

Coast-to-coast demonstrations will protest U.S. aid to contras



Nicaraguan garment workers at November 5 pro-Sandinista march

Nicaraguans press fight for peace

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Jan. 20 — The Sandinista government has lifted the country's state of emergency. This step creates better conditions for the workers and peasants to organize and fight to carry the revolution forward.

All constitutional guarantees — including the right to demonstrate and the right to strike — are now in effect.

At the same time, the government has announced a series of concessions to Washington in an attempt to help bring an end to the contra war.

These measures include agreement to negotiate directly with the contras about terms for a cease-fire. Previously the Sandinistas had agreed only to indirect discussions through an intermediary.

The government is also prepared to immediately release about 1,800 convicted contra prisoners. The only condition is that Washington or some other non-Central American country take them in. They will be free to return to Nicaragua with full civil rights when the war ends.

These initiatives were announced by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega during the summit meeting of Central American presidents in Costa Rica January 15-16. They resulted in a renewed agreement among the five countries to continue peace negotiations. The presidents reaffirmed their call for a halt to all outside aid "to irregular forces or insurgent movements," which includes the contras.

The agreement in Costa Rica dealt another political blow to Washington. The Reagan administration had brought considerable diplomatic and economic pressure to bear on Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica.

Washington's emissaries warned against any agreement with the Sandinista government. The administration's goal was to tor-

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75 cities plan events on Jan. 25

Opponents of the U.S.-sponsored and financed war against the people of Nicaragua and Central America need to organize massive, visible, and broadly sponsored protests now against the Reagan administration's proposal for tens of millions of dollars more in aid to the contras.

Protest actions are already scheduled to take place in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and 75 other cities on January 25 when Reagan delivers his State of the Union address to Congress. Central Amer-

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ican solidarity groups in Washington are also organizing a march and rally at the Capitol on February 2, the day before Congress is expected to vote on the contra aid.

The contras, whom President Reagan calls "freedom fighters," are in reality a band of mercenaries and murderers. They include notorious butchers who were members of the National Guard of former dictator Anastasio Somoza. The U.S.-supported Somoza tyranny was overthrown in a popular revolution led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front in 1979.

For six years now the working people of Nicaragua have resisted the efforts of the U.S. government to destroy their revolution. Thousands have paid with their lives. The contra war has resulted in 50,000 Nicaraguan casualties. More than 25,000 Nicaraguans have been killed, most of them women, children, and poor farmers. This is a staggering figure for a country of 3.5 million people.

The war has drained \$3.5 billion from the Nicaraguan economy that could have been used for schools, hospitals, and other social needs. As Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega explained, "More United States aid to the contras can only mean more war, more death and destruction — more totally unnecessary and unjustifiable suffering."

A big blow to the contra war was registered on Aug. 7, 1987, when the presidents of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala unanimously adopted an accord for ending the military conflicts in Central America. This agreement was made possible by defeats dealt to the contra forces by Nicaragua's armed forces.

Initially the U.S. government attempted to dismiss the accords. Unable to torpedo the peace agreements signed by the Central American presidents, the administration now gives lip service to the pact while continuing efforts to keep the contra war alive. With the ultimate aim of driving the Sandinista government from power, the Reagan administration has sought at every step to use the accords to wrench more concessions from Nicaragua.

Reagan argues that the Sandinistas cannot be trusted to fully comply with the accords. But Nicaragua has done more to implement the provisions of the plan than any of its other signers. And Nicaragua has

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Israeli regime intensifies repression of Palestinians

BY HARRY RING

Driven to desperation in its savage efforts to crush the Palestinian uprising, the Israeli government declared East Jerusalem under police rule. At the same time it vowed to intensify its drive to starve out Palestinian refugee centers in the occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank.

East Jerusalem is the Palestinian sector of the city of Jerusalem. It was grabbed by Israel in its 1967 war against neighboring Arab countries. In 1980 the Israeli parliament declared the entire city the capital of Israel.

Under the emergency rule, declared January 19, striking Palestinian shopkeepers can be ordered to open their doors and, if they refuse, can be ordered shut for a long period. Police rule will also permit imposition of curfews in the Palestinian quarter and the roundup of suspected youth protesters.

The Israeli rulers were jolted when protest erupted in East Jerusalem December 19, less than two weeks after the outbreaks in Gaza and the West Bank. Jerusalem youths defied the police with flaming street barricades and smashed windows at four Israeli banks.

Shortly before Christmas, Palestinian shopkeepers in Jerusalem began shutting down in solidarity with the protests. Since January 7, the store shutdowns have been continuous.

In a move that intensified Palestinian rage, Israeli cops invaded the Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa mosques January 15, teargassing and clubbing those attending prayer services.

Escalating the starvation drive in the oc-

cupied territories, Yitzhak Rabin, minister of war, declared that relief agencies could not ship food or clothing into the Gaza Strip and West Bank refugee centers until protest strikes were ended.

Nearly a quarter of a million Palestinians in the refugee camps have been under round-the-clock detention curfews for several weeks.

Those who defy the curfew risk being shot, beaten, or jailed.

Medical care, even for serious illness, is

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Haitians boycott sham elections

BY SUSAN LaMONT

The overwhelming majority of Haitians answered the fake election held in that country January 17 by honoring the boycott and strike called by opponents of the military-dominated government to protest the election.

Opposition leaders and journalists report that very few Haitians took part in the voting. It was scheduled after the November election was canceled by Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, head of the National Council of Government (KNG), following a murderous assault on voters by Tontons Macoutes and government soldiers. The Macoutes served as ex-dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier's private police force.

The small amount of voting that did take place was characterized by massive fraud and abuses: lack of voter registration lists, multiple voting, no secret ballot, payment for votes, soldiers stationed at polling places, unlocked ballot boxes, and so on.

Emile Gloaguen, a Catholic priest from the town of St.-Marc, told a reporter from the *New York Times* that the army had threatened people in the countryside in order to force them to vote.

The KNG, which had not announced the results of the "election" as of January 20, reported that the voting had "taken place well and beautifully."

The four leading opposition candidates who helped initiate the boycott did not therefore participate in the election.

Of the 11 candidates who did take part, the front-runners are reported to be Leslie Manigat, a political science professor who lived in exile in Venezuela for many years, whom journalists report to be the favorite candidate of the army; and Gerard Philippe-August. Several of the other candidates threatened to challenge the election results — if they are not declared the winner.

On January 19 the State Department is-

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Youth campaign for subscription renewals

BY NORTON SANDLER

The Young Socialist Alliance is encouraging its members to participate in our subscription renewal campaign.

With this in mind, distributors are organizing their renewal efforts to maximize the participation of these young fighters.

In many cases, this will mean organizing teams to campuses where YSA members and supporters attend school.

The renewal campaign is aimed at expanding the long-term readership of the *Militant*, the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*.

It is a follow-up to our circulation drive conducted during the last months of 1987. A strength of that effort, which resulted in winning a combined total of more than 8,600 new readers for the publications, were the teams that traveled to outlying campuses and factories.

YSA members on several campuses joined with the teams in selling subscriptions. Other young people decided to become YSA members during a team's visit.

The renewal effort provides an opportunity to hold political discussions with YSA members. It will help convince them to renew their own subscriptions and to participate in the process of recontacting all subscribers in the area.

In a telephone interview, Neil Callender explained that *Militant* distributors from Boston joined him during the circulation drive in selling 10 subscriptions on the Brown University campus in Providence, Rhode Island.

Half were sold to students who came to a YSA-sponsored film showing on the life of revolutionary leader Malcolm X. A few were sold at a speaking engagement for James Winfield, a national YSA leader. Callender also sold a couple of subscriptions to campus activists he works with.

Callender said that in a follow-up discussion with one of the new subscribers, she expressed interest in the *Militant's* coverage of paperworker strikes in Jay, Maine, and other cities. He said this new reader also follows the coverage on the Nicaraguan revolution. Callender is looking forward to recontacting other subscribers.

As for himself, Callender said he likes the *Militant's* news and analysis of international events. He mentioned the weekly coverage provided by our bureau in Managua, Nicaragua; articles on the African National Congress' 75th anniversary conference held recently in Arusha, Tanzania; and reporting from the Philippines as examples.

A number of teams from New York traveled upstate to Albany during the fall drive. They joined distributors there, including YSA members, in selling 39 *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions. Some of these were sold to students at the State University of New York (SUNY) campus.

"Often we set up tables as a way of talking to people about what's going on in the world," said SUNY student and YSA

member David Anshen.

Anshen has been involved in protests against CIA recruitment and in other political activities on campus.

Most buy a single copy of one of the periodicals, Anshen explained. But he pointed out that some anti-apartheid and Central America solidarity activists are subscribers.

"Sometimes I'll be talking about Nicaragua and someone will say, 'We don't get coverage about what is going on there in the mainstream press.' I'll show them an article or speech by a Sandinista leader in the *Militant*," he said.

"My own subscription lapsed for a while. Now I'm making more of an effort to read the *Militant* regularly and to think about what's in it," Anshen added.

Keith Jordan, a student at Rutgers State University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, recently dropped us a note.

"I have been a member of the YSA since April," Jordan said. "I am presently involved in the effort to build a chapter of the YSA in New Brunswick. The process of political understanding that led to my decision to join this organization of revolutionary youth was greatly aided and speeded by my reading of Pathfinder books and the *Militant* newspaper."



Militant/Sam Manuel

Young Socialist Alliance was among the many groups participating in January 18 March for Racial Justice in New York City. Winning new subscribers and renewals to socialist publications helps get out truth about struggle against racist violence.

Harassment of mural project by N.Y. officials is target of more protests

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

NEW YORK — Attacks on the Pathfinder Mural Project by the city administration here are beginning to meet with protest by supporters of free speech and artistic freedom.

They are demanding that the city stop harassing the painting of a six-story mural on the Pathfinder Building, which is in Manhattan's Greenwich Village. The mural is being painted by renowned artists active in working-class struggles around the world.

Letters of protest are being sent to Mayor Edward Koch. A petition is being circulated demanding that city authorities carry out their job — protecting the civil rights of the artists and activists producing the mural, not restricting them. A January 29 "speakout" here in defense of freedom of expression has been scheduled.

The attacks on the mural, which features the portraits of outstanding working-class leaders whose works are published by Pathfinder, began in early December.

An agent of the city's Environmental Control Board hand delivered 35 citations for "illegally" posting leaflets, which can carry a fine of up to \$3,500. The leaflets announced a November open house for

people in the neighborhood to learn about the project and meet Arnoldo Guillén, a prominent Nicaraguan painter, who had just completed two portraits on the mural.

None of the other businesses or organizations in the area that had also posted leaflets in the same locations were cited. The selective political harassment of the mural, with its huge fine, is intended to prevent the artistic project from proceeding.

In a message of support to the project, Leslie Cagan of the Mobilization for Survival noted that the citation has nothing to do with environmental pollution. "Instead of delivering citations to the mural project, the city's Environmental Control Board should be tracking down corporations which daily pollute this city," she wrote.

In a letter to Mayor Koch, attorney Margaret Winter calls on him to put a stop to the Environmental Control Board's harassment, noting that the mural "will be a tremendous cultural asset to the city when it is completed."

Attorney Edward Copeland of the firm of noted civil liberties lawyer Leonard Boudin is representing the mural project. He recently won a postponement, until April, of a January 19 hearing that had

been set to hear the charges on the "illegal" leaflets.

Supporters of the mural project will use this time to step up the public campaign that has been launched to protest the city's attacks and demand that the citations be dropped.

Zoilo Torres, president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights; Dan Georgakas of *Cineaste* magazine; renowned artists Peter Gourfain, Rudolf Baranik, May Stevens, and Marina Gutiérrez; and others will address the January 29 speakout. It will be held at Westbeth Gallery, 55 Bethune St., in Manhattan, at 7:30 p.m.

The growing list of sponsors of the mural project includes singer-composers Pete Seeger, Roy Brown, and Thiago de Mello; poets Dennis Brutus and Sonia Sanchez; Hartford 16 defendants Yvonne Meléndez-Carrión and Elías Castro Ramos; Leslie Cagan; and William Kunstler, constitutional attorney.

The campaign against the city's harassment is being organized through Pathfinder Books at 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013; telephone (212) 226-8445. Protest messages should be sent to Mayor Edward Koch, City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007. Please send copy to Pathfinder Books.

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"The Militant has given me the best weekly coverage of events in Nicaragua of any readily available newspaper. And in all modesty, I must say that the interview I had by Harry Ring was timely and complete.

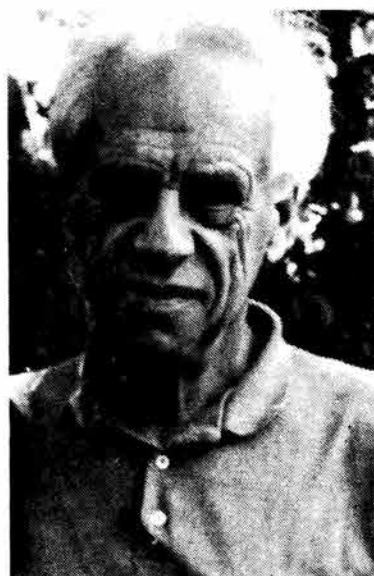
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David Linder, father of U.S. volunteer worker Benjamin Linder slain by contras in Nicaragua.

The Militant

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Paperworkers bring strike news to Minn.

Tour reaches unionists, Blacks, farmers

BY JANICE PRESCOTT

ST. PAUL, Minn. — "Are you kidding? We were lucky to get 20 members to a union meeting a year ago," said Dennis Couture, vice-president of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 in Jay, Maine. He was responding to a union member's apology for the turnout at a meeting Couture attended during his nine-day tour here. The tour's purpose was to build support for the paperworkers' strike against International Paper Co.

"IP did more to build the union than we ever could have," Couture said. "Now we have 2,000 members, family members, and friends attending our weekly union/family meetings."

Couture and Roland Samson from Jay were joined for three days of the tour by Gerald Herwald and Terry Vanderlinden from UPIU Local 6288, which represents paperworkers on strike against IP's mill in De Pere, Wisconsin. Herwald is the local president.

The tour went from January 5 to January 13 and received significant media coverage.

Discussion with autoworkers

Couture and Samson fielded questions from members of United Auto Workers Local 2125 in Rochester, Minnesota, whose contract expires January 20. The company is demanding major concessions. "How could you go on strike now with so many strikes being defeated?" one worker asked.

Samson answered, "There were two reasons we went out. First, we know we can beat them. We have the local sewed up solid — only 57 out of nearly 1,300 have crossed the picket line. And we have the support of the town and the surrounding community."

"Second," he continued, "we had no choice. We offered to continue the same contract for two more years, and the company refused. They wanted more concessions. Our human dignity demanded that we strike."

The Jay and De Pere strikers also spoke to two shift meetings of UAW Local 879 at the Ford assembly plant in St. Paul and to a meeting of International Association of Machinists Local 1833, whose members work for Northwest Airlines.

They addressed five UPIU locals, several of which had already been making financial contributions to the strike. The UPIU has 33,000 members in Minnesota.

Discussion about P-9

Many unionists asked the paperworkers about the 1985-86 strike by members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 against Geo. A. Hormel & Co., which took place in Austin, Minnesota, and is still very much on people's minds here. Workers were interested to learn that Ray Rogers' Corporate Campaign, which was hired by the meat-packers, has recently been hired by the UPIU to help build support for the strike against IP.

Couture and Samson acknowledged the debt the entire labor movement owes to the P-9 fighters. They also explained their views about some of the differences between the two strikes.

One factor that is more favorable for the paperworkers, explained Couture, is that the community in Jay is not divided. Unlike Austin, where the town was sharply polarized, "the whole town of Jay supports the strikers," he said. He went on to explain that Jay is not on strike alone, as was P-9. "There are four mills involved here, not just one, and our International is behind us all the way," he said.

Samson added, "This strike is being carried out by the union, and the union is the membership, the rank and file. The International hired Ray Rogers' Corporate Campaign to help us out a few months ago, and they're doing a great job. But our real strength is in our unity."

Some 50 people, mostly young Blacks, attended a public forum at the Zion Baptist Church in Minneapolis' Black community, where the paperworkers talked about their

strike and more generally about unionism and solidarity.

Samson explained how strengthening the union had benefited French-speaking workers of Québécois origin, who have traditionally been discriminated against in Maine. As a result, these workers are among the strongest supporters of the strike. Couture later told the *Militant* that he considered the church meeting one of the highlights of the tour. "We want to speak to as broad an audience as possible — to other unionists, of course, but also to young people, Blacks, and farmers."

At a board meeting of the Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance, Samson described their strike and invited the farmers to visit Jay. He explained that he himself is a tree farmer, as are many of the strikers, and so he understands something of what farmers are going through.

The Wisconsin farmers, who have donated several cows to the De Pere strike, promised to get in touch with a sister organization, Rural Vermont, about the IP strike.

At a meeting with executive board members of Groundswell, another farmers' organization, in Wanda, Minnesota, Couture heard how farmers have been arrested and jailed, and that sheriffs, their deputies, and state police are used to kick farmers off their land.

Couture said that farmers in the Midwest "have gone through something much worse for a long time now than what we are facing in Jay." He was impressed that farmers "are organized to fight back" and invited them to come tell their story to a union/



Dennis Couture (right) and Roland Samson, striking paperworkers from Jay, Maine, speaking to paperworkers in St. Cloud, Minnesota.

family meeting in Jay.

Groundswell member Dolores Swoboda pledged to help spread the word about the paperworkers' fight through the group's newsletter. There was also discussion between the strikers and farmers about their common concern for the environment.

The tour raised some \$3,500 to cover tour expenses and for the two locals' strike funds.

Janice Prescott is a member of Machinists Local 1833.

BY DON DAVIS

GREEN BAY, Wis. — More than 700 International Paper strikers from De Pere

and their supporters attended a solidarity rally here January 8.

UPIU Local 6288 President Gerald Herwald reported that the De Pere strike remains solid. Only 12 of 374 union members have crossed the picket line since the strike began June 8. He also described the local's stepped-up efforts to build support by sending out speakers to other areas in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois. Representatives from the IP strike in Jay, Maine, also spoke at the rally, and representatives from several other unions in the state gave greetings.

The featured speaker was Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson.

Caravan '88 rallies draw 800 in Maine



Caravan '88 rally at high school gym in Woodland, Maine, near Canadian border.

BY MIKE SHUR

BANGOR, Maine — More than 800 workers attended rallies across northern and central Maine in support of striking paperworkers from International Paper's Androscoggin mill in Jay.

The rallies were part of Caravan '88, a car caravan organized by United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 and International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers Local 256, the unions that organize the strikers. More than 90 workers have participated in the caravan, which is cosponsored by UPIU locals across the state and by the state AFL-CIO.

As the strikers arrived in towns, they were greeted at local union halls by unionists who joined them in leafleting mill gates and shopping centers. More than 40,000 flyers were distributed.

Unionists in each town provided housing and meals for the touring strikers. Dozens of unionists helped organize events along the 1,000-mile caravan route. These included the Maine Building Trades Association, Maine Teachers Association, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Operating Engineers International Union, and many others.

At a rally of 200 in Millinocket, Bert Plante of Local 14 declared, "IP wanted to destroy our way of life. They made record

profits and wanted even more. We couldn't accept any more concessions and we are standing together. I urge you to come to our Wednesday night meetings in Jay to see for yourself."

Joe Langlais of Local 14 then urged workers to write letters to the board of directors of Coca-Cola, Hershey, Avon, and Anheuser Busch. "These companies have board members that sit on the board of IP. We want to let them know that we object to their participation in IP's attack on our union."

Also addressing the events were state legislators, who joined AFL-CIO officials in urging workers "to vote out Reaganism and vote for the friends of labor."

In discussions at plant gates, paperworkers from other mills expressed solidarity with the strikers. One worker from Georgia Pacific's Woodland mill said they had been working without a contract for six months. "The corporations are trying to turn us into wage slaves who will do anything we're told. That's why it's important that you're fighting for all of us."

A millwright from Great Northern Nekoosa's paper mill in Millinocket said, that his union "is weak and divided. We have 12 locals in the two mills. We've taken a lot of concessions. We're glad to see a strong union fighting back."

Some workers had questions about the strike. One worker from a nonunion factory asked why the paperworkers had gone on strike when they make \$37,000 a year.

IP has been airing television advertisements attacking the strike and claiming that workers at the Androscoggin mill average \$37,000 a year.

Bruce Stevens of Local 14 replied that money was not the primary issue. "They wanted to eliminate 500 jobs and the seniority system. They wanted to take away our Christmas shutdown. That's why we went out. They wanted to destroy the union."

He went on to explain that while wages at the mill were good, only a minority of the workers got as much as \$37,000.

At a meeting of 100 unionists in Old Town, a questioner asked whether it was possible to win, citing IP's claim that it is running the mill at 90 percent capacity with scab labor.

Gary Labbe from Jay responded, "IP is lying when they say that. Truck drivers who stopped on their way out told us they were leaving almost empty. One opened the back of the truck and showed us he had only five rolls of paper. IP had offered him a \$100 bonus if he would run through all the truck gears slowly as he left to make us think he had a full load."

Joe Langlais added, "IP has lost contracts to provide James River Paper's Otis mill with processed pulp and provide *Time Magazine* with coated paper because of the low quality of what they are producing. Those scabs can't make quality paper."

A highlight of Caravan '88 was the visit by 20 striking paperworkers to the picket lines of railroad workers who are on strike against Guilford Transportation System here in Bangor.

After a rousing chorus of "Scabs out, union in!" the striking workers exchanged experiences. One UTU member said, "Half our members have crossed the line to return to work. It's good you guys stick together."

Representatives of the caravan also spoke to about 250 high school students in 10 classes. They addressed students in a dozen classes at the University of Maine here.

Israeli regime escalates brutal crackdown on Palestinians

Continued from front page

denied. United Nations clinics that normally serve up to 400 patients a day are now down to the three or four who manage to make their way past Israeli troops.

Women are permitted to seek food for an hour about every other day.

One relief worker said she had seen the jet black hair of some children turning orange, a sign of serious malnutrition.

UN officials in Gaza said they were stationing food trucks at camp entrances to protest Israeli refusal to let them deliver urgently needed supplies.

The trucks will stay there "until they let us in," an angry official declared.

Meanwhile, on January 17 the Israeli

education minister ordered the emergency mobilization of high school students to pick citrus fruit before it went rotten.

Workers from the occupied territories play an important role in the Israeli economy and agriculture is particularly dependent on them.

Before the curfew barred them from going to work, large numbers were staying home to protest Israeli repression.

Shattering blow

The power of the protest, and the brutish ferocity of the Israeli response, has been broadcast worldwide by the media. This has dealt a shattering blow to Israel's image.

The badly battered condition of that image was testified to when an official said that Israel's Foreign Ministry had prepared a briefing paper titled, "Ten ways Israel is not like South Africa."

