contract.

Union members listened carefully as Funk explained that at the beginning of the lockout the Mobile workers were forced to march out of the plant "in between 200 and 300 Pinkerton guards."

"These were employees with from 5 to 30 years," Funk said, "loyal with seniority, loyal to the company; and they marched them out through a bunch of thugs. A goon squad they had hired, which they claimed was to insure tranquility in the mill."

As a locked-out worker, Funk told the rally, "I am unemployed because I stood up for my rights. I am unemployed because the government doesn't protect my rights. I am unemployed because of corporate greed."

Workers in the audience also listened carefully to Diane Murphy, a Black flight attendant at Eastern Airlines and a member of the Transport Workers Union in Miami.

Murphy explained how she had been raped and terrorized in her home last December and how company supervisors challenged her right to medical time off following the attack.

Murphy said Eastern Airlines officials

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## Judge Ginsburg: is he another Bork?

BY HARRY RING

When the Senate rejected the nomination of Judge Robert Bork for the Supreme Court, an angry Reagan vowed he would come up with a new nominee that "they'll object to as much as they did to this one."

With the nomination of Appeals Court Judge Douglas Ginsburg, Reagan made good on his promise. But he now seems to be in hot water on this one, too.

Focusing on the conflict-of-interest issue involved in Ginsburg's role in a cable TV case, Senate Republican leaders declared they want to know more about it. The leaders of the Senate's Democratic majority also are in no rush to act on the nomination.

The selection of Ginsburg to fill the Supreme Court vacancy was a win for the hard-nosed right-wing in the Reagan administration and the Republican Party. Some White House staffers and Republican leaders on Capitol Hill had urged nomination of Judge Anthony Kennedy, a "moderate" conservative who would have

been acceptable to Senate Democrats.

But Attorney General Edwin Meese saw Kennedy as too moderate and insisted on Ginsburg. Reagan agreed.

This represented a decision to continue the fight begun with the Bork nomination, a fight that is intended to rally right-wing forces and gain some ground for their objectives.

The most outspoken complaint against Ginsburg came from Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.).

If Reagan had nominated "a real conservative," Kennedy declared, such a nominee would have been assured "broad support" in the Senate.

But, Kennedy said, "what is most ominous about the nomination... is the suggestion that Ed Meese prevailed upon the president... to name an ideological clone of Judge Bork."

In his public kickoff of the nomination, Reagan underlined that Ginsburg, like

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# What Wall St. crash shows

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and Latin America, they did not develop strong and expanding internal markets for the products of either native or foreign capitalists. Huge sections of the masses in these countries live in such desperate straits as to place them outside the market for any but the barest necessities.

The local industrialists remain largely dependent on finding markets in the imperialist countries. The continued crisis in the Hong Kong stock market highlights the vulnerability that results.

As U.S. firms have lost ground in world trade, chronic annual deficits began to appear in U.S. trade accounts.

## Capitalist overproduction

The massive expansion of production and productive capacity over time has generated a growing glut of products and productive capacity in one industry after another — and in agriculture as well.

"You are told," declared the March 9, 1987, *Wall Street Journal*, "that much of U.S. industry is performing sluggishly because Americans don't want to work anymore or have forgotten how, that foreign rivals are competing unfairly . . . that the U.S. just hasn't surmounted the legacy of an overvalued dollar."

"But all this emphasis on what is going wrong in the U.S. and in its relations with trading partners . . . tends to obscure a world-wide problem: Many major industries, all over the globe, are burdened with far too much capacity."

The article cited growing worldwide problems of overproduction and overcapacity in the auto, steel, computer, semiconductor, farm equipment, textile, mining, and oil industries.

This does not mean that these industries are producing more than people need or can use. In a capitalist economy, overproduction signifies that more is being produced — whether it is cars, clothes, wheat, or machinery — than the capitalists sell at a sufficient rate of profit.

From the standpoint of the capitalist economy, a worldwide glut exists in food production even as famine stalks sections of Asia and Africa. The impoverished famine victims don't make good customers for the capitalist food salesmen. Like all capitalists, they require customers with enough money to buy the products.

The glut of products sharply intensifies competition. The fight among the capitalists for shares of a world market that is increasingly unable to absorb the mass of products being poured into it, grows more bitter.

## Depression

Intensifying international competition in a shrinking market spurred President Richard Nixon's 1971 moves to devalue the dollar, impose a 10 percent surcharge on imports, and freeze wages.

The years 1974 and 1975 saw the first worldwide capitalist depression since 1937-38, and official U.S. unemployment

figures rose above the 8 percent mark. This slump clearly registered that the world capitalist economy had entered a deepening crisis, where massive layoffs, price explosions, breakdowns, and shortages would become more frequent.

For the U.S. economy, a weak recovery from the depression was followed by a savage downturn, opening in 1980, which saw unemployment figures soar to 10 percent.

The upswing that began in 1982 has been one of the longest-lasting in U.S. history.

But unlike the business upswings of the decades after 1945, the latest turn in the cycle has not been powered primarily by a big expansion of investments in new plant and machinery. The current rate of utilization of U.S. industrial capacity remains lower — after several years of an upturn — than in the late 1970s.

There were two keys to the upturn. One was the massive expansion of public and private debt. The federal debt skyrocketed from \$743 billion in 1980 to \$1.87 trillion in mid-1987, and state and local debt from \$295 billion to \$533 billion.

Powering the increase in federal deficits was a soaring military budget, which rose from about \$150 billion annually in 1981 to close to \$300 billion today — compared to an estimated \$118 billion for all other government departments.

Private debt has nearly doubled from \$1.3 trillion in 1980. That includes the \$160 billion debt currently weighing on farmers.

## Loan-sharking and speculation

And the debts imposed on countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America has continued to soar.

The interest payments on this giant mass of debt has been a bonanza for big bankers and other loan sharks — attracting a massive flow of capital into the United States from other countries.

The second component of the current economic upturn was the brutal driving down of the living standards and union rights of workers in one industry after another. The employers began pressing in this direction in the mid-1970s, with slashes in social service budgets, reductions in the number of government employees, and other moves.

But the drive escalated in the 1980s to a large-scale attack on industrial workers, which resulted in lower real wages, intensified speed-up, and reduced union rights — including sharp declines in health and safety on the job. Labor-saving technology was introduced to further step up the pace of production.

The union officialdom responded by accepting the employers' demands for what were commonly termed "concessions." This they contended was the only way to keep plants open and save jobs. The result was a significant reduction in the price of labor power and a big increase in the rate of exploitation of labor. Profits jumped as a result, even though factory employment

today is down 6 percent from its peak in the summer of 1981. The hourly productivity of all workers in nonfarm businesses has jumped more than 5 percent since 1983 and almost 9 percent since 1977.

Tens of thousands fewer auto workers, for example, are producing an ever-larger number of cars.

## Weakness of upturn

But instead of reinvesting the profits to further expand production, for an increasingly glutted market, many big corporations preferred to join the fever of loan sharking, stock speculation, and mergers, where they estimated that top dollar could be obtained.

The owners of USX, for example, brushed aside union pleas for them to spend the winnings they obtained from steelworkers through takeback contracts on modernizing outmoded plants. While a few plants got up-to-date equipment, the bulk of the earnings were poured into such operations as buying up Marathon Oil and Texas Oil and Gas.

Among working people, the most oppressed and exploited — Blacks, women, immigrants, and youth — have been the hardest hit. Women and Blacks for instance were among the first victims of layoffs in steel, auto, and mining — and many of them were never called back.

In the wake of the stock market crash, many commentators are pouring scorn on what they call a "profligate era" and the "casino society." They issue calls for austerity, much as though everyone in the United States had been making out like bandits during the economic upswing.

But in fact, wealth became increasingly skewed. The ruling rich and their hangers-on — such as lawyers, stockbrokers, and other parasites — got more, and working people got less.

## Working people get poorer

The percentage of total U.S. family income going to the poorest 20 percent of the population has dropped from 5.2 percent in 1979 to 4.7 percent in 1984. The percentage going to the next poorest 20 percent has fallen from 11.6 percent to 11 percent — a drop of more than five percent.

The percentage going to the richest 20 percent went from 41.7 percent to 42.9 percent, while the next richest 20 percent rose from 24.1 percent to 24.4 percent.

That's the statistical expression of millions of people rendered homeless, old people unable to afford medical care, jobless youth, growing hunger, declining education, and other facts of life about the "profligate society" today.

The polarization of wealth is dividing farmers as well. While a small layer of rich farmers has prospered, including by getting the lion's share of federal subsidies, most working farmers continue to be pressed to the wall. Tens of thousands have lost their farms and many others are threatened with foreclosure.

But the rolling back of the living stan-



**Doubling of war budget helped fuel upturn of the '80s, which was characterized by vast debt, loan sharking, speculation.**

dards of working people has not enabled the U.S. capitalist class to decisively gain ground in the world market, where the glut of unsalable goods has continued to mount throughout the upturn.

The drop in interest rates and the fall of the value of the dollar (the amount of other currencies that a dollar will exchange for) over the past two years encouraged U.S. exports by lowering their prices in foreign markets, but still left the U.S. accumulating trade deficits at a whopping annual rate of \$170 billion in 1987.

## What the crash meant

The stock market crash was the spontaneous and panicky response of capitalist investors to their deepening lack of confidence in the face of the accumulating economic problems facing U.S. and world capitalism.

While frenzied trading had previously bid prices way above the real value of stocks, the crash was much more than a correction in inflated paper values.

"One way experts look at the price of a stock," wrote Michael Kinsley in the November 9 *New Republic*, "is as the market's estimate of the 'discounted present value' of the company's future earnings. What would you pay for a fraction of that company's profits for the indefinite future? . . ."

"Since the crash cannot be traced to anything peculiar to listed stocks, it is a market judgement on the economy as a whole, of which the stock exchange is just a part. . . . The market seems to have concluded that America's prospects look several hundred billion dollars a year worse than they did a while back."

Working people were alarmed by the stock market crash because they know that the recession it signals — whether it proves to be right around the corner or a year or so away — will mean new blows to their living standards, and that the biggest blows will fall on those who are already suffering the most.

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— Merle Hansen  
President of the North American Farm Alliance



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**SPECIAL OFFER**

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# N.Y. rally backs landmark rights case

BY VIVIAN CAHALANE

NEW YORK — Widespread support for democratic and political rights was reflected at a rally held here October 30. A dozen speakers, many of them targets of government harassment, and another dozen messages of support spoke to the importance of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI and Attorney General Edwin Meese.

Some 200 people attended the rally, held at the Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199's Martin Luther King Labor Center. It was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

A number of organizations that attended set up literature tables around the room.

One of the featured speakers was Yvonne Meléndez, a defendant in the Hartford frame-up case against 16 supporters of Puerto Rican independence. She hailed the recent court injunction barring government use of illegal FBI files that was won in the SWP and YSA lawsuit as an "important decision for all of us" involved in cases of government repression. She urged those at the meeting to demand the immediate release of Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and Juan Segarra Palmer, two of the Hartford defendants who have been jailed for more than two years without the right to bail.

Raphael Anglada López, coordinator of the Hartford 16 defense effort, cochaired the rally with John Studer, executive director of the PRDF.

Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress, told the rally about his fight to return to teaching at the State University of New York at Stony Brook where

he was denied tenure because of his political views. "We are supposed to be guaranteed freedom of speech and association here. We don't have that in South Africa, but here we are supposed to," he said. "But we all know, especially those of us who are Afro-American, that what is on paper is not what we always get."

Supporters of the Anti-Apartheid Defense Fund of Austin, Texas, brought another important fight for academic freedom to the rally. On September 24, 16 students at the University of Texas in Austin were sentenced to three- to six-month jail terms plus fines because of their participation in nonviolent divestment protests. They are also subject to expulsion from school. Their message stated, "This is an example of an academic institution's willingness to forego individual dissenting voices in order to further its economic and political interests."

## Labor representatives

A number of labor figures gave greetings. The program opened with a welcome from Dennis Rivera, an official of Local 1199. Karen Lantz, vice-president of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants who went on strike against TWA last year, addressed the rally on the status of their struggle.

Philip McLewin, president of the Bergen County Central Trades and Labor Council in New Jersey, sent a message of support saying the rally was "an important event to call attention to the assault on workers' rights and victories attainable through concerted action and diligence."

Kathy Andrade, educational director for International Ladies' Garment Workers'



Puerto Rican freedom fighter Yvonne Meléndez (left) joined Fred Dube of African National Congress and others at October 30 New York Political Rights Defense Fund rally.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Union Local 23-25, and Henry Foner, president of Local 1-3 of United Food and Commercial Workers Union, also sent greetings.

Leonard Boudin, general counsel of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and lawyer in the SWP and YSA suit, spoke about the debate over Federal Judge Robert Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court and the need to continue the fight for democratic rights.

## Denied entry into Canada

Canadian immigration and civil rights attorney Stuart Russell also spoke. Russell is the lawyer for Mac Warren, a leader of

the SWP who was illegally denied entry into Canada September 19. "Mac's case is not isolated," Russell said. "There is a pattern of racist and undemocratic attacks being carried out in Canada and it is escalating." He pointed out that in a country of 25 million, the Canadian government maintains files on 600,000 people.

Calling it a "landmark decision" Russell said he hoped the SWP-YSA case could be used in Canada to fight government harassment.

Mac Warren also addressed the gathering. Describing his victimization by immigration authorities, Warren explained how he was able to return to Canada only five days later due to the support of people like Russell and other supporters of democratic rights who have backed the PRDF.

Some of the most moving remarks made at the rally were by Morton Sobell, codefendant in the Julius and Ethel Rosenberg case in the 1950s. Speaking of the court decisions, he said, "We have real cause to celebrate here tonight." He congratulated the SWP for its long view on democratic rights and for filing the lawsuit.

Other rally speakers included Michael Warren, a plaintiff in a suit against the New York City Police Department's "Black Desk"; Cate Woods from the Trenton, New Jersey, National Organization for Women; Rena Cacoullos, YSA national secretary; and Dave Cline, coordinator of New Jersey-New York Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Thiago de Mello, the Brazilian composer and musician, performed at the event.

## Cops cleared in racist killing in New York

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NEW YORK — In 1983 Michael Stewart, a young Black artist, was arrested and severely beaten by a squad of New York Transit Authority cops. By the time he reached medical care he had turned blue and stopped breathing. Thirteen days later he was dead.

The killing of Michael Stewart was one of the city's most highly publicized incidents of police brutality. Yet today, four years later, not a single cop involved in his death has served so much as a day in prison.

Following a five-month trial in 1985, six cops were acquitted of all charges. This despite eyewitness accounts of how they had savagely beaten and kicked Stewart.

A subsequent internal investigation by the Transit Authority concluded the officers had indeed used "excessive force," but recommended only that one of them be investigated — not for beating and stomping Michael Stewart to death, but for perjury. They said one aspect of his version of what happened was false.

On October 27 authorities dropped their last pretense at seeking justice in the case.

A second internal Transit Authority investigation concluded, by a vote of 7-1, that even charges of perjury should be dropped against John Kostick.

Kostick was the last of the cops involved to face any charges whatsoever.

However, they still face a civil suit filed by Michael Stewart's family.

## Howard Beach protest demands justice



Militant/Michael Baumann

November 2 protest outside Howard Beach trial courtroom. Opponents of racism have had to keep pressure on authorities throughout the case.

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NEW YORK CITY — Three hundred people joined a protest rally here November 2 outside the courtroom where the Howard Beach murder trial is taking place.

Inside, four white teenagers are on trial, facing charges of second-degree murder and manslaughter. Eyewitnesses identify the white youths as ringleaders in a lynch-mob attack on three Blacks in Howard Beach, Queens, last December.

Among the demonstrators outside were

the mother and brother of Michael Griffith, who was murdered in the attack, and numerous religious and political figures from the Black community in Brooklyn, where the Griffith family lives.

The rally was called to demand conviction and long sentences for the young thugs on trial. It also protested the way defense attorneys have sought to bait the victims and put their personal lives on trial.

"This is a warning to [New York Mayor Edward] Koch and [New York Governor Mario] Cuomo," said Al Sharpton, a local

minister. "It's not Grimes or Sandiford [two of the victims of the attack] who are on trial. It's your justice system."

Even before the rally, attendance had climbed sharply at the trial, which entered its fifth week in early November.

The four men on trial were part of a gang of youths who beat and clubbed three stranded Black motorists.

One victim of the attack, Michael Griffith, 23, was chased to his death as he tried to run across an expressway.

A second victim, Cedric Sandiford, 37, was so badly beaten he required hospitalization.

The third, Timothy Grimes, 19, managed to escape the attackers.

But when Grimes took the stand in court October 19 to describe the murderous assault, defense attorneys turned things upside down.

With a barrage of irrelevant questions about Grimes's personal life, they tried to turn him into the criminal and their clients into innocent victims "provoked" into a confrontation.

Defense attorney Stephen Murphy, a former prosecutor in the same courthouse, took the lead. He called Grimes an "animal" in a televised interview and vowed in advance he would "break" Grimes on the witness stand.

Persistent, insulting questions about his education, employment, and police record — accompanied by laughter from the four defendants — twice drove Grimes from the stand in fury.

Neither the judge nor the state's special prosecutor have taken effective action to stop these abusive courtroom attacks.

In response, figures in the Black community and one of the city's leading Black newsweeklies, the *City Sun*, have urged increased attendance at the trial itself. This call has clearly been heeded. On the day of the November 2 rally, hundreds more turned out than could fit into the 300-seat courtroom.

Outside the courtroom, the depth of anger over the Howard Beach lynching is readily felt.

One example came when A.N.R. Robinson, the prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, birthplace of Michael Griffith, spoke in Brooklyn in early October. Robinson was booed off the stage when he refused to condemn the killing.

Trial of the four young thugs is expected to continue into December.

## Griesa signs judgment in anti-FBI suit

Judge Thomas Griesa signed a judgment November 5, putting into effect his rulings in the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the U.S. attorney general, the FBI, and other federal police agencies. The Justice Department has 60 days in which to file notice of an appeal.

The judgment orders the government to pay \$264,000 in damages to the SWP

and YSA for disruptive activities, burglary, and planting informants.

It also imposes the injunction issued in August by Griesa. U.S. government agencies are now enjoined from using illegally obtained documents and records on the two organizations, and are specifically forbidden to make any use of membership lists or other items that mention SWP and YSA members by name.



# Thousands hear Benjamin Linder Peace Tour speakers

BY FRED FELDMAN

David, Elisabeth, and Miriam Linder spoke to 20 meetings, attended by about 1,500 people, at Boston, area colleges, high schools, and churches during a five-day visit. They are, respectively, the father, mother, and sister of Benjamin Linder, the U.S. volunteer worker murdered in Nicaragua by the contras last April. Two Nicaraguan coworkers were also killed in the attack.

Thousands more heard the Linders on television and radio programs during the stop in Boston, which ran from October 14 to 18.

At the Arlington Street Church, they were greeted by 350 people. In addition to the Linders and a videotape showing Benjamin Linder's work in Nicaragua and his funeral there, the meeting heard the mayor of the Nicaraguan city of San Marcos report on the Central American peace accords.

San Marcos is the Nicaraguan sister city of Concord, Massachusetts.

## Go to Nicaragua

Beverly Treumann, director of the NICA school in Esteli, Nicaragua, urged everyone to go to Nicaragua, see for themselves the implementation of the peace accords and other developments, and share their experiences with others when they return. Sen. Edward Kennedy sent a message to the event greeting the Linders.

At the University of Lowell, 100 students packed into a classroom to hear Miriam Linder speak and present a slideshow on her brother's life and death. Over half the students remained long past the allotted time to discuss and debate about Nicaragua. One student, who had initially voiced support for the contra war, confessed as she left, "Now, I'm really confused."

The tour ended with a reception attended by 85 people at the home of Abby Rockefeller and Lee Halprin in Cambridge. Elisabeth Linder, John Linder (Benjamin's brother), and Stephen Jay Gould, widely known for his writings on science, were guests.

Gould joined the Linders in strongly urging people to follow Benjamin Linder's example by volunteering their skills to Nicaragua.

More than \$17,000 was raised for the Benjamin Linder Memorial Fund, which aims to complete the projects he was working on in Nicaragua, during the tour of the Boston area.

Tom Kruse, an architect who worked on housing construction in Nicaragua and was a friend of Benjamin Linder, joined Elisabeth Linder as the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour came to Morgantown, West Virginia, October 4 and 5.

This leg of the tour was cosponsored locally by the Latin American Solidarity Project and endorsed by Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 347; Ray Bauer, student administration president at West Virginia University; and others.

Elisabeth Linder was the guest at a luncheon at the Church of the Brethren, attended by 60 members of 10 churches.

## High school meeting

When Kruse spoke to 25 high school students at a lunchtime meeting at Morgantown High, a lively discussion took place about the problems Nicaraguan peasants face and the gains they have made by participating in the revolution. Afterwards a student asked about joining a work brigade to Nicaragua.

Students at Fairmont State College, just south of Morgantown, made a videotape of the meeting there, addressed by Kruse, to keep on file at the school library. A student there also asked about volunteering to work in Nicaragua.

About 1,500 people gathered in Portland, Oregon, September 25-27 to attend "The United States and Central America: a Conference in the Spirit of Ben Linder." People came to the gathering from as far

away as British Columbia in Canada and San Francisco. Most participants came from Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

A *Militant* correspondent at the meeting met a farmer from Fruitland, Idaho, a worker in a Seattle truck plant, and several high school students.

David, Elisabeth, and Miriam Linder addressed the conference on the first night.

Gustavo Acosta spoke as a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front — Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador: Honduran peasant leader Elvia Alvarado and Rosa Carlota Tünnermann of the Nicaraguan embassy addressed the meeting.

Others who spoke at the conference, which was sponsored by about 40 organizations, included journalist Alexander Cockburn and American Indian Movement leader Bill Means.

For further information about the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour, contact the national tour office at 2025 I St. NW, Suite 208A, Washington, D.C. 20006, or telephone (202) 331-7675.

*This article was based on reporting by Gary Cohen from Boston, Ellie Beth Brady in Morgantown, and Lisa Hickler in Portland.*



Miriam (left) and Elisabeth Linder, sister and mother of U.S. volunteer worker murdered in Nicaragua by the contras last April. Photos by Jim Levitt

## Nicaragua: monthly rice ration cut, gov't blames big private growers

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — While merchants here charge ever higher prices for rice, the monthly ration sold at government-subsidized prices has been cut to one pound per person, announced the Sandinista daily *Barricada* October 20.

This is the second such reduction in two months. In August the monthly ration of rice was reduced from three to two pounds per person. Four pounds were being sold until early 1986.

Rice is one of five rationed products distributed by the government at subsidized prices to insure a minimum of each for every Nicaraguan. The other four products are soap, cooking oil, sugar, and salt. They are purchased with a ration card at government-supplied neighborhood stores called *expedios*.

These products can also be purchased outside the rationing system, but at much higher prices. For example, while the pound of rice costs 450 córdobas with a ration card, in government-run supermarkets it costs 2,000 córdobas — when available. In the open market, where rice is usually available, the price may reach 3,000 córdobas or more per pound — whatever the market will bear. This is a substantial part of what many Nicaraguan workers earn in a single day of work.

In reporting the latest cutback in the ration of rice, the October 20 *Barricada* blamed the reduction on the rice growers who sell their rice on the open market, where they can get a better price, rather than to the government. While government warehouses "are practically empty," said *Barricada*, "the market is full of rice."

Government regulations stipulate that rice grown in irrigated fields must be sold for distribution by the government. This comprises about 80 percent of all the rice grown in the country. (The remaining 20 percent is grown on nonirrigated land, and is not covered by these regulations.)

The regulations, however, are difficult to enforce because transportation, distribution, and merchandizing of food in Nicaragua is still overwhelmingly in private hands. Claiming that the price offered by the government is too low, some rice growers have opted to divert part of their production to the open market. Others have simply reduced the size of their rice fields,

planting instead other more profitable crops.

Most rice in Nicaragua is produced on large-scale farms, with irrigation. With the 1979 revolution the government took over the plantations belonging to former dictator Anastasio Somoza and his cronies and turned them into state farms. State farms comprise about 40 per cent of all rice-producing land.

Almost 45 percent of the rice-producing lands are still in the hands of big capitalists, with less than 20 percent owned by small and medium farmers.

Immediately after the 1979 revolution, the Nicaraguan government launched a program to expand rice production. By 1982 rice production was already surpassing pre-1979 yields. The 1984 harvest yielded 30 percent more rice than in 1975, the best year before the revolution. Additional land was being planted with rice and higher yields per acre were being obtained.

With the escalation of the contra war and the imposition of the U.S. embargo on Nicaragua in 1985, rice yields fell by 13 per-

cent in 1985 and an additional 10 percent in 1986.

Breakdowns in production became more frequent as spare parts for U.S.-made machines became difficult to obtain. Agriculture suffered through lack of sufficient fuel and other imports, and rice was no exception.

How do working people deal with this shortage of a basic commodity? Some working-class families simply cannot afford to buy rice in the open market and have to manage somehow on the little rice they get with their ration card. Others are able to resort to the open market from time to time to supplement the ration, but this means sacrificing other necessities.

In order to supplement the reduced ration of rice, the government has announced plans to sell pasta recently donated by Italy in the *expedios*. A few months ago potatoes donated by East Germany were also distributed to substitute for rice. Donations of rice from the Soviet Union, Austria, and Spain have also helped ease the shortages of government-subsidized rice.