For years Israel solicited world sympathy and support as the "underdog" of the Mideast. Now, a single media photo was enough to devastate that posture: the Palestinian boy standing up to Israeli troops with a slingshot.

The clearly popular nature of the Palestinian uprising has also undercut the long-standing, slanderous depiction of the Palestinian people as "terrorists."

Anthony Lewis, a *New York Times* columnist and a partisan of Israel, was recently moved to declare, "Young boys who throw stones at soldiers are not terrorists."

With increasing numbers of people coming to realize who the real terrorists are, another reactionary propaganda tool is being blunted.

For years the Israeli government and its

allies tried to bludgeon critics of its reactionary policies into silence with the claim that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. As the number of voices critical of Israeli policies has grown that smear is harder to fly.

Also taking a bad beating is the once widely accepted myth of a "progressive" Israel — an "enlightened," even "socialist" Israel, an outpost of "western democracy" in a sea of Arab reaction.

When it launched the June 1967 war, Israel enjoyed broad international support against the Arab countries. Among political forces in this country there was a remarkable near-unanimity in favor of Israel. It ranged from the extreme right to most of the left. The Socialist Workers Party and a handful of others were virtually alone in condemning Israel's reactionary aggression.

The first serious blow to the pro-Israel consensus came with the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

There was the horror of the bloody siege of Beirut, with its high civilian toll. Then came Sabra and Shatila. At these Palestinian refugee camps, Israeli forces arranged for units of the Phalange, a fascist-like gang of killers, to enter the camps and slaughter countless inhabitants.

The Israeli government is well aware of how damaging television coverage of its efforts to stamp out the present rebellion is. "This is worse than 1982," said a Foreign Ministry official. "It's killing us abroad."

Apart from the briefing paper on the differences between the Israeli government and the apartheid regime in South Africa, Israeli officials have done little to counter the negative image — other than restricting media coverage of troops attacking protesters and beating up photographers.

Challenge posed by uprising

The reality is that the Israeli rulers have little choice in the matter. They are dealing with a problem of survival. The scope of the present uprising and their inability to contain it poses a very real challenge to their capacity to rule the occupied territories. And the future of Israel itself is very much bound up with the fate of the territories.

This year Israel will mark the 40th anniversary of its founding. But growing numbers of Israelis realize they won't have a great deal to celebrate. Twenty years ago, with the crushing military defeat of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, Israel's future seemed assured.

Today, that future is far from settled. The Palestinian resistance is proving irrepressible.

When Israel grabbed the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the 1967 war, it said the occupation was "temporary" and the areas would be relinquished when a peace agreement was signed with its Arab neighbors.

But that was a fiction. It was proven so by the almost immediate moving of Jewish settlers into the occupied areas. Today there are some 2,500 colonial settlers in the Gaza Strip and 60,000 in the West Bank.

Bitter oppression

For 717,000 Palestinians living within the borders of the Israeli state itself, life is bad enough. They are second-class citizens at best — victims of racist discrimination and denied economic, social and political equality.

But any notion that they are ready to accept their lot indefinitely was jolted with the historic all-Palestine general strike December 21 in which those within Israel joined hands with those in the occupied areas.

And now, the need for the first time to impose police rule in East Jerusalem underlines that reality.

In Gaza and the West Bank nearly 1.5 million Palestinians have endured 20 years of police-state rule. They can be jailed without trial or banished from their country. Their land has been stolen from them and industrial development blocked to insure Israeli capitalists a big pool of cheap labor.

Exercising the rights of free speech,



Protester in Nablus holds Palestine flag

press or assembly invites prison. At any given time — before the uprising — 4,000 Palestinians were in Israeli jails, suffering the most shocking deprivation and brutality.

The racist humiliation is summed up on Palestinian internal passports that declare their nationality "unidentified."

In 1947 when the UN carved up Palestine and handed the greater part to the Jewish settlers from Europe, the justification offered was that a single Palestinian state would lead to the oppression of the Jewish minority.

That was a lie refuted by the earlier decades of coexistence between Arabs and Jews. But the imposition of the Israeli state has surely led to the most bitter oppression of the Palestinians.

That oppression generated Palestinian resistance, a resistance that was deepened profoundly with the post-1967 annexation and colonization of the West Bank and Gaza Strip where opposition to Israeli rule has been unremitting.

That resistance burst into full flame with the protests that have continued since December 9. The savage response of the Israeli regime only testifies to the depth of its crisis.

San Francisco protest hits Israeli repression

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — Four hundred people picketed the Israeli consulate here January 7 protesting repression against Palestinians in the occupied territories. Part of a national protest in many cities across the country, the action was built here by the newly formed Emergency Committee for Palestinian Rights.

Among the protesters were activists from the Palestine Solidarity Committee, the Central America anti-intervention movement, and the anti-apartheid struggle, as well as Filipino activists, students, unionists, and members of the San Francisco Arab community.

The following night 250 people took part in a teach-in and solidarity rally at which the featured speaker was Samih Farsoun, contributing editor of *MERIP Middle East Reports* and teacher at American University in Washington, D.C. Farsoun outlined the cruel treatment Palestinians have received from Israel in the occupied territories and placed this at the center of the reasons for the uprising.

The meeting was chaired by Catherine Cusic of the Nicaragua Information Center. Other speakers included Maudelle Shirek of the Berkeley City Council, Leticia Peña of *Noticeros Palestinos*, and Hilton Obenzinger of the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

Messages of support were read from the Colorado chapter of the American Indian Movement; John George, a leader of the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement; and Nancy Walker, a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.



Ben Linder Construction Brigade to begin work in Nicaragua

BY CRAIG STEVENS

PORTLAND — Thirteen volunteer construction workers left here at midnight January 11 for Corinto, Nicaragua. Together with two others already in Nicaragua, they will constitute the first contingent of the Ben Linder Construction Brigade.

The brigade is named in honor of Portland resident Benjamin Linder, who was murdered April 28, 1987, by the U.S.-backed contra mercenaries while working on a rural electrification project in northern Nicaragua. The group has chosen to work in Corinto, Nicaragua's major port city, because Portland and Corinto have recognized each other as "sister cities."

The volunteers will spend two weeks initiating much-needed repairs on Corinto's only hospital. The first priority will be repairing the leaking roof. Additional work is needed on lighting, windows, and painting.

Organizers of the brigade recognize that one two-week visit will not be enough to complete all the needed repairs, so they are already beginning to plan for subsequent contingents to go to Corinto later this year.

There will probably be no shortage of volunteers. More than 40 people applied to be in the first group.

At a well-attended news conference before the brigade's departure, spokeswoman Susan Leo commented, "We are like the tens of thousands of others across the country who were inspired by the example of Ben Linder. Thousands stepped forward after his murder to join protest activity against the U.S. war in Nicaragua, to join volunteer projects like this one in order to see Nicaragua for themselves, and to take action in solidarity with the Nicaraguan people."

Appearing at the send-off news conference along with the 13 volunteers were Portland Mayor Bud Clark; Jim Duncan, chairperson of the Portland-Corinto Sister Cities Association; and Miriam Linder, Ben Linder's sister.

Reporters questioned what kind of response U.S. citizens might get from the Nicaraguan people. Linder explained,

"Nicaraguans welcome U.S. citizens because the biggest problem facing Nicaragua is the contra war. They know that, regardless of the setbacks the contras are suffering on the battlefield, the war will be ended only in the United States. It will be ended through the efforts of people here, and those who have been to Nicaragua can play a major role in this process."

Utah tour protesting Aryan Nations set to begin January 26

BY STEVE WARSHALL

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — Bill Wassmuth, a Catholic priest from Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, will begin a tour of Utah January 26 to speak out against the racist Aryan Nations. This group is the political arm of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian headed by Richard Butler and headquartered in Hayden Lake, Idaho.

The Aryan Nations' goal is to establish a whites-only state in the area encompassing Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, Oregon, and Washington. Its platform states that Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and Jews "are to be repatriated from the Republic's territory."

Wassmuth's tour is sponsored by Utahns Against the Aryan Nations, the state AFL-CIO, the Western Foundation for Racial Equality, and many other organizations. Speaking engagements have been organized in Salt Lake City and Price and at Brigham Young University at Provo.

The high point of the tour will be a meeting sponsored by the AFL-CIO at its hall in Salt Lake County. Ed Mayne, Utah state AFL-CIO president, will chair. Wassmuth will share the platform with Merle Hansen of the North American Farm Alliance, Curtiss Sewell of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a spokesperson for the National Organization for Women. The meeting will also be a salute to Martin Luther King, Jr. It will be held January 26, 7 p.m., at the Labor Center, 2261 Redwood Road in West Valley City.

Protests expose 'amnesty' in El Salvador

Death squads condemned by unions, church officials, rights groups

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

Increased terrorist attacks by El Salvador's government-sponsored death squads have been met by protests in El Salvador and internationally. Anger has been further fueled by the decision of the U.S.-backed regime of President José Napoleón Duarte to decree an amnesty for all the military officers and death squad members responsible for murder and other human rights violations.

When Duarte was elected in 1984, he promised he would prosecute army and police killers linked to the hated death squads, which are responsible for the deaths of thousands of Salvadorans. Yet not one army officer has ever been prosecuted. While the number of killings had decreased in the past few years, the paramilitary gangs continued to carry out attacks on unionists, human rights activists, and others.

The resurgence of death squad activity is part of the right wing's response to the failure of Duarte's crisis-ridden government to crush the armed popular movement in the countryside or to head off the revival of a powerful urban protest movement with a large labor component.

Amnesty

The amnesty was enacted under the guise of complying with the Central America peace accords, which Duarte signed last August along with four other Central American presidents.

The blanket amnesty law, in effect since November 5, calls for amnesty for all political crimes. Some 480 political prisoners have been freed to date. Most of them were people the government claimed were suspected of having links with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), the revolutionary organization leading the freedom struggle in El Salvador.

The real purpose of the amnesty law, however, according to opponents of the government, is to ratify Duarte's refusal to prosecute powerful army officers accused of human rights abuses.

A broadcast over the FMLN's Radio Venceremos condemned the new law as a blatant maneuver in which "the government declares itself pardoned of horrendous crimes committed against the Salvadoran people in exchange for freeing some people who should have never been in jail to begin with." The same broadcast also said that out of an "approximate 1,000 political prisoners inside the government's jails, more than 900 are not related in any way to the FMLN."

On December 19, under the terms of the amnesty, the government released José Dimas and Santiago Gómez, the National Guardsmen that confessed to the 1981 murder of two U.S. advisers working for the American Institute for Free Labor Development. AIFLD is an AFL-CIO outfit funded by the CIA.

Eduardo Ávila, one of the military officers connected to the AIFLD killings, was released earlier on a ruling by the Supreme Court of El Salvador, where Ávila's uncle sits as a judge.

In response to their release, the AFL-CIO has asked the U.S. government to suspend all military aid to El Salvador, which totaled \$116.5 million last year.

In a December 30 statement, the U.S. embassy in San Salvador said Washington would consider cuts in its economic assis-



Militant/Don Gurewitz

National Union of Salvadoran Workers contingent in 1987 San Salvador march against repression. Labor federation says death squads continue, despite government denial.

tance to the Salvadoran judiciary. Such assistance, however, only amounted to a little more than 1 percent of the \$608 million that the U.S. government gave Duarte in fiscal year 1987.

In a move to avoid a national and international outcry, a Salvadoran judge in the city of Zacatecoluca refused to amnesty five National Guardsmen convicted of the 1980 rape and murder of three nuns and a lay worker. Judge Consuelo Salazar justified her decision, which goes against the grain of the sweeping amnesty, by arguing that the killing was not political.

Rights situation worsens

In a phone interview, a spokesperson for Amnesty International, a U.S.-based human rights organization, commented on the amnesty, saying, "Those responsible for human rights violations should be held accountable for their crimes."

Another human rights group, Americas Watch, "objected to the amnesty very strongly." Spokesperson Anne Manuel said Americas Watch opposed the new law "because we do not think the Arias [Central American peace] plan was ever intended to include a sort of self-amnesty, an amnesty for the military and the paramilitary forces. We think that this amnesty legalizes the impunity that these forces already had to commit gross violations of human rights."

The Federation of Relatives of Political Prisoners, the Disappeared and Assassinated of El Salvador stated in its report to the international verification commission for the peace accords that the human rights situation in El Salvador is worsening.

Since last August, it told the committee, "we have had 30 disappearances [and] more than 57 murders at the hands of the security forces by way of the death squads." Among those arrested recently are six members of the National Association of Salvadoran Indians. People killed while in custody include Gerardo Hernández and Jesús Araújo Torrez, both political prisoners at the Mariona penitentiary, five miles outside San Salvador.

The independent El Salvador Human Rights Commission (CDHES) also reported to the peace accords committee that the human rights situation "has been deteriorating to alarming levels, qualitatively and quantitatively."

The widely condemned killing of Herbert Ernesto Anaya, president of the CDHES and well-known critic of government-sponsored terror, had the stamp of the death squads and put a spotlight on their increased activity. This murder was met by large street protests in San Salvador.

Anaya was murdered on October 26. The government approved the amnesty law the following day. Since then, René Cárdenas, the eastern provinces' director of the government's human rights commission, was gunned down in the same way as Anaya.

On December 23 the Salvadoran Association of Telecommunications Workers blamed the government for the murder of union member Medardo Ceferino Ayala.

The Catholic church hierarchy of El Salvador has called for abolition of the death squads. They "undermine the consolidation of true democracy," said Arturo Rivera y Damas, archbishop of San Salvador,

in a sermon at the metropolitan cathedral on January 3.

The National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), El Salvador's largest trade union federation, recently affirmed that the death squads were never dismantled, as the Duarte government claimed, and that "they are still closely linked to the army." The UNTS condemned telephone death threats Rivera y Damas received in December. Rivera y Damas' predecessor, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, was murdered by a death squad in 1980.

Canadian brigadista's death stirs debate on Nicaragua

BY ROGER ANNIS

TORONTO — The death in Nicaragua on December 25 last year of Canadian volunteer worker Jennifer Green has received wide attention in Canada. There were front-page newspaper articles and frequent radio and TV reports in the week following her death. Eight hundred attended her funeral here.

Green died in an accident in Matagalpa involving a hand grenade. The accident also took the life of Nicaraguan soldier Lt. Róger Méndez.

This event has brought home to thousands of working people in Canada the consequences of the U.S.-organized contra war against the people of Nicaragua.

Members of the coffee-picking brigade in which Green was participating issued a statement before their return to Canada.

They said, "Jenny's enthusiasm for, and love of, the Nicaraguan people provided an example we all tried to emulate. Her passing brought home to us the reality of senseless death that Nicaraguans face every day. Lieutenant Méndez' attempt to save Jenny at the expense of his own life demonstrated the selflessness and bravery that has come to typify for us the Nicaraguan spirit." Following her death the brigade renamed itself the Jenny Green Brigade.

Green's example was also addressed by Winnie Ng, speaking on behalf of the Toronto Labour Council at a December 30 news conference.

Green was a member of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. She had worked as an English-language instructor in the language classes for immigrant workers sponsored by the labor council. Ng explained that Jenny's commitment to the fight for a better world led her to join a volunteer work brigade in support of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Opponents of the Nicaraguan revolution in Canada are seeking to use her death to further their reactionary aims and slander her heroic example. A column by Peter Worthington in the January 4 *Financial Post*, a national weekly business newspaper, attacked the unions, church organizations, and others that support tours and brigades to Nicaragua.

Worthington charged that a statement made at the news conference that there are thousands of Jenny Greens waiting to go to Nicaragua "is both cynical and callous, and indicates what the purpose of aid to Nicara-

The UNTS sent a letter on December 23 to Oscar Arias, president of Costa Rica, requesting a meeting with him. Arias is credited with initiating the regional peace pact. The letter described 18 cases of human rights violations suffered by those bearing the brunt of government repression — trade union, farm cooperative, and peasant leaders.

The letter also pointed out "the suffering, hunger, extreme misery, and hardship of workers" in El Salvador as a result of the U.S.-organized counterinsurgency war.

gua is. And while it may not be illegal, it certainly verges on the immoral."

Worthington has turned the truth on its head. It's the contra war that's illegal and immoral, not those in Nicaragua and around the world who are determined to defeat it. That's why there are indeed "thousands of Jenny Greens" open to joining the brigade movement to Nicaragua. Like her they are inspired by the Nicaraguan revolution as a beacon of hope for the oppressed and exploited around the world.

Eleven days before her death, Green explained in a postcard from Nicaragua to a friend, "These people have their priorities in the right place: free education, free medical care. The revolution is working but not without sacrifices or struggles. The unjust war is the real drain, but there is no way this country is going to give up."

'Washington Post' hits moves to deport Margaret Randall

The *Washington Post* has called on the U.S. government to drop its effort to deport author Margaret Randall because of her political views.

Randall, born in the United States, gave up her U.S. citizenship in favor of Mexican citizenship in 1967 in order to make it easier to get a job. She returned to the United States in 1984 and has applied for permanent residency.

Randall is the author of *Women in Cuba*, *Sandino's Daughters*, and other books. The government ordered her deported under a U.S. law that bars immigrants "who write or publish . . . knowingly circulate, distribute, print or display . . . or have in their possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution or display, any written or printed matter . . . teaching the economic, international and governmental doctrines of world communism or the establishment in the United States of totalitarian dictatorship."

"These are acts clearly protected by the First Amendment in the case of American citizens," the *Post* editors pointed out January 7.

"The law is not just an anachronism, it is a disgrace," the editorial continued. "The case ought to be dropped. . . . She has never committed a crime, and her writings pose no threat to the republic."

February 6 protest in New York to hit repression in Haiti

NEW YORK — The Committee Against Repression in Haiti has issued a call for a demonstration on February 6 in Brooklyn, where much of New York's large Haitian community lives.

The demonstration will begin at 1:00 p.m. with a rally at the corner of Nostrand Avenue and Eastern Parkway, and then march to Grand Army Plaza.

For more information, contact the Committee Against Repression in Haiti at (718) 434-3940.

Nicaraguans press fight for peace

Continued from front page
pedo any possible obstacle to its campaign for more funding for the contras.

"Deepen people's democracy"

The immediate response of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to the new openings has been to call on working people to mobilize to fight for peace and to deepen the revolution. A major demonstration has been called for January 22 in Managua.

Carlos Gallo, an FSLN leader in the Managua region, told the daily *Barricada* that the demonstration will "bring to bear the power of the majority of the fighting people" here, as the U.S. Congress prepares to vote on renewed contra funding February 4.

The people have to "take to the streets," Gallo added, "because the suspension of the state of emergency means we must deepen the democracy, the power, and the initiatives of the people."

The lifting of the state of emergency marks a step forward for the workers' and peasants' revolution because it creates the best ground for defending and advancing their interests against their class enemies. It is a step that has been made possible by the military blows delivered against the U.S.-financed contra forces.

Emergency regulations have been in effect since 1982, when the war began. They were lifted temporarily during the presidential election campaign in 1984, and reimposed in 1985. When the new constitution went into effect in 1986, some of its guarantees of civil rights and liberties were suspended.

These emergency powers were a response to the war imposed on Nicaragua by Washington. The Nicaraguan government had the power to censor the news media, deny permits for street demonstrations, and suspend the right to strike.

Police were authorized to conduct warrantless searches where counterrevolutionary activity was suspected. They could also detain people accused of crimes against national security or public order without pressing charges against them.

However necessary such measures may be in wartime or other specific circumstances, the use of administrative and police measures to deal with political opposition carries an overhead price for the workers and peasants. Silencing opposition voices — whether they be the capitalist and landlord opposition groups or currents within the working-class movement — avoids having to answer their arguments.

Administrative moves merely drive such arguments into indirect channels — such as rumor mills — where they are harder to deal with. This makes it more difficult to educate working people about what is necessary to advance the revolution.

Moreover, as some FSLN leaders have pointed out, administrative measures have sometimes substituted for political persuasion and careful listening to criticisms. This has created additional obstacles to winning over those who are confused, disoriented, or alienated from the revolutionary process.

Restoring full democratic rights strengthens the classes that are the driving force of the Sandinista revolution: the workers and peasants.

"Having constitutional rights fully in force really will help the revolution, and concretely, will help the working people," Dámaso Vargas told the *Militant*. Vargas is the secretary-general of the Sandinista Workers Federation in the Managua region.

"They are rights that we won, and so we are preparing to make full use of them to defend our power, to achieve peace, and to continue deepening the transformations in Nicaragua," Vargas added.

The January 22 demonstration called by the FSLN will be the beginning of a campaign of "street demonstrations and debate in different forums, including in rank-and-file assemblies and in the National Assembly," Vargas explained.

The Sandinistas' concessions relating to the release of contra prisoners and direct

negotiations with the contra command have been extracted by force. The toll of the U.S.-organized war in human and economic terms is immense on this small country.

As long as the war continues, the Sandinistas' goal of starting to develop the country and improve the living conditions of the working people must be postponed.

The FSLN has no choice but to cede some ground in an attempt to take advantage of the divisions within the U.S. ruling class over Central American policy and win a cutoff of contra aid. Additional moves in this direction may also be necessary.

The Nicaraguan people have inflicted a strategic defeat on the contras. The contra forces do not pose a military challenge to the Sandinista armed forces. But this does not mean the U.S. hired guns are no longer capable of inflicting substantial harm on civilian targets.

As long as the contras are supplied by Washington, and as long as they are able to use bordering Honduras and Costa Rica as staging grounds with impunity, they cannot be wiped out. Although Nicaragua has strategically defeated the contras in the field, it has not defeated their masters in Washington. That is why an end to the war under current conditions can only come with substantial concessions by the Sandinistas.

The initiatives announced by Ortega in Costa Rica have sharpened the tactical crisis for Washington's policy. The root of this crisis is the strategic defeat of the contras.

Until the past year, the Reagan administration had some wind in its sails in its drive to overthrow the Nicaraguan government and in leading the rightward-shifting bipartisan consensus around this goal.

But even with the direct U.S. government backing of the contras that Reagan



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Two leaders of the Nicaraguan peasants' organization were killed in the contra ambush that destroyed this jeep in December.

was able to get through Congress, the mercenaries have proven unable to make a military breakthrough. And there is no consensus among the rulers of the United States on an alternative road to overthrowing the Nicaraguan revolution. Thus, following the Iran-contra exposures in late 1986 and the opening of peace negotiations among the Central American countries last August, a big blow was dealt to the Reagan administration's policy.

This is the framework within which the Nicaraguans are seeking to advance their goal of winning a cutoff of funding for the contras.

Such a victory could buy essential breathing space for the revolution. It could allow the workers' and peasants' government to strengthen itself for the next round in the battle with U.S. imperialism.

The Nicaraguan government is stressing

the importance of the time between now and the first week in February, when the congressional vote is scheduled, for all opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America to act.

'Not one penny more!'

This is a moment when decisive action by defenders of Nicaragua's right to self-determination can affect the outcome of the struggle.