## Ore. tree planters, farm workers meet

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

WOODBURN, Ore. — The third annual convention of the Northwest Tree Planters and Farm Workers United was held here in the Willamette Valley on October 4. The union is overwhelmingly Latino and is known by its Spanish initials PCUN.

Its president, Cipriano Ferrel, told a news conference following the day-long convention that the union had come a long way in one year. "We had less than 100 members at our last convention and we now have over 1,350 members," he pointed out. Several hundred of them attended the convention.

The union's members work on farms, in nurseries, and for reforestation contractors. PCUN's organizing efforts have centered on the Woodburn, Salem, and Independence areas, 40 to 50 miles south of Portland.

Ferrel announced that PCUN expected to have a contract signed with a grower who operates a small nursery by the end of the year. He said it would be the first contract ever signed between a union and a grower in Oregon.

The contract includes a starting wage of

\$5.00 per hour, with two pay raises in the first year, a medical plan funded by a 15 to 20 cents an hour contribution by the grower, a grievance procedure, protections against the use of chemicals and pesticides, seniority in rehiring, and a closed shop.

A major subject of discussion at the convention, Ferrel stated, was the 1986 immigration law and its H-2A Program which allows growers to recruit workers outside the United States if they claim a labor shortage exists. These workers are denied the right to organize under the program.

"What we see is the stage being set for the implementation of a guest worker program like the Bracero program of the period 1942 to 1964," said Ferrel. This would be "legalized slavery, just a way for the growers to maximize their profits."

While PCUN is an independent union, Ferrel said the organization has sought to maintain close relations with other farm worker unions, especially the United Farm Workers of America based in California. There have also been discussions with the United Farm Workers of Washington State. Many farm workers work in both Oregon and Washington, he noted.



# Interview with FSLN leader Tomás Borge

## Discusses Guatemala peace accords, amnesty measures, role of church

The following interview with Nicaragua's Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge appeared in the October 4 *Barricada*, the Sandinista daily published in Managua. It was taken from a longer interview conducted by Lucia Luna for the Cuban press service Prensa Latina, the Mexican magazine *Proceso*, and *El Periodista* of Argentina. Subtitles are taken from *Barricada*. The translation is by the Militant.

**Question.** One of the points of the Guatemala accords that has provoked the most debate in Nicaragua is the amnesty provision. However, the Sandinista government had previously decreed other amnesties. Could you tell us what the results were of these earlier amnesties? What happened to those who received amnesty? And how is this amnesty qualitatively and quantitatively different?

**Answer.** There is an Amnesty Law of January 1985. This has been extended, and it covers a wide range of those involved in counterrevolutionary activities, including counterrevolutionary leaders. Among them are former members of Somoza's National Guard, and counterrevolutionaries whose origin was in groups of peasants who took up arms, whether they were recruited by force or joined voluntarily. This Amnesty Law, No. 1353, is slightly different from a law that was decreed in December 1983 and applied only to inhabitants of the Atlantic Coast.

Counting those who have laid down arms and those who have returned to the

Since November 1981 there has also been a pardon law, a procedure for pardons and for commutation or reduction of sentences. Group or individual pardons have been granted to Somozaist criminals, former members of the National Guard and others tried for violating the law and the public order.

I think that in Nicaragua there has been an almost permanent amnesty, (which, in the framework of the Guatemala accords, will be broadened qualitatively and quantitatively.) We don't yet know what the procedures or the scope of this amnesty will be in the immediate future because there is a commission made up of the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Justice and the Supreme Court of Justice, which is studying all legal aspects of the problem. This commission will present the legal options to the revolutionary leadership of the country so that it can make the necessary political decisions.

### No possibility of internal front

**Q.** The massive return of counterrevolutionaries, their free participation in legal political activities, the reopening of their means of propaganda, and the resurgence of radical sectors of the Catholic Church have provoked concern that an atmosphere is being created in which an internal front could be organized. What risk is there from this standpoint?

**A.** An internal front is a conspiratorial organization outside the law. The CIA and the contras have tried to organize such a front since they began their activities in Nicaragua. But the degree of our surveillance and penetration of the ranks of the enemy, and above all the level of popular support, have blocked the formation of this internal front.

There have been many attempts. They have been so extensive that we have captured more than 50 tons of plastic explosive, destined to sow terror and carry out acts of sabotage. But there hasn't been even one firecracker set off here as the result of conspiratorial activity. This seems to me to say a lot objectively about the work of State Security.

Those who are amnestied are going to have absolute freedom of movement. They can carry out political, religious, and social activities or any other activities of a legal nature. But I venture to say that we are equipped to keep under surveillance and neutralize any attempt to form an internal front in Nicaragua. The very fact that these individuals have been counterrevolutionaries makes it easier to prevent them from organizing illegally.

### Class struggle makes impact

**Q.** And in relation to the ideological struggle ...?

**A.** That is another problem, perhaps more serious, because the support that the Nicaraguan revolution has received from the masses, and I would say this is natural, has been weakening over the course of time. The class struggle, the contradictions within the society, have made themselves felt. There is a certain polarization of forces.

Until now the opposition parties, both on the right and on the left, have not constituted a force to be concerned about. It seems to me that those who have been the most active, the most energetic, and the most homogeneous from the standpoint of their influence and their ideological views, have been the reactionary sectors of the Catholic Church. The opposition parties have been weak not only numerically but above all in terms of quality.

Our great advantage, I believe, is that the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] is the greater force in terms of quality as well as numbers. That is, its activism, energy, ability to argue, and ability to confront problems in practice are incomparably superior to those of the other political parties.

### Discontent, but not with revolution

We inherited a backward, uncompetitive, and obsolete economy, with an industrial apparatus in tatters and an agriculture bordering on primitivism. We were an un-



Former contras returning to Nicaragua under amnesty provisions. Peace accords strengthen efforts to get others to lay down arms.

derdeveloped society that could not be transformed by decree. And on top of this inherited backwardness came the war, and — although it is not a decisive factor — we must add inexperience in economic management and the resulting errors in leadership.

All this brings concrete consequences: scarcity of products, decline in production, inflation, etc. Speaking in geographical terms, there are zones that have been destroyed by the war. But there is also the physical destruction of other sectors as a result of poverty, which is a terrible vicious circle because it generates more poverty and more destruction.

This all has results that are often not the best in moral or political terms, and that give rise to bureaucracy and corruption. These factors have contributed to the economic deterioration that contributes to the discontent not only of some sectors, but I would say of practically the entire population of the country.

What is happening is very broad sectors of society are dissatisfied with specific things but not with the revolution as a whole. In other words, there are people who are revolutionaries, who are fervent defenders of the revolution and are ready to sacrifice their lives for it, but who are greatly irritated when they get no response to their demands around health care, housing, education, jobs, and the standard of living. If a revolutionary goes to the market and that day there is no soap for sale so he can't take a bath, well, naturally, that man is not going to be satisfied even though he supports the revolution.

This dissatisfaction lays the basis for a certain vulnerability in relation to the ideological offensives that are going to take the place of the military offensives. So, there will have to be a tremendous battle for the consciousness of the people. Whoever wins that battle will be the victor. We have great moral, political, and ideological resources to win this battle, but it isn't going to be easy. It will be a complicated struggle, more complicated even, than the military struggle.

### Church's role today

**Q.** Given that the church, as you say, has been the strongest "political party" of the opposition, now that Monsignor Miguel Obando y Bravo is president of the National Reconciliation Commission, and with the return of figures such as Bismarck Carballo [director of Radio Católica, the radio station of the Church hierarchy], this sector is going to be reactivated politically. What can we expect from them? How will they influence the peace process?

**A.** The National Reconciliation Commission that was formed here is not the arbiter in any negotiations. It is a mechanism to oversee the Guatemala accords, but it is not a court of appeal and has no executive powers. It is a kind of state's attorney for the accords, I would say.

The church is an important sector, especially the church in Managua, headed by Obando, whose indubitable political position gives more weight to the commission because it will mean the backing of key sectors of the country. To me, this new role of the church seems positive and represents a step — unintended in this case, but which could have this result — toward improving relations between the church and the state. One of the main causes of the tensions between the church and the government has been the lack of communication and resulting misinterpretation of situations and actions.

### Empire can't have everything

**Q.** But even though you are very clear in your commitment to peace, as long as the United States does not have the political will to recognize these efforts and achieve peace ...?

**A.** It is true that there is no political will, but the Reagan administration has wanted to wipe out the Nicaraguan revolution and has not been able to. It even made the decision to invade Nicaragua but couldn't do that either. I don't completely rule out that danger, because that would be a lack of seriousness on my part. But until now they have not been able to intervene directly with their troops.

They have also made the decision to block the Central American peace process. We'll have to see if they can do it, because not everything imperialism wants is possible. Not everything it desires comes about. The world now is not so distant or indifferent, and the eyes of humanity are more wide open than they have ever been. However much they manipulate the mass media, it is very difficult to cover up our desire for peace. Governments, peoples, and nations have backed the Guatemala accords. So it's not so easy for the U.S. government to avoid this reality and try to demonstrate what can't be demonstrated.

We will not leave any doubt whatsoever about our desire for dignity and for peace. I am not a pessimist and I think that when all is said and done, peace will prevail over war.

**Speech by Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge**  
**Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution**

30 pp., \$ .75.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 postage.



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Tomás Borge

country (people who left fleeing either supposed or real Sandinista repression as a result of their counterrevolutionary activities), as of a few months ago there were a total of about 10,500 individuals.

The revolution has responded in various ways to those who have availed themselves of these laws: granting them land, finding jobs, allocating housing, aiding them in different ways, and of course guaranteeing them not only the right to live, but also their freedom.

### Legal options under study

A combination of political and social measures have contributed to a substantial reduction in the number of recruits to the contras. Among these are punishment of those who commit abuses against peasants; hard work by Sandinista cadres, and better organized propaganda, consistent with the facts; and telling the truth no matter what.

Another notable factor has been the military defeats and the casualties inflicted on the contras — about 4,000 so far this year. The fact that they have suffered blows that are so overwhelming from a military point of view has even reduced their will to fight, and therefore their attraction for the social forces with whom they are linked in the countryside. Their ranks have decreased almost by half. There were more than 10,000 a little more than a year ago, and now there are about 6,000.



# Regional teams spur 'Militant' subscription drive

BY NORTON SANDLER

*Militant* distributors from Boston have sold more than 40 subscriptions and nearly 1,000 single copies of the paper in Maine since mid-August.

Two supporters from West Virginia and one from Alabama recently teamed up to sell 38 subscriptions and 236 single copies of the *Militant* at mine portals and in small mining communities in eastern Kentucky and Virginia.

Teams like these, which introduced the *Militant* to workers, farmers, and students who might not have seen it otherwise, have been a strength of the current drive to win 6,000 new subscribers by November 24. In addition, the teams have resulted in our distributors deepening their understanding about what is on the minds of working people and students in the areas they visited. And in some cases the regional teams have played a role in convincing young people to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

## Sales to paperworkers

Workers in Jay, Maine, have been on strike at International Paper's Androscoggin mill for several months. The *Militant's* coverage of U.S. and international politics as well as articles on the paperworkers' fight have been well received by these unionists and their supporters, who make up the bulk of the 40 new Maine subscribers.

Kate Button from Boston was part of a five-person team that recently sold nearly 700 single copies of the *Militant* and eight subscriptions in a week at plant gates and on campuses in Maine. She reports that the strike is having a big impact throughout the state.

Button said workers at the Boise Cascade mill in Rumford, 20 miles from Jay — the scene of an 11-week strike in 1986 — were interested in the coverage of the paperworkers' fight. The team sold 153 papers at a shift change. Not everybody was friendly, and the team ran into some workers who had crossed the picket line during the strike and who remain hostile to the union.

Unions at the Champion paper mill in Bucksport have donated \$28,000 to the Jay workers. They bought 108 copies of the *Militant* from the team. At the large shipyard in Bath, scene of a long 1985 strike, unionists purchased 36 copies of the *Militant*.

Sales to paperworkers in other parts of the country have resulted in substantial numbers of *Militants* being sold. Despite running into harassment from company cops, Dave Sandor and Ruth Cheney from St. Louis sold 176 *Militants* to workers at the International Paper mills in Texarkana, Texas, and Camden and Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Distributors from Portland, Oregon, have had good sales at paper mills in their area.

## Mining areas

Dick McBride reports that the eastern Kentucky coal team sold nearly half their 236 single copies and several subscriptions at six mine portals. McBride said miners and their family members wanted to talk about a range of issues covered in the *Militant*. That team ended its two-week effort at the "Jobs With Justice Rally" in Nashville, Tennessee, where they joined other distributors in selling 10 subscriptions and 50 single copies of the *Militant*.

Cleveland distributors have gotten the same response in southern Ohio where 180 single copies and four subscriptions have been sold at mine portals and in mining communities this fall.

"Miners have expressed a very serious interest in learning about the struggles of other unionists to resist concessions," Joan Keehan wrote. "But the *Militant's* unique coverage of the Nicaraguan revolution and the Central America peace plan has generally sparked the most interest and discussion during sales in the coalfields where opposition to the contras runs deep," she added.

Last spring miners at Pittsburg & Midway and at Peabody mines on the Navajo Nation in Arizona and New Mexico waged successful battles against the coal operators' takeback drive. A team drawn from Phoenix supporters recently spent a few days talking to miners and their families there and sold 13 subscriptions and 88 single copies.

## Selling at campuses and plant gates

Some of the most successful teams have combined sales on college campuses with visits to plant gates.

Another Phoenix team sold more than 20 subscriptions in the Tucson area, many to students at the University of Arizona.

A two-person team of supporters from Los Angeles and San Diego spent several days touring north of Los Angeles in Oxnard, Ventura, and Santa Barbara. The team was joined by a student from Ventura College. Twelve subscriptions to the *Militant* and four to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold in Oxnard and Ventura on campus and in working-class communities.

Additional supporters from Los Angeles joined the team at the University of California campus in Santa Barbara where 24 subscriptions were sold in a single day. That brings to 62 the number of *Militant* and *PM* subscribers on that campus. Three students there have asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Birmingham, Alabama, supporters have been visiting campuses around the state. They sold 10 *Militant* subscriptions at Auburn University, six at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, and four at the University of Tuskegee in Tuskegee. During those visits, five young people expressed interest in joining the YSA.

Supporters from New York have made several trips to the Albany area to join supporters there in gathering subscriptions. YSA members at the State University of New York in Albany are active in protests over the presence of FBI and CIA recruiters on campus.

Fourteen subscriptions to the *Militant* and four to *PM* were sold during the most recent trip, and the team helped to build a campus speaking engagement for James Winfield, a national leader of the YSA.

A team drawn from supporters in the San Francisco Bay Area visited the Pajaro and Salinas valleys in California at the end of September. They sold 11 subscriptions at Monterey Peninsula College, and one student asked to join the YSA.

Farm workers in Salinas told the team about their struggle against the growers' use of dangerous pesticides. These workers also described how the growers try to use a "contractor system" to undercut the farm workers' union and to lower wages and benefits.

In Salinas, they visited the picket lines and headquarters of Teamsters Local 890, which is on strike at United Foods. That company is demanding that union members accept a \$1.56 wage cut. Ten union members signed up as subscribers to either *PM* or the *Militant*.

## Target week Nov. 14-21

To make our goal of winning 6,000 new *Militant* readers by November 24, we'll have to sell just over 2,000 new subscriptions during the next three weeks. That's a big job, but not impossible. Supporters can begin now to plan the special steps necessary to get the maximum participation during the November 14-21 wrap-up target week.

The drive has been running behind schedule since it began in mid-August.

Regardless of where any particular area stands at the moment, the challenge before *Militant* distributors is to maximize their efforts during the next three weeks so the drive goes over the top.

The areas that did the best during the earlier target week were ones that encouraged supporters to get out three or four times during the week and also organized overnight teams in the region.



Strikers at International Paper's mill in Jay, Maine, looking over a recent issue of the *Militant*.

## Fall Sales Scoreboard

Area	<i>Militant</i> subscriptions			New International single copies			<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> subscriptions		
	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	% Sold
San Diego	85	82	96	25	12	48	40	36	90
Greensboro, N.C.	140	120	86	20	14	70	15	8	53
Atlanta	120	96	80	35	18	51	20	16	80
Louisville, Ky.	5	4	80	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cleveland	105	83	79	20	8	40	15	4	27
Houston	200	154	77	50	15	30	40	18	45
Des Moines, Iowa	125	96	77	35	13	37	15	2	13
Washington, D.C.	130	96	74	60	27	45	30	21	70
Omaha, Neb.	70	51	73	20	6	30	10	10	100
Boston	225	163	72	50	25	50	100	34	34
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	94	72	25	17	68	5	2	40
Portland, Ore.	100	72	72	40	26	65	30	4	13
Miami	120	86	72	40	9	23	40	19	48
Seattle	300	214	71	50	35	70	50	29	58
Detroit	200	142	71	35	11	31	25	9	36
Cincinnati	10	7	70	-	-	-	-	-	-
Los Angeles	300	208	69	100	63	63	175	99	57
Baltimore	140	92	66	40	0	0	10	3	30
San Francisco	180	117	65	50	0	0	70	56	80
Kansas City	105	66	63	25	2	8	20	8	40
Birmingham, Ala.	150	94	63	35	7	20	5	4	80
Austin, Minn.	85	53	62	10	0	0	15	4	27
Phoenix	140	87	62	25	10	40	100	62	62
Salt Lake City	150	93	62	25	4	16	25	7	28
New York	600	359	60	350	244	70	200	158	79
Twin Cities, Minn.	180	107	59	75	38	51	20	7	35
Milwaukee	115	68	59	35	18	51	15	4	27
Oakland, Calif.	150	83	55	100	14	14	50	13	26
Albany, N.Y.	20	11	55	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philadelphia	150	81	54	50	0	0	50	17	34
Newark, N.J.	350	180	51	75	26	35	125	43	34
Annandale, N.Y.	20	10	50	-	-	-	-	2	-
St. Louis	175	86	49	50	18	36	10	5	50
San Jose, Calif.	75	35	47	-	-	-	50	19	38
Charleston, W. Va.	125	55	44	20	3	15	-	1	-
Price, Utah	48	21	44	10	0	0	2	1	50
Chicago	225	77	34	50	0	0	75	18	24
Pittsburgh	175	50	29	-	-	-	10	3	30
Amherst, Mass.	5	1	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Davenport, Iowa	5	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Coal Teams	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other U.S. areas	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Britain	75	74	99	140	130	93	5	3	60
Canada	-	76	-	-	-	-	-	29	-
New Zealand	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Puerto Rico	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-
Other Internat'l	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
<b>Totals</b>	<b>5,808</b>	<b>3,824</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>1,770</b>	<b>813</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>1,467</b>	<b>801</b>	<b>53%</b>
<b>Drive Goals</b>	<b>6,000</b>			<b>2,000</b>			<b>1,500</b>		
<b>Should Be</b>		<b>4,686</b>	<b>78%</b>		<b>1,562</b>	<b>78%</b>		<b>1,172</b>	<b>78%</b>



# Texas court sentences apartheid opponents

BY GREG ROSENBERG

AUSTIN, Texas — In an attack on the anti-apartheid movement, a county judge here sentenced 12 anti-apartheid protesters to jail sentences ranging from 90 days to six months. She accused them of "terrorist-style tactics."

The conviction of the 12 for "disruptive activity" stems from an October 1986 protest at the University of Texas (UT) Austin campus, when 16 protesters occupied the office of the university president for approximately 15 minutes. They were protesting UT investments in companies doing business in South Africa.

Two of the UT-16, as they are known, received deferred adjudication and a third faces trial this month. Another is out of the state. The majority of the UT-16 are students, the rest are community activists.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Katherine Arnold, Joseph Morris, and Denise Szymczak, three of the UT-16, explained the issues in the case and why they intend to fight and appeal the convictions.

"The UT system," Szymczak said, "has \$860 million invested in companies that do business in South Africa. That figure has gone up since I started going to school here." When the 16 protesters peacefully occupied the president's office, they were swarmed by cops busting down doors, breaking a lot of glass, and physically abusing the protesters.

During the trial prominent anti-apartheid fighters, professors of international law, and others were called as witnesses by the defense. They included Themba Ntinga, a representative of the African National Congress at the ANC's UN Mission in New York.

But Judge Leslie Taylor ruled this testimony against apartheid irrelevant and demanded that the case be tried solely on whether "disruption" had occurred. Most of these witnesses were not allowed to testify.

The protesters, however, roundly condemned apartheid in their statements to the court.

Arnold and Szymczak described the intensely hostile attitude the judge displayed to the protesters during the trial. Even the state prosecutor, who recommended probation and community service for the defendants after the verdict, said he was "shocked at the level of personal animosity that the judge seemed to show to the protesters and to me."

The protesters are now out on intent to appeal. They have 60 days to appeal or they will be jailed. To appeal they must obtain a copy of the trial transcript, for which they will be charged \$6,000-\$8,000.

The UT-16 are organizing support for the next stage in their fight, which they see as an important part of continuing to build the anti-apartheid movement. There is broad support for their case at UT-Austin, where 50,000 students go to school. Several successful fundraising events have been held, as well as support rallies. A packet of materials to publicize the case is being produced.

Szymczak said the UT-16 are willing to tour campuses in different parts of the country to publicize the case and strengthen the fight against apartheid. Statements of support and financial contributions are also encouraged.

For more information on speakers or to send financial aid, contact the Anti-Apartheid Defense Fund, 1022 W. 6th, Austin, Texas 78703. Telephone: (512) 472-4409 or 469-9418.



Militant/Deborah Lazar

1986 anti-apartheid protest at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. Similar protests occurred on campuses across the country, including recently at the University of Texas, where demonstrators face jail.

## Radiation accident in Brazil worst in Western Hemisphere

BY HARRY RING

With four people dead so far and 44 others hospitalized, Brazil is suffering the worst radiation accident in the Western Hemisphere. Geiger checks have found at least 245 people contaminated by radiation.

The contamination erupted in the town of Goiânia in central Brazil. A private clinic there shut down two years ago, abandoning an irradiation device. Two youngsters salvaged it and sold it to a junkyard.

There workers dismantled it and broke open a disc containing a powdered form of cesium 137. This was one of the deadly substances that escaped in the 1986 disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Soviet Union.

In Goiânia, when the workers came upon the blue powder that glowed, no one realized what it was. They brought some of the odd-seeming material to their homes and gave some to friends and relatives. One sprinkled it on the floor of his children's room so they could see it glow.

Then the horror began. People began suffering burning pain and internal bleeding. Their skin swelled and blistered. Their teeth loosened, and their hair began falling out.

As the media focused on the catastrophe,

## Gov't nuclear plants get more dangerous

A panel of scientists found that U.S. government-owned nuclear plants used to produce material for atomic bombs are becoming increasingly more hazardous as they grow older.

At one complex, in South Carolina, they found cracks in the steel system and reactor tanks that could lead to a "catastrophic rupture" of the coolant system.

The nuke plants are operated by private contractors, and the study found the government does not impose adequate safety standards.

Earlier, a congressional study found major safety problems at the plants, ranging from fire hazards to unnecessary exposure of workers to radiation danger.

the government hastened to claim that the contamination was limited to the affected area. People don't believe it.

Some are refusing to buy products from the Goiânia area. Plans to bury the accumulating radioactive debris in the Amazon Basin are being protested.

In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's principal city, there is now increased concern about the nearby nuclear reactor, which has experienced a number of breakdowns.

And there is a fearful new awareness of the equipment containing radioactive material scattered about the country with the same absence of regulation as the time bomb abandoned by the clinic owners in Goiânia.

Cesium 137 is used in treating cancer and in various industrial processes, such as gauging the density of welds.

An international medical team of radiation experts, headed by Dr. Robert Gale, who went to the Soviet Union after Chernobyl, have gone to Goiânia. They said they were able to save two of six terminally ill people with an experimental procedure.

So far, 34,000 people have been given Geiger tests for radiation levels. Forty-four were hospitalized, and at least 200 will have to be checked periodically for years to come. No one knows how many will get cancer. Cesium retains its full lethal strength for at least 30 years.

The blood and urine of those most heavily contaminated was so radioactive that a special laboratory had to be set up to handle the samples.

The four who have died so far were buried in half-ton, lead-lined coffins. Their graves were lined with concrete in the hope of containing the radioactivity.

Pigs, chickens, ducks, and even pet dogs have had to be destroyed. Some people have been forced to move from their homes.

So far, 80 barrels of radioactive debris have been accumulated.

A German expert on the scene said the radioactivity was so high in some spots that it would require robots to safely remove the contaminated refuse.

In some places, a heavy rain has driven cesium a foot into the ground, and this soil will have to be removed.

## Students protest CIA

BY DAVID FINZ

ALBANY, N.Y. — A month-long struggle at the State University of New York at Albany led by a student group has resulted in a temporary moratorium on recruitment by the CIA on campus.

The campaign began when the CIA made a surprise visit to the school during a "career day" in September. About 30 students, members of the Peace Project, braved the threat of arrest and picketed the event. Student representative Eric Silver presented the university administration with the demand that recruitment by the CIA be stopped temporarily until a clear written policy was formulated, with student participation in the decision. A school official replied that he viewed recruitment as a "freedom of speech" issue. The students set October 27 as the date for a response to their demands.

On that day 100 students gathered for a

campus rally. The day before, the Peace Project had presented university President Vincent O'Leary with a petition containing more than 400 signatures. In response to the deadline, the university released a vaguely worded statement that did not mention a moratorium by name.

Since O'Leary had left town for the day, a group of protesters marched to the office of the vice-president, Mitchell Livingston, who met with them. Following this meeting, Livingston was quoted by the local media as saying, "We will not permit the CIA to come back to this campus for the purpose of recruitment before the Council on Academic Freedom and Ethics, and the University Senate, both of which have student input, clear this policy up."

David Finz is a member of the Peace Project.

Area	Goal	Pledged	Paid
Atlanta	-	3,300	670
Austin, Minn.	1,555	1,416	720
Baltimore	2,000	1,540	630
Birmingham	3,000	2,710	1,385
Boston	5,000	2,700	1,065
Charleston, W.V.	-	2,805	980
Chicago	5,000	3,375	925
Cleveland	3,000	3,130	1,990
Detroit	2,000	2,895	1,205
Des Moines	2,000	2,025	550
Greensboro, N.C.	1,700	1,690	607
Houston	-	4,875	2,200
Kansas City	2,500	2,225	525
Los Angeles	13,000	11,914	6,578
Morgantown, W.V.	2,000	1,660	1,165
Miami	3,000	1,525	105
Milwaukee	-	2,148	738
Newark	7,000	5,958	2,458
New York City	15,000	14,338	5,553
Oakland	8,000	5,450	2,395
Omaha	1,600	1,395	630
Pittsburgh	2,200	1,833	720
Philadelphia	5,500	4,466	466
Phoenix	1,500	1,070	525
Portland	2,300	1,980	730
Price, Utah	-	150	0
San Diego	-	2,250	960
Seattle	6,000	4,980	1,865
San Francisco	6,000	5,025	1,175
San Jose	-	1,550	300
Salt Lake City	3,000	2,655	1,450
St. Louis	5,500	5,800	3,770
Twin Cities, Minn.	6,000	5,070	1,870
Washington, D.C.	7,000	5,160	1,385
Other	-	4,364	3,790
International	-	1,166	958

Totals

122,355 126,595 53,838

## \$150,000 Socialist Publications Fund

At a rally August 13 we announced the launching of this fund, which has a goal of raising \$150,000 by November 24.

Its purpose is to finance publication of the *Militant*, the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist magazine *New International*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

As of November 2, \$126,595 has been pledged and \$53,038 collected.

I wish to help the fund, enclosed is:

\_\_\_ \$1,000 \_\_\_ \$500 \_\_\_ \$100  
\_\_\_ \$25 \$ \_\_\_\_\_ other

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Organization/Union \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to Fall Socialist Publications Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# Paperworkers resist concession drive

## 10-year offensive by paper bosses spurs current fightback

BY SUSAN LaMONT

An important series of strikes, lock-outs, and contract disputes is taking place in the pulp and paper industry. Boise Cascade, Scott Paper, Champion Paper, Stone Container, and Diamond Brands are a few of the major paper corporations pushing unionized workers for more concessions. The most extensive struggle, however, is centered at International Paper Co.

Workers at IP are facing massive scabbing, court injunctions, company surveillance, harassment by state troopers, anti-union media campaigns, and more.

On strike are locals in Jay, Maine; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and DePere, Wisconsin. Union members are locked out in Mobile, Alabama. At IP's mill in Gardiner, Oregon, workers have taken a strike authorization vote but remain on the job. Workers at the Corinth, New York, plant recently rejected IP's final contract offer by a big margin. The Moss Point, Mississippi, and Pine Bluff, Arkansas, mills are working without a signed contract. And most recently, a brief strike at the Menasha, Wisconsin, mill ended with the workers accepting a new contract.

While they vary somewhat from mill to mill, the company's main demands are: an end to premium pay for Sunday work, elimination of Christmas as a shut-down holiday, the right to subcontract work now done by union members, and implementation of "team concept" and other "flexible" work rules. Other paper companies are pushing similar demands.

### Decline of U.S. capitalism

The current wave of takeback demands comes after paperworkers have already given a lot in concessions.

For more than 10 years, workers in the pulp and paper industry — like millions of other industrial workers — have been on the receiving end of an intensive corporate offensive aimed at boosting the profits of U.S. capitalism in the face of stiff competition from European and Japanese rivals.

In the 1970s, the tiny, but powerful, class of U.S. families who own the pulp and paper mills, coal mines, steel mills, railroads, auto plants, and energy corporations — along with the banks — began a drive to force down the standard of living of workers, weaken the unions, erode democratic rights, and lower expectations.

For workers, this has meant a long period of givebacks in wages and benefits, changes in work rules, speedup, increased overtime, long layoffs, plant closings, and erosion of health and safety on the job. Millions of workers have now been through these experiences.

Millions of workers have now been through these experiences, and paperworkers are no exception. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, 55,000 paperworkers lost their jobs through mill closures, as the paper corporations scrambled to restructure in the face of declining profits. Mergers and buyouts increased monopolization in the industry. Between 1963 and 1982, the number of pulp and paper companies dropped from 641 to 241.

International Paper was — and is — in the forefront of the takeback drive in the paper industry.

IP is the biggest paper company in the United States, with operations in every part of the country. It employs 44,000 people and owns 26 pulp and paper mills, 62 packaging plants, four envelope companies, 20 wood products plants, and more — in addition to plants and mills in Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

In 1986 it acquired Hammermill Paper Co. for \$1.1 billion.

In 1980 IP began a seven-year, \$5.1-billion capital spending program, financed in part by millions squeezed out of the workers at 11 mills through job eliminations, work rule changes, and other concessions.

At the same time, the union also gave up companywide bargaining, which IP argued had become outmoded, since conditions at each mill were different.

### Profits up

A Jan. 12, 1987, article in *Business Week*, aptly titled "Reams of Profits for the Paper Business," explained how successful



International Paper Co. paper mill in Gardiner, Oregon. IP is leading industrywide drive against paper unions, targeting wages, work rules, holidays, health and safety. Resistance of paperworkers has inspired growing solidarity.

the paper corporations have been in their drive to boost profits. "For the first time in this decade, the forest-products industry has something to crow about," it said. "Cost-cutting and higher prices boosted its wood-products business last year, while a weaker dollar made it much more competitive in international paper markets. If both trends continue... the \$148 billion industry could have record profits in 1987."

IP's profits alone were \$305 million in 1986 — more than doubled from 1985.

This rosy profits picture has helped fuel paperworkers' anger at the companies' continuing demands for more and deeper concessions.

Not content with their already soaring profits, IP and other paper companies have embarked on a new push to squeeze more from union members.

Although IP claimed at an earlier stage that conditions at each mill were unique, its campaign now is to uniformly impose the same deep concessions on workers in all the mills.

For example, workers in Mobile and Corinth have been working under "team" work organization since the 1979-80 period. Now IP is demanding workers in Jay accept a similar plan, dubbed "Project: Productivity."

At the Pine Bluff, Arkansas, mill, workers get time and a half for Sunday work. At Jay, they get double time. IP is now demanding an end to any Sunday premium pay at these and other mills.

### New resistance

When the offensive against the paperworkers began a decade ago, many union members believed that the concessions asked by the companies were necessary to protect their jobs in the long run, as did workers in other industries.

Union officials echoed the employers' claims that givebacks were needed to keep companies from going under.

The United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) leadership was no exception. It had long fostered a spirit of cooperation with the paper companies, and many mills had gone for decades without strikes.

The response of many union members to this new round of concession demands is different than in the 1979-80 period.

Paperworkers have learned through their own experience with concessions — as well as seeing what has happened to workers in other industries — that simply giving the companies what they ask for is no guarantee of anything.

They are part of a growing layer of workers who are finding ways to fight back against the capitalists' unrelenting profit drive. In the past year, important struggles by farm workers, cannery workers, coal miners, and meat-packers have also taken place, marking a shift from the previous long period of acceptance of corporate concession demands.

Although many recent strikes have

ended in setbacks for the unions involved, the response among other workers is not always what the bosses hope for. In Jay, for example, the workers' reaction to the defeat of the 1986 Boise Cascade strike in nearby Rumford was not demoralization. They were convinced that they could learn from the Cascade workers' experiences and mistakes in organizing their struggle against IP. Even the Rumford workers themselves are waiting for the chance to try to win back some of what they were forced to give up.

Since the loss of companywide bargaining, union members in each mill have had to face the bosses on their own. This has made it easier for the paper companies to pit locals against each other — forcing concessions at one mill, then confronting other locals with the demand to go along.

This year, UPIU members at four IP mills where contracts expired at roughly the same time (Jay, DePere, Lock Haven, and Mobile) decided to adopt a coordinated bargaining strategy. Although bargaining still takes place mill by mill, the agreement is that none of the mills will settle until all have reached acceptable agreements with IP. Workers at other IP mills are discussing how to relate to this effort.

### Company response

IP's response has been vicious. Refusing to negotiate in any serious way, the company has taken a "take it or leave it" approach toward the union. The Jay workers even offered to work for two years under an extension of the old contract, but IP said no.

Determined to force this round of concessions, IP has locked out workers in Mobile and filled the other three mills with scabs, in an effort to keep up production. Pliant judges have granted injunctions limiting picketing at the plant gates. In Lock Haven strikers and their supporters have had their free speech rights attacked by an injunction limiting what they can say on the picket line. They also face a campaign of harassment and arrest by state cops.

IP and other paper companies' use of scabs to try to break strikes in the recent period has taken two forms.

The first is the hiring of what the employers call "replacement workers." Hundreds of people have answered company ads for jobs in the struck mills. Some have been unemployed or underemployed for a long time. Others have never had a chance at a job that paid as much as the paper companies. Others are from farming areas.

Following a trend that is becoming more widespread, IP has backed up this side of its scab operation by using a company whose purpose is to help corporations break unions: B.E. & K. Construction. This Alabama-based outfit, which employs people skilled in various crafts who can come in and do maintenance on the giant equipment in the mills, is being used by IP

in Jay. Last year, it was used by Boise Cascade in neighboring Rumford, Maine, to help break an 11-week strike by UPIU members there.

Paper companies have also hired private security companies to beef up their own security forces.

Paperworkers have responded to IP's offensive by first organizing themselves and then reaching out for solidarity from other workers. Food banks, job banks, Labor Day marches, women's auxiliaries, mass meetings, media work, legal efforts, and outreach to unions and other groups have strengthened the paperworkers in their fight with IP.

Paperworkers in Jay are in the forefront of this effort, which has made their strike a cause among workers in the state of Maine and increasingly throughout New England.

Thinking about many social and political questions — from the role of women to the U.S. war against the peoples of Central America — is shifting, as paperworkers deepen their struggles.

The current battles that paperworkers are going through will help the labor movement as a whole develop the new strategy and leadership workers need to be effective in their fight against the employers and their government.

## Pulp and paper industry, unions

Pulp and paper is a big industry in the United States, employing some 613,000 workers. Some 650 pounds of paper per year per person are produced in 561 paper mills and 223 pulp mills.

The paper corporations have built mills in every part of the country, but the largest numbers are in the Northeast and South, and on the West Coast. In these areas, the raw materials needed for paper production — huge amounts of timber and vast quantities of water — are readily available.

The paper companies make millions from the export of pulp and paper. Japan, for example, imports 20 percent of the pulp produced in this country.

The biggest union in the paper industry is the United Paperworkers International Union. The UPIU, which has 240,000 members, was formed in 1972 when the United Papermakers and Paperworkers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers merged.

The UPIU represents pulp and paper mill workers in the Northeast, South, and Midwest. On the West Coast, most paperworkers are in the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers. It was formed in 1964 and has 17,000 members.

In 1985 delegates to the UPIU convention overwhelmingly rejected a proposed merger with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.



## Fidel Castro honors Che Guevara

**"I'm making appeal for our party to study Che's political and economic thought"**

The following speech was given by Cuban President Fidel Castro at the main ceremony marking the 20th anniversary of the death of Ernesto Che Guevara, the Argentine-born revolutionary who fought in the Cuban revolutionary war of 1956-59 and served in several important posts in the early years of the revolutionary government. He fought against the military dictatorship in Bolivia, where he was captured and murdered in 1967.

Castro's speech was delivered in front of a new electronic components factory in the city of Pinar del Río on October 8, the anniversary of the day Che was captured. It is reprinted from the October 18 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, the weekly English-language paper of the Cuban Communist Party.

Subheads and footnotes are by the ISR.

Nearly 20 years ago, on Oct. 18, 1967, we met in Revolution Square with a huge crowd to honor Comrade Ernesto Che Guevara. Those were very bitter, very difficult days when we received news of the developments in Vado del Yeso, in Yuro Ravine, when news agencies reported Che had fallen in battle.

We didn't take long to realize that those reports were absolutely correct, for they consisted of news items and photos that proved it beyond doubt. For several days the news was coming in, until with all that information in hand, although many of the details we know today were not known at the time, we held the large mass rally, the solemn ceremony in which we paid our last respects to the dead comrade.

Nearly 20 years have passed since then, and now, on October 8, we are marking the date he fell in battle. According to reliable reports we have now, he was actually murdered the following day, after having been captured unarmed and wounded; his weapon had been rendered useless in battle. That's why it has become a tradition to commemorate the terrible event on October 8.

The first year passed and then five, 10, 15, and now 20 years, and it was necessary to recall the historic dimensions of that development, and particularly the man. Thus in a natural way rather than a very deliberate or pondered way, all sectors, the entire people have been recalling the date in recent months. It was possible to commemorate the 20th anniversary on a solemn note as we have seen here today: the playing of taps, the march, the magnificent poem by Nicolás Guillén which rang out with the same voice we heard 20 years ago.

I could try to give a very solemn, grandiloquent speech, perhaps a written speech, but in these times the pressure of work barely leaves a minute free for thinking more carefully about all those events and the things I could say here, let alone for writing a speech.

That's why I'd like to recall Che, share my thoughts with you, because I've thought a lot about Che.

I did an interview, part of which was made public yesterday in our country, in answer to the questions of an Italian journalist who had me in front of the television cameras nearly 16 hours straight — actually, they were movie, not TV cameras, because in order to get a better image in everything he did, he didn't use videocassettes, some of which last two hours, but rather movie cameras. He'd change reels every 20 or 25 minutes, and so it was quite an exhausting interview. We should have taken three days to do it, but we had to do it in one because there was no more time.

We started before noon on a Sunday and finished at 5:00 a.m. the following day. There were more than 100 questions on a variety of subjects, but the journalist was very interested in talking about Che, and between 3:00 and 4:00 a.m. we got to the subject. I made an effort to answer each of his questions and I made a special effort to summarize my memories of Che.

### Comrades in struggle for 12 years

I told him that I felt, and I think many comrades feel the same way regarding Che's permanent presence. We must keep in mind the special relationship with Che, the affection, the fraternal bonds of being comrades, the united struggle for nearly 12 years, from the moment we met in Mexico until the end, a period rich in historic

events, some of which have only been made public in the last couple of days.

It was a period filled with heroic and glorious deeds, from the time Che joined us to go on the *Granma* expedition, the landing, the setbacks, the most difficult days, the resumption of the struggle in the mountains, rebuilding an army virtually from scratch, the first clashes, and the last battles.

The intense period that followed the victory of the revolution, the first revolutionary laws, in which we were absolutely loyal to the commitments we'd made to the people, carrying out a really radical transformation in the life of the country, the things that followed, one after another, like the start of imperialist hostility, the blockade, the slander campaigns against the revolution as soon as we started to do justice to the criminals and thugs who had murdered thousands of our fellow citizens; the economic blockade, the Girón invasion; the proclamation of the socialist nature of the revolution; the struggle against the mercenaries; the October crisis,<sup>1</sup> the first steps in the construction of socialism when there was nothing — neither experience nor cadres nor engineers nor economists and hardly any technicians, when we were left almost without doctors because 3,000 of the 6,000 doctors in the country left.

Then came the First and Second Declarations of Havana, the start of the isolation imposed on our country, the collective rupture of diplomatic relations by all Latin American governments except Mexico. It was a period in which, along with all these developments, we had to organize the economy of the country. It was a relatively brief but fruitful period replete with unforgettable events.

It must be kept in mind that Che persisted in an old desire, an old idea: to return to South America, to his country to make the revolution based on the experience he'd gained in our country; the clandestine way in which his departure had to be organized, the barrage of slanders against the revolution, when there was talk of conflicts, of differences with Che, that Che had disappeared.

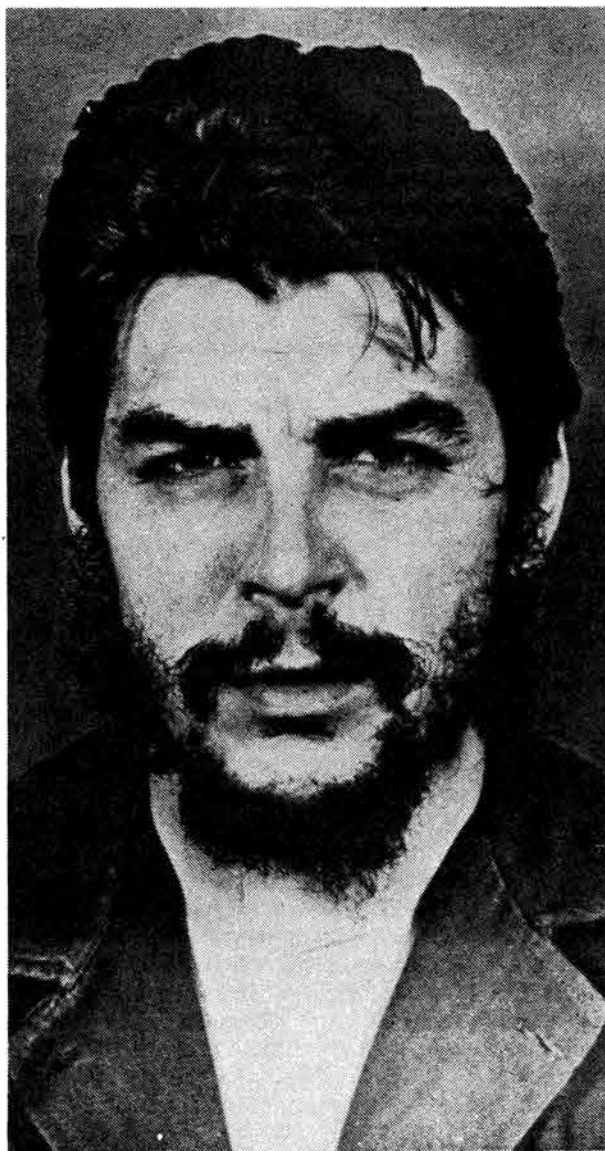
It was even said that he had been murdered because of splits in the ranks of the revolution. Meanwhile, the revolution calmly and firmly endured the ferocious attack, because over and above the irritation and bitterness caused by those campaigns, the important thing was that Che be able to fulfill his goals; the important thing was to ensure his safety and that of the compatriots with him on his historic missions.

In the interview I explained the origin of that idea, how when he joined us he had only set one condition: that once the revolution was made, when he wanted to return to South America he would not be prevented from doing so for reasons of state or for the state's convenience, that he would not be held back. We told him he could go ahead and that we would support him. He'd remind us of this pledge every so often until the time came when he decided it was time to leave.

Not only did we keep the promise of agreeing to his departure, but we gave him all the help we could. We tried to delay the departure a little. We gave him other tasks to enrich his guerrilla experience and we tried to create a minimum of conditions so that he wouldn't have to go through the most difficult stage of the first days of organizing a guerrilla force, something we knew full well from our own experience.

We were well aware of Che's talent, his experience, and his role. He was a cadre suited to major strategic tasks and we felt it might be better if other comrades undertook the initial organizational work and that he join at a more advanced stage in the process. This also fits in with our policy during the war of saving cadres, as they distinguished themselves, for increasingly important and strategic assignments. We didn't have many experienced cadres, and as they distinguished themselves we wouldn't send them out every day with a squad to ambush; rather, we gave them

Continued on next page



Reprinted by permission of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia  
Che Guevara

1. The October crisis, usually known in the United States as the Cuban Missile Crisis, was precipitated by President John Kennedy's imposition of a naval blockade around Cuba, and his demand that the Soviet Union remove missiles from that country.



Continued from previous page  
more important tasks in keeping with their ability and experience.

Thus, I remember that during the days of Batista's final offensive in the Sierra Maestra Mountains against our militant but small forces, the most experienced cadres were not in the front lines; they were assigned strategic leadership assignments and saved for our devastating counterattack. It would have been pointless to put Che, Camilo [Cienfuegos], and other comrades who had participated in many battles at the head of a squad.

We held them back so that they could subsequently lead columns that would undertake risky missions of great importance, and it was then that we did send them into enemy territory with full responsibility and awareness of the risks, as in the case of the invasion of Las Villas led by Camilo and Che, an extraordinarily difficult assignment that required men of great experience and authority as column commanders, men capable of reaching the goal.

In line with this reasoning, and considering the objectives, it would have perhaps been better if this principle had been observed and he had joined at a later stage. It wasn't really so critical for him to handle everything right from the start. But he was impatient, really very impatient. Some Argentine comrades had been killed in the initial efforts he'd made years before, including Ricardo Massetti, the founder of Prensa Latina. He remembered that often and was really eager to start to participate.

As always, we respected our commitments and his views, for our relationship was always based on absolute trust, absolute brotherhood, regardless of our ideas about what the right time for him to join in would be. And so we gave him all the help and all the facilities possible to start the struggle.

## Che's fight in Bolivia

Then news came of the first clashes and contact was completely lost. The enemy detected the initial stage of organization of the guerrilla movement, and this marked the start of a period lasting many months in which almost the only news we received was that which came via international news dispatches, and we had to know how to interpret them. But that's something our revolution has become very experienced at: determining when a report is reliable or made up, false.

I remember, for example, when a dispatch came with the news of the death of Joaquín's group (his real name was Vilo Acuña). When we analyzed it, I immediately concluded that it was true; this was because of the way they described how the group had been eliminated while crossing a river. Because of our own guerrilla experience, because of what we had lived through, we knew how a small guerrilla group can be done away with, the few, exceptional ways such a group can be destroyed.

When it was reported that a peasant had made contact with the army and provided detailed information on the location and plans of the group which was looking for a way to cross the river; how the army set up an ambush on the other bank at a spot on the route the same peasant had told the guerrilla fighters to use; the way the army opened fire in midstream, there was no doubt as to the truth of the explanation.

If the writers of false reports, which came in often, tried to do it again, it was impossible to admit that they,

**Che became a symbol for all the oppressed, all the exploited, for all revolutionaries; a permanent, invincible symbol . . .**

who were always so clumsy in their lies, would have had enough intelligence and experience to make up the exact circumstances in which the group could be eliminated. That's why we concluded the report was true.

Long years of revolutionary experience had taught us to decipher dispatches and tell the difference between the truth and falsehood of each development, although, of course, there are other things to keep in mind to make a judgement. But that was the type of information we had about the situation until the news of Che's death arrived.

As we have explained, we had hopes that even with only 20 men left, even in a very difficult situation, the guerrillas still had a chance.

They were headed toward an area where the peasants were organized, where some good Bolivian cadres had influence, and until that moment, until almost the very end, there was a chance that the movement could be consolidated and could develop.

But the circumstances in which my relationship with Che developed were so unique, the almost unreal history of the brief but intense saga of the first years of the revolution when we were used to making the impossible possible, that, as I explained to that journalist, one had the permanent impression that Che hadn't died, that he was still alive. Since his was such an exemplary person-

ality, so unforgettable, so familiar, it was difficult to resign oneself to the idea of his death.

Sometimes I'd dream — all of us dream of things related to our lives and struggles — that I saw Che, that he returned, that he was alive. How often this happened! I told the journalist that these are feelings you seldom talk about, but they give an idea of the impact of Che's personality and also of the extraordinary degree to which he really lives on, almost as if his were a physical presence, with his ideas and deeds, with his example and all the things he created, his continued relevance and the respect for him not only in Latin America but in Europe and all over the world.

As we predicted on October 18, 20 years ago, he became a symbol for all the oppressed, all the exploited, for

**“Today homage is paid to Che every year, every month, every day, in a factory, in a school, in a military barracks, among pioneers . . .”**

all patriotic and democratic forces, for all revolutionaries; a permanent and invincible symbol.

## Symbol for all the oppressed

For all these reasons, because of this real force that he still has today which, even though 20 years have gone by, exists in the spirit of all of us, when we hear the poem, when we hear the march or the bugle is sounded before a moment's silence, when we open our newspapers and see photographs of Che during different stages of his life, his image, so well known throughout the world — because it has to be said that Che did not only have all the virtues and all the human and moral qualities to be a symbol, he also had the appearance of a symbol, the image of a symbol: his look, the frankness and strength of his look; his face, which reflects character, irrepressibly determined for action, at the same time as showing great intelligence and great purity — when we look at the poems that have been written, the episodes that are recounted, and the stories that are repeated, we feel the reality of Che's relevance, of his presence.

It's not strange if one feels Che's presence, not only in everyday life, but if even in dreams one imagines that he is alive, that Che is in action and that he never died. In the end we must reach the conclusion that to all effects in the life of our revolution Che never died, and in the light of what has been done, he is more alive than ever, and is a more powerful opponent of imperialism than ever.

Those who disposed of his body so that he would not become a symbol; those who, under the guidance of the methods of their imperial masters, didn't want any trace to remain, have discovered that although there is no body, nevertheless a frightening opponent of imperialism, a symbol, a force, a presence which can never be destroyed, does exist.