"We urgently appeal to the peoples and the governments of Latin America and the Caribbean," said President Ortega January 16.

"We urgently appeal to the American people, to the European Economic Community, to Canada, and to all the peoples of the world to multiply their efforts immediately, so that the U.S. Congress does not approve one penny more for the mercenary forces."

Canada conference a big success

MONTREAL, Canada — The meaning of the October 1987 stock market crash, the rectification process in Cuba, and the counterrevolutionary coup in the West African country of Burkina Faso were themes of a Socialist Educational Conference held here January 1-2.

Attending were nearly 90 workers and youth from across Canada, including Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, and several other cities. The entire conference was conducted in three languages — French, English, and Spanish — reflecting the composition of the Canadian working class, which includes workers born in both English- and French-speaking parts of Canada, but also a growing number of immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia.

Participants heard a talk by Mary-Alice Waters on the rectification process that is mobilizing workers and peasants in Cuba to deepen the revolution's communist course. Waters is a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and co-editor of the Marxist theoretical journal *New Internationalist*.

The October 1987 coup in Burkina Faso, which resulted in the assassination of President Thomas Sankara, was the focus of a talk by Margaret Manwaring, a national leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) of Canada.

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, spoke on the stock market crash, the U.S.-Canada "free trade" agreement, and Cuban President Fidel Castro's call for a new international ordering of economic and trade relations.

The conference closed with a rally to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the revolutionary newspaper *Socialist Voice* and its French-language sister paper, *Lutte Ouvrière*, both published biweekly in Canada.

Speakers included Mohamed Ghieh, from the Palestine Liberation Organization; a trade union leader from Haiti; Cindy Jaquith, former director of the Managua Bureau of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva*

Mundial; and Barbara Graham, a leader of the Young Socialists of Canada. Greetings were read from Peter Mahlangu, the representative in Canada of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

RWL leader John Steele told the rally that this year, *Socialist Voice* sent correspondents to Burkina Faso, Haiti, and other Caribbean countries, and that the paper's editor, Michel Prairie, had just left on a major reporting trip to New Zealand, Australia, New Caledonia, and Tahiti.

Steele linked increasing the circulation of *Socialist Voice* and *Lutte Ouvrière* to opportunities to reach more Canadian working people with the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. He also stressed the possibilities for widening the readership in Canada of *New Internationalist* and its French-language edition, *Nouvelle Internationale*, as well as Pathfinder books.

More than \$2,000 was raised at the rally toward a Socialist Publication Fund, which has now gone over the \$16,000 mark.

Socialist youth blast Supreme Court decision upholding censorship

NEW YORK — In a 5-to-3 majority the U.S. Supreme Court on January 13 upheld censorship of a high school newspaper. The case was brought by journalism students at Hazelwood East High School in a St. Louis suburb.

The case was sparked by the principal's rejection of two pages of the *Spectrum* in May 1983, after he saw the page proofs of stories on teenage pregnancy and the children of divorce.

A statement issued by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance on January 16 condemned the court ruling as a violation of "the First Amendment rights of student newspaper staff members, and of the students, teachers, and members of the community who read the paper."

"The right of free speech is crucial to the ability of youth to learn the truth," the YSA stated. "Newspaper articles, speakouts, and other forums are part of learning how to see for yourself, listen for yourself, and think for yourself."

"High school youth," the statement continued, "have earned the right to discuss and debate questions that have a direct bearing on their lives, like teenage preg-

nancy, contraception, and abortion rights; the U.S. contra war against Nicaragua and the U.S. role in the Persian Gulf; and recruitment activities by the CIA and the military in the schools. Growing numbers of youth in the United States are responding to developments in world politics."

The statement cited several recent examples of violations of First Amendment rights that students are fighting at universities across the country.

The YSA urged, "All students and youth need to unite in defense of our rights. Every one of these attacks on freedom of speech and academic freedom should be answered."

The statement noted, "In the course of fighting to end the U.S. war against Vietnam, students also expanded democratic rights at home. In 1969 the Supreme Court ruled that students 'do not shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate.'"

In light of the court's recent ruling the YSA pledged to join with other youth in defending and exercising the right to free speech. "What we do will have an impact on how the Supreme Court decision will be interpreted and implemented."

How U.S. economic, military role in Haiti aids regime

BY SUSAN LaMONT

(The first of two articles)

When Haiti's military-dominated National Council of Government (known in Haiti by its Creole initials, KNG) assumed power nearly two years ago, Washington was quick to give the new regime its seal of approval — despite the opposition of the overwhelming majority of Haiti's people to the council and their demand for a civilian, popularly elected government.

The KNG was actually appointed by ex-dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier, who had his term as "president for life" cut short when he was driven from power in February 1986 by a powerful national movement of the Haitian people. Hours before he boarded the U.S. military plane that would take him to a life of luxurious exile in France, Duvalier drew up the appointments to the KNG. Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, Duvalier's army chief of staff, is the most public figure of the body, and acts as its spokesperson.

The U.S. government has helped keep the KNG afloat with economic aid — some \$110 million in 1986 alone — until the KNG's moves against the elections in November forced Washington to take some distance from the military junta.

Included in this aid was at least \$1.6 million for the military, supposedly for "non lethal" equipment such as trucks, boots, and tear gas. Also provided were military advisers sent by the Pentagon to instruct the Haitian army in "riot control." Similar aid was provided in 1986, rushed in shortly after the KNG took over.

Many years ago, U.S. marines had been brought in by François "Papa Doc" Duvalier, Jean-Claude's father, to train Haiti's army; and in 1971 Washington helped set up, train, and arm the elite "Leopard" battalion, a "counterinsurgency" unit.

Over the past two years, this U.S.-trained and outfitted army has attacked, wounded, and killed Haitian workers, peasants, students, and others who have organized strikes, demonstrations, and protests to fight for their demands.

Effect of U.S. economic policies

Less known outside Haiti is Washington's role in promoting economic policies designed to turn impoverished Haiti into even more of a showcase for "free enterprise" than it was under Duvalier.

Beginning in the early 1970s, "Baby Doc" Duvalier began encouraging U.S. and other foreign corporations to open up factories in Haiti, using the country's repressive, union-free condition, low wages, and long-term tax exemptions as lures. As a result about 240, mainly U.S., companies set up assembly plants in the area of Port-au-Prince, the country's capital and largest city. Some 60,000 workers, mostly women, were employed making clothing, electronic equipment, sporting goods, and other items.

Besides the actual jobs, however, the presence of these plants was not much help economically for the Haitian people. The companies paid no taxes for up to 15 years, used raw materials and components brought in from outside Haiti, and faced no restrictions on taking their profits out of the country. The finished products, moreover, were shipped for sale elsewhere.

State Department intervenes

The presence of these plants did, however, help prepare the ground for the types of economic policies Washington wanted the KNG to undertake in the post-Duvalier era.

In June 1986 Secretary of State George Shultz held a briefing on Haiti at the White

House for about 100 top executives of major U.S. corporations, encouraging them to invest in Haiti.

The briefing paper prepared for the meeting said, "With improvement in political stability in recent weeks and a sobering realization among workers that unrealistic wage demands result in the closing of factories and the loss of jobs, both Haitian and foreign businessmen are showing growing confidence in Haiti as a place to invest." In fact, less than 20 percent of Haiti's workers earn the \$3-a-day minimum wage.

Shultz's encouragement went along with a massive effort by the Agency for International Development, which oversees the disbursement of U.S. government aid, to further open up Haiti's economy to foreign business.

AID set up a staff of 170 in Haiti, a country of only 6 million people. Its operation was bigger than some ministries of the Haitian government.

Working hand in glove with Haiti's new minister of finance, Leslie Delatour — a U.S.-educated economist who used to work for the World Bank — AID pushed for policies that have further prostrated Haiti's economy. These helped drive up unemployment, which was already 50 percent or higher when Delatour took office in 1986.

These measures included adoption of an austerity budget and cuts in government expenditures. Two government-owned enterprises — a sugar refinery and a vegetable oil plant — were closed, laying off hundreds of workers. Tariffs were cut and import quotas eliminated, allowing the dumping of cheap imported goods.

Especially hard hit were Haiti's peasants. For example, the flood of cheap imported "Miami" rice was a disaster for Haiti's rice farmers, who saw the prices for their rice drop by 50 percent, while they still had to pay exorbitant rent, taxes, and interest — not to mention feed and clothe themselves and their families.

While the lifting of tariff restrictions caused prices of some goods to fall, it also led to the growth of a huge contraband trade, in which merchants, ship owners, and speculators — not Haiti's toilers — have been the main beneficiaries.

In addition, nothing has been done to make up for the loss of some 14,000 jobs, caused by the departure of foreign companies that have left Haiti since Duvalier's ouster.

While Washington portrays Delatour's moves to cut government spending as a step away from the widespread corruption of the Duvalier era, Haiti's toilers will not



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Protest last July demanded that Haitian military rulers step down. While criticizing Namphy dictatorship's bloody suppression of elections in November, U.S. government continues to follow policies that prop up military-dominated regime.

likely get much benefit from these "savings."

In reality, such World Bank and International Monetary Fund-inspired austerity programs are designed to squeeze payments out of indebted countries, not set up efficient governments. Haiti, like other countries in the Caribbean and Latin America, owes millions of dollars to U.S. and other imperialist banks — some \$859 million in 1983.

Quasi-government agencies intervene

U.S. imperialism's presence in Haiti includes other government agencies, such as the Peace Corps. In addition, some 400 private voluntary organizations, such as CARE, function there, often with big staffs. While Duvalier and now the KNG leave it to these organizations to carry out some humanitarian functions, such as emergency food relief, they are often funded by and linked with Washington and its policies. Many of these outfits are church-affiliated, and Haiti's toilers are awash in missionaries. According to Michael Massing in the Dec. 3, 1987, *New York Review of Books*, of 6,000 U.S. citizens in Haiti, as many as 5,000 are missionaries.

Haiti's workers have also been hard hit by the virtual disappearance of the once-important tourist industry, largely as a result of the U.S.-promoted AIDS scare. In 1982 the U.S. Centers for Disease Control labelled Haitians as a separate "risk group" for AIDS. Although this designation was

later reversed, many people think of Haiti as rampant with the disease.

Threat of U.S. intervention

On top of the long history of U.S. domination of their affairs — including direct military occupation by the U.S. Marines from 1915 to 1934 and support for the 30-year Duvalier dictatorship — the Haitian people again face the threat of U.S. military intervention in the guise of a "peace keeping" force.

Following the cancellation of the November 1987 elections and leading up to the fake January 17 voting, such calls were made by several members of the U.S. Congress, including District of Columbia Delegate Walter Fauntroy and Sen. Daniel Moynihan, and several influential capitalist newspapers, including the *New York Times* and *Miami Herald*.

These supporters of U.S. imperialism cloak their calls for intervention in the rhetoric of support for the Haitian people's democratic rights.

Such intervention, whether by Washington directly or some multinational force, would constitute a big blow to the Haitian people's struggle to gain control of their own affairs, move ahead in the fight to bring down the KNG, and overcome the legacy of Duvalierism.

The next article will look at some of the accomplishments in that direction made by Haiti's toilers since Duvalier's overthrow.

(To be continued.)

Caricom meeting lets Namphy off easy

BY SAM MANUEL

Seven heads of governments of the Caribbean Community group (Caricom) met on January 6 in Bridgetown, Barbados, to adopt a stance toward the political situation in Haiti. The Caricom conference rejected a proposal to withhold diplomatic recognition of any Haitian government resulting from the rigged elections organized by the junta of Gen. Henri Namphy. Those elections took place January 17. Caricom also rejected an appeal by a six-person delegation from Haiti to impose a trade embargo on the Haitian regime.

Representatives of only seven of the 13 member countries of Caricom attended the meeting. They were from Jamaica, St. Lucia, Barbados, Dominica, Guyana, Grenada, and the Bahamas. Haiti is not a member.

The actions of the Caricom meeting have been strongly condemned by many in the Caribbean. A January 18 statement issued by Don Rojas, a spokesman for the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, called the meeting a "betrayal of the demands and aspirations of the Haitian people, as well as a betrayal of

the Caribbean masses whose sympathy lies with their Haitian brothers and sisters."

Rojas explained that the course adopted by the Caricom meeting, "clears the way for these Caribbean governments to accept the outcome of the rigged election held yesterday, and to recognize the resulting regime in Haiti as legitimate."

Rojas, who was Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's press secretary before Grenada's revolutionary government was overturned, noted, "Many of those participating in the meeting, such as Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga and Dominican Prime Minister Eugenia Charles, are the same people who at the behest of Washington justified and joined in the U.S. military invasion of Grenada in October 1983."

"We strongly reject any proposal to send a 'peace keeping' force to Haiti. Such talk has always preceded U.S. military aggression in our region."

The Caricom communiqué, which was drafted by Seaga, mildly criticizes the Haitian junta for appointing an election commission that is "not independent of the government," and for issuing an election law that "contravenes some important demo-

cratic electoral practices," such as the right to a secret ballot. But it stopped short of condemnation of the elections or action against the Namphy regime.

With a twisted sense of logic, Seaga told reporters, "Sanctions would affect the government that is elected, not the [Namphy] government that you are seeking to penalize. That's imposing sanctions on the wrong people."

Seaga had previously led a smaller group of Caribbean heads of state, calling itself the Concerned Caribbean Leaders, to Haiti on Dec. 10, 1987. Following their meeting with General Namphy, Seaga welcomed the call for the rigged January 17 elections. He expressed doubt that the army was complicit in forcing the cancellation of the previous election. Seaga said that "one or two units might have been involved, but that does not make the army as a whole culpable."

The statement by Rojas explained, "The Barbados meeting was a dirty stain on the image of our Caribbean — the Caribbean of the oppressed majority — and clearly demonstrated the political bankruptcy of the neocolonial ruling elites in the region."

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Soviet gov't seeks way out of Afghan war

BY FRED FELDMAN

Soviet troops could begin to withdraw from Afghanistan by May 1, declared a report by the political commentator in the January 11 issue of the Soviet daily *Pravda*. "If it becomes possible to sign the Geneva understandings by March 1 — and the Afghan side is by all appearances intending to aim for that — then the starting date for the withdrawal could be May 1."

He was referring to the next round of talks scheduled for February between the Afghan and Pakistani governments in Geneva, Switzerland. The talks have been mediated by United Nations Under Secretary General Diego Cordovez.

The *Pravda* commentator stressed, however, that the withdrawal date was contingent on an agreement by Washington to cease "aid to armed groups waging military operations in Afghanistan against the lawful government. The withdrawal of Soviet

The assertion in *Pravda* that the beginning of a pullout might be imminent came days after Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze declared during a visit to Afghanistan on January 6: "We would like the year 1988 to be the last year of the presence of Soviet troops in your country."

He said that "virtually the entire package of the necessary arrangements has already been agreed upon" during the previous rounds of talks between the Afghan and Pakistani governments.

A settlement, he said, depended upon the U.S. agreeing to "stop aid to armed groups conducting military operations against the people's power in Afghanistan."

While Shevardnadze was in Afghanistan, U.S. Under Secretary of State Michael Armacost was in Pakistan meeting with Pakistani officials, insurgent groups, and others involved in the war in Afghanistan. He said the goal was to accelerate the search for a settlement of the war.

The talks were "very productive," Armacost said. "As the war enters its ninth year, it is clear that the bloodshed and sacrifice have gone on too long," he declared.

Washington's policies, however, have helped keep the blood flowing. The Reagan administration, with overwhelming bipartisan approval in Congress, has supplied rightists combating the Afghan government with \$600 million in arms and other support in 1987, including sophisticated antitank and antiaircraft missiles. In 1986, U.S. aid to the rightists totaled \$470 million.

Since 1982 Washington has provided more than \$3 billion in military and economic aid to the military regime in Pakistan, which provides the rightists with bases near the Afghan border and other support. Last year, Congress approved a six-year program to provide another \$4 billion. A significant portion of this assistance is used to fuel the bloody war across the border.

Coalition government

One stumbling block to an accord on the withdrawal of Soviet troops has been disagreement over the composition of the interim regime that is to govern Afghanistan while the withdrawal is carried out.

Soviet officials have reportedly pressed for the inclusion of figures from the PDPA. Najibullah, who became head of the party in 1986, was chosen president of Afghanistan in September.

Pakistani officials are pressing the coalition of antigovernment forces to agree to



Afghan President Najibullah greets government troops. Soviet government's military intervention aimed at stabilizing Afghan government, but spurred more opposition. Washington poured in massive aid to rightist-led opposition.



troops will start precisely with the coming into force of this obligation."

Tens of thousands of Soviet troops poured into Afghanistan in December 1979 in an effort to prop up the government headed by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), which faced a growing rightist-led insurgency and was torn by bloody factional conflicts.

Washington arms rightists

More than 100,000 Soviet troops are now stationed in Afghanistan. The Soviet military intervention in the civil war, far from rolling back the insurgency, enabled it to win more popular support. In this context, Washington and its allies vastly increased their aid to the rightist groups.

the inclusion of some PDPA figures. The rightist leaders must "realize the need for pragmatism," Pakistani President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq recently told the *New York Times*. He said the inclusion of PDPA leaders is "not much of a price in my opinion" for getting the Soviet troops out.

So far, the opposition groups have publicly rejected the proposal. "Out of the question," said Yunis Khalis, who is president of the seven-party alliance forged by the rightists.

The Pakistani regime, which has up to 3.5 million Afghan refugees living on its territory, is under heavy pressure to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union. The war and the massive influx of Afghans have spurred unrest in the border regions and elsewhere.

In his January 6 comments, however, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze strongly hinted that Soviet withdrawal might take place, even before there was a political settlement of the civil war between the government and the insurgents.

While hinting that the Soviet government might not wait for an agreement on an interim government before beginning to withdraw, Shevardnadze also called, in an interview with an Afghan newspaper, for forging the "broadest" possible coalition government.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev suggested last May that Mohammad Zahir Shah, the former king of Afghanistan who was ousted and went into exile in 1973, might play a prominent role in the government. UN officials reportedly met with Zahir Shah in December.

Upping the ante?

On December 14, Under Secretary of State Armacost reported that Gorbachev had been assured during the summit talks that Washington would stand by commitments to end arms shipments to the rightists when Soviet troops begin their withdrawal.

Following Shevardnadze's recent statement, however, Secretary of State George Shultz indicated that Washington might up the ante. Shultz stated that Washington expected not only the withdrawal of Soviet troops, but the cutoff of all Soviet military aid to the Afghan government.

The stepped-up diplomatic activity comes in the wake of the failure of the latest efforts to stabilize the PDPA government. On Jan. 15, 1987, Najibullah's government proclaimed a unilateral, six-month cease-fire, an amnesty for draft resisters, and other measures aimed at spurring an end to the war and the return of the millions of Afghans who have fled the country since the war began.

Najibullah pledged to involve all Islamic and political groups, including armed fac-

tions with headquarters outside the country, in political discussions aimed at "the creation of a government of national unity."

In an effort to appeal to the Islamic hierarchy, sections of which have been supporting the U.S.-backed insurgents, Najibullah proclaimed Islam to be the state religion.

Afghan government weakened

These moves were unsuccessful. The seven main opposition groups rejected the cease-fire and, with stepped up U.S. support, the fighting intensified. Providing the Afghan rightists with U.S. antiaircraft missiles has enabled them to shoot down a significant number of Soviet planes.

In December large-scale operations by Soviet and Afghan forces were required to open the road to Khost, a town near the Pakistan border that the rightist forces had surrounded.

Other aspects of the government's political campaign were equally ineffective. According to a report by the Soviet news agency Tass, only 110,000 Afghan refugees have returned. Tass claimed that 40,000 rebels had laid down their arms. Whatever the actual figure, significant numbers of heavily armed antigovernment insurgents remain in the field.

The war has had a devastating impact on Afghanistan, an underdeveloped country of 17 million people. In addition to the millions who have fled, hundreds of thousands have died or been maimed in the course of the war.

Estimates of Soviet soldiers killed have ranged up to 12,000.

Although no significant public protests in the USSR against the sending of Soviet troops into Afghanistan have been reported, a growing body of evidence indicates that rising casualty figures and the fact that the war has dragged on for more than eight years, with no end in sight, has made the war unpopular.

Those sentiments have been allowed a little more expression in the Soviet press since February 1986, when Gorbachev described the Afghan war as a "bleeding wound" and promised a stepped-up effort to end it.

Pravda published a letter from one reader complaining of the "thin, irregular, and at times unrealistic" portrayal of the war. One veteran complained in the Soviet weekly *Moscow News* that rebels are constantly shown on TV "laying down arms," but "the number of heavily wounded [Soviet soldiers] is not decreasing." A recent Soviet television program conceded that the Afghan government had "alienated part of the peasantry" and that the situation had been further worsened by "dissensions, feuds, and bloody clashes within the ruling party."

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Introduction

This issue of the *International Socialist Review* is devoted to a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro delivered at the close of the City of Havana provincial meeting of the Communist Party of Cuba on Nov. 29, 1987. Castro is first secretary of the Central Committee of the party.

This is the sixth issue in the past year in which the *ISR* has featured a major speech or interview with Castro. We want to keep our readers abreast of the historic developments taking place in Cuba today.

"Never before has a regional or provincial party event aroused so much interest, so much expectation," said Castro at the beginning of his talk to the Havana meeting. The elected national party leadership, as well as leaders from every province, attended the event. Nearly 460 provincial delegates participated. Delegations from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua were also present.

The meeting — and Castro's summary remarks — gave the party an opportunity to evaluate the progress of the "rectification process" launched at the December 1986 Deferred Session of the Third Congress of the party.

This rectification process was initiated by the party leadership in response to the realization that the revolution had begun veering off a communist course. Corruption, privileges, depoliticization, demoralization, and bureaucratic and administrative approaches to social problems were starting to grow up and even beginning to affect the party.

Key among the "errors" and "negative tendencies" the Cuban leadership has pointed to that afflicted the revolution was the notion that the mechanism of the economic planning system would, on its own, provide the motor power of the advance toward socialism. Voluntary labor by the Cuban people to resolve the pressing need for housing, day-care centers, roads, schools, and hospitals, as well as higher quality consumer goods, a greater variety of food, and more efficient and courteous services, was replaced by the notion that the plan itself would automatically solve all these problems eventually.

Castro pointed out in his speech to the Havana meeting that the party was negatively affected by these problems. It was becoming an apparatus to administer the economy as opposed to the working-class vanguard of the revolution that educates, mobilizes, and increases the involvement of the workers and farmers in running their country. Communist politics and education were taking second place to material incentives and reliance on the plan.

Three weeks after this speech was given, the Sixth Central Committee Plenum of the party was held in the Palace of the Revolution in Havana. It also discussed the rectification process.

According to a report on the meeting in the December 19 issue of the daily *Granma*, the Political Bureau had set up a commission, headed by Raúl Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and second secretary of the Central Committee of the party, to examine Humberto Pérez's responsibilities for the problems dealt with by the rectification process. Pérez headed the Central Planning Board and was vice-president of the executive committee of the Council of Ministers. Until 1985, he presided over the commission management and planning system.