When they hid Che's body they showed their weakness and their cowardliness, because they also showed their fear of the example and the symbol. They didn't want the exploited peasants, the workers, the students, the intellectuals, the democrats, the progressives, or the patriots of this hemisphere to have a place to go to pay tribute to Che. And in the world today, in which there is no specific place to go to pay tribute to Che's remains, tribute is paid to him everywhere. [Applause]

Today tribute is not paid to Che once a year, nor once every 5, 10, 15, or 20 years; today homage is paid to Che every year, every month, every day, everywhere, in a factory, in a school, in a military barracks, in a home, among children, among Pioneers.<sup>2</sup> Who can count how many millions of times in these 20 years the Pioneers have said: "Pioneers for communism, we will be like Che!" [Applause]

This one fact I've just mentioned, this one idea, this one custom in itself constitutes a great and permanent presence of Che. And I think not only our Pioneers, not only our children, but children all over the hemisphere, all over the world could repeat this same slogan: "Pioneers for communism, we will be like Che!" [Applause]

Really, it's that there can be no superior symbol, there can be no better image, there cannot be a more exact idea, in searching for the model revolutionary man, in searching for the model communist. I say this because I have the deepest conviction, I always have had and I still have today, just the same or more so than when I spoke that October 18 and I asked how we wanted our fighters, our revolutionaries, our party members, our children to be, and I said that we wanted them to be like Che, because Che is the personification, is the image of that new man, is the image of that human being if we want to talk

2. The Pioneers is the children's organization in Cuba.

about a communist society; [Applause] if our real objective is to build, no longer socialism but the higher stages of socialism, if humanity is not going to renounce the lofty and extraordinary idea of living in a communist society one day.

If it is necessary to have a paradigm, a model, an example to follow to attain these elevated ideas, then men like Che are essential as are men and women who imitate him, who are like him, who think like him, who act like him; men and women whose conduct resembles his when it comes to doing their duty, in every little thing, every detail, every activity; the attitude toward work, the habit to teach and educate by setting an example; the attitude of wanting to be first at everything, the first to volunteer for the most difficult tasks, the hardest ones, the most self-sacrificing; the individual who gives his body and soul to a cause, the individual who gives his body and soul for others, the person who displays true solidarity, the individual who never lets down a comrade, the simple man; the man without a flaw, who doesn't live any contradiction between what he does and says, between what he practices and preaches: a man of action and thought whom Che symbolizes. [Applause]

For our country it is a great honor and privilege to have had Che as a son of our people even though he wasn't born in this land. He was a son because he earned the right to consider himself and to be considered a son of our country, and it is an honor and privilege for our people, for our country, for our country's history, for our revolution to have had among its ranks a positively exceptional man such as Che.

## Millions of exceptional men and women

That's not to say that I think exceptional people are scarce; that's not to say that amid the masses there aren't hundreds, thousands, even millions of exceptional men and women. I said it once during the bitter days when Camilo disappeared. When I recounted the history of how Camilo became the man he was, I said: "Among our people there are many Camilos." I could also say, among our peoples of the world there are many Ches.

But, why do we call them exceptional? Because, in actual fact, in their time, in the circumstances in which they lived, they had the chance and the opportunity to demonstrate all that man, with his generosity and solidarity, is capable of. And, indeed, seldom do ideal circumstances exist whereby man has the opportunity to express himself and to show everything he has inside as was the case with Che.

Of course, it's clear that there are countless men and women among the masses who, partly as a result of other

**“Among the peoples of the world there are many Ches . . .”**

people's examples and certain new values, are capable of heroism, including a kind of heroism I greatly admire: silent heroism, anonymous heroism, silent virtuousness, anonymous virtuousness. But given that it's so unusual, so rare that all the necessary circumstances exist to produce a figure like Che, who today has become a symbol for the world, a symbol that will grow, it is a great honor and privilege that this figure was born during our revolution.

And as proof of what I said earlier about Che's presence and force today, I could ask, could there be a better date, anniversary than this one to remember Che with all our conviction and deep feelings of appreciation and gratitude? Is there a better moment than this particular anniversary, when we are in the middle of the rectification process?

What are we rectifying? We're rectifying all those things — and there are many — that strayed from the revolutionary spirit, from revolutionary work, revolutionary virtue, revolutionary effort, revolutionary responsibility; all those things that strayed from the spirit of solidarity among people. We're rectifying all the shoddiness and mediocrity that is precisely the negation of Che's ideas, his revolutionary thought, his style, his spirit, and his example.

I really believe, and I say it with great satisfaction, that if Che were sitting in this chair, he would feel jubilant; happy about what we are doing these days, just like he would have felt very unhappy during that unstable period, that disgraceful period of building socialism in which there began to prevail a series of ideas, a series of mechanisms, of bad habits which would have caused Che to feel profound and terrible bitterness. [Applause]

## Voluntary work

For example, voluntary work, the brainchild of Che and one of the best things he left us during his stay in our country and his part in the revolution, was steadily on the decline. It became a formality almost: It would be done on occasion on a special date, a Sunday. People would sometimes run around and do things in a disorganized way.





Photo by Osvaldo Salas. Reprinted by permission of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia.  
**Che Guevara (left) and Fidel Castro.** "Many have image of Che as a brave, heroic man," Castro said. "He was also a thinker, a man of great ideas. Ideas absolutely relevant today, without which communism can't be built."

The bureaucrat's view, the technocrat's view that voluntary work was neither basic nor essential gained more and more ground. The idea was that voluntary work was kind of silly, a waste of time, that problems had to be solved with overtime, with more and more overtime, and this while the regular workday wasn't even being used efficiently. We had fallen into the bog of bureaucracy, of overstaffing, of work norms that were out of date, the bog of deceit, of untruth. We'd fallen into a whole load of bad habits that Che would have been really appalled at.

If Che had ever been told that one day, under the Cuban revolution there would be enterprises prepared to steal to pretend they were profitable, Che would have been appalled; or enterprises that wanted to be profitable and give out prizes and I don't know what else, bonuses, and they'd sell the materials allotted to them to build and charge as though they had built whatever it was, Che would've been appalled.

And I'll tell you that that happened in the 15 municipalities in the capital of the republic, in the 15 enterprises responsible for house repairs; and that's only one example. They'd appear as though what they'd produce was worth 8,000 pesos a year, and when the chaos was done away with, it turned out they were producing 4,000 pesos worth or less. So they weren't profitable. They were only profitable when they stole.

Che would have been appalled if he'd been told that enterprises existed that would cheat to fulfill and even surpass their production plan by pretending to have done January's work in December.

Che would have been appalled if he'd been told that there were enterprises that fulfilled their production plan and then distributed prizes for having fulfilled it in value but not in stock, and which engaged in producing items which meant more value and refrained from producing others which yielded less profit, despite the fact that one item without the other wasn't worth anything.

Che would have been appalled if he'd been told that production norms were so slack, so weak, so immoral that on certain occasions almost all the workers fulfilled them twice or three times.

Che would have been appalled if he'd been told that money was becoming man's concern, man's fundamental motivation. He who warned us so much against that would have been appalled. Work shifts were being shortened and millions of hours of overtime reported; the mentality of our workers was being corrupted and men were increasingly being motivated by the pesos on their minds.

Che would have been appalled for he knew that communism could never be attained by trekking along those worn capitalist paths and that to follow along those paths would mean eventually to forget all ideas of solidarity and even internationalism. To follow those paths would imply never developing a new man and a new society.

Che would have been appalled if he'd been told that a

day would come when bonuses and more bonuses of all kinds would be paid, without these having anything to do with production.

Were he to have seen a group of enterprises teeming with capitalists hucksters — as we call them — playing at capitalism, beginning to think and act like capitalists, forgetting about the country, the people, and high standards (because high standards just didn't matter, all they cared about was the money being earned thanks to the low norms) he would have been appalled.

And were he to have seen that one day they would not just make manual work subject to norms — which has a certain logic to it like cutting cane and doing many other manual and physical activities — but even intellectual work, even radio and television work, and that here even a surgeon's work was likely to be subject to norms — putting just anybody under the knife in order to double or triple his income — I can truthfully say that Che would have been appalled, because none of those paths will ever lead us to communism. On the contrary, those paths lead to all the bad habits and the alienation of capitalism.

Those paths I repeat — and Che knew it very well —

**“Anyone who believes that man is an incorrigible little animal capable of advancing only if you feed him grass, tempt him with a carrot, or beat him with a stick will never be a revolutionary . . .”**

would never lead us to building real socialism, as a first and transitional stage to communism.

#### Not a naive idealist

But don't think that Che was naive, an idealist, or someone out of touch with reality. Che understood and took reality into consideration. But Che believed in man, and if we don't believe in man, if we think that man is an incorrigible little animal, capable of advancing only if you feed him grass or tempt him with a carrot or whip him with a stick, anybody who believes this, anybody convinced of this will never be a revolutionary; anybody who believes this, anybody convinced of this will never be a socialist; anybody who believes this, anybody convinced of this will never be a communist. [Applause]

Our revolution is an example of what faith in man means because our revolution started from scratch, from nothing. We didn't have a single weapon, we didn't have a penny, even the men who started the struggle were un-

known, and yet we confronted all that might, we confronted their hundreds of millions of pesos, we confronted the thousands of soldiers, and the revolution triumphed because we believed in man. Not only was victory made possible, but so was confronting the empire and getting this far, only a short way off from celebrating the 29th anniversary of the triumph of the revolution. How could we have done all this if we hadn't had faith in man?

Che had great faith in man. Che was a realist and didn't reject material incentives. He deemed them necessary during the transitional stage, while building socialism. But Che attached more importance — more and more importance — to awareness, to the ethical factor.

Nevertheless, it would be a mockery to believe that Che was unrealistic and unfamiliar with the reality of a society and a people who had just emerged from capitalism. But Che was mostly known as a man of action, a soldier, a leader, a military man, a guerrilla, an exemplary person who always was the first in everything; a man who never asked others to do something that he himself wouldn't do first; a model of a righteous, honest, pure, courageous, and solidarizing man. And these are

**“Che was radically opposed to using capitalist economic laws in building socialism . . .”**

the virtues he possessed and the ones we remember him by.

Che was a man of very profound thought, and he had the exceptional opportunity during the first years of the revolution of delving deeply into very important aspects of the building of socialism because, given his qualities, whenever a man was needed to do an important job, Che was always there. He really was a many-sided man and whatever his assignment he fulfilled it in an extremely serious and responsible manner.

#### Economic principles

He headed the INRA [National Institute of Agrarian Reform] and managed a few industries under its jurisdiction at a time when the main industries hadn't yet been nationalized and only a few factories had been taken over. He headed the National Bank, another of the responsibilities entrusted to him, and he also headed the Ministry of Industries when this agency was set up. Nearly all the factories had been nationalized by then and everything had to be organized, production had to be maintained, and Che was given the job, as he had many others.

His attitude was one of total devotion, working day and night, Saturdays and Sundays, at all hours, and he really set out to solve far-reaching problems. It was then that he tackled the task of applying Marxist-Leninist principles to the organization of production, the way he understood it, the way he saw it.

He spent years doing that; he spoke a lot, wrote a lot on all those subjects, and he really managed to develop a rather elaborate and very profound theory on the manner in which, in his opinion, socialism should be built leading to a communist society.

Recently, all these ideas were compiled and an economist wrote a book which was awarded a Casa de las Américas prize. The author compiled, studied, and presented in a book the essence of Che's economic ideas, retrieved from many of his speeches and writings — articles and speeches dealing with a subject so decisive in the building of socialism. The name of the book is *Che's Economic Thought*. So much has been done to recall his other qualities that this aspect — I think — has been largely ignored in our country. Che sustained truly profound, courageous, bold ideas which were different from many paths already taken.

In essence — in essence! — Che was radically opposed to using and developing capitalist economic laws and categories in building socialism. He advocated something which I have often insisted on; building socialism and communism is not just a matter of producing and distributing wealth but is also a matter of education and of awareness. He was firmly opposed to using these categories which have been transferred from capitalism to socialism as instruments to build the new society.

At a given moment some of Che's ideas were incorrectly interpreted and, what's more, incorrectly applied. Certainly, no serious attempt was ever made to put them into practice, and there came a time when ideas that were diametrically opposed to Che's economic thought began to take over.

This is not the occasion for going deeper into the subject; I'm essentially interested in expressing one idea: today, on the 20th anniversary of Che's death; today, in the midst of the profound rectification process we are all involved in. We are understanding that rectification does

Continued on ISR/6



# 'Che was one of the outstanding Marxists of Interview with editor of the new book of writings, speeches by the Cuban

**Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara** is a new book published in October by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia with the collaboration of the José Martí Publishing House in Havana, Cuba. David Deutschmann, the editor of the book, recently passed through New York on his way to Sydney, and the *Militant* was able to interview him. The interview was conducted by Mike Taber, who was part of the translation team that worked with Deutschmann on the project.

**Mike Taber.** Why has Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia decided to publish this new volume at the present time?

**David Deutschmann.** As you know, Oct. 9, 1987, marks 20 years since Che Guevara was killed in combat while leading a guerrilla struggle against the Bolivian dictatorship. *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* is being published to coincide with the 20th anniversary events being organized in Cuba and around the world to mark Che's contributions to the international struggle for national liberation and socialism.

The book has a more lasting purpose, however. It is not a memorial or commemorative volume.

Instead, it seeks to make available in English some of the major writings and speeches of a central leader of the Cuban revolution. The book confirms the judgment of Fidel Castro just a few days after Che's death that these works "will pass on to posterity as classic documents of revolutionary thought."

Our goal is to provide an overview of Che's political ideas, from the time of his participation in the revolutionary struggle against the Batista dictatorship in Cuba up until shortly before Che's death. In Che's own words, readers will get a vivid account of the Cuban revolution and its opening years, as well as revolutionary struggles internationally.

## A Marxist outlook

Che offers a Marxist outlook on politics that remains invaluable today to understanding the challenges facing working people not only in Cuba or Latin America, but throughout the world.

**Taber.** You have chosen to call the book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. What is the significance of that title?

**Deutschmann.** Well, that's what the book is about. The Cuban revolution and its internationalist perspectives were what Che lived for and ultimately gave his life for. From 1955, when he joined up with the exiled fighters in Mexico led by Fidel Castro, Che was a leader of the Cuban revolution. He was a guerrilla commander and leader of the July 26 Movement that led the victory over the Batista regime on Jan. 1, 1959. He was a central leader of the new revolutionary government and of the party that began to be built by the workers and peasants to guide the revolution.

When Che left Cuba in 1965 to carry out internationalist missions, he wrote in his farewell letter, "Wherever I am, I will feel the responsibility of being a Cuban revolutionary."

All this might be obvious, or at least not very controversial. But the truth is that there have been efforts for more than 20 years to separate Che from the Cuban revolution. In fact, many commemorative articles now appearing about Che — including those claiming sympathy for his ideas — say nothing at all about the Cuban revolution and its Communist Party leadership today as the most tangible tribute to the continuing relevance of Che's political thought.

For more than two decades, for example, tales have been circulated that Che was forced to leave Cuba in 1965, that he broke from the course of the Cuban revolution, that he had a falling out with Fidel Castro, and so on. These fabrications, rejected as outlandish in Cuba, are nonetheless taken for good coin in some other quarters.

One reason for this is the relative inaccessibility of Che Guevara's writings — in English, but also in other languages. This new selection of Che's writings and speeches is a powerful rebuttal of such distortions.

**Taber.** Many people have heard of Che Guevara and even recognize his face. Some may have heard of his role as a guerrilla commander. Yet it seems that many fewer know very much about what he stood for politically.

**Deutschmann.** That's true. The name and the photograph — even more, the silhouette — of Che Guevara are well known. The image of the brave guerrilla is admired

by many, and by others used to dismiss Che as a romantic adventurer.

But Che's ideas, his lasting political contributions, are not well known outside Cuba. I think many readers of this book will discover for the first time that Che was not just a revolutionary of action, but also one of the outstanding Marxists of this century.

## What the book contains

The first of the book's four sections covers Cuba's revolutionary war. This is the period from the landing of the *Granma* — the yacht on which the fighters returned to Cuba from exile in December 1956 — until the triumph over Batista in January 1959.

In this section the reader will learn — from many vivid, firsthand accounts — about Che as guerrilla combatant and commander, as well as some of the lessons he drew from these experiences about revolutionary military and political strategy.

The second section contains speeches and writings on the construction of socialism in Cuba, in an economically backward country besieged and attacked by U.S. imperialism. Following the 1959 victory, Che assumed a wide variety of responsibilities: head of Cuba's National



David Deutschmann, editor of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, displays books distributed by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia at 1986 book fair in Havana, Cuba.

Bank, minister of industry, and leader of what was to become the Communist Party of Cuba.

The third section of the book is entitled "Internationalism and the Cuban Revolution." Many of these selections are speeches given by Che as a representative of the revolution on platforms around the world. Che seeks to generalize the lessons of the Cuban revolution for the benefit of the people of Asia, Africa, and the Americas and to mobilize concrete solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed in every corner of the earth.

## Telling the truth about history

The fourth section contains letters Che wrote to a variety of individuals on a variety of subjects. They provide insights into Che's character, his personal warmth, his sense of humor, as well as his politics.

One interesting letter, never before in English, is addressed to Carlos Franqui, who was then editor of the

prorevolution newspaper *Revolución*. Che strongly protests to Franqui about a glorified account in the newspaper of the revolutionary war, and of Che's role in it. "I believe that the historical truth must be respected," Che wrote. "To fabricate it at whim does not lead to any good results."

This is the same Carlos Franqui who abandoned Cuba in the late 1960s and now parades on platforms throughout the world attacking the Cuban Communist Party and Fidel Castro and portraying himself as the most accurate historian of the early years of the revolution.

While I'm talking about the book's contents, I should add that it contains a chronology of Che's life and of important dates in the Cuban revolution; a bibliography of his published writings and speeches; a glossary of names, places, and events referred to in the book; and other annotation. Our goal has been to make the book as accessible as possible to a new generation of political activists.

Finally, the book contains 48 pages of photographs, some of them never before published, either inside or outside of Cuba. I think readers of the book will enjoy these, and that they help bring alive the times in which Che was living, fighting, and working.

**Taber.** I found one of the most interesting aspects of Che's accounts of the revolutionary war to be his description of the political evolution of the cadres of the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army itself. Could you comment on this aspect of the book?

**Deutschmann.** Many people are accustomed to viewing the Cuban revolution as simply the result of a military struggle, a guerrilla campaign led by Fidel Castro. In fact, as Che's writings show, it was much more.

In fact, the revolutionary war was successful only because it became fused with a growing mass political struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship. This did not happen spontaneously. It took systematic education and propaganda among the Cuban people. It took conscious political leadership.

In particular, Guevara stresses what the July 26 cadres learned about the central role of the peasantry and the struggle for land in mounting a victorious revolutionary struggle. The rebel fighters also linked up with supporters in the major cities of Cuba, especially Santiago de Cuba, which was the center of the revolutionary movement in Cuba at the time.

The political and military struggle that toppled Batista eventually involved the masses of Cuban working people. In his 1959 essay "What We Taught and What We Learned," Che explains how the July 26 cadres were themselves repeatedly educated by the Cuban workers and peasants whom they were organizing and leading in the revolutionary struggle.

**Taber.** A number of articles and speeches in the book are devoted to the question of building communist political consciousness and a new attitude toward work. Why does Che devote so much attention to these questions?

**Deutschmann.** The Cuban revolution destroyed the old exploitative social order that had been under the sway of U.S. economic interests and Cuba's capitalist class and big landowners. The task of replacing it then confronted the newly emerging revolutionary leadership. It was a challenge facing Cuban working people as a whole.

Che explains the confrontations with U.S. imperialism and Cuban exploiters in 1959-60 that culminated in their expropriation and the opening of the socialist revolution in Cuba. The basic means of production were now in the hands of Cuban working people, and the task was how to reorganize the state and economy to advance the goals of the revolution.

Under the impact of the economic blockade and military attacks of U.S. imperialism in the first years of the Cuban revolution, the problems of beginning to build socialism in Cuba were quite formidable.

As one of Cuba's central leaders, Che Guevara constantly stressed that the working class itself had to consciously understand the revolutionary process, the problems and tasks, and its own leading political and economic role in the transition to socialism in Cuba. The working class had to be the internationalist backbone of the Cuban revolution, as well.

## Communist men and women

This is what Che meant by the need for the working class to develop communist consciousness, to begin the process — as he often put it — of forging communist men and women, especially among the youth.

In Fidel Castro's speeches over the past year or so on what Cubans call their rectification process, he has been stressing that the construction of socialism is a revolu-



# f this century'

## revolutionary leader

tionary and political task, and a task of free men and women. It is not something that can be accomplished primarily through correct economic mechanisms, Fidel stresses, as important and necessary as these are.

These points by Fidel are right in step with what readers will find in Che's writings and speeches in this section of the book.

*Taber. One element in building this consciousness that Che gave particular weight to was voluntary work. In the current rectification process that you mentioned, one important emphasis has been reinvigorating voluntary work projects, which had been in decline over the previous 10 years. That is something Che dealt with repeatedly in his speeches and writings.*

*Deutschmann. That's certainly true. To advance toward socialism, Che explained over and over, working people had to develop a new attitude toward work — a view of work as their contribution to the overall advancement of Cuban society, and of struggles around the world. To be a communist is, Che said, to find great individual joy and satisfaction in your contribution to the common good of people the world over.*

This had to be true for Cubans whatever they were doing — whether in a factory, in agriculture, in the army or serving as internationalist volunteers, in a school, or wherever.

To help advance toward this goal, Che played a central role in the development of Cuba's voluntary work program in the early years of the revolution. Workers were encouraged during their free time to join in programs geared to meeting the needs of society. They helped build schools and clinics, or bring in the harvest, or carry out other projects.

One way Che did this was by personal example. As minister of industry he himself took part over a number of years. He devoted virtually every scheduled day off to such voluntary work.

Today voluntary work programs are once again being promoted as part of the rectification process. This is true particularly of the microbrigade construction teams, organized by employees at factories and other workplaces, to build needed housing, child care centers, and so on.

One of the ways that this effort is being promoted in Cuba is through reprinting Che's speeches and statements on the subject, as well as displaying photographs and film footage of Che taking part in voluntary work teams.

*Taber. You mentioned earlier that many readers will discover in this book that Che was an outstanding Marxist. Can you say some more about this?*

*Deutschmann. Che was both a student of and a proponent of Marxism even before he joined the Granma expeditionaries in the mid-1950s.*

But following the revolution's victory, Che, together with other Cuban leaders, deepened his study of Marxism to equip himself to meet the new set of challenges facing the revolution. As his writings and speeches show, Che was conversant with the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Che's application of these lessons to the concrete social and political reality of Cuba and the contemporary world was undoubtedly one of his most important political contributions.

An example of this is an article appearing in the book



Photo by Osvaldo Salas. Reprinted by permission of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia.

**Havana, 1961. Che (right) devoted days off to voluntary work teams that built schools, clinics, carried out other projects. To advance toward socialism, he explained, working people had to develop a new attitude toward work as their contribution to advancement of Cuba, and of struggles around the world.**

under the title "Planning and Consciousness in the Transition to Socialism." This was a contribution to a discussion in Cuba about alternative methods of economic planning. It is not primarily a technical article, however.

Instead, Che's central point was to underline the relationship between communist political consciousness and economic planning in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Wage incentives and bonuses, market mechanisms, and other methods borrowed from the past capitalist society remain indispensable during this transition period, Che said. But the goal of communists is to lessen dependence on these methods, even if only at a slow pace given conditions of economic backwardness.

Communists, Che said, should strive within the resources at their disposal to gradually narrow social inequalities by extending educational, medical, cultural, and other benefits to all working people. They should seek to combine material incentives with the growing use of voluntary work projects and other programs that strengthen the solidarity of working people and their consciousness of their labor as a social duty.

In making these points, Che cites the observations of Marx and Lenin on these questions, particularly Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*.

*Taber. What can you say about the section of the book on international questions?*

*Deutschmann. We have included in our selection a number of his speeches at international gatherings that relate very much to current issues and discussions.*

Che's speech at a United Nations trade and development conference in Switzerland, for example, explains

how most of the countries of Asia, Africa, and the Americas are oppressed and superexploited by imperialism. Readers acquainted with recent speeches by Fidel Castro on the debt crisis of the semicolonial world will be struck by the similarity to Che's words two decades earlier.

Che's speech at that UN conference even explains why a debt crisis is inevitable for these countries because of imperialism's policies. And he calls for a suspension of interest payments on the foreign debt already weighing down on those countries — much smaller than today's staggering figures.

Another speech, this one to a conference in Algeria of African and Asian governments and political organizations, discusses the need for an alliance between the socialist countries and the semicolonial world in the struggle against imperialism. In this regard, he explains the economic, political, and military responsibilities of all those countries that have already freed themselves from imperialist domination and capitalism.

Two other aspects of Che's contributions to the Cuban revolution's solidarity with the oppressed people of the world deserve special mention: Africa and Vietnam.

### Africa and Vietnam

Che traveled extensively throughout Africa in the early years of the revolution and was Cuba's primary representative there. He became very familiar with the African political situation and established close links with the liberation movements and struggles of the time — close links that have been strengthened and maintained by Cuba to this day.

A number of Che's speeches in the book deal with the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau; the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa and the white colonial-settler regimes in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Namibia; and the efforts of the Belgian and U.S. rulers to maintain imperialist domination over the Congo by backing reactionary political forces in overturning the government of Patrice Lumumba in 1961 and organizing the murder of this outstanding African political leader.