According to the December 19 *Granma*, the plenum made a "unanimous criticism of his stand based on justifications and formal acceptance of secondary errors while trying to avoid responsibility for basic issues under his direct jurisdiction or which he shared with other cadres and officials."

The meeting decided to remove him from the Central Committee.

The results of the rectification efforts to date have been a "revolution within the revolution," Castro reported in his speech to the Havana provincial meeting.

The Cuban Communist Party places at the center of the revolutionary process the only force that can drive forward the transition from capitalism to socialism — the working people themselves, imbued with a communist consciousness and mobilized to take increasing control over the administration and leadership of their own state

Volunteer work brigades lead Cuban revolution forward

Fidel Castro speaks to Havana meeting of Communist Party



Fidel Castro

Gianfranco Gorgoni

and to chart the path of the Cuban economy.

This has meant stepping up the party's attention to the education and mobilization of the Cuban working class. In his speech Castro points to important signs of this deepening proletarianization. One example is the recent decision to raise the wages of farm workers, hospital workers, and others of the lowest-paid sectors of the working class.

He also explains the importance of the decision to build all the day-care centers that the city of Havana needs, with 50 having been completed this year.

Another aspect of the deepening proletarianization of the revolution that Castro emphasized was the involvement of doctors and other professionals in the volunteer construction brigades.

"What a lesson in modesty: a party member, a surgeon or some other highly professional person working day and night with the bricklayers, the carpenters, as assistants, as assistants! What a lesson in modesty! This only happens in a revolution, but not just any revolution — but in an extremely profound revolution. And what a lesson for the worker, how it encourages him, and how it teaches him when he sees the surgeon working as his modest assistant."

At the heart of the Communist Party's response to the bureaucratic practices that were developing has been the reestablishment, on a mass scale, of the volunteer minibrigades. They carry out housing construction and other important social development projects that couldn't be accomplished any other way.

Involving tens of thousands of industrial and office workers, doctors and technicians, students, housewives, and retirees in this mass vanguard movement has made possible the building of thousands of new units of housing and other projects, which Castro reviewed in his speech. In addition, it has changed the spirit in the country and the attitude toward work.

Castro pointed out that previously, when a person asked the party to solve their housing problem or day care problem, party members couldn't help them. With the reestablishment of the minibrigades — which had existed in the early days of the revolution but had languished because they were considered contrary to economic planning — "Now the party has an answer. Now the party has something to say to the citizens, to anyone who comes to ask for anything. . . ."

"I would say that in this process of rectification the two most impressive things are the people's reaction and the party's impressive work."

* * *

The following speech is reprinted from the Dec. 13, 1987, English-language *Granma Weekly Review*. The subheads are by the *Militant*.

Fidel Castro

Comrades:

Our voluntary work today is about to end. I really shouldn't have much to say. I've spoken many times during these past three days, giving my opinions, views, ideas on almost all the things we discussed. I think that our people have also participated in a way through the television in the remarks and ideas that have been discussed here. And since three days can't be summed up on the news, which lasts just a few minutes, I imagine that on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday the television and, of course, the press will give our population the broadest coverage of our meeting.

None of us who have taken part in this event for three days can hide the fact that we're leaving here fully satisfied and with the highest opinion of our party's work, which was the subject of analysis in this meeting to draw a balance sheet. This is not unfounded satisfaction or something simply subjective; rather it stems from the conviction that we're working better, that we're really rectifying our mistakes, that we're moving ahead.

Comrades from all the provinces have been present at this meeting. We put a lot of emphasis on the idea of having the first secretaries of the party of every province and the special municipality of the Isle of Youth take part in

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

it, of having the largest possible number of Central Committee and Political Bureau members present, of having the state leaders and practically all the ministers here.

If any of them were absent, it was because either they had to leave to meet an unavoidable international commitment or they were out of the country. I know of some who arrived today before dawn, and when morning came, they were present at the meeting. And many others didn't want to miss it for any reason. Some had to leave and said it was painful for them not to be able to attend the meeting. Never before has a regional or provincial party event aroused so much interest, so much expectation.

We've also had the great honor of having with us here a delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, [Applause] presided over by Comrade Ribakov, who is taking part for the second time in one of our meetings. The first time was the Playa municipality meeting where he was so interested in our debates, in the meeting, in the contents of our discussions that I invited him again. I extended an invitation asking him to please come and take part with us in this provincial party meeting. [Applause]

In spite of the distance and the fact that he had to fly for nearly 30 hours to come to Cuba and return to the USSR, we had the great satisfaction of learning that he indeed was coming. He did come and participate.

Another highly symbolic thing is that we've had with us a delegation from a revolutionary party and a country so dear to us: representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua. [Applause]

They've come as our guests, not so much to observe our meeting but I'd say to take part as our close brothers, as members of the same family. [Applause]

I was telling Comrade Ribakov that if this meeting had been held 18 months ago — I was telling him this as I

we're going to adopt what some people are calling — and we must beware of abusing some terms — a triumphant attitude. There are those who abuse that term. Sometimes the term indeed has a meaning, but it can also become a swearword for there are those who are sorry to see the rectification process and long for the total negation of every success or bit of progress made by the people.

There are those who perhaps instinctively realized that the mistakes or negative tendencies would gradually weaken our people's revolutionary awareness, gradually weaken the revolution. There are those who imagined that the mistakes and negative tendencies would usher in petty bourgeois tendencies and possibilities, anti-socialism and anticommunism possibilities, and even reactionary and counterrevolutionary possibilities, given the fact that while there may be those who think they are revolutionaries and are not, there are also those who are reactionaries and don't know it, those who act on sheer instinct.

There are some *gusanillos* [maggots] around who think that this process of strong criticism and self-criticism signals the time to start to intervene in the name of bourgeois or liberal ideas, or in the name of petty-bourgeois dreams, or the time when the *gusanos* [worms], reactionaries, and counterrevolutionaries ought to take part in our debate. That's why it is very much in order to make clear that this debate, this criticism and self-criticism, is only open to revolutionaries acting from revolutionary positions [Applause]; to Marxist-Leninists acting from Marxist-Leninist positions; to socialists and Communists acting from socialist and communist positions. And let's make it clear that reaction, counterrevolution, and the petty-bourgeois spirit have nothing to participate in here.

It's good to make this point clear, to make clear what we are doing and from what positions.

Naturally our successes are painful to them: instinctively to those who don't know they are reactionary and

of those values and principles we defend, it is in that trust in man, in the people, in our party, in its members. It is the satisfaction of listening to the representatives of our party members and our excellent workers, whether from the bathroom and kitchen fixtures factory or the meat-packing plant, the Casa Blanca dry docks or the Enrique Varona enterprise, the Vanguardia Socialista plant or any of the many and, above all, important workplaces that used to be bastions and then began to go off course, to become deformed. For our discussions have centered not on workplaces where we were doing well or relatively well but above all in workplaces where we were doing badly,

“There is a new style, a new spirit, there is a new attitude. There is what we could call a revolution within the revolution . . .”

really badly, and they were becoming a symbol of deformation, mistakes, and negative tendencies.

It isn't that people have changed, it is that our ideas and work style have changed. This explains why many of the delegates said, “They're the same people, the same workers,” those from the bathroom and kitchen fixtures factory, with their big successes in such a short time; or from the dry docks; or the Enrique Varona enterprise; or the electronics factory, all of them now making great strides in the rectification process. They are the same workers from, say, the electronics factory where out of 1,900 men only one volunteered to cut cane in the sugar harvest, while now hundreds of them stay after work to do voluntary work.

Comrade Lázaro Vázquez reminded us of the time when tens of thousands of workers in the capital left for months at a time to work in the harvest in Camagüey, Ciego de Ávila, and all those other places, the senior high school students who left for many months to work in the harvest in the province of Matanzas, at a time when we didn't have a single harvester to cut and load cane, when we had to mobilize 350,000 workers to make the harvest. Amazing! And only one man would volunteer among 1,900 workers! At that rate the day might have come when we'd have one volunteer in 2,000 teachers to go on an internationalist assignment in Nicaragua, or one in 2,000 workers not on an internationalist assignment to teach, but to fulfill internationalist missions with great sacrifice and great risk thousands of kilometers from home.

If we'd traveled such an alienating course, such a distorting course, a course of individual selfishness, a course along which our values were being discarded — and along with our values, we were discarding our spirit of internal solidarity, our spirit of fraternity, both domestic and international, in a people such as ours, so enthusiastic, so militant, so full of patriotic and revolutionary virtues — we wouldn't have gone very far.

Voluntary work had languished

Voluntary work had languished, it had become something of a pastime for adults and youngsters, a formality, not like what we see today, this impressive phenomenon, this forcefulness, this miracle that is manifest in everything; in all of these things, precisely those that we are so proud of today, now that our attitudes have changed, and as the leader of the FEEM [Federation of Students in Intermediate Education] expressed, whose next congress is going to take place December 5–6, when she said: “If they give us materials, we'll repair the buildings ourselves. If they give us the resources, we won't need anyone to go there and do it.”

And perhaps, at this time, someone will have to go there to explain how the job is done, but soon they won't need anyone, because they're going to learn as much as any carpenter or any mason or any construction worker knows; with the spirit with which the workers speak of repairing their own factories; with the spirit with which the representatives of the Salvador Allende Hospital said that they didn't know if they should speak when construction work was being discussed or public health was being discussed, because they had become construction workers with the Communists at the vanguard, surgeons and all.

I've met them myself, I've seen them wearing their gloves and working eagerly, and I've felt more at ease. I agree with the principle Tania expressed. It would be nonsense to send surgeons to work in a permanent brigade; but the work the party is doing sending them for 10, 15 days, even a month at a time, to join the workers, not only to turn each building site into a school, but to satisfy the demand for development, which in turn becomes a school.

When I've met professionals involved in construction work, I've found them happy, like someone taking a break from a lifelong task to do something new; like someone who is proud when he is able to measure up to



Militant/Michael Baumann

Cuban workers repairing trains. At party congress, delegates described big strides forward in rectification process in those workplaces that had been symbols of depth of problems facing Cuban revolution.

explained to him some of the subjects, some of the characteristics of this meeting, what we were discussing and why — it would have been very tough, extremely tough, because we would have had to analyze the myriad of things going badly, the myriad of things that are now reflected in our recounting of the efforts made for the past 18 months, in our accounts of the battle waged for the past two years, since, I would say, the third congress of our party, but mainly since approximately a year and a half ago when the battle became more intense.

In our recollections many of those things came up, and I know of comrades who have expressed their amazement with these words: “We couldn't imagine how badly we were doing things.” But worse than doing things badly is doing them badly and not realizing it, doing things badly and thinking we're doing alright.

Thus, among the things mentioned here — it would be a long list — it is enough to recall the way we felt when we learned that our workers at Mambisa Shipping Lines, who transport cargo to and from our ports, were getting paid in dollars — just to mention one of the many calamities that are now becoming mere memories.

Reaction has nothing to participate in here

But this doesn't mean at all that we should think we're now working well, that everything is marvelous, or that

in bad faith to those who are consciously reactionary, to those whose skin shows a kind of allergy in large welts caused by everything that smacks of true socialism, true communism, true Marxist-Leninism. It causes them pain to see the revolution set things straight, to see the revolution advancing. Of course, they would want to deny the revolution everything and to have the criticism be made from a pessimistic, defeatist angle, to have the criticism made from a liberal bourgeois, petty-bourgeois angle.

But our criticism is, ought to be, and will always be made from a revolutionary angle, for we have enough honesty, enough dignity, and enough courage to subject others and ourselves to as much criticism as is necessary, no matter how harsh. But our criticism will always be made from an optimistic angle instead of from the pessimistic, despicable, perfidious angle taken by those who do not believe even in man, who do not believe even in themselves, but instead by those who do believe in man, who believe in the people, who believe in themselves.

It is not a criticism to make us bitter or to whip ourselves but to make rectifications, to make ourselves better, to move ahead, to right our mistakes, to consolidate and make our socialist, Marxist-Leninist, communist revolution progress. [Applause]

The source and essence of that satisfaction we have all experienced in the course of these days is the awareness

a worker carrying out a difficult chore, when he is able to do physical labor, when he is able to create with his hands and not only with his intelligence. I've seen them, I've seen them looking happy, and I've said: Look at the way they learn from the workers. What modesty! What a lesson in modesty: a party member, a surgeon or some other highly professional person working day and night with the bricklayers, the carpenters as assistants, as assistants! What a lesson in modesty!

This only happens in a revolution, but not just any revolution — but an extremely profound revolution. And what a lesson for the worker, how it encourages him, and how it teaches him when he sees the surgeon working as his modest assistant.

The day I went to the Salvador Allende Hospital, to one of the building sites — the one Marcos's contingent is working on — I was a witness to this, and I stopped to reflect on this because it was really very moving. The whole business has become a school for Communists; it really develops the feelings of equality and fraternity. How proud the worker feels and how proud the intellectual, the scientist, the professional feels.

What is it that has encouraged us, what is it that has given us confidence and optimism? Those very things. Because what we have here is something like a revelation, something clear and concrete: the spirit of solidarity or revolutionary awareness expressed in voluntary work is something more than an idea, it's something more beautiful than a feeling, it's something that makes the things one dreams of, things that seemed impossible, come true.

Ah! But if we lose that awareness, if we lose that spirit, what will we be left with? What will a small country confronted by imperialism be left with? What will a small country trying to build socialism out of underdevelopment, out of poverty, out of ignorance and lack of culture be left with? What was it left with? How could it defend itself? How could it develop?

The question is not just a matter of simple ideas, but of very concrete matters. Here we're astonished when the

“When I've met professionals involved in construction work, I've found them happy, like someone taking a break from a lifelong task to do something new . . .”

comrade from the Salvador Allende Hospital says that there were so many cellars and now they've converted them into useful facilities; when the workers from the Blas Roca Contingent tell us they have made 50 trips per truck and so many hundreds of meters of terrain have been leveled, or they've fulfilled so many production goals with such and such a rate of productivity or at such and such insignificant costs. Or when the comrade from the shoe factory tells us how many more pairs of shoes they've manufactured, when they tell us they've had a 26 percent increase in production with much better quality and fewer workers. Or when the workers from CENIC [National Scientific Research Center] tell us that their payroll dropped from 1,400 to 600, that they discussed it, and that the workers themselves analyzed how many surplus workers there were, how many should remain and how many should be given posts in other workplaces.

And all this isn't accomplished according to some arbitrary ruling decided by management without any worker consultation. When they tell us that they produce much more; or when in the bathroom and kitchen fixtures factory they tell us that they've produced millions of parts with half of the staff they had before, with the very same young workers who were already there; or when the dry dock workers tell us that they're going to produce 35 or 40 million a year with only a few more additional workers needed as construction work increases; or when in this enterprise they tell us that they're going to export so many millions to obtain hard currency, and in another they tell us they're going to reduce production costs.

Minibrigades' contribution

Then, when we start talking of figures, of millions, of billions of pesos — because Máximo said that next year Havana's minibrigades are going to produce approximately 300 million pesos' worth of construction work and that they're going to do so without spending an additional cent on salaries, with the same salaries we were paying those workers in their previous posts — we sometimes speak of economic miracles. And what kind of miracle is this? Without spending an additional cent on salaries they are going to produce 300 million pesos' worth of construction work?

Or take the case of Comrade Zita, who told us that in Marianao, the same workers from that phantom enterprise, the one that was producing income only because it stole and resold the materials at the same price as if they



Harvesting sugarcane in Cuba. In early years of revolution massive voluntary harvest brigades helped bring in cane crop. Prensa Latina

had been manufactured there, those very same workers not only work longer hours, and more hours over and above those, but the enterprise also has such and such a productivity rate and the workers are teaching the newcomers, who weren't studying or working.

Miracles are starting to appear, extraordinary figures; cases where they used to make 400 in eight months and now they're making 500 in three months. And in this way, one of the many agonies of a Third World country, such as the housing maintenance problem, and so on is going to be solved. And at incredibly low costs. I'm certain that the day we figure it all out, we'll discover that the minibrigade movement will be doing maintenance work at a cost of about 10 or eight times less, and if you think I'm exaggerating, then — and of this I'm certain — at a cost of at least six times less than what that housing maintenance enterprise could do it for even though it's cut back on much of the administrative staff and increased productivity.

All that, as I was saying, adds up to hundreds of millions and will add up to many billions nationwide. Billions of pesos! I believe that nationwide, by 1990, the minibrigades alone will be contributing approximately 800 million to the gross social product.

Now, if everyone does what the dry dock, the bathroom and kitchen fixtures factory, and the shoe factory are doing; if in the textile industry, the iron and steel industry, and the professionals in the construction industry; if in the agricultural sector, where the eight-hour workday is divided in two shifts; the spirit of voluntary work were to spread among the hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers, among the hundreds of thousands of industrial workers, then what would the production figures add up to?

It can be done with practically the same salaries, or better salaries, like the ones the agricultural workers are going to earn as a result of a decision of the revolution, which is something absolutely fair, because we thought we could have agriculture when we were offering ridiculous salaries in the midst of social changes whereby men and women had every kind of opportunity. Who was going to stay on the land, growing sugar, growing rice or vegetables, producing milk or meat with ridiculous salaries? One of the things we've accomplished during this rectification process is to raise the wages of those agricultural workers who were at the bottom of the scale by 40 percent, just like we raised the wages of hospital workers who play a role in patient care, those who aren't doctors or nurses but who have to do the washing, the cleaning, and tend to the patients' basic needs.

In this rectification process, we've also witnessed social justice; social justice of the kind that has corrected a certain tendency to raise high incomes to earn up to 1,000 pesos, and their wages bore no relation to their productivity, and meanwhile humble workers were earning 100, 102, 105 pesos. Much has occurred in this rectification process.

Not simply a matter of ideas

But I was saying that if things are done as they should be, this movement can result in thousands of millions, without raising wages except in those cases that are justified. The money comes out of the salaries that were being earned, but we weren't producing enough; it comes out of correct, fair, and rational production norms.

Let me ask a question: Could anyone have imagined that the minibrigades alone — and the minibrigade movement in the country may well be made up of about 70,000, maybe 80,000 workers at some time — would be capable of producing 800 million? And they barely make up 5 percent of the workforce in the production sector. I believe that if 5 percent of the workers in the production sector is capable of producing 800 million, and if that style, if that spirit was to spread to the workers throughout the country, how many more billions would our efforts in this process of rectification represent? Therefore, it's not simply a matter of ideas and awareness. It's a case of ideas and awareness becoming facts and producing considerable concrete results.

I've talked about the production sector. But let us consider the outcome if the spirit characterizing the minibrigades became that of the teachers, the workers in the health sector, the workers in the services? The young comrade representing the FEEM said she's satisfied with what the teachers are doing now, the pleasure of seeing them working nights with the students; studying, upgrading themselves, and raising the standards of education. Imagine if this spirit were to spread to the workers in the health sector — as indeed is the case — this spirit of working, solving problems, and building things, taking care of the citizens, taking care of the sick. How could one calculate the value of the people's well-being and satisfaction in monetary terms?

Capitalist countries calculate the economic value of social services. That is, they attribute a monetary value to these services. What would be the monetary value in a developed country of the educational services we've talked about, the health services we've talked about, which are the product of the work carried out by hundreds

“The whole business has become a school for Communists; it really develops the feelings of equality and fraternity . . .”

of thousands, the product of the efforts made by approximately 600,000 fellow citizens? How much would they be worth if they were quality services? If you will, let's use money as the yardstick like the capitalists do. In terms of quality and quantity, how many billions would these services be worth?

What were we referring to when we talked of the health sector today? Things that would have seemed unreal in the past, things that seem unreal in a Third World country today, not only seem unreal but indeed are unreal! Things which indeed are unreal in many developed countries, in many industrialized capitalist countries.

When we talk of the family doctor who is there to care for every family, both the doctor and the nurse who are practically at the doorstep of every citizen's home, caring for the people's health, and already hardly anyone has to go to the polyclinic unless it's to see a specialist. But as these family doctors become comprehensive general medicine graduates, even the visits to the polyclinics to see specialists will diminish. Our polyclinics will have to

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be staffed by superspecialists because within a few years, the family doctors will become so qualified that the specialists in the polyclinics will no longer be needed. Obviously, each family doctor office won't be equipped with laboratory facilities and X-ray equipment, and patients will still go to the polyclinics for these technical services.

What Comrade María Cristina was talking about is unreal, but not unreal in a country like Haiti or any other in Latin America, including the wealthiest nations. What's all this about? If we were to tell them about physiotherapy gymnasiums, they'd ask us what we were talking about. Physiotherapy gymnasiums are a service that is provided in a polyclinic, and most likely quite soon about 400 of our polyclinics will be providing this service. This would mean treatment for more than 200,000 patients in Havana in three months or more than 1 million people in the entire country.

But here we talk about these things as if they were normal. No sooner do we hear about them than we start to think about making them available on a large scale, to make these services available to the masses, to see how many specialists in sports medicine and rehabilitation we would need, as the minister of public health said. And right away we started to calculate how many square meters we'd need and whether the blueprints of the new polyclinics had space for these services, whether they should include them or provide them in an annex. All this would be nothing but a dream in other parts of the world.

Just take a look at the United States — the United States, the wealthy empire — and see whether they talk in these terms, whether they discuss these things. Maybe the multimillionaires do. There are grandiose clinics for the few. But what we're talking about here are services for an entire population. Let Dotres speak up and tell us about how many operations his team did in just 13 months, how they introduced new techniques and accelerated the process, how they've become more efficient, how they've managed to save hundreds of lives. He wasn't talking about appendectomies, which are the kind of operations that are talked about, if at all, in Third World countries. He was talking about cardiovascular surgery on children, open heart surgery with or without extracorporeal circulation.

The comrade from the Centro Habana Children's Hospital talked about transplants and the need to form multidisciplinary teams for transplant operations, the need to use heart, lung, liver, and kidney transplant techniques on children.

You realize that this is unrealistic — if we'd discussed this 10 years ago, it would certainly have seemed unrealistic — completely unrealistic in any other Latin American or Third World country.

And when we were told about the Ecuadoran children whose lives were saved, for us it's not extraordinary. Those children were going to die, and it occurred to the parents to ask for help at our embassy; actually in this case that isn't exactly what happened. Representatives of government institutions approached our embassy, and one of our planes coming back from Peru stopped over in Ecuador and brought the children to Havana. And you yourselves are witnesses to the excellent progress they're making.

The parents wrote us a letter, a really touching letter, and the final paragraph reads: "You can do what others can't." I asked Dotres what they meant by that, and he explained that the parents had asked many for help and the response was always that it couldn't be given. That sentence means that Cuba said yes, that it could provide



Left, deteriorated housing in Old Havana. Right, new model housing constructed in 1980. Minibrigades are key

help. Cuba solved the problem, and Cuba saved their lives. Not only were their lives saved, but the doctors have managed to do plastic surgery on the affected areas of their bodies. This has become something of a symbol of solidarity, but we didn't do this for the publicity. We did it because these are normal and natural occurrences in our country.

According to what I read, one of the parents had run up a debt of about \$10,000 in just the first few days. They came to Cuba. Any Cuban child who suffers a similar accident or any other kind is immediately taken care of, and this doesn't surprise anybody. It's the most natural thing in the world, but nobody would even dare dream of such things in other societies!

We will have doctors

Our comrade from the Centro Habana Children's Hospital talks of the multiple injuries ward that we should have in the immediate future. In any other part of the Third World this would be talked about as a project for the year 2025, and here this ambitious aim is proposed as something possible, and we discuss whether we should have one, two, three, or four. And a specialist says to us:

that could be too many because we have to have a highly specialized staff on duty all the time.

I thought about it: if in Havana, with 2 million inhabitants we would need three or four, in Matanzas we'd need at least one and another one in Cienfuegos, one in every province, in due time.

We will have doctors. Yes, we're beginning to have the doctors we want, and good doctors at that.

As productivity increases, more citizens can go into the services, and if a doctor has to be on emergency duty, we will have a doctor on emergency duty. If we're short of two centers, we'll have two centers. If we can only have one for the time being, we'll have one only, and maybe ambulances; and when it's possible, we'll have two, three, or four. But these things are discussed here as a routine way.

We could have talked about other programs. Dotres explained the methodology and program for detecting congenital heart deformities that are incompatible with life or compatible with life. If they are incompatible with life, stop the pregnancy in the first weeks, don't stop the pregnancy at eight or seven months; stop it after three or four months.

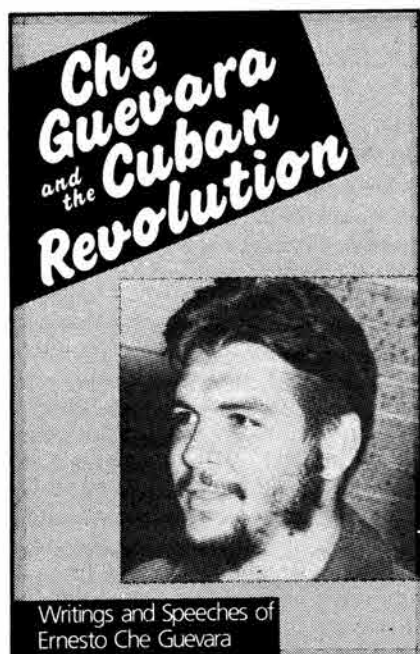
We could have given news of the polyclinics with family doctors where there's not one case of infant mortality, although cases of infant mortality don't only depend on medical attention. There are cases where survival is impossible, a polyclinic cannot save them. But the zero rate means that any child who went there got optimum attention because in no one case where survival was possible has a death occurred in the first year of life.

I always ask in the polyclinics: How many deaths have there been, three, two, five? What were the causes? I find that many were congenital problems, where survival was not possible. But now these cases, where survival is impossible, and which so traumatize the parents, whether they be congenital heart deformities or some other kind of deformity, will no longer occur, because it will be possible to stop the pregnancy in time. Even this is a sophisticated program. I can assure you that many developed countries don't have this kind of program.

And if we see that these marvels can be achieved with our work, how and with what does a Third World country achieve them? It's clear that Cuba achieves them through work, although an important part of the necessary resources comes from the excellent economic relations we have with the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union; but we're not exempt from the damage caused by the world economic crisis, especially with regard to all those resources we have to import from other parts of the world.

Nevertheless, how can we do these things? If we work hard. If we work hard we can do what we want. If we make optimum use of the resources we have today; but

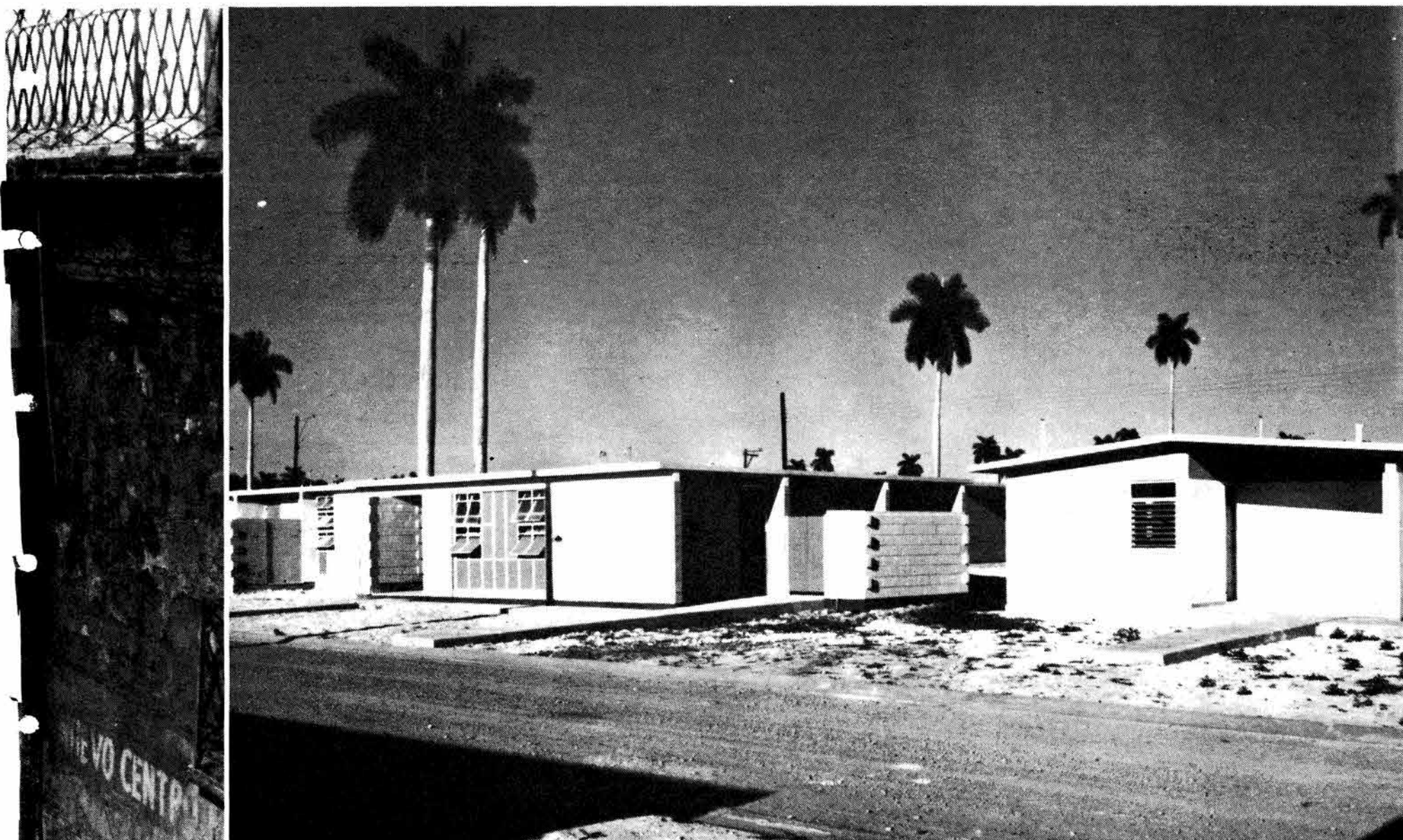
New!



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

As part of the rectification process going on in Cuba today, Castro has urged a deeper study of Guevara's political and economic ideas. Published 20 years after his 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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Militant/Elizabeth Stone

overcoming Cuba's housing shortage. They project building 13,000 new units this year.

not to be idle, to loaf, to drift, to waste time.

We were straying from the right track, if we were ever 100 percent on it. We can't say we were ever 100 percent right, but, indeed, sometimes more than others, without so many mistakes. What can we not achieve if we take the right road? If we make the right choices, if we do things in the best possible way, or try to, we can obtain almost all we want.

And I maintain that this battle for rectification is a battle of ideas, but ideas that can bear fruit and produce basic things for our people's future, which can be transformed into material wealth — material wealth! — that can be transformed into goods and services of quality and quantity for our people. This means to say that in this time of international crisis and in the year of most difficulty for our country, when our hard currency imports have had to be reduced to half of what was considered the indispensable minimum and almost a quarter of what we imported in 1984, today solutions are starting to appear everywhere: ways of saving hard currency, ways of obtaining hard currency, ways of substituting imports and such and such a thing. In the most difficult year, we're starting to see the results of these ideas converted into realities.

And in what way, without these ideas, without this rectification, would we be building 50 day-care centers? In what way, if there was no way to build a day-care center, if the state, the central government, and the party leadership had arrived at the conclusion that indeed a day-care center was needed in Guanabacoa. I want you to know, comrades, that the state, the government, and the party could make no decision on building a day-care center in Guanabacoa because there was no work force, no spirit, no building capacity, there was no building capacity!

To appeal to MICONS [Ministry of Construction] and say to them as the ministry in charge of building, please build a day-care center in Guanabacoa because there's a new factory — call it the bathroom and kitchen fixture factory if you like — that needs a work force and doesn't have it or has a crisis on its hands because 200 women have to pay 60, 70, or 80 pesos plus food, to have their children looked after, MICONS couldn't build a single day-care center, not one! Because simply to ask them to build a day-care center was enough to make them faint. You ran the risk of causing the fellow at the head of the institution to collapse, to have a fainting fit, anything, a syncope, swooning, anything.

How can you ask such a terrible thing, to build a day-care center in Guanabacoa with all the commitments we already have and all the projects that we never finish.

And if they said: Very well, we are going to build a day-care center in Guanabacoa in a disciplined fashion, you could be sure that it could very well take three years,

or four years, and that afterwards they would say: Well, this hospital wasn't finished, or this factory, or this or that, because we had to build a day-care center in Guanabacoa. These were the methods we called technocratic, bureaucratic, giving up on the people, giving up on voluntary work.

"This zero, don't put it on the right, put it on the left," a one with a zero on the left, unless you add a period, means nothing; if you put the zero on the right, it says 10. But such an elementary calculation, for the technocrats, the bureaucrats, those who believe themselves to be revolutionaries without knowing that they are totally reactionary, put the zero on the left, and the difference between a revolution and degeneration lies in putting the people on the right or the left. If you put them on the right, they multiply. [Applause]

Put the zero on the left and not on the right and the day-care center will not be built in Guanabacoa or anywhere else, nor will the bathroom and fixture factory be repaired, nor the dry dock or anything else. Throw voluntary work to one side, throw awareness to one side, try to solve everything with money and what we'll have is Miami, not Havana. We'll have capitalism, we'll never have socialism, much less communism.

It's not that we scorn monetary rewards or even the socialist method of payment. The leader of the Blas Roca Contingent said it here; they said they didn't want pay for extra hours, they didn't want this and they didn't want that, and I said no to them. They said they didn't want bonuses. I agree that's something else. But I say to them: We're going to pay you the hours you work, and we're going to pay you according to your qualifications — the truck driver, the bulldozer driver, or any other kind of driver — we'll apply the following formula: they will receive socialist remuneration and will work with a communist spirit. That is to say, we understand realistically; we don't ask a worker to sacrifice himself for the sake of it, and we're not only thinking of the worker, but also of his wife, his children, his family, his needs, and the problems he can solve with additional income.

We have to combine two things

This is not the case with the minibrigades. They are working 10 hours, sometimes 11 and 12. I'm speaking of workers who are doing 12 hours, 14 hours, 16 hours. The minibrigade workers are on their factories' payroll. It would be chaotic to tell them: Look, we're going to put you on a long payroll, we're going to pay you by the hour. It's perfectly right that minibrigade members, as a rule, work for the salaries they earn at the factory and for the state to compensate the factories, which isn't true for the intensive work forces grouped into contingents who practically become building professionals for an indefinite period of time. The good thing about the minibrigade is that the worker doesn't feel isolated from his work-

place, from the factory; he doesn't become a professional construction worker; he goes to the minibrigade for as long as he wants, maybe even for 10 years, but he knows he can return to the factory whenever he wishes. If one day he wants to go back to the factory for good, he goes back.

As for the contingents I was talking about that are given special work, we've practically made construction professionals out of them. But I want to tell you very realistically that we're using a socialist form of payment, but with a communist work spirit. We have to combine those two things: socialist remuneration and communist work spirit.

You heard what was said here about the young contingent that worked on the El Gato aqueduct. They worked at any time of the day or night, and they were earning the salaries they earned at the factory.

Here we've seen some of these problems. I was saying that we're going to carefully study this business of salary by agreement that causes so many complications and problems. I say don't touch it. We can do tests in an organized manner on some work projects. When subjective factors are created in the worker, you can do anything, because the workers' response is always the best one. It's always excellent. But what would we have done if we hadn't appealed to these mass methods, revolutionary methods, if we hadn't brought the minibrigades back to life.

Now we don't build a day-care center in a year. One day-care center seems ridiculous to us. Now we say 50. And it was going to take us 50 years to build 50, not only because there was no manpower but because there was no brain power either. There was no power of imagination.

Those who advocated reactionary ideas within the revolution argued that building a day-care center was a social expense. Social expenses were no good, investing in production was good; as if those who work in the factories were bulls and cows, horses and mares, male and female mules and not human beings, not men and women with their problems, especially women with their problems. But this was their reasoning: social expenses on this side and investment in production on the other. But they were left alone with their factory, because production is impossible without people. . . . The Spaniard said it — and it was really moving for our Spanish friend to tell us that one has to deal with man. You have to ask him how he spent his honeymoon, how his son is, ask him about his problems, because as he sees it, all that is essential, to be concerned with people. And the last straw is that capitalists understand how necessary it is to show concern for people when there are ideas or ways of thinking that are supposedly socialist that ignore the need to concern oneself with people.

And whenever they say no day-care center, you can be

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sure there is a technocratic, bureaucratic, reactionary concept at work. They are denying the reality of a day-care center that costs 225,000 or 250,000 pesos. Now we're building them with no additional salary expenses, with no salary expenses at all, with the work of the minibrigades, the students, the elderly like Juana Alonso or Petra. Juana Alonso has 600 hours of work to her credit at the age of 75. The question of her age was clarified at lunchtime. I said: "They're always changing your age, sometimes they say 70, other times it's 73, other times 76." She replied: "I was born in 1912." "On what day?" I believe she said on June 6, 1912. So she is 75.

With this citizen's work, with the work of the minibrigades, and without affecting production, we are now building 50. And every one of these low-cost day-care centers means 210 women joining the production line or the services as highly skilled workers, or as technicians, professionals, doctors, engineers, project designers — and they're young. Grandmothers don't need day-care centers, young women need them.

It didn't enter the technocrat's head that day-care centers were essential to production and the services, and that housing and day boarding schools were also essential to production and the services, and that housing and day boarding schools were also essential to socioeconomic development.

Of course, their misconceptions have been corrected.

The reactionary technocrats also had trouble with their ideas on other things. Everything seemed wrong to them; in fact the school-goes-to-the-countryside program was very wrong because it clashed with the scheme of things.

I explained this to the Latin American economists the other day.¹ When they asked me what the rectification

“The spirit of revolutionary awareness expressed in voluntary work makes the things one dreams of, that seemed impossible, come true . . .

process was, I gave them a long explanation. And I didn't explain everything, I explained something of the mess we had here. Nothing fit in with the technocrat's plans. They'd have wound up paying youngsters piecework rates for studying and producing according to agreements. I don't know what they would have been capable of doing even with a young adolescent.

Minibrigades built 600 doctor home-offices

I was saying that we're now building 50 day-care centers, the same number they were going to build before, but it was going to take 50 years, because there were five scheduled for this five-year period, and at that rate it was going to take 100 years to meet the needs of 19,500 children and more. Now we have these marvelous minibrigades, and they'll build 100 day-care centers in two years and another 300 in the rest of the country in three years. Three hundred day-care centers! That's miraculous, isn't it? Three hundred day-care centers in the other provinces, 400 in all. We'll have 84,000 mothers in the workforce in production and the services. All that in four years, but in Havana we'll build about 100 in just two years to meet the demand.

And, mind you, we're only talking about one thing, day-care centers. No one fainted, no one lost consciousness, it didn't cause a major crisis. And just in Guanabacoa, three day-care centers were finished in just a few months. I asked the comrade from the party whether the three would meet all the needs for next year. He told me they'd need one more. I said, "Include it, man, what difference does one more make." We went over to Plaza municipality and found out that two more were needed there. So I said to the comrade there: "Put them in the plan, include them. If we can build 50, then we can build 53 or 55, and that's no exaggeration." I asked her: "Have you got the manpower?" She said, "Yes." "Can you do it?" "Yes!" "Then don't worry, we'll give you the materials you need to build them." That's why you saw me arguing so much at the meeting about building materials, because that's the key issue. The materials have to be available.

In this year alone the minibrigades have built 600 family doctor home-offices and are now building 11 special education schools, and very soon they'll be working on 24. Comrade Zoila was telling us that she now had 60 little schools scattered around, and I can well imagine what 60 little schools for children with behavior problems

1. On Nov. 23-26, 1987, the Third Congress of the Latin American and Caribbean Economists Association (AEALC) was held in Havana at the International Conference Center, the same place the City of Havana provincial Communist Party meeting was held. Castro held a dialogue with the delegates at the closing session of the conference.



Haitian workers. For the impoverished of Haiti and other Third World countries, Cuba's accomplishments in health care, education, and housing are examples of what can be achieved through revolution.

spread around the city means. Zoila is now a rich woman. When we asked how many special educational schools were needed, after studying the matter, the province answered 24. We have schools for children with visual problems, for physically handicapped children, children with hearing problems, and schools for children with behavior problems are also needed. If a child with behavior problems doesn't get the proper education, he may well become a delinquent instead of a worker like the kind described here by the principal of the Makarenko School. So our comrades said they needed 24 schools, and that's exactly what they'll get.

Now, tell me, without this rectification process, could Havana have approached the Ministry of Construction and People's Power² and have said to them: "Listen, my dearest friends and comrades, for the love of God — not even for the love of Marx, Engels, or Lenin, but for the love of God [Applause] — could you please build in two years the 24 special education schools we need?" It may well be that right at that moment they began to come to the conclusion — and not without reason — that we had all gone crazy. If we asked them for one they said no, they couldn't do it, they really just could not do it because they didn't have the labor force, they had nothing. They were totally demoralized. Now it turns out, when we asked how many day-care centers were needed, they said 100, based on the applications they had, and we told them to build half of what they needed this year, 50; 100 in two years — but not just 100 day-care centers in two years, 24 special education schools as well.

They were asked: "How many run-down polyclinics do you have functioning in dilapidated houses that are good for nothing and are now providing poor services

“One of the things accomplished during this rectification process is to raise the wages of those agricultural workers who were at the bottom of the scale . . .

and that lack even the most basic material conditions?" "Twenty." "Build them." Furthermore, we then told the minibrigades: "Listen, can you build 600 family doctor home-offices in 600 different places in just a few months for immediate occupancy by the 600 doctors who are joining the program, or rather the 500, plus those who had joined the family doctor program before but hadn't been assigned their home-office, so that they can have their home-offices?" "Yes." In a twinkling of an eye, they began looking for the sites, found them, got the manpower organized under the leadership of the party and People's Power, using the people, using the citizens.

Imagine if we were to say to any one of those few enterprises under the Ministry of Construction that never completed anything they began — and let me tell you, it's not a problem of individuals, I really mean it, it's a problem of conceptions; conceptions can make men impotent, incapable of solving problems — that they had to

2. People's Power is the Cuban system of elected representative assemblies on the local, regional, and national levels.

build 600 family doctor home-offices, what would have happened? What do you think would have happened? Can you just imagine the conversation? A meeting of the Political Bureau where a decision is taken to call the minister of construction and the president of People's Power to tell them under the conditions existing at that time: You have to build 600 family doctor home-offices. Just that. Not to mention the crazy idea of telling them: Listen, you have to expand the González Coro Hospital, the Neurosurgery Institute, the Cardiology Institute, so many beds and so on; you have to build an intensive care

“Throw voluntary work to one side, throw awareness to one side, try to solve everything with money and what we'll have is Miami, not Havana . . .

ward and such and such a number of operating rooms at the Salvador Allende Hospital; you have to expand this here and that over there; and you have to do all of this now, without delay. What would have happened? What would those comrades have thought?

We must be prepared to meet problems

So, we had led our revolution into not being able to build even a single family doctor home-office, a single day-care center. Is that a revolution? What kind of revolution is that? Impotence, a parody of socialism. Yes, it's correct to make a plan — we ought to have plans, the best! — but life itself creates new problems, life is constantly creating new problems. We must be prepared to meet the new problems. We can't act with a straitjacket on, we must always have reserves, of course. It is in the people where our huge reserves lie, our most important reserves, namely, our labor force, for work creates wealth; yes, work creates it, and we have a huge reserve.

Naturally, we need materials. But we get materials also from work. Work gives us the element that makes the investment possible or makes the investment pay off. We might have a shortage of certain resources to buy something, but then we tell the workers: We must create more resources to be able to buy this or that. You heard the example set by the workers of tourist hotels; penny by penny they contributed \$10,000 that can be used perhaps to buy equipment to prepare meals for the minibrigades. Yes, we must invest, for that alone we must invest several hundreds of thousands to equip the 245 kitchens for the minibrigades in the capital in 1988.