Che was also among the earliest campaigners — not only in Cuba, but internationally — for unstinting solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. domination and military intervention. With Che playing an initiating role, Cuba was the first country in the world to organize a mass-based campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

Che's 1967 Message to the Tricontinental — his final political statement — is a powerful call on the governments of all the socialist countries and the leaders of all communist, democratic, and anti-imperialist organizations, whatever their differences, to unite in a massive international campaign to support Vietnam.

And revolutionists, Che said, should seek to "create two, three, many Vietnams" in order to deal further blows to the worldwide system of imperialist plunder and oppression.

*Taber. Che died 12 years before the 1979 victory of the*  
Continued on ISR/8

### New York City

### Pathfinder

invites you to celebrate the publication of

***Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution***  
Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara

Sunday, December 6, 3 p.m.

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# Fidel Castro pays tribute to Che Guevara

Continued from ISR/3

not mean extremism, that rectification can't mean idealism, that rectification can't imply for any reason whatsoever lack of realism, that rectification can't even imply abrupt changes.

Starting out from the idea that rectification means, as I've said before, looking for new solutions to old problems, rectifying many negative tendencies that had been developing; that rectification implies making more accurate use of the system and the mechanisms we have now, an economic management and planning system which, as we said at the enterprises meeting, was a horse, a lame nag with many sores that we were treating with Mercurochrome and prescribing medicines for, putting splints on one leg, in short, fixing up the nag, the horse.

I said that the thing to do now was to go on using that horse, knowing its bad habits, the perils of that horse, how it kicked and bucked, and try to lead it on our path and not go wherever it wishes to take us, I've said, let us take up the reins! [Applause]

There are very serious, very complicated matters and here we can't afford to take shots in the dark, and there's no place for adventures of any kind here. The experience of so many years that quite a few of us have had the privilege of accumulating through a revolutionary process is worth something. And that's why we say now, we can't fulfill the plan as to value, we must fulfill it as to stock. We demand this categorically, and anyone who does otherwise must be sacked, because there's no other choice! [Applause]

We maintain that all projects must be started and finished quickly so that there is never a repeat of what happened to us on account of the nag's bucking and kicking; that business of doing the earth-moving and putting up a few foundations because that was worth a lot and then not finishing the building because that was worth little; that tendency to say, "I fulfilled my plan as to value but I didn't finish a single building," which made us bury hundreds of millions, billions, and we never finished anything.

It took 14 years to build a hotel! Fourteen years wasting iron bars, sand, stone, cement, rubber, fuel, manpower before the country made a single penny from the hotel being used. Eleven years to finish our hospital here in Pinar del Río! It's true that in the end it was finished and it was finished well, but things of this sort should never happen again.

## Revival of minibrigades

The minibrigades, which were destroyed for the sake of such mechanisms, are now rising again from their ashes like a phoenix and demonstrating what that mass movement means, what that revolutionary path means of solving the problems which the theoreticians, technocrats, those who do not believe in man, and those who believe in two-bit capitalism had stopped and dismantled. This was how they were leading us into critical situations.

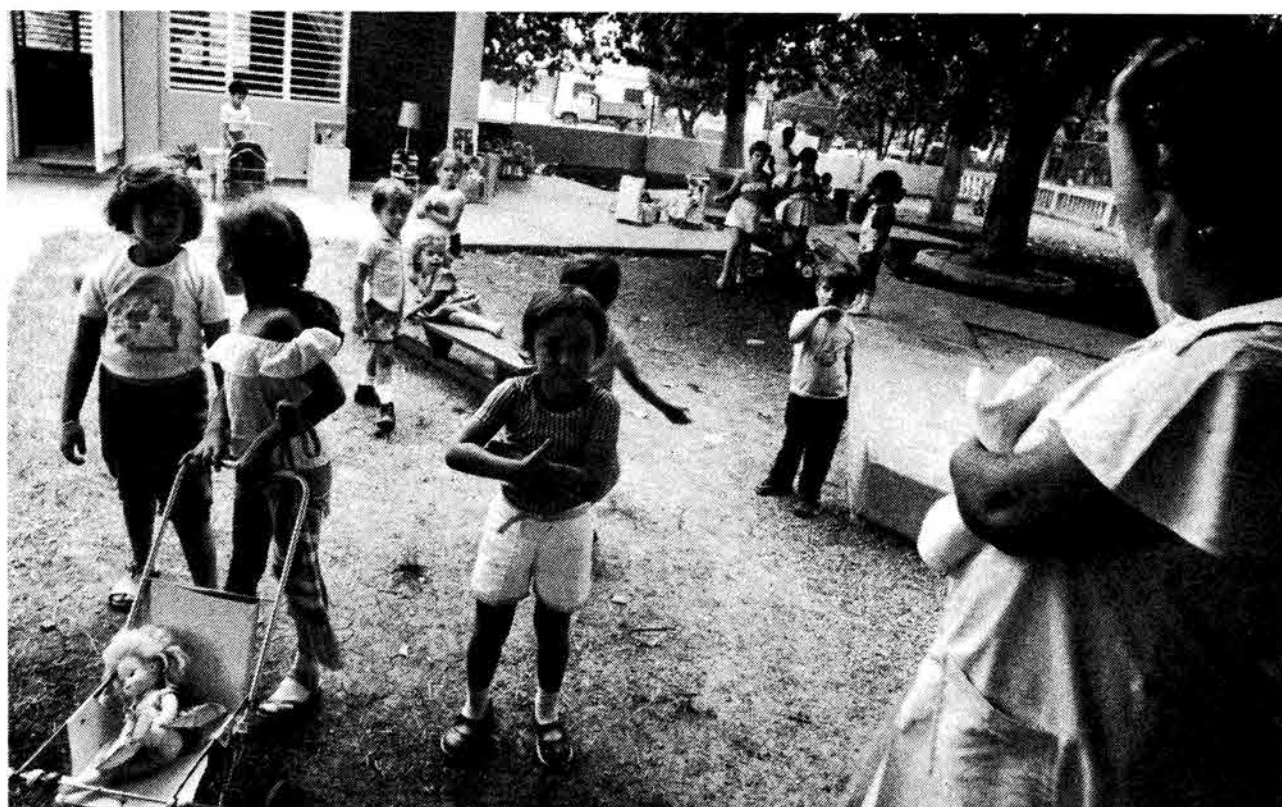
In the capital, where the minibrigades emerged — it pains us to think that over 15 years ago we had found an excellent solution to such a vital problem — they were destroyed in their peak moment. And so, we didn't even have the manpower to build housing in the capital; and the problems kept piling up, tens of thousands of homes were propped up and were in danger of collapsing and killing people.

Now the minibrigades have been reborn and there are

“**The minibrigades, which were destroyed for the sake of these mechanisms, are now rising again from their ashes . . .**”

more than 20,000 minibrigade members in the capital. They don't clash with the nag, with the economic management and planning system, simply because the factory or workplace that sends them to the construction site pays them, but the state reimburses the factory or workplace for the salary of the minibrigade member. The difference is that whereas the worker would normally work five or six hours, on the minibrigade he works 10, 11, or 12 hours doing the job of two or three men, and the enterprise saves money.

Our small-time capitalist can't say his enterprise is being ruined. On the contrary, he can say, "They're helping the enterprise. I'm doing the job with 30, 40, or 50 less men and spend less on salaries." He can say, "I'm going to be profitable or at least lose less money; I'll distribute more prizes and bonuses since salary expenditure will be cut down." He organizes production better, he gets housing for his workers, who in turn are happier be-



Impact Visuals/Judy Janda

Day-care center in Havana. Many such facilities were built by volunteer work brigades, "the brainchild of Che and one of the best things he left us during his stay in our country and his part in the revolution."

cause they have new housing. He builds community projects such as special schools, polyclinics, daycare centers for the children of working women, for the family; in short, so many extremely useful things we are doing now and the state is building them without spending an additional cent in salaries. That is really miraculous!

We could ask the two-bit capitalists and profiteers who have blind faith in the mechanisms and categories of capitalism, could you achieve such a miracle? Could you manage to build 20,000 housing units in the capital without spending a cent more on salaries? Could they build 50 daycare centers in a year without spending a cent more on salary, when only five had been planned in five years and they weren't even built and 19,500 mothers were waiting to get their children a place which never materialized.

At that rate it would take 100 years, and by then they would be dead, and fortunately so would all the technocrats, two-bit capitalists, and bureaucrats who obstruct the building of socialism. [Applause] They would have died without ever seeing daycare center No. 100. Workers in the capital will have their 100 daycare centers in two years, and workers all over the country will have the 300 or so they need in three years. That will bring enrollment to 70,000 or 80,000 easily, without paying out an additional cent in salary or adding workers, because at that rate, with overstaffing everywhere, we would have ended up bringing workers in from Jamaica, Haiti, or some other Caribbean island. That was where we were going.

It can be seen in the capital today that one in eight workers can be mobilized, I'm sure; this is not necessary because there would not be enough materials to give tasks to 100,000 people working in Havana, each one doing the work of three. We're seeing impressive examples of facts at work, and this is achieved by mass methods, by revolutionary methods, by communist methods, combining the interests of people in need with the interests of factories and those of society as a whole.

## Study Che's economic thought

I don't want to become the judge of different theories, although I have my own theories, and know what things I believe in and what things I don't and can't believe in. These questions are discussed frequently in the world today. And I only ask modestly, during this process of rectification, during this process and this struggle — in which we are going to continue as we already explained: with the old nag, while it can still walk, if it walks and until we can cast it aside and substitute it with a better horse, as I think that nothing is good if it is done in a hurry, without analysis and deep thought — and what I ask for modestly at this 20th anniversary is that Che's economic thought be made known; [Applause] that it be known here, in Latin America, in the world: in the developed capitalist world, in the Third World, and in the socialist world. Let it be known there too!

In the same way that we read many texts, of all varieties, and many handbooks, in the socialist camp, Che's economic thought should be known. Let it be known! [Applause] I don't say they have to adopt it, we don't have to get involved in that; everyone must adopt the thought, the theory, the thesis they consider most appropriate, that which best suits them, as judged by each

country. I absolutely respect the right of every country to apply the method or systems it considers convenient, I respect it completely!

I simply ask that in a cultured country, in a cultured world, in a world where ideas are discussed, Che's economic theories should be made known. [Applause] I especially ask that our students of economics, of whom we have many and who read all kinds of leaflets, textbooks, theories about capitalist categories and capitalist laws, also begin to study Che's economic theories, so as to enrich their knowledge.

It would be a sign of ignorance to believe there is only one way of doing things, and that it has to be a certain historic period with certain circumstances. What I ask for, what I limit myself to asking for, is a little more knowledge, consisting of knowing about other points of view, points of view which are as respected, as deserving, and as coherent as Che's points of view. [Applause]

I can't conceive that our future economists, that our future generations will act, live, and develop like another animal species, in this case like the mule, who only has those blinders so that he can't see to either side; mules, furthermore, with grass and the carrot dangling in front as their only motivation. No, I would like them to read, not only to intoxicate themselves with certain ideas, but also to look at others, analyze them, and think about them.

If we were talking with Che and we said to him, "Look, all this has happened to us," all those things I was talking about before, what happened to us in building, in agriculture, in industry, what happened to variety, quality work, and all that, Che would have said, "It's as I said, it's as I said." He'd have said, "It's as I warned, what's happening is exactly what I thought would happen," because that's simply the way it is. [Applause]

I want our people to be a people of ideas, of notions, of concepts; that they analyze those ideas, that they think about them, and, if they want, discuss them. I consider these things to be essential.

It might be that some of Che's ideas are closely linked to the initial stages of the revolution, like the one concerning his belief that when a quota was surpassed, the salary received should not go above that received by those on the scale immediately above, because he wanted the worker to study, and he associated his concept to the idea that people with a very poor education and little technical expertise should study. Today our people are much better educated, more cultured. We could discuss whether now they should earn as much as the next level or more. We could discuss questions associated to our reality of a far more cultured people, a people far better prepared technically, although we must never give up the idea of steadily furthering our knowledge and culture.

But many of Che's ideas are absolutely relevant today, ideas without which I am convinced communism can't be built, like the idea that man should not be corrupted; that man should never be alienated; the idea that without a conscience, simply producing wealth, socialism as a superior society could not be built, and communism could never be built. [Applause]

I think that many of Che's ideas, many of his ideas, have great relevance today. Had we known, if we learned



about Che's economic thought we'd be a hundred times more alert, even to ride the horse, and whenever the horse wanted to turn right or left, wherever it wanted to turn — although, mind you, in this case this was without a doubt a right-wing horse — we should have pulled it up hard and got it back on the track, and whenever it refused to move, use the spurs hard. [Applause]

I think a rider, that is to say, an economist, that is to say, a party cadre, a management cadre, armed with Che's ideas would be better equipped to lead the horse along the right track.

Just being familiar with Che's thought, just knowing his ideas would enable him to say, "I'm doing badly here, I'm doing badly there, that's a consequence of this or the other, provided that the system and mechanisms to build socialism and communism are really being developed and improved on."

I say this because it is my deepest conviction that if we ignore his thought it will be hard to get very far, to achieve real socialism, really revolutionary socialism, socialism with socialists, socialism and communism with communists. I'm absolutely convinced that ignoring those ideas would be a crime, that's what I'm putting to you.

We have enough experience to know how to do things; and there are extremely valuable principles, of immense worth in Che's ideas and thought that simply go beyond the image that many people have of Che as a brave, heroic, pure man, of Che as a saint because of his virtues, as a martyr because of his selflessness and heroism. Che was also a revolutionary, a thinker, a man of doctrine, a man of great ideas who was capable with great consistency of working out instruments, principles which unquestionably are essential to the revolutionary path.

#### Capitalist laws

Capitalists are overjoyed when they hear people talk about rent, profit, interest, bonuses, superbonuses; when they hear about markets, supply and demand as elements that regulate production and promote quality, efficiency, and all those things. For they say, "That's my kind of talk, that's my philosophy, that's my doctrine," and the emphasis that socialism may place on them makes them happy, for they know these are essential aspects of capitalist theory, laws and categories.

We ourselves are being criticized by quite a few capitalists; they try to make people think that the Cuban revolutionaries are unrealistic, that the thing to do is go for all the decoys of capitalism, and then they aim their guns at us for that reason. But we'll see how far we get, even riding on the old nag full of sores, but correctly led, for as long as we don't have anything better than the old nag. We'll see how far we get in the rectification process with the steps we're taking now.

That's why I'm making on this, the 20th anniversary, an appeal for our party members, our youth, our students, our economists to study and familiarize themselves with Che's political and economic thought.

Che is a figure with enormous prestige. Che's influence will grow. Needless to say, those who feel frustrated or who dare to fight Che's ideas or use certain terms to describe Che or depict him as naive, as someone who is unreal, do not deserve any revolutionary's respect. That's why we want our youth to have that instrument, to wield that weapon, even if for the time being it only serves to say, don't follow that mistaken path foreseen by Che; if it only serves to increase our knowledge; if it only serves to force us to meditate or to delve deeper into our revolutionary thought.

I sincerely believe that more than this ceremony, more than formal activities, more than all the honors, what we do is really the best homage we can pay Che. The work spirit that is starting to appear in so many places and which is evident in so many examples in this province: those workers in Viñales who are working 12 and 14 hours building minidams, starting them and finishing them one right after the other, and building them at half their cost value, to the extent that it could be said that in comparison with other projects — were we to use a capitalist term, although Che was opposed even to using capitalist terms when analyzing questions of socialism — were we to use the term profitability, we could say that those men on the minidam construction brigade working in Viñales are more than 100 percent profitable, more than 100 percent profitable. [Applause]

Che devoted absolute, total, priority attention to accounting, to the analysis of expenditures and costs, cent by cent. Che couldn't conceive of building socialism and running the economy without proper organization, efficient control, and strict accounting of every cent.

Che couldn't conceive of development without an increase in labor productivity. He even studied mathematics to use mathematical formulas for economic checks and to measure the efficiency of the economy. What's more, Che even dreamed of computers being used in running the economy as a key factor to measure efficiency under socialism.

And those men I mentioned have made a contribution: for every peso spent they produce two; for every million pesos spent they produce two million. They and those working on the Guamá Dam, those working on the canal,

those working on the thruway to Pinar del Río, those who still work on the Patate Dam, those who have started to work on roads and the waterworks in the city and other collectives are undertaking real feats with pride, honor, discipline, loyalty to work. They are working with great productivity.

A few days ago we met with a group building an avenue in the capital. They're all members of the party or the Young Communist League, or they're outstanding workers, about 200 men in all. Rather than linking their wages to norms — I don't mean to say that this is negative, there are a number of fields where it is perfectly correct — since they move about in powerful trucks and machines, we don't have to tell them to work more but rather to work less. People like that are doing a lot, sometimes too much, too much effort.

At times we'd have to tell them to take less trips because at the proper speed they can't make 25 trips with materials in a truck but twenty, because we don't want them to get killed. And what we were interested in is not only what they do but the standard with which it is done. We told them we were much more interested in the quality than the quantity. [Applause] Quantity without quality

“**Che would be proud of our doctors willing to go anywhere in the world, of our hundreds of thousands of compatriots who have been on internationalist missions . . .**”

is a waste of resources; it's throwing work and materials away.

#### Water conservation

Awareness of the need for water conservation, which had virtually died out in the shameful period when nothing was finished, is being regained, and the province of Pinar del Río is playing a leading role in this regard. [Applause]

The road brigades in the mountains of Pinar del Río are working with the same spirit, and the awareness of the need for water conservation is spreading all over the country along with the desire to build roads and highways and improve the efficiency of our economy, factories, agriculture, hospitals, schools, to go full speed ahead with the economic and social development of the country.

Fortunately, during these years we have trained a large number of people with a high degree of technical knowledge, experience and expertise, university graduates and intermediate-level technicians. How does this compare to what we had in the early years of the revolution? When Che headed the Ministry of Industries, how many engineers did the country have, how many technicians, designers, researchers, scientists?

But now we have about 20 times the number we had then, perhaps more. If he had been able to draw on the collective experience of all the cadres that we have now, who knows what he could have accomplished.

Let's look at the medical sector alone. Back then we had 3,000 doctors and now we have 28,000. Every year our 21 medical schools graduate as many doctors as the

total number in the country at that time. What a privilege! What a power! What force! As of next year we'll be graduating more doctors than those who stayed in the country in the early years.

Can we or can we not do what we set our minds to in the field of public health? And what doctors they are! They work in the countryside, in the mountains or in Nicaragua, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Ethiopia, in Vietnam, in Kampuchea, or the end of the world! Those are the doctors trained by the revolution! [Applause]

#### International volunteers

I'm sure Che would be proud, not of the shoddy things which have been done with such a two-bit profiteering mentality; he'd be proud of the knowledge and technology our people have, of our teachers who went to Nicaragua and the 100,000 who offered to go. He'd be proud of our doctors willing to go anywhere in the world, of our technicians, of our hundreds of thousands of compatriots who have been on Internationalist missions! [Applause]

I'm sure Che would be proud of that spirit just like we all are, but what we have built with our heads and hearts can't be destroyed with our feet. [Applause] That's the point, that and the fact that with all the resources that we have built up, with all that force, we should advance and we should take advantage of all the potential opened up by socialism and the revolution to get people to move ahead. I would like to know if the capitalists have people like those I mentioned.

They are extraordinary internationalists and workers; you have to talk to them to see how they think and feel, to see how deeply involved they are with their work, and this is not because they're workaholics but because they feel the need to make up for lost time, time lost during the revolution, time lost during almost 60 years of neocolonial republic, time lost during centuries of colonialism.

We must regain this time! And hard work is the only way, not waiting 100 years to build 100 daycare centers in the capital when we can really do it in two; not waiting 100 years to build 350 all over the country when we can do it in three by working; not waiting 100 years to solve the housing problem when we can do it in a few years with our work, our stones, our sand, our materials, our cement, even with our oil and steel.

#### Ambitious goals for year 2000

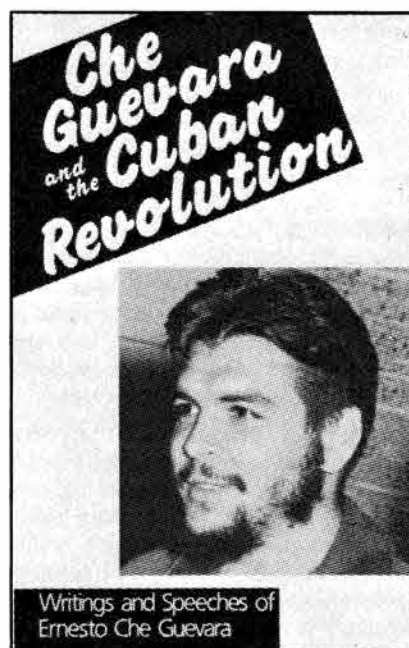
As I said this afternoon at the hospital ceremony, the year 2000 is just around the corner. We must set ourselves ambitious goals for the year 2000, not for the year 3000 or 2100 or 2050, and if someone suggests that we should, we must reply: "You may resign yourself but not us! We have the historic mission of building a new country, a new society, the historic mission of making a revolution and developing a country; those of us who have had the honor and privilege of not just promoting development but a socialist development and working for a more humane and advanced society."

To those who encourage laziness and frivolity we will say, "We will live longer than you, not just better than you, or like we would live if everyone were like you. We will live longer than you and be healthier than you because you with your laziness will be sedentary and obese, you will have heart problems, circulatory ailments, and all sorts of other things, because work doesn't harm your health, work promotes health, work safeguards health, and work created man."

These men and women doing great things must become models. We could say that they're being true to the motto, "We will be like Che!" They are working like Che

Continued on next page

New!



#### Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution

Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara

Published 20 years after Guevara's death, this selection includes articles and speeches on the Cuban revolutionary war, Cuba's efforts to overcome economic backwardness in the face of U.S. attacks, the task of developing a new social consciousness in a society on the road to socialism, and Cuba's commitment to freedom struggles throughout the world.

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## 'Che was one of outstanding Marxists of this century'

Continued from ISR/5

*Nicaraguan revolution. What do Che's writings and speeches have to offer to those who have been inspired by and seek to defend the Nicaraguan revolution?*

**Deutschmann:** The victorious Nicaraguan and Grenada revolutions of 1979 were very much a vindication of the revolutionary confidence expressed in Che's political writings in general, and in particular, in his Message to the Tricontinental, which I mentioned a few minutes ago.

It is entirely appropriate that Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega chose the anniversary of Che's death as the date of his speech to the United Nations General Assembly this year, and that he opened with a tribute to Che.

Che's revolutionary confidence and optimism comes through all his political writings and speeches. It is not rose-tinted-glasses stuff, but a confidence grounded in a clear materialist outlook on history and politics, and an understanding of what working people have already shown themselves capable of accomplishing in the opening five or six decades of this century.

In my opinion, this confidence and optimism will have one of the biggest impacts on readers. This is especially true for activists and workers in some advanced capitalist countries, who haven't directly experienced revolutionary struggles by working people.

Che's political clarity and self-sacrificing commitment are a source of education and inspiration for all fighters.

**Taber.** Since Che's death there have been a number of different collections of his writings and speeches published in English. How does this new volume published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia differ from these?

**Deutschmann.** Most selections of Che's writings published previously have long been out of print. Today, if you go into a bookstore in Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Canada, or here in the United States, it is next to impossible to find a book by Che Guevara. This new volume will begin to fill that void.

More importantly, however, most of the prior books don't present as accurate and representative a selection of Che's writings. They don't do justice to his political ideas. Some selections, in fact, even polemicize against Che and the Cuban revolution.

In other cases, editors have abridged Che's works without any indication of where words, sentences, paragraphs, and even whole pages have been omitted. We have tried to run as many as possible of Che's works in full, and to indicate clearly what we have cut when this has been necessary for reasons of space.

### All newly translated

We also encountered numerous translation errors, as you can attest from your own work as a volunteer helping out on this aspect of the book.

**Taber.** For sure. I remember that in one previous speech, Che explains that a key prerequisite of the Cuban revolution's accomplishments was that the revolution had "smashed the old army." One previous English translation of this phrase renders it as "scared off the last invasion" — quite a difference!

In Guevara's important article on planning and consciousness you referred to earlier, a previous edition refers to the system of financial self-management then under discussion as "financial self-motivation." The simple word "accounting" is rendered as "calculus," a literal translation from the Spanish but misleading in English. And "work paid by the hour" is given as "over-time."

In another place, since the Spanish word for trade union is "sindicato," the translation uses the English word "syndicate" throughout the book. You, I, and other translators came across literally dozens of similar examples where inaccurate translations obscure or distort what Che had to say.

**Deutschmann:** I should stress that everything by Che included in this volume has been newly translated. We have sought to present the ideas of Che Guevara as faithfully as possible, and with as much care as he himself took. We think this book represents the most accurate and authoritative translation into English that Che's works have ever received.

We have also striven to present the translations in smooth and readable English, faithful to Che's reputation as an articulate and colorful speaker and as a writer who, in Fidel Castro's words, "wrote with the virtuosity of a master of our language."

**Taber.** How did this book come about?

**Deutschmann:** From its beginning, Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia has made the distribution of the ideas of the Cuban revolution a central priority. We are the distributors in our region, for example, of Pathfinder books published here in New York such as the various volumes of *Fidel Castro Speeches*, *Cuba for Beginners*, and

*Women and the Cuban Revolution*.

To expand this work, in 1985 we obtained the agreement of several Cuban publishing houses to serve as distributors of Cuban publications in Australia and New Zealand. This laid the basis for a subsequent agreement whereby Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia published the Pacific and Asia edition of the important book *Fidel and Religion*. In fact, ours was the first English translation in print.

Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia held a number of successful public meetings to launch *Fidel and Religion* in Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines.

### How book came about

As a follow-up to that collaboration, this past April the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP) proposed the idea of putting out this collection by Che Guevara. We, of course, enthusiastically took up this idea.

With the editorial assistance and collaboration of the José Martí Foreign Languages Publishing House of Havana, Cuba, Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia has been able to produce this 413-page book in barely six months. The José Martí Publishing House provided a team of editors to help make the selection of Che's works included in this volume. They helped us prepare the notes, bibliography, glossary, and chronology. They assisted us in obtaining many of the translations. This collaboration was rewarding and productive.

I should also mention that in addition to all its other assistance, ICAP helped us obtain many of the photographs that give the book a special touch.

**Taber.** What plans are under way to launch and promote Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution?

**Deutschmann.** During November and December, public meetings will take place in Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Canada, and the United States. Pathfinder/Pacific

and Asia is initiating this coordinated effort, and as the book's editor, I hope to speak at all or most of these meetings.

The responsibility for organizing and publicizing these events will be taken by the book's distributors in the various countries.

In early November, Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia will launch the book in a number of cities in Australia and New Zealand. Participating in these launchings will be Mirta Muñoz, a Cuban revolutionary who was a collaborator of Che's in the early years of the revolution. On the 15th anniversary of Che's death she also edited a book about Che Guevara published in Cuba in several languages.

**Taber.** Finally, could you say something about why you chose as an introduction to the book *Fidel Castro's political tribute to Che several days after he was killed*?

**Deutschmann.** Fidel gave this speech Oct. 18, 1967, to an audience of hundreds of thousands in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution. It was an attempt, on behalf of the leadership of the Cuban revolution, to assess the political contributions and legacy of Che.

Today, 20 years after this speech was presented, it still stands as the single most complete and useful assessment of Che's lasting contributions to the revolutionary movement. I think the value of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* can best be summed up by a statement Fidel made in that speech.

"Che's writings, Che's political and revolutionary thought, will be of permanent value to the Cuban revolutionary process and to the Latin American revolutionary process," Fidel said.

"And we have no doubt that his ideas — as a man of action, as a man of thought, as a man of untarnished moral virtues, as a man of unexcelled human sensitivity, as a man of spotless conduct — have and will continue to have universal value."

## Fidel Castro pays tribute to Che Guevara

Continued from previous page

worked or as Che would have worked. [Applause]

When we were discussing where this ceremony should be held, there were many possible places. It could have been in Revolution Square in the capital, it could have been in a province, it could have been in one of the many workplaces or factories that the workers wanted to name after Che.

We gave the matter some thought and recalled this new and important factory, the pride of Pinar del Río, the pride of the country, and example of what can be done with progress, study, education in this province, which in the past was so neglected and backward and now has workers capable of running such a complex and sophisticated factory. We need only to say that the rooms where the circuits are printed must be 10 times cleaner than an operating room to meet the required standard. It was necessary to do such complex work, with such quality and good equipment and Pinar del Río residents are doing it marvelously. [Applause]

When we toured it we were really impressed and we talked with many comrades, the members of the Central Committee, about what you were doing in the factory; in the machine industry, which is advancing at a rapid pace; what was being done in construction. We realized the great future of this factory as a manufacturer of components, of vanguard technology, which will have a major impact on development and productivity, on the automation of production processes.

When we toured your first-rate factory and saw the ideas you had which are being put into practice, we realized it will become a huge complex of many thousands of workers, the pride of the province and the pride of the country. In the next five years more than 100 million pesos will be invested in it to make it a real giant. When we learned that the workers wanted to name it after Che because he was so concerned with electronics, computers, and mathematics, the leadership of the party decided that this was where the ceremony marking the 20th anniversary of Che's death should be held, [Applause] and that the factory should be given the glorious and beloved name of Ernesto Che Guevara. [Applause]

I know that its workers, its young workers, its dozens and dozens of engineers, its hundreds of technicians will do honor to that name and work as they should work. This doesn't mean that work only means being here 14, 12 or 10 hours, for often on certain jobs eight hours of work well done is a real feat. We've seen comrades, especially many women workers doing microsoldering, which is really difficult work that requires tremendous rigor and concentration. We've seen them, and it's hard to imagine how they can spend eight hours doing that

work and turn out up to 5,000 units daily.

Comrades, don't think that we feel that the way to solve problems is to work 12 or 14 hours a day. There are jobs where you can't work 12 or 14 hours. In some even eight can be too much. One day we hope that not all workdays will be the same. We hope that in certain fields — if we have enough personnel, and we will if we employ them efficiently — we can have six-hour workdays.

What I mean to say is that being true to Che's example and name also means using the workday with the right pace, being concerned about high standards, having people do various tasks, avoiding overstaffing, working in an organized manner, and developing awareness.

I'm sure that the collective of this factory will be worthy of Che's name, [Applause] just as I'm sure that this province was deserving of hosting the anniversary and will continue to be deserving.

If there is something left to say tonight it's that despite our problems; despite the fact that we have less hard currency than ever before, for reasons we have explained in the past; despite the drought; despite the intensification of the imperialist blockade, as I see our people respond, as I see more and more possibilities open up, I feel confident, I feel optimistic and I am absolutely convinced that we will do everything we set our minds to! [Applause]

We'll do it with the people, with the masses; we'll do it with the principles, pride, and honor of each and every one of our party members, workers, youth, peasants, and intellectuals!

I can proudly say we are giving Che well-deserved tribute and honor, and if he lives more than ever, so will the homeland! If he is an opponent of imperialism more powerful than ever, the homeland will also be more powerful than ever against imperialism and its rotten ideology! [Applause] If one day we chose the path of revolution, of socialist revolution, and of communism, the path of building communism, today we are prouder to have chosen that path because it is the only one which can give rise to men like Che and a people of millions of men and women capable of being like Che! [Applause]

As Martí<sup>3</sup> said, whereas there are men without dignity, there are men who carry inside them the dignity of many men! We might add that there are men who carry inside them the dignity of the world, and one of those men is Che!

¡Patria o Muerte!

¡Venceremos!

[Ovation]

3. José Martí, 1853-95, was a principal leader of the Cuban fight for independence from Spain. He was killed in an early battle of the second war of independence.



# Sankara: 'Che is also African'

Speech by leader of Burkina revolution

One week before he was murdered and the revolutionary government he headed overturned, President Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso spoke at a ceremony honoring the life of Cuban revolutionary leader Che Guevara. The October 8 ceremony, which opened a photo exhibition on Che in Burkina's capital of Ouagadougou, was one of many activities held throughout the week to mark the 20th anniversary of Che's death.

A delegation came from Cuba to participate in the celebrations, headed by Camilo Guevara March, Che's son. It also included Tirso Saenz, who was vice-minister of industry at the time Che headed that ministry in the 1960s.

Also attending the opening of the photo



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Thomas Sankara

exhibit were representatives of the Burkinabè government and military, and of the youth organization, the Pioneers. The latter sang revolutionary songs, played music, and presented a speech dedicated to Che.

Margaret Manwaring, who, along with Sam Manuel, was a *Militant* reporter at the Pan-African conference against apartheid held in Burkina October 8-11, taped, transcribed, and translated the speech. A few short gaps appear in the text, because the conditions for taping were not very good. They are indicated by ellipses. Speech is Copyright © 1987 by 408 Printing and Publishing Corp. and is reprinted by permission.

\* \* \*

This morning, in a modest way, we have come to open this exhibition that tries to

## Coup in Burkina is 'serious blow'

BY STEVE CLARK

HAVANA, Cuba — The October 25 issue of the English-language weekly review *Granma*, published by the Cuban Communist Party, reported the news of the military coup in the West African country of Burkina Faso. *Granma* called the overthrow of Burkina Faso's revolutionary government and the execution of President Thomas Sankara "unexpected and very unfortunate events."

After reporting the information then available, *Granma* stated, "Regardless of further developments, the revolution in Burkina Faso has suffered a serious blow, and its friends throughout the world are today very disturbed that the division in the left has had such tragic consequences."

"The Cuban people had great affection for Thomas Sankara," *Granma* concluded.

trace the life and work of Che. At the same time, we wish to tell the whole world today that for us Che Guevara is not dead. Because throughout the world there exist centers where people are struggling for more freedom, more dignity, more justice, more courage. Everywhere in the world, people are fighting against oppression, domination, against colonialism, against neocolonialism and imperialism, against class exploitation.

Dear friends, we join our voices with those elsewhere in the world who remember the day that a man called Che Guevara... with his heart filled with faith, took up the struggle together with other men and, in so doing, succeeded in creating this spark that has so disturbed the forces of occupation in this world. It formed this massive force, which is this new era that you hear mentioned today in Burkina Faso and that truly is on the march in our country. It is thus that we should understand Che Guevara's call for centers of struggle, solid centers everywhere in the world...

Che Guevara was cut down by bullets, imperialist bullets, under Bolivian skies. And we say that for us, Che Guevara is not dead.

One of the beautiful phrases we use to remember revolutionaries by, the great Cuban revolutionaries, is the same one that Che's friend, his companion in struggle, his comrade, his brother — Fidel Castro — himself repeated. A phrase that, one day in the struggle, he heard from the mouth of a man of the people, one of Batista's officers. Despite his position in that reactionary, repressive army, this officer understood the need to ally with forces fighting for the well-being of the Cuban people.

When those who had attempted and failed in their raid on the Moncada garrison were supposed to be put to death by the guns of Batista's army, were supposed to be shot, that officer said simply: "Do not shoot, you cannot kill ideas."

It is true, you cannot kill ideas, ideas don't die. That is why Che Guevara, an embodiment of revolutionary ideas, of self-giving, is not dead. And it's because you [the Cuban delegation] have come here today, and we are inspired by you.

Che Guevara, Argentine according to his passport, adopted Cuban by the blood and sweat he shed for the Cuban people and, above all, citizen of the free world, the free world that is this world we are building. That is why we say Che is also African, and Burkinabè. Che Guevara called his beret *la boina*. Wherever he went in Africa, he made known this beret and this star. From north to south, Africa remembers Che Guevara. Fearless youth — youth thirsty for dignity, thirsty for courage, thirsty also for ideas and against the disparity that Africa symbolizes — turned to Che Guevara to drink at the well, the well of conviction that this revolutionary commander represented to the world.

And of the few of us who had the opportunity, who had the honor of being close to Che, and who are still alive, some are here among us today.

Che is Burkinabè. He is Burkinabè because he participates in our struggle. He is Burkinabè because his ideas inspire us and are inscribed in our political discourse. He is Burkinabè because a part of his thinking lives in each of us in our daily struggle.

Che is a man, but a man who knew how to show us, to educate us in the idea, that we could dare to have confidence in ourselves, confidence in our abilities. Che is among us, together.

So I would like to say, what is Che? Che, to us, is above all conviction, revolutionary conviction, revolutionary faith in what you are doing, conviction that victory belongs to us, to our struggle.

Che is also humanism. Humanism: this generosity that is expressed, this self-sacrifice that made Che not only the Argentinean, Cuban, internationalist fighter, but also a man, with all the warmth.

Che is also, and above all, demanding. The demanding character of one who has



Militant/Sam Manuel

(From left) Camilo Guevara, son of Che Guevara; Tirso Saenz; Manuel Agromonte, Cuban ambassador to Burkina; and translator. Delegation from Cuba attended Che anniversary events in Burkina Faso before counterrevolutionary coup.

the fortune to be born to a well-off family... who knew how to turn his back on the easy route, who knew how to say no to those temptations and, to the contrary, showed himself to be a man who makes common cause with the suffering of others. Che's demanding character is something that should inspire us further.

That is why conviction, humanism, a demanding character make him Che. And all those who bring together these qualities, this conviction, this humanism, and this demanding nature — they too are, like Che, men among men, but especially revolutionaries among revolutionaries.

We have just had a look at these pictures that retrace part of Che's life as best they can...

Despite their strength of expression, these images remain... The bullets were aimed much more at Che's spirit than at his image. His picture is found everywhere in the world, his photo is in everyone's mind, his silhouette is one of the most familiar. Thus, we must learn to know Che better.

### Not a god

So let us draw closer to Che. Let us draw closer to him, but not as we would a god, not as we would this idea, this image placed over and above men, but draw closer to him with the feeling that we are approaching a brother who is speaking to us and with whom we can speak as well. We must insure that other revolutionaries are inspired in the spirit of Che, that they too become internationalists, that they too know how to build faith, together with other men, faith in the struggle for the transformation against imperialism, against capitalism.

And to you, Comrade Camilo Guevara, we simply cannot speak of you as an orphaned son. Che belongs to all of us. He belongs to us like an inheritance of all revolutionaries. Thus, you cannot feel alone

and abandoned, because you will find in each of us, we hope, brothers and sisters, the greeting of comrades. You are here among us, citizens of Burkina, because you have followed resolutely in Che's footsteps, our Che, father to us all.

Finally, let us remember Che simply as this eternal romanticism, this youth, so fresh and invigorating, at the same time as this lucidity, this wisdom, this devotion that only profound men can have, men of the heart. Che was the youth of 17 years of age. But Che was also the wisdom that comes with 77 years. This well-balanced combination is one that we should take as a model. Che was the heart that speaks and the quick, vigorous step of action.

Comrades, I would like to thank our Cuban comrades for coming here to be with us. I would like to thank all those who crossed the oceans to come here to Burkina Faso to commemorate Che. I would also like to thank everyone whose personal contributions will make this day no longer just a date on the calendar, but above all a day, several days in the year, several days over the years, that mark that which is eternal: the spirit of Che.

Comrades, I would finally like to express my joy that we have been able to immortalize the life of Che here in Ouagadougou by naming this street Che Guevara.

But every time that we think of Che, we will try to emulate him in real life, the man, the fighter. And especially, every time we try to act like him, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, in refusing bourgeois wealth that tries to alienate us, also in refusing the easy path, but also in turning to rigorous, political, and revolutionary education and discipline.

Every time we try to act in that way, we will come closer to Che's thinking, we will be more like him.

Homeland or death!

Victory is ours!

## International events mark anniversary of Che's death

BY MIKE TABER

A number of activities have been held throughout the world to mark the 20th anniversary of the death of Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara and to commemorate his political legacy. Guevara was killed in Bolivia in October 1967 while leading a guerrilla struggle against that country's military dictatorship.

On October 8 hundreds of Bolivian students and workers, together with participants from other Latin American countries, marched to the town of Las Higuera in Bolivia, where Guevara had been captured and subsequently murdered by Bolivian troops, in collaboration with U.S. officials. Marchers in the procession issued a declaration supporting Guevara's example and ideas.

A meeting in New York City was held October 10, sponsored by Casa de las Américas. Conducted in Spanish, the activity drew 175 people, including a broad range of Latin American and Latino groups active in New York.

Among the speakers were representa-

tives from the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, Casa Nicaragua, Casa Ecuador, the Dominican Communist Party, and the Cuban mission to the United Nations. Edward Boorstein, who worked with Guevara in Cuba's Ministry of Industry in the early 1960s, also spoke.

Speakers paid tribute to Guevara's example and legacy, particularly for Latin America. Several speakers referred to the revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador as confirmation of the validity of his ideas.

In Toronto 75 people attended a commemoration meeting October 14 sponsored by the Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association. Featured speaker at the event was Rolando Rivero, Cuban consul general in Toronto, who cited Guevara's internationalism, selflessness, and capacities as a guerrilla fighter.

In Australia two meetings were held in early October, sponsored by the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society, to pay tribute to Guevara. One in Melbourne drew 300 people, while 150 attended a meeting in Sydney.



# Sandinista artist tours U.S. cities

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — Arnoldo Guillén, the prominent Nicaraguan painter and leader of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers, began a U.S. speaking tour in late October that will take him to several cities in New York and New Jersey and to Philadelphia, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Boston, Chicago, Washington D.C., and Newark, Delaware. Guillén is speaking on behalf of the Pathfinder Mural Project.

The mural project is a six-story-high painting on the side of the building that houses Pathfinder Press's editorial offices and printshop in Manhattan. It will depict revolutionary fighters, past and present, whose speeches and writings Pathfinder publishes and distributes around the world.

A number of prominent international artists have agreed to help paint the mural and gather support for the project, including Guillén. He has already started painting the portrait of Augusto César Sandino, the revolutionary leader who led a workers' and peasants' army against U.S. occupation forces in Nicaragua in the 1920s and early 1930s. He will also paint the portrait of Carlos Fonseca, Marxist leader and central founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

## Campus meetings

A broadly sponsored meeting for Guillén at Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, on October 27 drew 100 students and people from the surrounding community.

Guillén's talk centered on the Nicaraguan revolution: its history and character, the U.S.-instigated contra war against the Sandinistas, the importance of the current efforts to win peace, and the role of international solidarity.

He also talked about art and artists in the new Nicaragua, and showed a slideshow of his work. A reception and lively discussion period followed the presentation. A number of the young people attending the meeting adjourned with Guillén to continue talking politics over beer for several more hours.

On October 29 Guillén was a guest speaker at the art department's lecture series at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Some 100 students attended the meeting.

One student asked Guillén how it felt to

be in the country of "the enemy." Guillén explained that the people of the United States are not the enemy of the Nicaraguan people. "America is a beautiful country, with beautiful people. It is also a country with problems, just like Nicaragua," he said. The U.S. government and big business are the only "special interest groups" that are hostile to the Nicaraguan revolution, he explained.

## New York meeting

Much of the discussion at this meeting centered on questions about art and artists in Nicaragua, as well as about the mural project. Several students signed up for more information about the project.

Guillén also had successful meetings at City College in New York City and at the State University of New York in Purchase.

After speaking around the country, Guillén will return for further engagements in the New York area. The highlight will be a big meeting on November 21 at 79 Leonard Street in Manhattan. There he will share the platform with Victor Mashabela from the African National Congress of South Africa. Mashabela will tour for the Pathfinder Mural Project in November and December.

The mural itself is becoming a reality as day by day more bright splashes of red, green, and blue begin to cover the vast wall of the Pathfinder Building and silhouettes of the portraits begin to appear.



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Sketch for portrait of Nicaraguan patriot Augusto César Sandino in progress on 60-foot mural being painted on Pathfinder Building in New York.

- ☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Pathfinder Mural Project.
- ☐ Enclosed is a tax-deductible contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_. Make checks payable to the Anchor Foundation.
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- ☐ Please send me a list of Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

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## Burkina Faso coup — eyewitness reports

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — Following their recent return from the West African country of Burkina Faso, I spoke with Ernest Harsch and Trevor Sheldon. Harsch and Sheldon were in Burkina Faso during the counter-revolutionary military coup in which President Thomas Sankara was killed. Since August 1983 Sankara had been the head of an immensely popular revolution in which working people had made many gains.

Harsch is a free-lance journalist. Sheldon is a supporter of the British newspaper *Socialist Action* and an activist in the national Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain. Both Harsch and Sheldon participated in the pan-African anti-apartheid conference held in Burkina Faso October 8-11.

Harsch was interviewed in New York.

Sheldon was interviewed by phone in Britain.

Sheldon was in the capital city, Ouagadougou, on October 15, when the military attack on the presidential offices and residence began. "I heard shooting in the distance and saw flares going up at around 5:00 p.m. People started running. I made my way with some friends to the home where I was staying," said Sheldon.

Harsch was in the countryside on a tour with the minister of peasant affairs, Leonard Compaoré. "We had just come from a rally attended by hundreds of peasants in the village of Pibaore in Sanmentenga Province," Harsch said.

"Many of those at the rally wore T-shirts with Sankara's picture on them. We were driving back to Kaya, the provincial capital, when the radio started playing military music. Immediately people suspected that something had happened in Ouagadougou," Harsch explained. Leonard Compaoré, a Sankara supporter, decided to go into hiding, he added.

Harsch and Sheldon reported that what followed was the announcement of the coup and that a group calling itself the Popular Front had taken power. The announcement was laced with a litany of slanders against Sankara. "He was called an autocrat, a petty bourgeois, traitor, paranoid misogynist, and social mystifier," said Sheldon. "Some statements even called him a fascist," Harsch noted.

The Popular Front did not announce the death of Sankara until October 19, four days after he had been killed. The bodies of Sankara and a dozen other victims were buried in a poorly kept cemetery on the edge of Ouagadougou. "A lot of people were angered by that," commented Sheldon.

Thousands of people flocked to the graveside as news spread of the bodies buried there. "They came on bicycles, by foot, in cars, and on small motorcycles called motos. Throughout the day the crowd fluctuated from 1,000 to 4,000 people. They were mostly silent. Occasionally, there would be a loud expression of anger," explained Harsch.

"One grief stricken woman said that women would be affected the most by Sankara's death because he was the first person who ever did anything for women."

Over the next few days the military officers who had taken power called upon the people of Burkina Faso to march in support

of the Popular Front. Harsch and Sheldon reported that people were asked to report to the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) organized in the 30 sectors of the capital. About a dozen attempted to march in the northern part of the capital. "Bystanders yelled and shouted insults at them so they quickly decided to disperse and go back home," said Sheldon.

In some cases meetings of the CDRs were called to try to explain the coup.

Harsch and Sheldon spoke with students who attended one such meeting at the Zendar High School. "Students shouted down the Popular Front spokesman with slogans of 'Sankara or no one,'" Sheldon was told.

The students demanded that if Sankara was still alive, he should be allowed to answer his accusers on the radio. In response to the Popular Front's call for marches in its support, the students answered they would only march for a proper burial of Sankara to honor a great man.

Sheldon reported that protests against the overturn of the Sankara government were sporadic but widespread. "In another school near where I was staying attempts to organize a protest were broken up by soldiers," he stated. In some rural regions, the peasants suspended their markets in protest. Sheldon received reports that in Bobo-Dioulasso people started a demonstration against the coup, but were dispersed by the military.

Harsch reported that the Popular Front managed to get some statements read over the radio supporting it in the name of various CDRs, women's groups, and so on. "However in the meetings of the CDR many of the leaders were roundly criticized for issuing such statements. People would say, 'Who do you represent? This isn't what we feel,'" reported Harsch. One example of this occurred in the CDR meeting at the University of Ouagadougou.

While widespread anger exists, there appears to be no significant organized opposition to the coup. Harsch reported that the only organized political group to oppose the coup was the Union for Communist Struggle Reconstructed. The ULCR was one of the groups in the Sankara-led government. Its leaders Basile Guissou and Valère Somé are in hiding.

Both Harsch and Sheldon said that the people they spoke with expressed a range of opinions. "Some are hoping that it is possible despite the loss of Sankara to continue at least certain aspects of the revolution," said Harsch. He added that others concluded that the democratic revolution had come to an end.

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The November issue of PM includes an article on the federal court testimony of 12-year-old Luriza Pérez Berríos about the arrest and torture of her mother, Lucy Berríos, in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

Lucy Berríos was arrested on Aug. 30, 1985, and flown to the United States. She is one of the proindependence Puerto Ricans the U.S. government is framing up on charges of involvement in a multimillion-dollar robbery in Hartford, Connecticut.

Berríos's defense has introduced a motion in court for the dismissal of charges against her.

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Thomas Sankara

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# Allowing sale of land considered in China

BY FRED FELDMAN

Chinese Communist Party leaders announced at the recently concluded 13th congress of the party that permitting the buying and selling of the right to use land is being considered. This proposal was raised as part of plans to press further with economic changes that got under way following Mao Tsetung's death in 1976 and the subsequent ousting from power of the faction that supported him.

The congress also saw the retirement from the Central Committee of Deng Xiaoping, the most prominent architect of these policies, and other veteran officials. Deng remains head of the party's Central Military Commission, which oversees the armed forces.

"We are considering the transfer of the utilization rights of the land," declared Du Runsheng, the party's director of rural policy research, to a news conference held at the congress. "But the transfer of utilization rights is not the ownership of land. We will not introduce private ownership."

According to the October 27 *New York Times*, Du's statement "was the first official acknowledgement that China was moving toward a policy of land use sales," which the *Times* described as "an activity tantamount to selling the land itself."

This step, if enacted, would undermine a gigantic conquest of the revolution that triumphed in 1949. By effectively abolishing private property in land, and sharply restricting its purchase and sale, the elimination of the landlord class was completed, and the perspective of guaranteeing land to the tillers was opened up.

Before the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, Chinese peasants had suffered hunger, exploitation, and oppression at the hands of the ruling landlord class for many hundreds of years.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the suffering of the peasants was multiplied as China was plundered and dominated by British, U.S., Japanese, and other imperialist powers and as the capitalist rents and mortgages system penetrated the countryside.

In the wake of World War II, the revolt of China's workers and peasants against their oppression gained steam. In 1946 a civil war between the imperialist-dominated regime of Chiang Kai-shek, who represented the Chinese landlords and capitalists, and the peasant army organized by the Chinese Communist Party headed for a showdown.

The CP-led fighters began carrying out a land reform in the areas they ruled. This accelerated rapidly soon after the victory of the revolutionary forces in 1949.

Between 1950 and 1952, the landlords were expropriated, and hundreds of millions of landless or nearly landless peasants received their own plots of land.

This overturn on the land helped pave the way for the mobilization of the workers to expropriate the capitalist class, which had been completely intertwined with the landlords.

But the Mao government rejected the course of strengthening and building on this foundation by mobilizing Chinese workers and peasants to advance their interests. Reflecting the outlook and interests of a caste of privileged bureaucrats, the

## Shutdowns, wage cuts boost USX profits

USX Corp. has reported a profit of \$140 million for the third quarter of this year, in contrast to \$183 million lost in the same quarter of 1986.