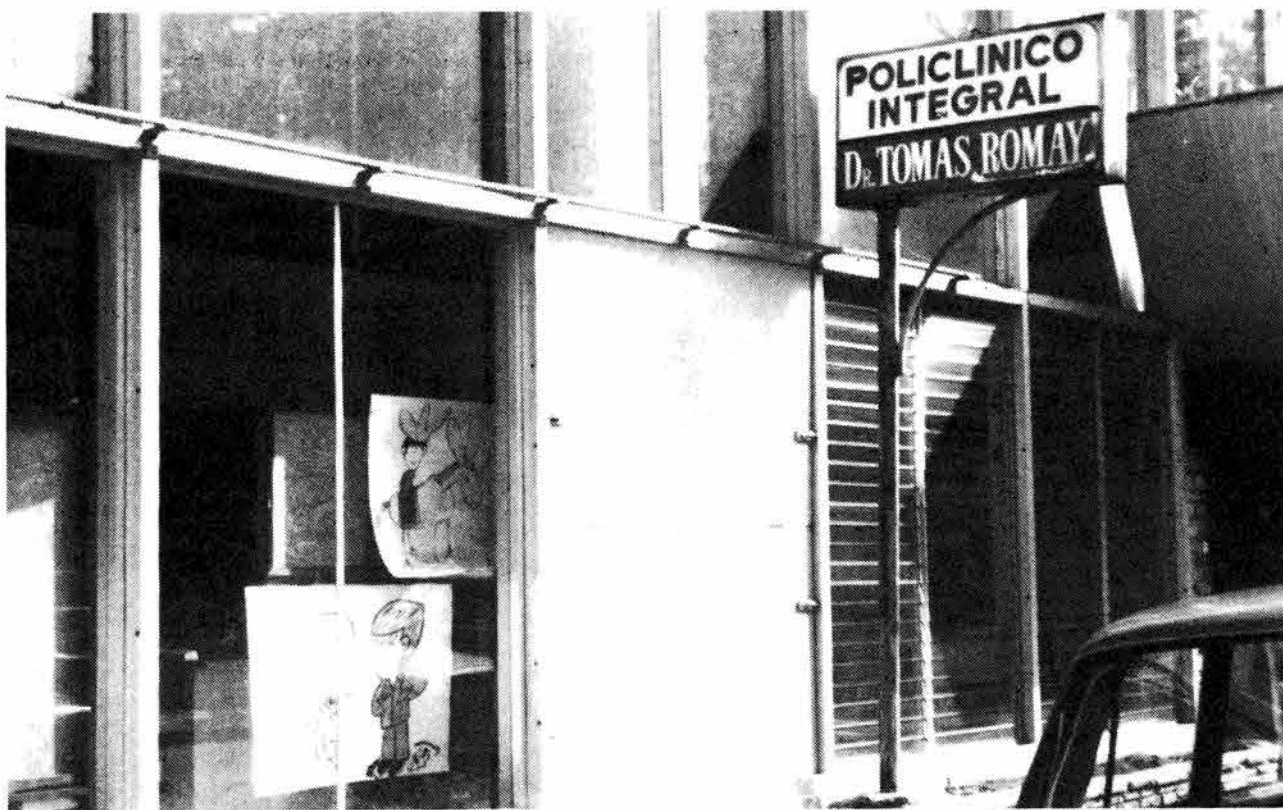
Well, we'll use the \$10,000 for day-care centers or something else, maybe a therapeutic gym. We'll see how best to use the money. But those workers created a resource there. If we say to them that we must earn much more from tourism — as I said at the minibrigades meeting — if we don't have the resources, we must create them. And we have many ways of creating more resources if everyone works hard at their jobs, because at the bathroom and kitchen fixtures factory, for example, we can expect to get \$2 million worth of exports that we hadn't counted on. Tourism workers can earn more for the country by treating tourists well and working better. Oil workers can produce more oil and agricultural workers more sugarcane. Citrus fruit workers can produce more fruit. And everyone else in their own sphere can do the same. We can all create more resources for investments and the expenditures necessary on materials and equipment.

All this means that we'll have to use a bit more fuel, but by saving on fuel, we can obtain the amount we need. By working better, we can have all the oil needed for those plans. In the final analysis, this means more fuel used, but not much.

Yes, the additional 1.4 million tons of cement we'll have by 1990 compared to 1986 will call for about 200,000 tons of oil to produce. About 200,000 tons of oil is the yearly increase our oil drillers are now producing.

A single thermoelectric power plant, the one in Matanzas, will save 70,000 tons of oil. This is what we're saving in a new project, provided we finish it quickly. When the nuclear plant in Cienfuegos starts up, we'll be saving 2.5 million tons of oil. You will readily understand that if 1.4 million tons of cement are essential for all these programs we're going to have throughout the country, producing them with the dry process won't come to 150,000 tons of oil and in a wet process plant, 200,000 tons. It has been shown that if we don't have the resources, we can create them ourselves. And so you see all the things that can be done.

When Máximo read us the program for the next year, we were really impressed. In essence he said: 13,000 housing units; 50 day-care centers, which will end up being 55 approximately; finishing the 24 special schools, the 20 polyclinics, the 600 home-offices, which will be bigger; 28 bakeries — building a single one would have thrown the Ministry of Construction into a crisis, and yet



Polyclinic in Havana

Militant/Matilde Zimmermann

the minibrigades can afford the luxury of building 28 in one year.

And Máximo said that they'll also be working on the neurological hospital, the González Coro Hospital, etc., etc., etc. And he went on to say that in addition they're working on a facility that is not often mentioned, but it is a giant, the National Exhibition Center, which will do a great job in illustrating to the children, illustrating to the population — and firing people's interest in — the country's economic, social, scientific, and technical progress. It is a big project where the minibrigades are doing a lot of things and building a lot of facilities. I imagine that next year they will be working on close to 1,500 or 1,600 job sites in the capital all at once.

But what does this mean, what does it all mean? It means that we can imagine the type of city we wish to have and say: What kind of city do we want by the year 2000 — and the year 2000 is not so far ahead — how many dwellings do we need in the capital? I'm just referring to the capital; we must never forget, not even for a second, that everything that's being done here, everything we began to do in 1987 is exactly what we'll begin to do in the rest of the country in 1988.

Development programs for tourism

That's why the question of building materials is so serious, because it involves meeting the capital's demand and that of the rest of the country. By 1990 we should be even in the whole country. That year will be the fourth year of the work of the minibrigades in the capital and the third year of their work and of similar programs in the rest of the nation.

In some provinces, if there is a surplus in the labor force, we'll give them jobs and pay them a salary. That is, in the eastern provinces the minibrigades won't carry the same weight at the beginning because we'll provide employment for many youngsters. But we'll certainly need young construction workers to do other jobs. Young

“We'll build a new city — modern, functional, beautiful . . .”

construction workers have a lot of work ahead because we have many other programs for them, including regional development programs related to tourism in excellent spots in the country, ideally suited to tourism.

We're about to start developing a cay near Ciego de Ávila; Santa Lucía Beach, the beaches in the northeastern region of Oriente, and Santiago de Cuba's southern coast. In short, countless possibilities are mushrooming, important ones, extremely important possibilities to develop the tourist industry. That is, we'll go about it by means of joint ventures given that tourism is a very special business, unlike the nickel industry, the sugar industry, or the machine industry. There are foreign organizations that have the capital. And, besides, they have experience and, above all, they control the tourist market.

It's the sort of activity where setting up jointly-owned enterprises is easy, convenient, and useful. And these possibilities are beginning to mushroom.

We don't yet know whether, over and above the social program we're discussing, we'll have to quickly build entire hotel chains. Judge for yourselves whether or not we need to go on perfecting construction work, raising our efficiency, because none of these hotels I'm talking about can be built like the one in El Ancón that took 14

years to complete. Each one of these hotels will have to be built in 18 months, 20 months, at the most 24 months. We have to acquire the know-how, the experience, so that we can design them quickly with the help of computers and build them fast.

Perhaps one day we'll have to start building hotels at the same pace we're building day-care centers. It's just a possibility, and we should be pleased because if our country, with close to \$600 million worth of imports from the hard currency area, is managing to get by this year, just imagine how much better we'd manage if the country had 500 million more available, 1 billion more, 2 billion more? I'm talking here about a dollar that's worth something, not that dollar which is worth less and less every day. Let's say the 1984, 1985 dollar. That's the dollar we use as a sort of foreign exchange yardstick. . . . Or else, we could talk about the yen, the lira, or the peseta but we'd go mad trying to figure it all out. We have no choice but to speak about hard currency in terms of the dollar, which has become the international currency.

Great possibilities are emerging. Naturally, we could never develop the tourist industry without this ongoing rectification process because otherwise it would be chaotic, pure chaos! Just imagine a hotel being operated like the bathroom and kitchen fixtures factory before it was straightened out. Can you imagine? Some 2,000 workers to look after some 100 tourists! What chaos, what a mess and what total lack of productivity, etc., etc.

If we indeed felt optimistic about developing numerous sectors, we certainly felt optimistic about this one because we felt we had a much more organized people, much more efficient, much more aware. Were we to mix tourism with our former low defenses, because our defenses were indeed dropping, we had no antibodies, we were suffering from a sort of AIDS. [laughter] Our technocrats and bureaucrats were suffering from and transmitting a sort of ideological AIDS, something similar to AIDS that was destroying the revolution's defenses. Now, if we raise our defenses, can we do it or can't we? Or are we going to allow ourselves to be bought off for a few dollars? [Applause] Are we going to just let anybody come here and buy us off for a few dollars and corrupt us? If we boost our defenses — and we're indeed boosting them — then we can make it. What with our people's capability, intelligence, and virtues, I'm convinced we can be gracious hosts to as many tourists as may be necessary.

If there should be a certain surplus of manpower in the eastern region, then in those provinces we can train many to become construction workers. That's why I was telling you that in the future those provinces may have to resort to minibrigades as much as possible. We may tell them: Look, all that labor force, made up of young people who've been recruited, let's use it to build hotels and tourist resorts. That is, it may be that at a given moment even the eastern provinces will have to resort to minibrigades to the utmost to build public works because we asked them to give us that labor force to build works of a different nature. If we have to build them, we may well send 10,000 men to work on a cay, to build something there, and another 10,000 somewhere else. It may add up to tens of thousands doing construction work with the same spirit displayed by the Blas Roca Contingent.

You tell me. If we work with the spirit that characterizes the Blas Roca Contingent, or that of the men working on the Julio Díaz or the Salvador Allende hospitals, can we or can we not build hotels? Can we or can we not? [Applause] If we work with the same spirit we're de-

manding of the workers at the Miguel Enríquez Hospital or Antillana de Acero Steelworks, can we or can we not build new hospitals? Can we or can we not build new factories? [Applause] If we work with the same spirit as those involved in the El Gato aqueduct, can we or can we not tackle anything? If we work with the spirit of the minibrigade workers who are putting up the 50 day-care centers, can we or can we not do anything we set our minds on?

It's all up to us. Whose fault was it? Are we forever going to blame imperialism for our stupidities? Imperialism has a lot to be blamed for already, and we don't need to blame imperialism for our own faults, those exclusively attributable to our own shortcomings. Is socialism advancing or not? Is our country developing or is it not, with this new spirit?

Minibrigade workers: vanguard of movement

Imagine what it'll be like when we have 30,000 minibrigade workers, or even 40,000 — we don't know what the limit is to what we can do — with the plans that we have for the capital. A time will come when we have more than we need, or more than we have the materials for. Imagine if of the capital's 800,000 workers, the other 750,000 worked with the same spirit as the minibrigade workers wherever they might be; in a school, in a factory, in a hospital, in any kind of workplace. That's why I say we're only just starting.

Obviously the minibrigade workers have become the vanguard of this movement, because of their nature, their response, their enthusiasm, and everyone joining. Now look at this, the students saying, 'Give us materials, hand over the materials, we're going to build, to repair the whole school.' And maybe we'll also get them building schools, not just repairing them, because some need repairing and others need to be built from scratch. Some have to be built in the country. We already spoke to Comrade Máximo about this, which he didn't mention when he took the floor, but we're going to form about four

“What would we have done if we hadn't appealed to these mass methods, revolutionary methods, if we hadn't brought the minibrigades back to life . . .”

brigades to build senior high schools in the countryside.

We have a lot of senior high schools in the capital. Some of them have 2,500 students. Do you think that a senior high school with 2,500 students can function? Do you believe anyone can direct it, that a group of teachers can be efficient in those circumstances?

We think that the junior high school students should stay in the city, but many could do their senior high school studies in the countryside. I'm not talking of sending them far away, to Pinar del Río or Matanzas but to Havana Province. The root and garden vegetable production plans for the capital have been increased by 6,710 hectares [1 hectare = 2.47 acres], and are still increasing. I asked the comrades in education and agriculture to figure out how many schools will fit into an area of about 530 hectares, an area where a school with 500 students could be built bearing in mind the growing production plans we have for vegetables in the city, for all those vegetable gardens in the capital that we're going to create and that are going to function with computer programs — as I explained — that'll indicate each item to be planted.

Thirty-six schools could be built. Ah! It's because we need schools, because even the comrades who do their military service, who afterwards sign up for a course, need schools of this kind. And we have around 15,000 or 16,000 senior high school students in the capital. It's the only province with such a high percentage of senior high school students in the city. And we have excellent senior high schools in the countryside, but with 700 students, which is too many. The Che Guevara had 700 students. The Che Guevara is the school where that young girl who spoke at the Young Communist League Congress studied, Johanna Tablada, who impressed everybody. She studied at that senior high school. I visited it with a Soviet delegation, and I found out there were 700 students there, 700 in a school for 500!

How many schools are needed? They say about 36. They would all fit into Havana Province.

Nevertheless, there's another little program I didn't mention, nor did Máximo talk about it: we're going to organize four minibrigades to build about two schools per brigade every year in the countryside. Thus, even this little problem will be solved.

Obviously, they're a bit far away. The capital's senior high school students can't help us to build these schools. They'll have to work on the ones here. But in the city, we're going to build quite a few schools, quite a few in the city. We're not just going to repair the ones that need

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repairing. Many have to be built, but possibly also 36 senior high schools in the countryside, situated in approximately 6,500 hectares recently allotted for vegetables for the city. We'll see if we look back on the days of the free farmers' market³ with envy when we do things well and in a revolutionary fashion, in a socialist fashion.

In the capital we have important plans, not just the ones we've mentioned, not those alone. And they've demonstrated our ability to do what we want to do, simply that.

I could say more. With this movement we are creating the ability to do what we want when we want. You al-

“It didn't enter the technocrat's head that day-care centers were essential to production . . .”

ready know what the limits are, but here, to everyone's satisfaction, it was possible to find out what efforts are being made regarding building materials production. Because we all know, and I will say it once again, that that is what can stop us — not the work force, but the lack of materials.

I spoke of maybe needing thousands of youngsters from the eastern provinces, and not to come and build in Havana. What you have here is something like a loan. At the Antillana de Acero Steelworks and some places like that there are even people from Pinar del Río, people from Sancti Spiritus, from wherever.

In Siberia we have a joint enterprise with the Soviets, and we're going to send 8,000 or 10,000 Cubans to work there. They're going to produce the wood the country needs for building, for furniture, and other uses. Therefore we need our manpower, believe me. And the more manpower we have, the more we can develop economically and the more we can develop socially, if our plans are intelligent. And the best thing about all this is that we're not cutting back on development plans at all.

You've seen for yourselves how we've taken out tens of thousands of workers and, nevertheless, workplaces are producing more and of better quality. We've seen that in each one of the workplaces with problems that we've looked at. They may have problems because they're short of a raw material, or because some particular resource is not at hand, or because they're missing spare parts, but not because they're lacking in manpower.

Not sacrificing economic development

We're not going to sacrifice the country's economic development in the least with these ambitious social development plans. So we have to work intelligently. We have to think carefully, plan well, plan evenly, to carry out the ambitious economic development plans and ambitious social development programs with the idea that these two matters are interrelated. Under socialism economic development cannot exist without social development. You can't do what's done under capitalism: build two big nickel plants and only build houses for the manager and 30 or 40 of his staff, while the workers build shacks, anything to be able to work and live there. We can't build the enormous 30,000-ton Punta Gorda and Las Camariocas plants, which will need thousands of workers, if at the same time we don't build thousands of dwellings.

By the same token we can't build the textile plant that produces 80 million square meters of cloth in Santiago de Cuba, if at the same time we don't build the thousands of dwellings needed. We aren't living under capitalism, nor can we work as if this were capitalism. We must combine economic development with social development.

Without day-care centers, how can we have women join the work force, in production, in the services. Without elementary day boarding schools, how can we get the women into the labor force? Without junior high day boarding schools, how can we have them join? Recently, when I was present at the opening of a junior high school, we saw some 12-year-old girls who had to go home to heat the lunches their working mothers had cooked for them the night before — 12-year-olds, adolescents, alone at home.

We've struggled for full-day sessions. We already have them in nearly every elementary school in the country. Now we have to strive for full-day sessions in the junior high schools. The comrade from San Miguel del Padrón, who is the head of education there, was telling us what a school should be like — the number of students a school should have, the number of students per classroom, how they should be run to achieve quality education. Our plans for development in the capital and the rest of the country are ambitious.

Within two years we're going to solve three important problems in the capital: all the polyclinics we need, with satisfactory conditions; all the special education schools we need, with satisfactory conditions; and all the day-care centers we need, with satisfactory conditions. We'll do it all. Then we'll have the work force to undertake other tasks. But already next year, as Máximo was saying, we'll start on three swimming pool complexes. We're starting on the Pan American Games projects, with or without the Pan American Games, because we build for the people. And all those facilities will last a long time. And we're going to build them well and so that they'll be useful to our citizens. We'd still build those facilities if tomorrow they told us: "We're taking the Pan American Games away from you." We're going to build the velodrome and all the other facilities. We're going to build them, all those multipurpose gymnasiums. And with or without the Pan American Games we're going to build everything with pleasure.

By 1989, we'll start on the school programs. And our idea is to build new ones, to close down all the elementary schools located in unsuitable buildings, uncomfortable buildings with no ventilation, old houses that were adapted, a classroom added somewhere. We're going to build new ones. We're only going to leave standing those that are in good shape.

But we're going to go about this in a rational manner. The meeting we mentioned here was one the ministry officials had with the most experienced school principals to discuss the makings of an ideal elementary school. "Tell us, comrades, you who have spent so many years in edu-

“Our technocrats and bureaucrats were transmitting a sort of ideological AIDS that was destroying the revolution's defenses . . .”

cation, who have so much experience, what should an elementary school be like?"

We've established the goals: that they shouldn't be overcrowded, that children shouldn't have to walk a kilometer and a half or two to get to school; that the schools be built near the children's homes so they won't have to cross 10 or 12 streets to get there, let alone take a bus. They'll be schools for approximately 450 students that can be well run because no one can run a school with 1,500 or 2,000 students. We want schools that can be run by a normal principal, a good principal; schools with enough room for full-day sessions; schools with sports facilities; schools with dining rooms for working mothers' children; and space enough to enable us to use it if we want to extend full-day sessions to all children in the future for after-school activities and child care. Meanwhile, we have to act according to our most urgent

needs. The ideal school — they're already working on the design of the ideal elementary school.

We're going to do exactly the same with our junior high schools. All the junior high schools in adapted houses are going to be taken out of there. Lezcano spoke of approximately 350 schools, between elementary and junior high schools. Perhaps there will be fewer. They're making a survey, school by school, to find out how many elementary and junior high schools we have to build. In 1989 the elementary and junior high school program will get under way, to be completed in five or six years at the most. I figure it'll take us five or six years if we have to build 50 or 60 schools a year: 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, and perhaps 1994. By then we'll complete the school building program in the capital.

We're going to do the same thing with the bakeries, a complete network of bakeries. There's an exhibition shown around here of bread for diplomatic markets and parallel markets. That's the kind and quality of bread we're going to try to make in all our bakeries. We'll have approximately 250 bakeries! Between 80 and 90 percent of families will be able to pick up their bread while it's still fresh out of the oven. The quality and variety of bread will improve, and in three years' time, if we build throughout 1988, 1989, and 1990, we'll complete the entire bakery network. And we're going to do the same thing with our retail stores, with similar programs. Entire networks of family doctor home-offices. When will we finish them? In 1992 we'll finish the entire network, and all the inhabitants of the capital will have their family doctor.

As you've seen today, we now have to begin to reflect on and analyze the problem of physiotherapy gyms, and perhaps we'll come to the conclusion that we need to build 70-odd physiotherapy gyms. Someone with a problem of this kind has to go all the way to the Frank País Orthopedic Hospital way out in La Lisa. Imagine that, or they have to be taken there by ambulance, or they have to take a cab or a bus. Imagine someone with a serious problem taking a bus from Guanabacoa to La Lisa, or from Guanabacoa to Boyeros, out to the Julio Díaz Hospital. We'll build physiotherapy gyms. That's the idea. That's why we built the first one. We wanted to know how many and where, if we should build one in each municipality or one in each polyclinic. It seems we're going to have to build one for every polyclinic. So we'll have to make plans for the physiotherapy gyms as well and consider training nurses in this field and more specialized health workers, too. We should also build gyms for the population at large.

Building sports facilities

And we'll have to build a network of sports facilities and swimming complexes. At present, Havana has one swimming complex out in Lenin Park. And on seeing how 5,000 people gathered there one Sunday despite how far it is, we wondered how would it be if we built one closer to where the population lives. At a meeting with the municipal party committee in Cerro we urged them to try it out, not for recreational purposes but as a training



Child-care center in Cuba

Militant/Elizabeth Stone

3. The free farmers' markets were introduced in 1980. They provided individual producers and cooperatives with a place to sell their surplus produce. The markets were eliminated in 1986.

facility for sports, and to transport the children from the primary schools on a number of buses to and from the Lenin Park swimming pools. By now, thousands of children have learned how to swim thanks to a single and faraway complex and using a few buses to take them there.

We're now thinking about building these complexes in every municipality. And in some there will be more than one. Imagine Centro Habana, Cerro, Diez de Octubre, and the rest of the municipalities having at least one and some even two or three complexes. Imagine having all primary schoolchildren throughout the school year learning to swim, doing exercise, and the population using them for recreational purposes in the summer. We could end up having 10,20,30,40, well, the number we need.

The same thing goes for sports facilities. We already did an experiment in Cerro, which is mentioned in the report. The idea originated in that same meeting: how to provide all the students with a network of sports facilities. We did this, and the experiment has already spread to the remaining municipalities, using simple solutions.

Naturally, in the future all our new schools will be provided with these facilities regardless of where we build them, even if it's on the roof, if the school is in Centro Habana or some other similar place, or in the basement. We'll dig underground if need be, like the comrades at the Salvador Allende Hospital have done. You heard them say here: "The ceilings were so low that we couldn't raise them, so we had to lower the floor."

We'll find the space we need because we'll have dwellings. And wherever it's necessary we'll tear down a block of old houses. We'll tear it down, except in Old Havana. And we'll do what had to be done at the Miguel Enríquez Hospital where we needed three city blocks, three blocks. Then we needed two half blocks more. And we did some negotiating to get that space. The residents were happy for they got new homes. If they'd been living in fancy houses like those in Miramar, it would be more complicated. But since we're starting out from situations where many people live in old, uncomfortable dwellings, wherever we happen to need space to build a school or a swimming pool complex, a social facility, we'll have no trouble getting it.

Then come the retail facilities. That network is also being studied to find out what kind of network of markets, supermarkets, and stores the capital needs.

I was saying we'll have to make a better distribution of certain recreational centers, stop concentrating on the center and move into the periphery. That's why those families told us they wanted a restaurant somewhere in

“Under socialism economic development cannot exist without social development . . .”

Diez de Octubre where there are very few restaurants. Most restaurants are around La Rampa and near the hotels.

There are many things we have to do, but we'll do them! We'll have to rebuild the plumbing and sewage networks, and we'll do it. We'll have to broaden avenues, which not only eases traffic and saves time but also helps us save on important economic resources. I already explained about the avenue that the Blas Roca Contingent is building.

In the future we'll have to build the city subway. We think we'll probably start it in the 1990s. That indeed takes a lot of time to do — you build a few kilometer stretches at a time and start using them. It's nearly a lifelong job. We've acquired a lot of experience in making tunnels. Our armed forces have earned a lot of experience in that kind of work for they've had to drill the province from one end to the other. That's why we've put the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces in charge of organizing and programming all the preparatory work and being ready when the time comes to build the city subway.