The conglomerate's steel division reported an operating income of \$150 million in the third quarter. The division lost \$123 million during the same quarter last year, during which the company began a lockout of 21,000 steelworkers.

USX's profit gains stem in part from the contract imposed on the United Steelworkers of America last January as the price of ending the six-month lockout. In addition to a \$2.45 hourly cut in wages and benefits, the contract included the shutdown of all or part of 12 USX facilities.

The shutdown and sale of the Geneva Works in Provo, Utah, generated \$66 million of USX's reported steel profits.

government set policies that clashed with the needs and perspectives of the mass of wage workers and peasants.

In order to consolidate control in the countryside, and in hopes of assuring food supplies and forming larger, more modern farms, the government began a drive in 1955 to force the peasants into collective farms. This culminated in attempts to herd peasants into communes, through which the regime tried to strictly regiment production and distribution of crops and livestock.

### Fall of Mao's faction

The result was a 20-year seesaw battle between the regime and big sections of the peasant population, who put up open, underground, or passive resistance to the forced collectivization. The result was chronic disruption of food production, which contributed significantly to slowing down China's economic growth.

By the time of Mao Tsetung's death, the forced collectivization policy had been thoroughly discredited, and its unpopularity helped spur the fall of his allies — the so-called "gang of four," who were ousted from leadership and jailed in 1976.

Gradually the peasants have again been allowed to till their own plots if they wish, without being required to pool their property into collectives or communes. The peasants have also been permitted to sell more of their products on the market and have been given wider latitude in determining what to grow or raise. Requisitioning at prices set by the state has been restricted.

Individual peasants now farm an average plot of about .8 acre, although peasant families often farm several such plots. A broad spectrum of wealth has appeared in many villages, ranging from peasants engaged in subsistence farming to rich farmers who hire and exploit wage labor.

Far from relying on the hundreds of millions of poor and middle peasants who have an interest in forging an alliance with the workers to advance the revolution, Mao's successors have courted the support of the new layer of rich peasants.

"To get rich is glorious," the ruling party has declared. Top leader Deng Xiao-ping explained that it seeks "to make some people rich first, so as to lead all the people to wealth."

### Symbol at congress

At the Communist Party congress, this stance was symbolized by the presence of a chicken farmer employing 90 workers. An October 30 news conference was devoted to praising the example set by him and other private entrepreneurs.

In addition to encouraging rich peasants, the regime has allowed more leeway for capitalists to expand their operations and hire more labor. Current law permits private factory owners to hire no more than eight workers, but the rule is widely violated. In the southern coastal city of Wenzhou, one factory owner now employs 900 workers.

An article in the September 8 *Wall Street Journal*, citing a World Bank official who had discussed agricultural policy with Chinese officials, stated, "The Chinese leaders believe that a peasant's land must be grouped into an area of about two hectares [five acres], enabling peasants to introduce machines."

Whereas in the past the government attempted to foster larger, more efficient farms by forcing small peasants into collective farms, it is now encouraging rich peasants to accumulate larger farms — allowing market forces to squeeze an increasing number of poor peasants off the land and often into factory jobs.

The new proposal to permit buying and selling of land use rights, if enacted, will enable rich farmers, speculators, loan sharks, and other capitalist operators in the countryside to accumulate the land now possessed by the small farmers who work it. The hiring of labor and rental of land, whether done legally or illegally, will expand.

Far from making everyone rich, such measures enrich some by impoverishing others. They strengthen capitalist forces and class divisions in the cities and countryside. And they obstruct the alliance of workers and farmers needed to defend what working people conquered by getting rid of capitalist rule and to score new advances.



Chinese peasants labor in rice fields. Proposal to allow purchase and sale of land use rights would undermine gains won by Chinese revolution, which expropriated landlords, redistributed land to tillers, and nationalized the land.

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Colombian military linked to death squads

"It's probable, it's possible, that individuals in the armed forces are committing crimes, but it's not up to Amnesty International or the extreme left to judge them but to the judges of the republic."

Thus responded Col. Eduardo Arevalo, a spokesman for the Colombian Ministry of Defense, to charges of human rights violations. A report by Amnesty International said soldiers, police officers, and hired gunmen had executed, tortured, and disappeared hundreds of union leaders, students, teachers, human rights workers, and lawyers who defended political prisoners and Indian leaders. Amnesty International estimated the number of victims in 1986 at more than 1,000.

The Patriotic Union (UP) has suffered the most murders. The Oct. 11, 1987 assassination of Jaime Pardo Leal, former presidential candidate of the UP, has brought the number of party members killed to 471. Of these killings, only three suspects are being held according to the Colombian government.

The Patriotic Union was founded in 1985 by the Colombian Communist Party and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, a guerrilla group, in order to field candidates in last year's elections. The UP participated under the provisions of a peace plan calling for a cease-fire and the involvement of the left in elections.

On August 16 a UP mayor, Alvaro Garces, was gunned down by five assassins. One of his assailants was captured. He possessed a gun permit carrying the seal of the army and the signature of Capt. Luis Ardila, head of military intelligence in the regional capital of Bucaramanga.

### One-day protest strike rocks Ecuador

Hundreds of thousands of workers, students, and farm workers joined a one-day strike in Ecuador on October 28. The action was called by the Workers' United Front to demand the dismissal of Interior Minister Luis Robles. Congress impeached and convicted Robles last month on charges of violating the rights

of political prisoners. But President León Febres Cordero has refused to dismiss Robles.

In response to the strike call, President Febres Cordero declared a state of emergency. All constitutional rights were suspended. Faced with censorship measures, two of the country's radio stations discontinued broadcasting. Riot police and soldiers were used against the strikers.

Adolfo Nieto, a union leader, reported police shot and wounded two workers at a factory in the capital city of Quito. Twelve strikers were arrested in Guayaquil 300 miles southwest of the capital. Another five were arrested in Quito.

This was the sixth general strike against the Febres Cordero government. The state of emergency was lifted following the strike.

### South African students protest apartheid edict

Thousands of students and faculty members in South Africa have demonstrated against an October 19 decree by the apartheid regime that sets political conditions for granting state subsidies to universities.

The government conditions require universities to crack down on anti-apartheid activists and to report incidents of misconduct to the government.

Multiracial crowds totaling more than 15,000 students and alumni at the four predominantly white, English-language schools — the universities of Witwatersrand, Natal, and Cape Town, and Rhodes University — and at the University of the Western Cape took part in the protests.

At Witwatersrand, faculty members formed a human chain to protect Black students from police actions. Leading a protest at the University of the Western Cape, anti-apartheid leader Allan Boesak described the government conditions as "blackmail."

Phillip Tobias, professor of anatomy and a former dean of the Witwatersrand medical faculty, told the cheering crowd, "This university will not become a tool of repression."



## ARIZONA

**Phoenix**  
**Behind the Coup in Burkina Faso.** Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**War in the Persian Gulf: Who Is the Aggressor?** Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

### Oakland

**The Grenada Revolution and Its Overthrow.** Speaker: Diane Wang, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

## CONNECTICUT

### Hartford

**August 20.** A documentary film about the arrest of Puerto Rican independence movement activists and the FBI campaign of harassment and intimidation. Presentation by a Hartford 16 defendant. Translation to English. Sun., Nov. 8, 7 p.m. Hamlin Hall, Trinity College. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Connecticut Committee Against Repression.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Behind the Coup in Burkina Faso.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Rally to Protest Cop Murder of Eddie Lee Callahan.** Speakers: members of the Callahan family and others. Tue., Nov. 10, 7 p.m. Canterbury Center, 471 Fair St. (near Atlanta University). Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance and Georgia Black Students Association. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**The Philippines: Political Polarization.** Speakers: Jim Nolt, Philippines Solidarity Committee. Sat., Nov. 14, Dinner, 6:30 p.m. (\$3 donation); forum, 7:30 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**A Tribute to Thomas Sankara and the Four-Year Legacy of the Revolution in Burkina Faso.** Speakers: Sam Manuel, *Militant* reporter; representative, African National Congress of South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 8, 2 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Why Washington Should Get Out of the Persian Gulf.** Speaker: Russell Davis, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### Austin

**A Victory for Democratic Rights.** Celebration of recent court rulings against government intrusion into private political activity. Speaker: Fred Halstead, national spokesperson for Political Rights Defense Fund. Sun., Nov. 8. Reception: 3:30 p.m.; rally, 4 p.m. Downtown Motel, room 36 annex. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

### St. Paul

**The Peace Accords and the Struggles in El Salvador and Nicaragua.** Speakers: David Allen, Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples of El Salvador; Susanne Derby, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**Rally to Celebrate Publication of Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstores of Austin and St. Paul, Minn. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**Take the Path to Peace.** Sat., Nov. 7, 1-4 p.m. March and rally; assemble at Forest Park Community College, march to Peace Pavilion. Reception and benefit at 8 p.m. Speaker: Isolina Romero González, executive secretary for Peace and Justice Service in Nicaragua. 3542 Flora Court. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pledge of Resistance. For more information call (314) 727-4466.

**Origins of Stalinism.** Speaker: John Riddell, editor of the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. Sat., Nov. 14, 1 p.m. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance, Pathfinder Bookstore. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!** Speakers: Georges Sayad, Socialist Workers Party; Anis Barghouti, General Union of Palestinian Students, former executive ambassador of the Arab League to the UN; Rev. Arthur Jones, St. Mark's AME Church; Iranian student representative. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**Central America Peace Plan: New Stage in the Nicaraguan Revolution.** Speakers: Robert Dees, Socialist Workers Party; Steven Bailey, participant in Nicaragua construction brigade. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Evening of Political and Cultural Presentations in Support of Palestinian Rights.** Speakers: Hassan Abdul Rahman, director, Palestine Information Office; Julie Mungai, defendant in Los Angeles 8 deportation case; Nadia Habash, Bir Zeit University; Sechaba Singers; others. Sat., Nov. 7, 6:30 p.m. Altschul Auditorium, Columbia University, 420 W 118 St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Arab Club at Columbia University, in conjunction with Second National Convention of November 29 Committee for Palestine. For more information call (212) 557-5410.

**International Rally to Stop the Strip Searches of Irish Women Political Prisoners.** Sun., Nov. 8, 3-5 p.m. British consulate, 845 3rd Ave (between 51st and 52nd streets). New York Construction Brigade Benefit

# Socialist Publications Fund rallies

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

Speakers: Elizabeth Stone, recently returned from Cuba; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. For location and other information call (213) 380-9460.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

Speakers: John Riddell, editor of the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*, Pathfinder Press; Ted Braun, solidarity activist, visited Cuba; Ted Kayser, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 14, Dinner, 5 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

A rally to inform the public of the efforts to publish, promote, and distribute Pathfinder publications. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

Socialist Publications Fund presents a discus-

**Dance.** Sat., Nov. 14, 9 p.m. to 2 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 63 E 2nd St. Donation: \$7. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

## OHIO

### Cleveland

**Why Working People Should Support Farmers.** Speakers: Keith Wiems, organizer, North American Farm Alliance; Marge Townsend, president, Ashtabula Farmers Union; Bill Brotzman, farmer, activist against nuclear power. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

## OREGON

### Portland

**A Call for Peace in Central America. Support the Central America Peace Plan — End Contra Aid!** Demonstrate Sat., Nov. 7, 1 p.m. Pioneer Courthouse Square. For more information call (503) 236-7916 (Portland Central America Solidarity Committee).

**A Rally in Defense of the Bill of Rights. No to FBI spying! No to the Portland Red Squad!** Speakers: Nita Brueggeman, manager, Pacific Northwest Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Maceo Pettis, co-chair, Portland Rainbow Coalition; Lorna Lockwood, recently traveled to Cuba; Chuck Bell, former staff person of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; representative of National Lawyers Guild Portland chapter; representative of the Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. Northwest Service Center, 1819 NW Everett St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (503) 233-5905.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Pittsburgh

**Panic on Wall Street: the Marxist View.** Speakers: representative, Socialist Workers Party, others. Sat. Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Socialist Educational Series: What Is Socialism?**

sion on the Central America peace accords. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. Party to follow. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## UTAH

### Salt Lake City

Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 15. Open house, 4 p.m.; rally, 5 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

Speakers: Michael Butler, *New International* reader; Janine Thome, coordinator of Evergreen Political Information Center; Tomas Villanueva, president of United Farm Workers of Washington State; Carlos Maradiaga, member of Sheetmetal Workers Union Local 99; Cathy Sedwick, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave S. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

"The Nicaraguan Revolution." Sat., Nov. 7, 4 p.m. 4806 Alameda.

"What Is the Soviet Union?" Sat., Nov. 14, 4 p.m. 4806 Alameda.

Fund-Raising Picnic and Video Showing of *Malcolm X*. Sun., Nov. 8, 1 p.m. 1418 Elliott. Events sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## UTAH

### Salt Lake City

**Solidarity with Workers and Farmers in Struggle.** Speaker: Rena Cacoulios, National Secretary, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Cuba and the Rectification Campaign.** Two classes by Cathy Sedwick. Sun., Nov. 15, 10:30 a.m. and 1 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Charleston

**AIDS and the Struggle for Gay Rights.** Speakers: Eric Simpson, Socialist Workers Party, participant in October 11 gay rights march; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 8, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

## WISCONSIN

### Milwaukee

**Racism, Education, and the Fight for Equality.** Speakers: Cecil Brown, Jr., former national treasurer of Congress of Racial Equality; Dr. Walter Farrell, Jr., professor, UWM School of Education; Sandi Sherman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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**ARIZONA: Phoenix:** SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850. **Tucson:** YSA, c/o Ursula Kolb, P.O. Box 853. Zip: 85702-0852. Tel: (602) 795-2146.

**CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. **Seaside:** YSA, c/o Brian Olewude, 1790 Havana St. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-7948.

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**And rightly so** — "As the stock market continues its wild gyrations and many Americans worry that the nation may be looking over the edge of an economic precipice, President Reagan's



**Harry Ring**

aides say he is perplexed by the calls for greater leadership from the White House." — News item.

**Banana fallout** — "It's not as though someone who eats a banana is going to think about AIDS." — PBS attorney Nancy Hendry responding to the banana industry's protest over the slated AIDS documentary in which a banana is used as a prop in demonstrating proper condom use.

**Inside dope** — According to one news item, "White House experts have concluded that Judge Bork's beard and rather rumpled appearance contributed to his downfall." Sure. And if you're skeptical, consider how well unruffled Ron has been doing lately.

**Doing his bit** — To stave off the foreign menace, warns evangelical presidential hopeful Pat Robertson, "Americans" should be knocking out more kids. Pious Pat made the point shortly after the disclosure that he had juggled his wedding date to cover over conceiving a child prior to holy wedlock.

**Oh** — "It is not unusual for advanced military planes to crash in test programs and training. Because of the unusual secrecy surrounding the Stealth program, it is difficult to determine whether the crash was an indication of problems with the aircraft." — From

news item on that recent crash of an air force Stealth plane.

**Workaholic** — Testifying in the perjury trial of Reagan buddy Michael Deaver, a TWA ex-prez said the airline paid Deaver \$250,000 to make a single phone call on its behalf. Which does sound stiff. But Deaver's lawyers say he made the call from a hospital bed while heavily sedated during treatment for alcoholism.

**Farewell gig** — Evangelists Jim and Tammy Bakker will do a Farewell for Now tour. They open November 17 at a 9,900-seat Nashville auditorium. So far, 20 tickets have been sold. Hottest

ticket sales have been in Dallas where they'll do their number in a 19,900-seat arena. There, 80 tickets have been snapped up.

**Jackpot** — Toys "R" Us Xmas dolls includes a fast-talking Mr. Gameshow. \$119.99, batteries extra.

**Be cheaper to settle the grievance** — If you're in management and looking for "confidence and backbone" in dealing with "angry accusations" and "unfair demands," check out Michigan State's three-day seminar on "assertiveness training for managers." \$695.

## Reagan nominates rightist Ginsburg to Supreme Court

Continued from front page

Bork, is not one to allow "criminals... to prey on society."

Contending that those who fall into the clutches of the criminal justice system in this country get too much justice, Reagan assured that Ginsburg will remember "the rights of the victims of crime and the rights of society."

While members of the Senate complained about the lack of a "paper trail" to help determine Ginsburg's views on social and legal issues, the Reagan forces seemed confident in their belief that they could rely on the nominee.

Asked how they could be so certain of him, one top Justice Department official responded smugly, "He's one of us."

On one of the key issues in the fight over the Bork nomination — the right of women to abortion — Ginsburg's public position has yet to be established.

But the Justice Department felt free to issue a denial that Ginsburg had once suggested he was not absolutely opposed to abortion under all circumstances.

And the antiabortion National Right-to-Life Committee seemed satisfied enough to provide an early endorsement of the nomination.

Right-wing support for Ginsburg is based on more than good vibes. He served as a deputy to Meese and also as a member of the White House Office of Management and Budget. His performance in these positions earned him the Reagan nomination last year to the Court of Appeals.

And what little is publicly known of his views pretty well indicates that Meese, Reagan, and others involved in the appointment know their man.

His role in the now controversial cable case confirms that he is not afflicted with an undue concern for the governmental code of ethics. He handled the case for the Justice Department despite the fact that he held almost \$140,000 worth of stock in a Canadian cable TV outfit that does business in the United States and, like the rest of the industry, stood to benefit from the decision he helped obtain.

Where possible conflict of interest is involved, official procedure calls for obtaining authorization from a superior. Ginsburg got an opinion from a subordinate instead.

The clearest example of Ginsburg's thinking involves his knifing of regulations that would have restricted the use of asbestos.

The deadly substance has taken the lives of thousands of workers and others.

While Ginsburg was in the Office of Management and Budget he intervened to block the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) from curbing the use of asbestos. To do this he utilized a probusiness federal statute, which requires that rules promoting health and safety must be measured against their dollar cost.

In drafting the new rules on asbestos, the EPA had assigned an arbitrary value of \$1 million to each life saved. Ginsburg got that sliced down to \$22,000. This assured that the cost to the asbestos companies would be greater than the "value" of the lives saved, and the proposed curbs were scrapped.

In the wake of the bitter fight over the Bork nomination, Reagan's decision to confront the Senate with Ginsburg reflects his determination to use his remaining time in office to bolster his flagging right-wing forces.

These forces have been hit hard. Washington's contra war has been dealt heavy blows, most recently registered by the Central American peace accords.

Earlier there were the Iran-contra arms exposures, which resulted in Reagan dismissing a number of rightwing administration officials. Some of them, such as

Oliver North and John Poindexter, face the prospect of criminal indictment.

But rather than pulling back, Reagan remains committed to pressing for his right-wing agenda and is the right-wing's principal spokesman. This should surprise no one that saw reports of his interview with the ultraright *Washington Times* in early October.

In that interview, Reagan lamented the demise of the congressional witch-hunting committees of the 1950s.

Such committees, he nostalgically recalled, would "investigate even one of their own members if it was believed that that person had communist involvement or communist leanings."

Elimination of such committees, the president added, "shows the success of what the Soviets were able to do in this country with making it unfashionable to be anticommunist."

Reagan notwithstanding, those committees were abolished as the result of the deep popular revulsion that developed in this country against their poisonous, antidemocratic activities, not some mythical Soviet plot.

Reagan had hoped that if he could get a Judge Bork onto the Supreme Court, it would be a step back toward what he sees as the good old days of McCarthyism. That proved a political fiasco. And now he may have his fingers crossed about Ginsburg as well.

## 3,000 attend Nashville rally

Continued from front page

actually called the Miami Police Department and asked to speak to a white detective after refusing to accept as valid a call from a Black detective that informed them of her rape.

Les McCoy, a working Tennessee farmer, described how he had been forced off his 600-acre farm and about his continuing seven-year fight to get back his land.

McCoy was followed by Dennis Gregg, president of the Save the Family Farm organization. He said that 168 farms a month are being lost in Tennessee.

Maxine Green, president of the National Tenants Organization, urged trade unionists to give their support to public-housing campaigns.

Three international union presidents also spoke at the rally. They were Wayne Glenn, president of the Paperworkers, Richard Trumka, president of the UMWA; and William Bywater, president of the In-

ternational Union of Electronic Workers.

Glenn talked about "corporate greed" in the United States and described how International Paper had forced strikes and lockouts at four plants, despite record 1986 profits.

Most of Bywater's remarks were directed at "dumping Ronald Reagan." Trumka opposed "free trade" as a way of making "America strong" again.

During the rally, participants were urged to sign pledge cards saying they would give five days during the next year to active support for a labor struggle.

The Nashville action was part of the "Jobs With Justice Campaign," initiated by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, and publicly launched in July at a Miami rally. Rallies have also been held in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and in Des Moines, Iowa. Others will be held in the future in other parts of the country.



National Union of Mineworkers President James Motlatsi being carried by South African miners. Motlatsi told Nashville rally about conditions under apartheid.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 35¢  
Nov. 11, 1977

The South African regime's allies in the United Nations Security Council — the American, British, and French governments — have once again come to its rescue. On October 31 the three powers vetoed resolutions proposed by African representatives that called for a ban on foreign investments and credits for the racist regime, a halt to arms sales and other military collaboration, and a move toward UN punitive measures.

It was the fourth time that they used their veto powers on Pretoria's behalf. In 1974 they blocked South Africa's expulsion from the UN and a year later voted twice to prevent the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People  
Nov. 12, 1962 Price 10¢

Nov. 7 — The United States government continues to exert military and economic pressure on Cuba in the hope of breaching Cuban sovereignty. The threat of invasion still hangs over the Caribbean island but, for the time being, the crisis centers around President John Kennedy's insistence that an international team be admitted to Cuba to inspect the dismantling of strategic weapons, which the Soviet government has agreed to remove.

In spite of Moscow's conciliatory

moves, Kennedy is trying to maintain a crisis situation by insisting on this demand, to which the Cuban government has refused to yield.

The position of the Cuban revolutionaries on this point — as expressed by Fidel Castro in his November 1 speech — is simple: The United States, which has been openly preparing a military attack against Cuba, has no legal or moral right to tell Cuba how she shall be armed for defense against that attack and therefore no right to demand any inspection of any part of Cuba's armament or territory.

Behind this legal argument lies the profound point that the abrogation by Cuba of part of her sovereignty to an international agency, at the insistence of Washington, could give the United States an entering wedge into Cuba's internal affairs. An example of how that wedge might be used was indicated November 5 when the United States protested to the Soviet Union that Soviet-made IL-28 bombers in Cuba were not being removed.

Kennedy originally brought the world to the brink of nuclear war, demanding the removal of intermediate-range missiles from Cuba. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev agreed to dismantle and remove them. Now Kennedy wants bombers removed. If the Cubans had granted international supervision of the dismantling of armaments Kennedy deems "offensive," they could be faced with attempts by Kennedy to declare more and more types of arms "offensive." For in Kennedy's view, all arms capable of resisting his attempts to crush the Cuban revolution are "offensive."

Getting its foot in Cuba's door via international inspection would be an important advance and precedent for Washington.



# Stalin's crimes denounced

Continued from front page

Stalin used these show trials to smear, discredit, and exterminate the great majority of the surviving leaders of the Bolshevik Party and of the October Revolution that brought the party to power.

The trials formed part of a massive purge of alleged saboteurs and spies that took hundreds of thousands of lives. Huge numbers were rounded up and placed in labor camps. Terror pervaded every corner of Soviet society.

Khrushchev also denounced later frameups such as the "Leningrad Affair," a bloody purge of officials that began in 1948, and the "doctors' plot" in which charges of attempting to poison Stalin were trumped up against several people in 1953.

During Khrushchev's regime, tens of thousands were released from the labor camps and many of the most repressive policies of Stalin were halted. In the wake of his speech, some of those murdered in the purges were officially cleared of all charges.

The party also ordered Stalin's body removed in 1961 from the mausoleum in Moscow where it had lain in state beside that of Lenin. The cities, streets, and other public places that Stalin had named after himself were retitled.

After Khrushchev was ousted in 1964, he became a virtual nonperson — someone whose name was hardly mentioned in the Soviet media or by historians following official dictates.

During the reign of Leonid Brezhnev that followed, the de-Stalinization process was ended. While no major revival of Stalin or of the massive police terror that characterized his rule was attempted, discussion of his crimes and vindication of his victims ceased.

In his speech, Gorbachev reaffirmed Khrushchev's main charges against Stalin. "But the process of restoring justice was not seen through to the end and was actually suspended in the middle of the '60s," he said.

He announced formation of a commission to further investigate the injustices of the Stalin era, and indicated measures — such as the possible clearing of frame-up victims — based on the results. He also stated that a new version of the history of the party would be prepared.

In contrast to 20 years of official silence about Khrushchev, Gorbachev praised the "courage of the party and its leadership headed by Nikita Khrushchev" in publicly revealing and denouncing Stalin's crimes.

## Forced collectivization

Gorbachev went further than Khrushchev in one respect. His speech included a sharp criticism of some of the regime's measures during the move, begun in 1929, to force peasants to pool their land, livestock, and tools into state-run collective farms. This drive and the wide resistance it inspired among peasants led to famine and great loss of life, dealing blows to Soviet agriculture from which it has yet to fully recover.

According to Gorbachev, the methods used to implement collectivization were "a departure from Lenin's policy toward the peasantry." The "rigid centralization and command system was impermissible in tackling the problems of refashioning rural life," he declared.

He conceded "excesses" in the struggle against the kulaks, or rich peasants. "The basically correct policy of fighting the kulaks," said Gorbachev, "was often interpreted so broadly that it swept in a considerable part of the middle peasantry too."