We'll build a new city — modern, functional, beautiful.

Yesterday we analyzed what the public works minibrigades can do. We also looked at what we needed to repair one way or the other, rebuild, remodel, in need of major or lesser repairs. It would be about 25,000 dwellings every year.

Does anybody here doubt that if we have the materials, we can repair the 25,000 dwellings, given the information we've received about that excellent experience and the wonderful news of hundreds of young people who weren't working who have joined the minibrigades? This means we can perhaps have 3,000 or 4,000 of them join in that task, a potential source of youngsters who can work close to home, aided by other workers who up to a short time ago were a calamity as builders but who now teach the young and are making quality repairs with the help of residents. And not just with the help of the resi-



“Our youth will be builders of communism and forgers of new world.”

dents but with their participation, and not just their participation but their supervision. The residents will see to it that the materials don't get lost. They'll see to it that a quality job is done. These are infinite, immense forces.

A mass movement involved in rectification

Unless we can rely on all that, you tell me whether we could repair any homes here in the capital. If we wait for the arrival of a brand-new, superorganized, overstaffed, bureaucratic enterprise with 50 different forms and two million papers to start repairing the old buildings, painting tenements. . . . if we wait for that, if people will swallow all that. . . . No! It's fine to turn Antillana de Acero into a big enterprise, to have big hotel construction enterprises, big mining enterprises, big industrial enterprises of different kinds. But can we tackle these other things without the people's participation, without the masses' participation?

So, what will we have in our capital? I speak of the capital because our experience here will be followed by all the other provinces. What will we have in our capital by the year 2000 if we go on working like this, if we work hard, if we keep improving this mass construction movement? And it's not just a mass construction movement but a mass movement involved in the rectification process, bent on doing better quality work everywhere. What will our city look like? If we manage to control the influx from other provinces, with 250,000 new dwellings and another 250,000 repaired, rebuilt dwellings, we'll have close to 500,000 adequate places to live in. I hope that by that time we won't have a single unhealthy neighborhood left. I believe that all the unhealthy slum pocket areas will disappear long before then. There aren't all that many of them, but there are still some 50,000 people living in them.

Yesterday Comrade Glenda was telling us about her excellent impression of the work of the minibrigades in a slum area, the way they worked, their spirit.

We know, there are 70,000 dwellings in our capital all braced up to keep them from falling down, 70,000 braced up dwellings! Tens of thousands of families are living in tenement houses that have been declared unfit to live in, unfit to live in! And they live there because there aren't enough public shelters or else they don't want to move there. It's a very dramatic situation, and we can't force them to move out. We constantly have to reinforce the structures and do repair work. When were we ever going to overcome all that?

I ask you, comrades, do you think that 3,800 new dwellings per year were going to solve the problem? Where were we heading? How were we going to solve those problems? Yes, it's true, the revolution solved many other problems. It provided jobs, built schools, built polyclinics, trained doctors, built and remodeled hospitals and, above all, in the provinces it did a lot of things. But what kept it from solving the housing problem in the capital and in other cities? What kept it from solving other serious problems? Even the services we had began to deteriorate: education, public health, etc., as a result of those same negative trends, that huge morass we were falling into that kept getting deeper and deeper.

We could have solved the housing problem! Seventeen years ago we invented the minibrigade formula. Had we followed that road consistently, where would it have taken us? Of course now we've reinstated them, with

greater vigor, and have even made them function at a lower cost. They're better organized, better distributed by municipality, with better ideas — no question about it. But if that idea that emerged 17 years ago and led to thousands of buildings being built had been followed for the past 12 years, the situation would be different.

That's why we must now make up for lost time, not just the time the country lost under capitalism and colonialism, but also, to a certain extent, the time lost under socialism. That's why we say to those who are allergic to strong things, to worthy things of the peoples, to the proletarian spirit — and proletarian spirit means, first of all, work spirit and work discipline — to those who are allergic and see the welts caused by this work spirit: we want to work hard but not because of someone's whim; we want to work hard but not for the sake of working; we want to work hard because we must work hard, because we're a Third World country, because we lost centuries under colonialism, nearly 60 years under neocolonialism, and we've also lost a few years under the revolution. We must now make up for lost time!

You tell me whether or not we'll be happy working; whether or not we'll be happy making up for lost time; whether or not we'll be happy creating things for this generation and the ones that come after ours. Are we perhaps unhappy about the special education schools, the family doctor home-offices we're now building, the day-care centers we're building? Are we perhaps unhappy about the 330,000 compatriots of ours in the capital having completed 40 hours of voluntary work, or about one of our grandmothers having put in 600 hours of voluntary work in a few months at age 76? We could ask this grandmother whether doing that has made her happier or less happy. We could ask her whether doing that makes her feel healthier or less healthy.

Let the petty bourgeoisie worry about their fears and their doubts! Our working people are not afraid of anything. Our working people are not afraid of any effort.

“We'll have approximately 250 bakeries. Between 80 and 90 percent of families will be able to pick up their bread while it's still fresh out of the oven . . .”

Our working and revolutionary people are not afraid of the rigor of work. And, rather than sad, our population appears to be happier on viewing the first fruits of this effort. Our meeting is happier on viewing the first fruits of this effort at rectification. And rather than worrying about the excess work that might await us, we worry for a different reason: that we don't have sufficient materials to work with, that we don't have sufficient blueprints to work more, that we can't have tens of thousands more join this minibrigade movement, that we can't have hundreds of thousands more students, housewives, or retired workers helping the minibrigades in extra working hours.

Our affliction is not caused by the fear that we're going

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

to have a lot of work. Instead, we're sorry we can't use more people in this work stemming from the muscle and blood of a strong population, a healthy population, a relatively young population, which, compared to the population in developed capitalist countries, is a much younger population.

Energy is what we have in excess! The risk we run is not being able to use all the energy we're capable of exerting. The risk we run is having to do a lot of physical exercise in a gym or in some other place because we can't do the same exercise by moving earth or shoveling or laying and hauling bricks or pushing a wheelbarrow. That's the truth. [Applause]

I recently toured several municipalities, five of them opening day-care centers, and I was able to sense the mood, the happiness, the basic happiness that stems from new hope, the masses' effervescence. Let no one think that I confuse effervescence or the prevailing mood with anything else, or that I'm apt to judge the masses' effervescence or mood according to how many times they shout "Fidel! Fidel!" The same thing happens to me as happened to Lezcano as he stood there listening to the applause or shouts of our names. It embarrasses us, it bothers us.

I judge effervescence by people's facial expressions, by their faces, their eyes, what is not conveyed in words but in subtleties, and the tone in which people speak, greet us, react.

I think someone made a documentary with the materials filmed during that tour. It shows great effervescence based on that spirit that is coming into being, that trust, that hope, that optimism, and that total, absolute willingness to do things.

Our efforts are beginning to bear fruit

Our efforts are just beginning to bear fruit. And our belief, our decision, our will to continue with these programs must grow along with a new way of working in the party — a party that is today a great party, a party that in our capital alone has more than 100,000 members and 100,000 Young Communists.

Today we have what we didn't have at the beginning of the revolution, nor at any other time: the strength of the party, the party's new work style, the party's impressive ability to mobilize through its municipal committees, its local groups, closely and permanently linked to the mass organizations.

When anything is asked of the party, an immediate response is given, an instantaneous response, in silence. If in one week 200 men of a certain kind have to be mobilized and the party makes contact with the municipalities, in a matter of days 200 men appear with exactly the characteristics required. And if 1,000 have to be mobilized in a matter of days, 1,000 are mobilized, with the qualities and characteristics, even the skills that are needed. And if 10,000 are to be mobilized in a matter of days, the 10,000 are mobilized, in silence, not a sound is heard.

If you arrive at any place and find such and such a contingent, the party, the Young Communists, the unions, there is a new style, there is a new spirit, there is a new attitude. There is what we could call a revolution within the revolution.

This is what we've been able to observe. This is what we're dealing with here, impressive things in this very

meeting. I think that this is one of the best meetings that has ever taken place. We haven't discussed everything because we would have needed a week. But we have discussed important things, many important things, and we've discussed them deeply. We have become aware of every one of our basic problems.

You have the report before you. The report will be rounded out by a series of ideas, and this report must be like a work program for the party in the capital.

We have talked very seriously and deeply, and participation in general has been very serious, participation that has had a great effect on all of us.

It was also particularly moving when the representative of the physically handicapped came here and spoke. But above all it was moving to hear how the party in the capital in a matter of weeks responded to their requests and their suggestions made in mid-August and set up 14 workshops and gave work to more than 50 percent of those with employment difficulties. He explained to me that there were about 500 with work problems. He brought the album. The photos are there.

The predominating atmosphere in these collectives of men and women in wheelchairs participating in a workshop's production can be appreciated. How many thousands of times more important, more noble, more dignified is this than what was happening in our capital, which peddlers, hawkers, and middlemen were invading in ever increasing numbers, getting rich, even exploiting the physically handicapped at times. What a difference when the party organizes a workshop, and they can feel like human beings. They can feel useful to society and feel they are participating in our country's development! That's what the party did in a few days. The party in its renovated form can do anything it wants. It can work miracles or do things that seem miraculous.

“Today we have what we didn't have at the beginning of the revolution, nor at any other time: the strength of the party, the party's new work style . . .”

How difficult the party's existence was two years ago — what total impotence when a woman came and said her house was falling down. And I remembered that there were 70,000 houses braced up, and a braced-up house is not only ugly and uncomfortable, but there's also the neighbors' and tenants' fear that the house will fall down on top of them. It's something more than the discomfort of an old house, practically in ruins and braced up.

When a family came to the party to tell them about this problem, what did the party say, what tale did they tell them, what story? “Take it easy, man.” Was that it? To console them by saying “take it easy.” Take it easy because we've invented such fantastic methods, so incredible that one day you'll have all the houses you need. Yes, maybe in the year 3500. Maybe robots, if we had any, were going to build the houses. What did the party explain to them?

And if the family said: “If there are less houses all the

time, if the houses being built are fewer than those that disintegrate, when will we have houses?” Where would they get their explanation, from what manual, what text, what book? Because we had some wise men here, and who knows what damage they did, who knew the exact page, the exact phrase, the exact day on which Lenin said it, in any one of the 40 volumes of his complete works. But in none of these quotes, on no page could the party member find the explanation for that family who lived in a slum, when in practice socialism had to solve that desperate mother's housing problem.

Or when she said: “My son is allergic to this, my daughter suffers from asthma, I've got this problem, there's no water.” Or when a mother came and said, “I'm paying 60 pesos to a woman to look after and feed my daughter, etc., etc., I want a day-care center, or I want my son to have a quieter existence because he's got problems and he's out in the street while I'm at work. He's an adolescent in junior high school. Or the children who only had one half-day session and had nowhere to go and went roaming the street.

Today party has answer for each problem

What problems could the party solve? What answers could the party give the citizens who arrived to put this kind of problem to them? What book, what quotation, what text could help the party give them an answer? That's how the party has been working. The party had to spend years working under these conditions, waiting to see if the famous mechanisms would solve the matter.

Now the party has an answer. Now the party has something to say to the citizens, to anyone who comes to ask for anything. If the problem is in a slum area: let's see, we're going to organize a public works minibrigade, let's work on the public works minibrigade. And it will be able to tell the students to do what they themselves asked for: repair your school. And to the others: let's work on the school, let's work on the day-care center, let's work on the bakery, let's work on the housing construction program. Today the party has a concrete, clear, precise answer for each and every problem. And it has put forth an impressive force.

I would say that in this process of rectification the two most impressive things are the people's reaction and the party's impressive work.

I believe that we should all take healthy pride in such an instrument that has such strength: the party, with the authority it has among our workers and our people, and the party members have been showing it with their exemplary conduct, this wonderful word so full of meaning: exemplary! Exemplary conduct that is evident in the fact that the general secretary of the party committee of Antillana tells us that he's the first to go to voluntary work twice a week, which shows that the party members will be the first to set the example in everything. And also evident in the fact that one could spend all afternoon looking for Comrade Lezcano and find him using a pick and shovel or carrying sand at a workers' club, completing his 40 hours of voluntary work. [Applause]

This force and prestige is shown in these 300,000-odd people who completed their 40-hour pledge and in the hundreds of thousands that are a few hours short and who are disappointed because they weren't able to fulfill their 40 hours by the deadline. The workers and residents of the capital did 13 million hours of voluntary work. All that legitimate satisfaction, all that legitimate hope, all that healthy pride has been reflected in this meeting with no sense of triumph, but with great optimism. And we're happy because we're aware that this is only the first fruit. And not so much because of what we've done, but because of what we're sure we're going to do. And not so much because of what we've built, but because of what we're sure we're going to build. Not so much because of how much we've improved, but because of how much more we're going to improve within the next few years. [Applause]

This new awareness, this spirit was shown here in the participation of so many delegates, in the precision, seriousness, and profoundness of what they said.

It was expressed here when the heads of the contingents took the floor: Marcos from the Salvador Allende Contingent, Fillo from the Julio Díaz Contingent, Palmero from the Blas Roca Contingent. You saw how concise, clear, and brief their remarks were, especially their answers. A man can prepare a speech, a man can prepare a sentence, but no one can prepare an answer to a question he doesn't know is going to be asked.

I was really impressed when I said, “We might have to work for quite a while,” and they immediately answered, “As long as it takes,” in a split second, or “We'll do whatever is necessary,” as another one said. And to each question, an immediate, precise, clear, unwavering answer. That is confidence in the party. That's the proletarian spirit. [Applause] That's the revolutionary spirit. That's man's belief in himself, in his ideas, in his cause. That's the conviction that emanates ever more strongly from the rectification process: that we shall fulfill our promises, that we shall be capable of doing whatever we set out to do.

¡Patria o muerte!

¡Venceremos! [Ovation]

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London meeting weighs action to oppose apartheid

BY DOREEN WEPLER

LONDON — More than 300 delegates attended a conference organized by the African National Congress in London January 9. The purpose of the conference was to consider the Program of Action adopted by the international solidarity conference against apartheid held in Arusha, Tanzania, in early December and to discuss implementing the proposals in Britain.

Delegates came from local anti-apartheid groups, political organizations, the student movement, the Black community, and church groups.

Trade unions were strongly represented, including delegations from the National Union of Mineworkers, National Union of Railwaymen; SOGAT, the printers' union; USDAW, the shopworkers' union; National and Local Government Officers' Association; Fire Brigades' union; and others.

Solly Smith, the chief representative of the African National Congress (ANC) in Britain and Ireland, opened the conference. Thozamile Botha, a leader of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), chaired the meeting.

Greetings were brought from the South West Africa People's Organisation, SACTU, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain.

ANC National Executive Committee member Francis Meli, who also edits the ANC journal, *Sechaba*, gave the keynote speech.

"There are two Britains," Meli explained. "the Britain of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the supporters of the apartheid system, and the Britain which stands with us in our struggle against apartheid rule."

Meli denounced Thatcher's recent trip to

Kenya and Nigeria as part of her "war against sanctions." He highlighted the plight of African countries bordering South Africa, known as the Frontline States.

The release of ANC leader Govan Mbeki after 23 years in South African prisons was a victory. But Meli warned against complacency. Although the democratic movement has been strengthened dramatically since the mid 1970s, "we still are not strong enough to defeat the Botha regime," he said.

Meli also explained the ANC's position on negotiations. "Talks with academics and white businessmen are not negotiations with the government," he said. "We talk with these social forces in order to detach them from the apartheid system. This approach is not opposed to the armed struggle, it is an aspect of it, to broaden the field of struggle — to weaken the enemy, and ensure the victory of the armed struggle."

"These social forces have different goals," continued Meli. "They want power sharing so they can keep control. We are for the taking of power and the destruction of apartheid."

Meli also clarified the ANC's approach to cultural sanctions, first outlined by ANC President Oliver Tambo last year. "It's possible," Meli said, "that Govan Mbeki's book *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt* may be published in South Africa this year. We wouldn't want to boycott it simply because it is a South African product."

Drawing a parallel with cultural groups that have emerged from the struggle and whose performances inspire their audiences to take action against apartheid, Meli called for "flexibility" in the movement's approach.



G.M. Cookson

Contingent of African National Congress of South Africa and South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia in October march in London. Recent London meeting discussed action plan adopted at international anti-apartheid gathering in Tanzania.

"But flexibility is not the same as selective sanctions," he concluded. "On this point we remain committed to mandatory, comprehensive sanctions to isolate the regime at every level."

Meli explained that the fight to force the Thatcher government to retreat in opposing sanctions is not only in the interests of the South African people. "It is part of the fight to rid this country of racism, which has its roots in part in the apartheid system," he said.

Following the keynote speech, a panel of ANC leaders answered questions about the ANC's policies on a broad range of issues.

In closing the conference the chair emphasized, "The ANC has no fear of explaining and discussing its policies. We urge all activists to consult with the ANC and SACTU. Consultation doesn't create problems, it solves them." As a first opportunity of this type to do just that, the conference was seen by the organizers and participants as a resounding success.

Raids, arrests in Ireland hit foes of British rule in north

BY MARC LICHTMAN

During the last two months of 1987 the government of the Republic of Ireland deepened its collaboration with the British occupation forces in repressing Irish nationalists. At the end of November it launched a massive police search operation and at the beginning of December began implementing its Extradition Act with Britain.

On November 23, some 6,500 police and Irish army troops began a sweep across the southern 26 counties (Republic of Ireland), raiding homes and political offices and searching barns and farmland. Primary targets were Sinn Féin members and supporters. Sinn Féin is a revolutionary nationalist organization that works to end British rule in Ireland's northeastern six counties and for the reunification of the country in a 32-county "democratic socialist republic." It has close ties with the illegal Irish Republican Army (IRA).

Other targets included trade union leaders, journalists, and activists in antiextradition, prisoners' rights, women's rights, and Irish cultural organizations. Most prominent of these was a member of the Irish parliament who is a vocal opponent of the Extradition Act.

More than 50,000 searches were carried out over the course of the operation in this country of 3.5 million. This typically involved detectives with submachine guns surrounding homes, while police inside rifled personal possessions, particularly papers and political files. In some areas whole housing projects were searched.

The pretext for these raids was the Irish government's claim that up to 2,000 automatic rifles and possibly SAM-7 ground-to-air missiles had been smuggled into the country. "I believe this is the biggest threat the IRA has ever posed to this state," warned Irish Justice Minister Gerry Collins when announcing the operation.

The IRA, however, has often stated that its official policy is not to have any conflict

with the 26-county police or army. The find after several weeks of scouring the country was a few rifles and some rounds of ammunition.

Also on November 23, in an obviously coordinated effort, 40 nationalists were arrested and held for questioning in early morning raids in the British-controlled northeastern six counties (Northern Ireland). These included five Sinn Féin elected officials.

These actions were launched during a wave of anti-IRA sentiment, whipped up by British and Irish government officials and clergy, following a bombing that killed 11 civilians in the Northern Ireland town of Enniskillen during a World War II Remembrance Day celebration. IRA reports stated that the remote-controlled bomb, which the IRA had set for British army patrols, had exploded prematurely and was not detonated by its radio signal.

On December 3 the government voted to implement its Extradition Act with Britain, which had been adopted in December 1986. This legislation gives a go-ahead to the government to hand over persons living in the 26 counties who are wanted by officials in Northern Ireland or England.

In the past few months, opposition to the act's implementation had been growing. Antiextradition committees were organized throughout the 26 counties and six counties, and rallies and debates heard Sinn Féin leaders, prominent trade unionists, and others speak against the act.

The main victims will be nationalists, who when extradited to the six counties, face a system of one-judge courts, known for their convictions on the basis of paid informants' evidence. Indeed, during late November and early December, the 26-county government arrested six republicans and is holding them under warrants from Northern Ireland police. These six men are former political prisoners, who escaped from Northern Ireland's Long Kesh Prison more than four years ago.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Mauritius wants U.S. island base returned

The island country of Mauritius is seeking to regain sovereignty over its sister island, Diego Garcia, which the United States has turned into a military base. Both islands are located in the Indian Ocean off the eastern coast of Africa. Diego Garcia is also part of the Chagos Archipelago.

Through an agreement signed in 1965, Britain, the former colonial ruler of Mauritius, extracted control of Diego Garcia and part of the archipelago as the price for Mauritius' independence. That same year the British government leased Diego Garcia to Washington and "relocated" the inhabitants of the island to Mauritius. Today Diego Garcia remains "off limits" to its original residents.

According to the January 3 *New York Times*, the U.S. ambassador to Mauritius, Ronald Palmer, said the military base at Diego Garcia was a very difficult and delicate matter. "But there are good and sufficient reasons why a U.S. military base in this part of the world is useful," the ambassador added.

The prime minister of Mauritius, Anerood Jugnauth, explained, "At all international forums we have been fighting for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and the creation of a zone of peace as proposed by the United Nations."

"We maintain our claim over Diego Garcia and we will use all diplomatic possibilities to have the island and the surrounding archipelago handed over to Mauritius," the prime minister said.

Mozambique contras kill 22 civilians in raid

At least 22 people were reported killed and 71 wounded when an armed unit of the counterrevolutionary Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) attacked a passenger train on Dec. 31, 1987. Most of the 1,500 passengers were Mozambican migrant workers returning from South Africa.

The travelers were attacked after the train was derailed by a land mine explo-

sion. The attackers looted the train and abducted several of the passengers.

The Mozambican government reported that on the previous day an armed Renamo group opened fire on a public bus operating between Swaziland and Maputo. Three people were killed and 14 wounded.

A spokesman for Renamo in the Portuguese capital, Lisbon, did not deny responsibility for the attacks but said that they had not been confirmed by Renamo leaders in Mozambique. "It is a key aim of our military strategy to cut off Maputo as much as possible from the rest of the country," the spokesman said.

Renamo is organized, trained, armed, and financed by the apartheid regime in South Africa. It is an instrument in South Africa's overall destabilization campaign of war and devastation against the countries of southern Africa known as the Frontline States.

U.S. considers TV version of Radio Martí

In December 1987 Congress appropriated \$100,000 for a study to determine whether television broadcasting to Cuba is technically feasible, what it would cost, and the legal questions it would pose. The appropriation was the first step towards the creation of a television version of Radio Martí.

Radio Martí is part of the U.S. government's dirty propaganda war against the Cuban revolution. To add insult to injury Washington gave the radio station the name of Cuba's celebrated independence fighter José Martí. Martí was a resolute opponent of U.S. imperialism.

Washington has claimed that the purpose of Radio Martí is simply to present "accurate, balanced, and objective news reports."