Yet Gorbachev concluded by hailing "the significance of collectivization as a whole in consolidating socialism in the countryside."

In one respect, however, Gorbachev took a step backward from Khrushchev's criticisms of Stalin. Khrushchev had begun to lift the veil on Stalin's misleadership of the Soviet Union during the fight against the German invasion launched in 1941. But Gorbachev hailed "the tremendous political will, purposefulness, and persistence, ability to organize and discipline people displayed in the war years by Joseph Stalin."

Gorbachev spoke in generally positive terms about Nikolai Bukharin. Bukharin, a central leader of the Bolshevik Party and of the Communist International, during the years Lenin was alive, was tried and executed as a spy and traitor in 1938. Gorbachev cited Lenin's praise and criticism of Bukharin in a 1922 letter, one of Lenin's last writings.

Gorbachev's appraisal of Bukharin was along the same lines as those that have appeared recently in the Soviet media. And his comments will give impetus to the campaign now under way to clear Bukharin's name and lift the criminal charges made against him at his trial.

The campaign to vindicate Bukharin is also accompanied by a growing attraction in the Soviet Union to his political and economic views, especially among some supporters of Gorbachev's economic reforms. In the late 1920s Bukharin led what became known as the "Right Opposition" to Stalin, which advocated deepening reliance on private trade and material incentives to spur production in industry and agriculture.

Gorbachev also expressed views on Lev Kamenev, Leon Trotsky, and Gregory Zinoviev. These three were

central leaders of the Soviet Government before Lenin's death in 1924, and Trotsky and Zinoviev were also among the most prominent leaders of the Communist International.

Zinoviev and Kamenev were executed on frame-up charges in 1936. Trotsky was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1929 and assassinated by an agent of the Soviet secret police in 1940. In the Moscow Trials, Trotsky was portrayed as the chief of the spies and saboteurs.

## Kamenev, Trotsky, Zinoviev

Gorbachev significantly omitted slanders of Kamenev, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and other murdered Bolshevik leaders — slanders that have been standard usage of Soviet leaders. Terms like "counterrevolutionary," "agent of imperialism," and "saboteur" were not used. In this respect, Gorbachev's speech marks an advance.

Gorbachev, like Khrushchev before him, however, reaffirmed the official view hailing the struggle waged by "the party's leading nucleus headed by Joseph Stalin" in the 1920s and early 1930s against the political supporters of Leon Trotsky.

Gorbachev characterized Trotsky's views as "essentially an attack on Leninism all the way down the line." Bukharin and others were praised for participating in the struggle to defeat the opposition that Trotsky led.

But the truth is the opposite. A privileged bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin emerged in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and began junking the perspectives of Lenin and the first four congresses of the Communist International. Those in the Communist Party who attempted to continue carrying out the Leninist course came into conflict with this rising bureaucratic layer. Trotsky was the foremost leader of this current, and continued to fight for the Bolshevik-Leninist perspective until his death.

In the November 2 speech, Gorbachev laid claim to the mantle of Lenin. He presented "openness" and "restructuring" as revolutionary advances that build on the foundation laid by the October Revolution, and mark a return to the course followed under Lenin's leadership. He praised and criticized his predecessors — Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev — from what he portrayed as the standpoint of defending the political continuity of Leninism. He urged his listeners to study Lenin's writings, and especially the letters and articles he wrote shortly before his death in 1924.

But it is not the continuity of Leninism that Gorbachev upholds, any more than Stalin or Khrushchev did, but the break in that continuity that took place when the bureaucratic caste shoved aside the workers and farmers and consolidated power after Lenin's death.

Lenin saw the workers and peasants as the key actors in the struggle to overturn capitalist rule and in carrying out the transition from capitalism to communism. The forging of a powerful political alliance of the workers and peasants was the key to progress.

Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika treat workers and farmers as objects of the historical process to be manipulated by the shifting policies of "enlightened" administrators and technocrats.

Lenin saw that the defense of the Soviet Union and the advance of the Soviet workers and peasants toward communism was intertwined with the worldwide struggle against oppression and exploitation. He helped initiate and lead — along with such Bolshevik leaders as Bukharin, Kamenev, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Karl Radek — the Communist International, which sought to forge international collaboration of communist fighters in countries around the world.

There was not a breath of this communist internationalism, and not even a mention of the existence in Lenin's time of the Communist International, in Gorbachev's two and a half hour speech.

## Lenin's writings

Gorbachev's call on readers and listeners to study Lenin's last writings is well taken, but somewhat ironic. For these writings proposed measures to deepen the participation of working people in the struggle to advance toward communism. They challenged the bureaucracy that had begun to take shape in the state apparatus and the party.

Despite his call for historical truth, Gorbachev is unable to rehabilitate Lenin's true political views and perspectives, which have been buried for so long under a mountain of lies.

Gorbachev's speech may provoke revolutionary fighters around the world to seek the truth about the Russian revolution, the ideas of Lenin, and the political struggles that took place in the Soviet Union after his death.

In addition to his last writings, Lenin's struggle to forge a revolutionary communist international movement can be traced in *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*, a series published and distributed by Pathfinder. Three volumes have appeared so far: *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power*, and *Founding the Communist International*.

# Can workers invest their future in capitalism?

BY DOUG JENNESS

After "Black Monday," when the stock market took its dramatic nosedive, no one will ever look at this country's economic system quite in the same way again.

On Wall Street and in Washington, a lot of soul-searching is going on as "experts," speaking for different layers of the capitalist rulers, attempt to assess what went wrong, what's in store for the future, and what to do about it. The self-confidence of the employing class and their political representatives seems to have even been shaken a bit. The front cover of this week's *Time*

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

magazine, for example, partially captured this in its head, "Who's in charge? The crash on Wall Street spotlights America's leadership crisis."

*Newsweek* reflected a different concern. Its cover stated, "Heading Off Hard Times." The subheads were: "What the Experts Think Should Be Done" and "How to Invest for the Long Term."

A good many working people are also worried that the stock market's crash, October 19, and its lurching since, may mean the coming of harder times.

But many are not likely to invest anything in this system for any amount of time — long or short.

Some have already got a bitter taste of banking on the system's future — for example, workers whose employers pressed them to accept company stocks in lieu of wage increases. Or those whose pension funds were invested in stocks and bonds.

Moreover, many workers will find that the job-security agreements their unions have signed won't be worth the paper they're written on when massive layoffs begin. They usually have clauses making them invalid when the employers start losing profits.

But beyond the uncertainties about tying one's savings, pension, or job to this system's future, many workers will increasingly begin to doubt whether they can tie their entire lives — their futures — to this system.

If the next 10 years were to be like the past few years, it would be bad enough. Real purchasing power of workers has been driven down and working conditions have been dramatically worsened, despite the economic upturn. And figures show that the rich have gotten richer and the poor poorer.

But the shock waves from the stock market plunge ominously portend a future that could very well be considerably worse.

Big cuts in city services — leading to much worse conditions in our cities — are clearly in the offing. New York's Mayor Edward Koch has already put a freeze on municipal hiring. Another sure sign is that big brokerage firms are slashing the staffs of their municipal bonds departments. The fear of big layoffs is haunting workers across the country. And millions of young people are wondering what kind of life lies ahead for them.

Has this system gone amok? Can capitalism really work? Can it be patched up enough to guarantee a decent and secure living?

The fact of the matter is that this capitalist economic system is working. Shocks like the stock market crash, massive layoffs, overproduction of food while millions starve, millions of homeless people, breakdowns — these are all results of the way capitalism works. It can't work any differently, and its own development guarantees that the crises it generates will become more catastrophic.

The driving dynamic of capitalism is profits — and competition among capitalists for profits. And this is leading to a situation where more goods are being produced worldwide than can be sold profitably. This has led to a long-term stagnation that began some 15 years ago. The stock market crash registered a new stage in that crisis.

Things are going to get worse. And while government officials tinker with taxes, budget deficits, interest rates, currencies, and so on, they can't defy the laws that are driving this system on its present course.

The road forward for working people is not to reform this system or "make it work better." Rather it is to demand protection from the ravages of the system's necessary and natural breakdowns, and to struggle for a new system that works differently and better for human beings.

The tremors of the stock market crash and what it reveals about where the economic crisis is taking us, is going to lead many workers and youth to look for alternatives to capitalism and consider investing their lives in the struggle for socialism.



# Bay Area Machinists organize tour to Nicaragua

BY KATHLEEN DENNY

Seventeen unionists who oppose contra aid will fly to Managua, Nicaragua, November 14 to begin a one-week fact-finding tour. Most tour participants are members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) from the San Francisco Bay area. Others will come from Los Angeles and Miami.

Following the murder of Ben Linder in Nicaragua by

## UNION TALK

the contras last April, some Bay Area IAM members met to discuss the organization of a unionists' tour to Nicaragua. Most had been active in the April 25 demonstration in San Francisco against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Mike Gaylord, a painter at United Airlines and member of IAM 1781, had been a personal friend of Ben Linder's. He explained, "I want to be able to answer people's questions about what Ben was doing and why the contras killed him. I want to be able to say, 'I know this because I saw it myself.'"

Mike O'Toole, a shop steward in IAM 562 at FMC in San Jose, said that Central American policy has been a controversial subject in his local for years.

"When the government talks about 'U.S. interests,' I question whose interests they are really about. And the

U.S. has no right to tell other people how to run their country."

At the initial meeting, the group decided to circulate a letter to other workers. The letter opposed a new Vietnam-style war in Central America, and expressed a desire to learn the facts about Nicaragua. Most tour participants think hearing both pro- and anti-Sandinista views will be an important indicator of the openness of Nicaraguan society.

In the discussion surrounding the Iran-contra arms hearings, the letter received an interested response on the job.

Ernie Geisker, a machinist at United, decided to go to Nicaragua. "I believe that our government is lying to us," he said, "and I want to find out for myself what is going on down there."

Danilo Andrade, a young inspector and member of IAM 1781, was inspired by the examples of Ben Linder and Brian Willson, the antiwar Vietnam veteran who was run down by a train during a protest in September.

The tour will begin one week after the Central American peace accords are scheduled to take effect. And evaluation of the peace process will be the focus of the trip.

The tour itinerary includes meetings with the peace commission, Sandinista and opposition union federations, AeroNica airline workers, those involved in the Atlantic Coast autonomy project, farmers, and the U.S. embassy.

Most tour participants find that our coworkers are interested in the trip, and hopeful about the peace accords. Coworkers are urged to contribute questions they want answered.

One of the tour's projects is conducting a raffle to raise money for a machinists' school in Sebaco, north of Managua. Young Nicaraguans learn to repair farm equipment, essential skills in an agricultural economy. Some coworkers are participating by buying and selling raffle tickets, as well as donating tools and safety equipment to the school. IAM 1781 has donated \$250 to the project.

"I support this," said one machinist at United. "Those people have suffered so much. They want peace, and Congress talks about sending more aid to the contras."

The tour committee is on a campaign to involve other unions and all opponents of contra aid. Interviews and talk-show spots in the major news media have been scheduled. We are asking for endorsements and contributions to the Sebaco school. On our return, speakers and articles reporting on the tour will be available.

One 1781 member hopes that this will be the first of many fact-finding tours. "We should be going to the Philippines, South Korea, South Africa," he said. "Who more than labor people should have the facts about foreign policy?"

Kathleen Denny works as a machinist at United Airlines and is a member of IAM 1781.

## LETTERS

### Terrorism

The October 23 *Militant* reports on death-squad terrorism being on the increase in El Salvador, where the U.S. government has been largely responsible for keeping the José Napoleón Duarte regime in power with hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic aid.

But that is not all. The U.S. has also played a major role in establishing the death squads and systematic use of torture. Two investigative reports in May 1984, one in the *Progressive* and the other in the *Christian Science Monitor*, concluded that the CIA helped organize and train Salvadorans in torture, death-squad abductions, and murder. In May 1985 Michael McClintock in the book *The American Connection* writes about U.S. government involvement in creating paramilitary forces in El Salvador and Guatemala to carry out assassinations.

In September 1986 an investigation by the U.S.-based Marin Interfaith Task Force and the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission received reports from victims testifying that U.S. advisers participated in torture sessions.

Erling Sannes  
Bismarck, North Dakota

### Baby market

An article in the October 23 *Militant* states that Guatemalan children are being bought in large numbers to provide organ transplants in other countries. This is a scandalous lie served up by a section of the Guatemalan ruling class to divert attention from its criminal neglect of the children of Guatemala. It is a serious error that must be corrected.

Several questions are obvious. Why are Guatemalan officials cooperating with homicidal maniacs? Where are the tissue matches needed for transplants being done? In Guatemala? At the airport? Where are the organ transplants taking place, in small, secret clinics? How many surgeons are going to risk their humanity, morality, and careers by becoming accessories to the racist dissecting of children?

The organ transplant story is a deliberate lie being spread in Latin America, India, South Korea, and other countries where the number of children being adopted internationally is increasing dramatically. The lie has credibility because of the hatred among the masses in these countries for U.S. imperialism.

With this lie, the rulers of these countries are trying to pass on the blame to those who have enough heartache — the parents of gravely ill children, who will supposedly buy another child for spare parts.

They are trying to pass on the blame to the hundreds of thousands who are adopting. Contrary to being killers, slave peddlers, or some other perverse sort, growing numbers of North Americans are adopting because they want to share their lives with children and cannot reproduce biologically.

It is a fact that baby-stealing for profit occurs, but the much greater factor for children is the conditions of life created by imperialist domination that leave hundreds of millions of them homeless, hungry, and sick.

Katherine Sojourner  
Clemens Bak  
Atlanta, Georgia

### AIDS I

Thanks for the articles on AIDS. They could well be made into a pamphlet.  
L.S.  
Chicago, Illinois

### AIDS II

Sorry I'm late renewing my sub. I'm a very busy allied-health (medical records) student.

I particularly like your articles clarifying the facts on AIDS. It is caused by a virus, not homosexuality! And it's a disease of the lymphatic system, not the reproductive system.

P.H.  
Birmingham, Alabama

### New reader

Although I do not agree 100 percent with the *Militant's* views (i.e. on abortion), I do agree with most of them.

Please enter my new reader subscription. It's worth the \$4 to try the *Militant* for three months.  
C.T.  
La Crosse, Wisconsin

### Doctors vs. lawyers

I thought *Militant* readers would find the following item from David Louis' book *2201 Fascinating Facts* an interesting commentary on U.S. society.

"The United States produces about 7,000 fewer doctors each year than the 22,000 it requires to meet medical needs. Law schools, on the other hand, are turning out about 5,000 more lawyers each year than are needed in our present

legal system."

Ellen Haywood  
St. Louis, Missouri

### Police brutality

I'm writing you concerning the article "N.Y. cops beat Korean youth" in your September 25 newspaper.

Being a prisoner myself I can understand what brutality is — beating on a youth for riding his bike on city streets and not producing an I.D. card.

When I read this in the *Militant* it made me very angry and sad for this youth. We the people who make this country what it is today should get together and voice our opinion against police brutality or brutality of any kind.

Also, to threaten the people who tried to help the Korean youth is clearly an abuse of authority.

A prisoner  
Stormville, New York

### Getting the truth

Please continue my *Militant* when my issues run out.

Are you going to be able to continue printing antiwar information? It is wonderful that you do.

In the time of the Vietnam War the only way I could get the truth was through out-of-the-country papers. I didn't know about you. I enclose \$4.

June Royal  
Rockford, Minnesota

### Chained soul

I am a chained soul, at this moment confined to a cell in the Missouri State Penitentiary's maximum security unit.

I would be honored to be able to continue reading your newspaper. I was able to read it regularly for years until my roommate, who had a subscription, was recently paroled from here.

A prisoner  
Jefferson City, Missouri

### Oil workers' conference

A high point of the National Oil Bargaining Conference of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union held in Denver last month was the keynote speech by Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers.

Trumka told the 200 oil union delegates, "We have a federal government that has developed into a blind tool of [multinational corporations'] interests. We have 25,000 men and women in the Persian Gulf today protecting their



Barricada/Roger

interests."

With a common expiration date of Jan. 31, 1988, for many coal and oil industry contracts, the miners and oil workers unions have entered into an agreement to work closely together in the upcoming negotiations.

In addition, both unions have established committees to explore the possibility of merging. Trumka said, "I'm confident that in our situation one and one will equal far greater than two. It will give real meaning to the saying, 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'"

Scott Breen  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### Profits-first system

At a debate with five other candidates for mayor of Milwaukee sponsored by the Milwaukee Press Club, Socialist Workers candidate Sandi Sherman charged that "a system so criminal it would put profits so high above human needs" was responsible for the

deaths of 18 people, 16 of them children, in two recent house fires in Milwaukee's Black community.

The first fire, on September 30 in which 12 people died, has attracted national media attention. The second fire occurred in a house that was being heated by space heaters and toaster ovens, since the Wisconsin Gas Co. shut off the family's gas due to nonpayment of bills. Sherman called for a moratorium on all gas shutoffs, saying, "Wisconsin Gas should not profit from a natural resource and a human need."

Jeanne Porter  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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.



## Maine paper mill hit by OSHA fines

### Strikers' protests forced probe

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — The tattered image of this state's number one union-buster and leading environmental polluter suffered another blow October 26 when International Paper was fined \$242,000 by the Occupational Health and Safety Administration. This penalty was imposed for eight

**Striking UPIU Local 14 is urging its supporters from Maine, New England, and across the country to be in Jay, November 21, at 10:00 a.m. to march in support of the embattled paperworkers. The announcement was made by Local 14 President Bill Meserve at the regular union-family meeting held in Jay November 4.**

"willful and serious" violations of federal health and safety standards at its Androscoggin Mill here.

Protests mounted by Local 14 of the United Paperworkers International Union prompted the OSHA investigation in the wake of a series of deadly chlorine and hydrogen sulfide leaks last May.

Evidence of employer negligence was so overwhelming that OSHA, despite "relaxed" federal health and safety enforcement, was compelled to penalize IP.

The IP chemical leaks occurred just weeks before Local 14 was forced to strike the company on June 16, in face of major concessions demanded by the paper giant.

The OSHA fines and report, which held IP knowingly jeopardized the lives of the mill workers, were cheered by more than 1,200 strikers, spouses, and supporters at the regular Wednesday night "union/family" meeting here October 28.

Local 14 President Bill Meserve announced a November 5 members-only meeting for the local, which would hear a report on the current stage of IP paperworkers' struggles nationally and discuss the union's "revised agenda" proposals for the November 9 bargaining session with IP, called by federal mediators.

The previous such meeting with IP, held a month ago, lasted nine minutes when the company's negotiators stonewalled the session. This, Meserve told strikers, wouldn't happen again. "We're sick and tired of being pushed around," he said, "and we'll keep them at the table 24 hours a day, seven days a week, if we have to."

The strikers erupted in applause and chanting, in a demonstration of their desire to reach a settlement that would allow them to return to work in a united fashion.

This desire to work, however, has not been turned into a disorderly back-to-work movement, despite IP's best efforts. Only one inactive striker, a maintenance employee, returned to work in the previous week, bringing the total of "superscabs" from Local 14 and striking sister Local 246 of the Firemen and Oilers Union to 51, out of 1,250 who struck together in June. They, and 950 scab hires, make up IP's "work force."

The paper bosses have aimed their strikebreaking campaign at maintenance workers, the highest paid in the mill, inducing union turncoats to write letters to local papers touting the quality production of the scab labor and the futility of the strike.

At the union/family meeting Meserve urged maintenance workers to volunteer for the speaking teams of strikers who are going out to spread the truth about the Jay labor battle to unions across New England. "Take a few trips," he urged these union members, "to talk to brothers and sisters in your trades — plumbers, pipefitters, and



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Paperworkers from New Hampshire salute Jay strikers at October 21 meeting

welders — about what is happening and how to support you."

Steve Gould, who coordinates this work described some of the meetings in Maine.

He also announced an upcoming tour in New Jersey, beginning with a presentation to Local 8-149 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and a trip to Boston to speak to International Association of Machinists Local 1729 at Logan International Airport.

A six-person delegation of officers and staff from the 6,000-member Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 16 in Boston was cheered when they pledged to step up public solidarity work with the Jay strike.

The meeting concluded with Meserve reading a brief letter from Elisabeth and Miriam Linder. They are the mother and sister of Benjamin Linder, the U.S. engineer killed by contra mercenaries in Nicaragua last April. The two Linders were speaking the same evening at a rally in Portland, 70 miles south.

"Your hard-fought struggle is an inspiration not only to unionists around the country," the Linders wrote, "but to everyone who supports peace, justice and human dignity."

The strikers warmly applauded the message. Earlier in the evening many of them had signed letters circulated by Maine antiwar activists addressed to the state's congressional delegation urging opposition to U.S. financial aid to the contras.

### Union-run food bank feeds the Jay 'army'

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Every other Thursday, striking paperworkers and their supporters put on orange Day-Glo vests, set cones along Route 4, and direct traffic to the Local 14 food bank.

Nicknamed the "Andro Catering Service" after International Paper's Androscoggin Mill where the strike is taking place, the food bank operates out of a building rented for a dollar a month from the local credit union.

The cars are directed into the parking lot, the driver shows their food bank registration card, and the number of people in the strike family is broadcast into the building.

Inside, volunteers quickly fill grocery bags in assembly line fashion, as car after car is loaded with the food that helps make surviving a long strike possible.

In several hours, more than 2,500 people in more than 800 strike families have gotten their groceries. Wholesale buying, discounts from friendly merchants, and occasional donations from area farmers help keep down the costs to the union.

There are 125 volunteers involved in organizing and running this operation. The Jay strikers got some initial experience in helping neighboring United Paperworkers International Union Local 900 in Rumford set up its food bank during a bitter, 11-week strike against Boise Cascade in 1986. The International Paperworkers also donated thousands of dollars to Local 900.

Louise Parker, who plays a big role in the food bank, says there were a "lot of kinks" to work out in getting it set up. That's why they "decided there was no such thing as a stupid question" when they were discussing how to do it.

Parker is the paperworker with the guitar who leads the big union-family meetings in singing "Solidarity Forever" each week.

"We have to feed an army," Parker recently told a delegation of visiting unionists. "And when they're fed well, they fight better."

## Wyoming miners picket owners' offices

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

OMAHA, Neb. — Ten members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1972 traveled more than 700 miles from Sheridan, Wyoming, to picket at the headquarters of Peter Kiewit & Sons here.

Some 270 members of UMWA Local 1972 have been on strike against Decker

Coal Co. in Sheridan since the beginning of October. Decker is owned by Peter Kiewit, one of the largest U.S. construction companies, and by Nerco Coal Co.

The miners set up their picket line on October 20. The next day 40 members of other unions in the area joined them in the rally in front of Kiewit's offices.

The UMWA strike information coordinator, Ernest Roybal, told the *Militant* that key issues in the strike are job security and benefits. The UMWA wants contract provisions protecting their membership's jobs from being eliminated through subcontracting. They are also demanding that no additional cuts in medical benefits be made. Local 1972's benefits are already below the average for the industry and the company intends to drive them even lower.

Also at issue in this strike is the union's demand for a three-year contract to replace the one-year agreement signed in 1986.

Roybal reported that the UMWA has filed charges against Kiewit with the National Labor Relations Board because the company has refused to negotiate seriously to settle the dispute.

The UMWA members were also seeking information from unionists in the Omaha area on Baker & Associates — a well known union-busting firm. Kiewit hired Baker last March in preparation for the strike. Grace Kerbel, from the UMWA's Women's Auxiliary, explained that wives and children of the miners have frequently been followed and harassed by Baker's agents.

Gordon McDonald, president of the Nebraska AFL-CIO addressed the rally and urged solidarity for the striking miners. He introduced Larry Deeds, president of Local 1972, who explained the issues in the strike.

Messages of solidarity and donations can be sent to UMWA Local 1972, P.O. Box 66, Sheridan, Wyo. 82801.

### Sympathy strike at Morrell continues

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

SIOUX FALLS, S.D. — Some 2,500 meat-packers are continuing their sympathy strike at the large John Morrell & Co. packinghouse here.

The meat-packers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 304A, have been honoring picket lines set up outside this South Dakota plant by their brothers and sisters from UFCW Local 1142 in Sioux City, Iowa, 90 miles south of here.

Local 1142 members were forced on strike at the Iowa plant in March.

After the company refused to take steps to settle the strike, the Iowa union established a picket line outside the South Dakota plant on May 1.

Rick Standing, vice-president of Local 304A told the *Militant* that the South Dakota plant is now operating with about 2,000 scabs — including about 150 Local 304A members who have crossed the picket line. The Iowa plant is also operating with scabs.

Standing said negotiations between Local 1142 and Morrell are continuing, but that four major issues remain unresolved.

The first dispute is over wages. The company wants a two-tier pay scale at the Iowa plant. If Morrell got what it wanted, newly hired workers would come in at \$6.25 an hour, compared to the \$8.25 an hour other union members would receive. And Morrell wants the gap to remain permanent so that workers on the bottom tier never reach the higher pay rate.

The union wants provisions in an agreement that would insure that all striking members of Local 1142 members get to return to their jobs and not face company disciplinary action after going back.

And the union wants assurances that all members of Local 304A who have participated in the sympathy strike also get their jobs back.

The company wants to reopen Local 304A's contract now even though the contract at the South Dakota plant does not expire until November 1988. The union members in South Dakota do not want it reopened at this time.

On October 24 UFCW Region 13 sponsored a food caravan for the Iowa meat-packers, and leaders of several UFCW locals in the area participated.