Proof of Radio Martí's real purpose was revealed when its Miami bureau chief Hilda Inclán, resigned in September 1987. Inclán charged that she had been "forced to instruct my reporters to do intelligence gathering rather than simply being reporters." There can be little doubt that Martí TV would be the same.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Who Pays the Price? The Impact of the Stock Market Crash on Working People. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

The Revolutionary Message of Malcolm X. The Meaning of His Ideas Today. Speaker: Danny Boher, Socialist Workers Party. Recorded speeches by Malcolm X. Sat., Jan. 23, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The First Anniversary Commemoration of the Los Angeles Eight. Speakers: Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general; master of ceremonies, Casey Kasem, broadcaster; featuring the seven Palestinian and one Kenyan defendants in the deportation case. Translation to Spanish. Tue., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. Park Plaza Hotel, 607 S Park View St. Donation: \$10, \$5 for students and low income. Sponsor: Committee for Justice. For more information call (213) 413-2935.

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution Today. Two classes. "Guevara and the Cuban Revolution," Sat., Jan. 23, 3 p.m. and "The Cuban Revolution and the Fight for Equality for Blacks and Women," Sat., Jan. 30, 3 p.m. Given by Elizabeth Stone, visited Cuba at the time of the 20th anniversary of Che's death. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

The FBI vs. the Fight to End the War in Central America. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave., Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

Palestine: Growing Resistance to Israeli Occupation. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

Opening Celebration of Pathfinder Bookstore. Speakers: John George, Alameda County supervisor; Carlos Hernández, leader of the 1986-87 Watsonville cannery workers' strike; Elizabeth Stone, Socialist Workers Party, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. Sat., Feb. 6. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Sun., Feb. 7. Special presentations at 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave., Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

FLORIDA

Miami

The Stock Market Crash: the Crisis in the Capitalist Economic System. Speaker: Larry Lukehart, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Zionist Oppression and the Fight for a Democratic, Secular Palestine. Speakers: Ayub Talhami, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; representative of Palestine Solidarity Committee; Cathleen Gutekanst, Socialist

Workers Party, member of United Steelworkers of America. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 23. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

Socialist Educational Weekend.

"Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution." Speaker: Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m.

"Women and the Cuban Revolution." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, representative of Pathfinder recently returned from Cuba. Sun., Feb. 14, noon.

"Cuba Today." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone. Sun., Feb. 14, 2:30 p.m.

Classes held at 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2 per class. Sponsor: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Solidarity With the Palestinian People. Speakers: Najat Khelil, Union of Palestinian American Women; Ali Zaghaf, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Jesse McDade, professor, Morgan State University; Julia Steinberg, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 23. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Haiti: the Struggle for Freedom. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Ten classes on the writings and speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara. Mondays through March 14. Choice of 10 a.m. or 7 p.m. class. 508 N Snelling Ave. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

What Ever It Takes in '88. Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and Miners' Union Face the Energy Bosses. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

The Fight for Women's Equality. Speakers: Caroline Fowlkes, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers union. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Abortion: a Women's Right to Choose. Speakers to be announced. Sat. Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Report from International Anti-Apartheid Conference. Speaker: Sam Manuel, reporter for *Militant* at conference in Tanzania. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Benefit Dance for N.Y. Nica Construction Brigade. Food, music, cash bar, refreshments. Sat., Jan. 23, 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Taller Latino-americano, 63 E 2nd St. (between 1st and 2nd avenues). Donation: \$7. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Working-Class Solutions to the Capitalist Crisis. Sun., Jan. 24, Dinner, 5:30 p.m.; forum 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

The Struggle for Democracy in Haiti. Sat., Jan. 30. Dinner, 5:30 p.m.; forum, 7 p.m. 2219 Market St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

Cuba Today: the Revolution Advances. A class series.

"A Brief History of the Cuban Revolution." Sat., Jan. 23, 4 p.m. "Role of Women and Blacks in Cuba." Sat., Jan. 30, 4 p.m. "Current Stage of the Revolution." Sat., Feb. 6, 4 p.m. "Che Guevara: How His Ideas Live on Today." Sat., Feb. 13, 4 p.m.

All classes held at 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Paperworkers Lead Fight Against Concessions and Union-Busting. Speakers: spokespeople from United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787 on strike against International Paper at Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Sat., Jan. 23. Reception, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

The Stock Market Crash: Its Meaning for Working People. Speaker: Greg Rosenberg, Socialist Workers Party, chairperson Houston Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Price

Abortion Is Our Right: 15 Years Since the Supreme Court Decision. Speaker to be announced. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., Suite 19. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

The Legacy of Martin Luther King: the Montgomery Bus Boycott to Howard Beach. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., Suite 19. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Class-Struggle Policy in the Trade Unions. First in a series of classes on the class-struggle policy in the trade unions based on Larry Seigle's article "The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation" in No. 6 of the *New Internationalist*. Speaker: Tony Dutrow, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 30, 1 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., Suite 19. Donation: \$1 per class. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum and Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

On the 20th Anniversary of the Tet Offensive—Veterans Speak Out For Peace and Justice. Rally to call for reconciliation with Vietnam and to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America. Speakers: Norma Becker, longtime peace and justice activist; David Dellinger, author *Vietnam Revisited*; Charlie Liteky, Veterans Fast for Life; Brian Willson, via specially filmed message; others. Sat., Jan. 30, 4:30 p.m. Washington Irving High School, 40 Irving Place (at E 17th St.) Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Vietnam Veterans Against the War. For more information call (718) 499-1101.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

South Korean People's Struggle for Real Democracy. Video on the June 1987 uprising and the December elections. Speaker: Hyuk-Kyo Suh, Korean American activist. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

1988 Socialist Campaign Conference. Two talks: "World Politics Today: In the Shadow of the Stock Market Crash." Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate; "1988 Elections: A Socialist Perspective." Speaker: Roberta Scherr, campaign manager, 1988 Washington State campaign. Sat., Jan. 23, 1 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All. Join together for an evening in defense of democratic and political rights. Speakers: Florette Angel, National Council of Jewish Women and Block Bork Committee; Roger Banks, Mountain State AIDS Network; Roger Forman, West Virginia Civil Liberties Union; Héctor Marroquín, Political Rights Defense Fund; Toba Singer, labor spokesperson for the PRDF. Sat., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. Reception to follow. YWCA Community Room, 1114 Quarrier St. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Frame-up of Kentucky United Mine Workers Union Members. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Upsurge Rocks Israel: What the Palestinians Are Fighting For. Speaker: David Morrow. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

The Wall Street Crash: What It Means for Working People. Speaker: Sandi Sherman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Sponsor: Sherman for Mayor Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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Racist? Israel?? — As Israel's Hadassah Hospital prepared to do heart transplants, its director assured there would be no "inter-



Harry Ring

ethnic transplants," concretely, "none between Jews and Arabs." — Translated by *Middle East Report* from *Kol Ha'ir* of May 1, 1987.

Think you've heard every-

thing? — A Baltimore gynecologist was convicted of raping a patient. He drew a five-year suspended sentence. The Maryland Commission on Medical Discipline refused to revoke his license, voting to allow him to continue practicing so long as a chaperone is present during examinations.

See, if you're patient — New York's Radio City Music Hall has hired the first Black dancer to perform with the Rockettes (established in 1925). Management had argued that nonwhites would mar the symmetry of the chorus line.

The Great Peacemaker — Nations of the world spent about \$930 billion on their military

forces in 1987. Some 32 percent of this — \$293 billion — was racked up by the U.S. of A.

Sleep well (I) — The Environmental Protection Agency says there are 27,000 toxic waste sites in the country. But the congressional General Accounting Office found that the actual number ranges from an estimated low of 130,000 to a high of 425,000. It derived this from data submitted by state officials to the EPA, which didn't bother incorporating it into its records.

Sleep well (II) — "WASHINGTON — More than 2,000 chemical pollutants, all but a few unregulated by the federal government,

have been identified in the nation's drinking water in recent years. Much of the contamination results from improper disposal of industrial greases, oils, solvents, and plasticizers." — News item.

March of American culture — Available this summer, a "mood" bathing suit. Assertedly changes color with the body temperature of the wearer. Under \$100.

Try a bullet-proof vest — James Challenger, whose firm helps find jobs for fired execs, offers how-to-fire advice, including: If you dislike the victims — "which is why most are discharged" — don't let it show. It may trigger "extreme reactions

from the employee, up to and including physical violence."

Price war — We almost dashed off a \$4 check to the Good Taste Waste Co. of West Palm Beach for six designer garbage bags. But then we learned Neiman-Marcus is offering 20 of its garbage bags for \$5. Bright red, with the N-M logo. They'll wow the neighborhood.

Let the blood flow freely — "Raise rents mercilessly until your vacancy rate is 5 percent. Whenever your vacancy rate is beneath 5 percent . . . you're not charging enough." John T. Reed, author of *How to Manage Apartments for Maximum Cash Flow and Resale Value*.

N.Y. march of 3,000 demands end to racist violence

Continued from back page
away the key!"

A number of those in the march cited the Howard Beach case, as well as other recent assaults they knew about through their own experience, as the reason they thought the demonstration was important.

"We have suffered racial injustice too," said Cano, a 25-year-old telephone worker, who had helped organize a contingent of 20 young Dominicans for the march.

Alice Snipper: more than four decades in fight for socialism

BY JOEL BRITTON

LOS ANGELES — Alice Snipper, a long-time member of the Socialist Workers Party, died in late December of cancer. She was 74 and had been residing in the San Francisco Bay Area in recent years.

Most of her 43 years of active membership in the SWP were in Los Angeles, where she joined the party in 1940. During World War II she participated in the party's turn to the industrial unions, working as a shipfitter's assistant in a shipyard. She was a member of the Marine Shipyard Workers Union-CIO and active in the San Pedro branch of the party during the war.

Alice was part of a generation of party stalwarts who maintained their revolutionary political bearings through the difficult years of anticommunist reaction in the late 1940s and '50s. She was among the party activists who kept the organization going so a new generation of young people inspired by the Cuban revolution could find a party dedicated to helping bring working people to power in this country.

Known for her diligent efforts to raise money for the party, Alice pitched in year after year to insure that projects like rummage sales were properly organized. She hosted fundraisers along with her husband Henry, who was also in the party for many years.

Party members and supporters here reminded each other recently of Alice's keen interest in and active support for the move-

"That's why we think it's important to participate in this kind of action."

"I'm here to see that justice is done," said Cilda Howard, a shop steward in a midtown hotel for Local 6 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. "Those Howard Beach guys should get 25 years with no probation!"

Barbara Jones, a city employee marching with her union, Communications Workers Local 1180, said she was at the

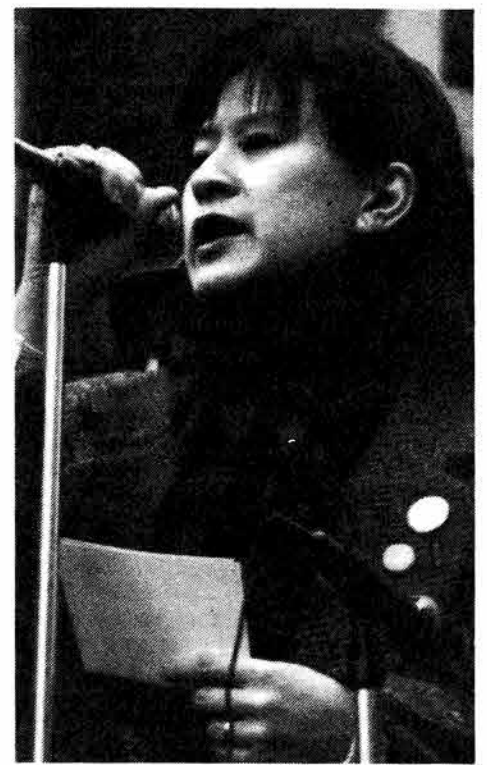
march "because I think anyone should be able to go anywhere in this city without being killed."

She explained she had relatives in Queens and relatives in Brooklyn who can't visit each other by the most direct route because it would mean changing buses in Woodhaven, a white neighborhood in Queens where they are afraid to go. Instead, they have to take an extra hour to go by subway.

Ann Francis and Phyllis Meade, two organizers for Local 1199 who marched with its contingent, were proud their local had helped get the march off the ground. "We came because we're members of Local 1199 and we believe in justice," said Meade.

Nick Whitaker, a cross-country bus driver with Greyhound, marched in from Brooklyn with a banner identifying his union, Local 1202 of the Amalgamated Transportation Union. Whitaker is white. He marched, he said, because he had come to realize the similarity between "the oppression of poor people, Blacks, and minorities and the stand the big companies take against unions."

Nancy Blythe and Ed Warren also contributed to this article.



Militant/Sam Manuel
Mae Ngai of Chinese Progressive Association was among speakers at rally preceding March for Racial Justice.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25c
Jan. 27, 1978

Between 1 and 5 people were killed, at least 20 injured, and more than 130 arrested January 12, when Nicaraguan National Guardsmen attacked demonstrators protesting the murder of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro.

Chamorro, owner and editor of *La Prensa*, was an outspoken critic of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle. The protests that were attacked took place after 30,000 people turned out for Chamorro's funeral in Managua.

The day before, angry crowds burned down five factories, two banks (including a branch of Citibank of New York), and a blood plasma firm, Plasmaferesis.

According to the Associated Press, Plasmaferesis is "partially owned by the Somoza family and was accused by Chamorro's newspaper of making a profit in Western Europe and the United States on blood it bought from poor Nicaraguans."

A *New York Times* dispatch by Alan Riding reported that while Managua was quiet on January 13, "many factories were closed and union leaders were urging workers to walk off their jobs."

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
Jan. 28, 1963 Price 10c

In one of the most important speeches of the revolution, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro January 16 made a clear call for revolutions in Latin America. The speech was delivered to the congress of American Women in Havana.

Castro's speech began with a call for the end of discrimination against women. He told his audience — mostly women from Latin American countries, with observers from Europe and Asia — that due to their double exploitation, women have a double reason to help lead Latin American revolutions today. "The art of the revolutionary," he said, "is the art of leading the masses into the fight."

"There have been some trite theoreticians who have asserted that in Cuba there took place a peaceful change from capitalism to socialism," Castro said. He referred to the battle against the Batista dictatorship, which cost 20,000 rebel lives, and declared: "This was not any peaceful change. It was a change brought about by combat, without which there would not have been any transformation in our country."

"Those are historical truths," he continued, "and we believe that at least about our historical truths we have a right to speak and we are not going to permit that certain theoreticians from a distance . . . tell us what happened here. . . . Such false interpretations of history tend to create that conformism that suits imperialism so well . . . tend to create resignation . . . tend to create reformism. . . ."

"Such false interpretations of history do not square with the existing situations in the great majority of Latin American countries where objective conditions [favor revolution] — and the imperialists have seen all too clearly that these objective conditions exist — but what is lacking are subjective conditions. And those subjective conditions are created with historical truth and not by falsifying history."

Castro said he was not opposed to the peaceful elimination of exploitation but that history showed no example where it had taken place.

Haitians boycott sham elections

Continued from front page

sued a statement that said, in part, "Though we take note of the fact that some Haitians did vote, it is not possible to portray Sunday's voting as fully free and open." However, the U.S. government, it continued, "is gratified that these elections took place in an atmosphere free of violence." State Department spokesman Charles Redman indicated that the phony election did not pose a problem for Washington maintaining "relations with whatever government comes out of this." Redman said U.S. government aid to Haiti, cut off after the November election, would be withheld

pending "moves toward greater democracy." Washington has supported the KNG since it assumed power following the ouster of Duvalier.

In Ottawa, Canadian External Affairs Minister Joe Clark said that the Canadian government would not recognize the outcome of the election. The French government also issued a critical statement.

In the days leading up to January 17, the toilers of Haiti and the rest of the Caribbean and Central America were menaced by giant naval maneuvers carried out by the U.S., Canadian, and other imperialist governments. The exercises involved 41 ships and 23,000 military personnel, and included a mock marine invasion of the island of Vieques off Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican people have long protested the use of Vieques for U.S. military purposes.

Labor news in the Militant

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Provocation against North Korea

Washington and the military rulers of South Korea are using the Olympic Games, scheduled to be held this summer in Seoul, as part of an aggressive campaign to isolate the regime in North Korea.

In 1981 the International Olympic Committee selected the South Korean capital as the site for the 1988 games. This was a provocative move, directed particularly at the government of North Korea.

Korea has been a divided country since the end of World War II, when Japanese colonial rule collapsed and U.S. military forces occupied the southern part of the country. After military conflict began between South and North Korea in 1950, the U.S. government launched a full-scale war to support the capitalist regime in the south and reestablish capitalist rule in the north. Despite bombing raids that devastated the entire country and caused massive casualties, the U.S. aggression failed and Washington was forced to accept an armistice.

Since then South Korea has been occupied by tens of thousands of U.S. troops. The succession of brutal and unpopular regimes there have provided a beachhead for U.S. imperialism on the mainland of Asia.

The decision to hold the Olympic Games in South Korea alone was in line with Washington's continuing effort to politically isolate the regime in the north and block reunification of the country, which the North Korean government has strongly advocated.

The North Korean government responded to the provocation by proposing that the two regimes cohost the games.

The Cuban government called for an international campaign in support of North Korea's proposal. "Cuba's participation in the games is unthinkable" unless North Korea's reasonable proposal was accepted, Cuban head of state Fidel Castro declared in 1986.

The North Korean government's demand for simple justice has been arrogantly rejected. The International Olympic Committee — an outfit that Castro described as "led by the rich countries and the old colonial centers" — offered only to hold all or part of five minor events in North Korea.

North Korea and its supporters have made little headway in blocking this discriminatory move. So far, 160 countries, including the Soviet Union and China, have agreed to send teams, to the Seoul Olympics. According to the *Washington Post*, South Korea's rulers — and presumably their sponsors in Washington — hail this fact as

a victory for their efforts to prove that the regime in South Korea is "the legitimate government of the divided peninsula."

On January 11 the North Korean government reiterated that it would not attend the games unless both Korean governments were designated as cohosts. It offered to hold further negotiations on this.

On January 15, in the wake of the North Korean announcement, Cuba formally rejected attending the Olympics unless North Korea's demands were met.

Moves are now under way to further punish North Korea and those who solidarize with its call for fair play on this matter. The International Olympic Committee is considering a proposal to bar any country that boycotts the 1988 games from the 1992 events. Moreover, the president of the Pan-American Sports Organization has raised the possibility that the decision to hold the 1992 Pan-American Games in Havana, Cuba, will be rescinded.

As the campaign to isolate North Korea through the Olympics moved into higher gear, the South Korean government charged that North Korea was responsible for the November midair explosion of a Korean Air plane, in which 115 passengers were killed.

One of the two Koreans charged in the incident reportedly committed suicide while in custody. The other, after more than a month in custody of the South Korean authorities, made a televised public confession January 15. She claimed to have carried out the bombing on the personal orders of Kim Jong Il, the son of North Korean President Kim Il Sung. The Seoul government placed its military forces on high alert and threatened "retaliation."

"Some may wonder if yesterday's confession was coerced, a reasonable suspicion given Seoul's recent police practices," conceded the January 16 *New York Times*. Nonetheless the *Times* urged its readers to suppress all such doubts and swallow the official version.

On the basis of the unsupported confession, the *Times* proclaimed the North Korean government an "outlaw" that "deserves no host's role in the Olympic Games."

The refusal to allow the North Korean government to cohost the Olympic Games is an outrageous injustice. So are the threats against Cuba for its stance in defense of North Korea. And the use of frame-up methods by the South Korean government to fuel the campaign to isolate the government of the north is cut from the same pattern. They should be opposed.

Protest U.S. aid to contras

Continued from front page

done so despite Washington's blatant attempts to sabotage the accords by continuing to finance the contras.

The Honduran government has continued to provide the contras with bases in Honduran territory in open violation of the peace accords. That government is also currently being tried by the Inter-American Court on charges of maintaining army "death squads" that have caused the "disappearances" of civilians. Two of the main witnesses in the case, one of them a regional director of the Honduran Human Rights Commission, have been shot to death recently.

Just prior to the January 15 meeting of the Central American presidents to assess the progress made in implementing the agreement, Reagan sent national security advisor Lt. Gen. Colin Powell on a tour of the region to push for a hard line against Nicaragua. Powell was accompanied by assistant secretary of state in charge of Latin American affairs, Elliott Abrams.

According to the January 13 *New York Times*, Powell threatened Central American governments with economic and political retribution if they don't publicly back the contras. If the contras wither, "there will not be a sudden surge of interest in things Central American or other kinds of aid," said Powell.

Powell also asserted that without the constraint of the contras, Nicaragua would represent a formidable threat to other countries in the region.

But it is not Nicaragua that has promoted tyranny and war in Central America, and the desperate poverty of the majority. It is U.S. bankers and businessmen who squeeze working people, exploit natural resources, and destroy the environment in Central America in their pursuit of profits. And it is the U.S. government that arms and finances dictatorships, death squads, and the contras who daily maim, rape, kidnap, and murder civilians throughout Latin America.

On January 16 President Ortega announced that the Sandinista government would agree to direct talks with the contras in an effort to negotiate a cease-fire agreement and also announced an amnesty for jailed contras.

Reagan's proposal for more aid to the contras comes in the face of these new concessions by Nicaragua designed to push forward the peace process begun in Central America. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater made it clear that even if Nicaragua carried out its latest offer, only the size and nature of the new aid requested for the contras would change.

Congressional supporters and opponents of contra aid continue to split hairs over how much, what kind, and the duration of aid — or they haggle over how many concessions the Sandinista government must make.

But the U.S. government has no right to interfere in Nicaragua, Central America, or anywhere else in the world. Nicaragua has the right to live in peace. We must demand: "No to contra aid!"

Voluntary labor in the struggle for communism

BY DOUG JENNESS

A reader from Portland, Oregon, recently sent me a copy of a page from a book with a photograph of Russian communist leader V.I. Lenin participating in a volunteer work brigade. Lenin, together with army cadets, was shown clearing away building rubble in the vicinity of the Kremlin on May 1, 1920.

The occasion was the first countrywide "subbotnik." Subbotniks ("communist Saturdays") were the voluntary work carried out for the benefit of the people as a whole.

Our correspondent from Oregon suggested that I take this subject up. It's particularly timely to do so, because an important experience with voluntary labor is taking

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

place right now in Cuba. In fact, volunteer work brigades — "minibrigades" or "microbrigades" depending on the translation — are spearheading the drive in Cuba to develop greater social and political consciousness and increase labor productivity. They are in the forefront of the fight to advance the revolutionary process in that country toward communism.

This week we are publishing a significant speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro evaluating the place of these brigades in the revolution, their achievements, and the obstacles they face (see *International Socialist Review* in this issue).

Lenin was a champion of voluntary labor and explained its importance in advancing the struggle for communism. As a result of the October 1917 revolution, political rule of the capitalists and landlords was overturned in Russia.

In its first three years, the new workers' and peasants' regime struggled to defend and consolidate its rule in the face of an imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary war.

Parallel to the fight working people were waging on the battlefield, a struggle was launched to maintain production and keep transportation running. The first subbotniks were initiated as part of this effort in 1919 by rail workers of the Moscow-Kazan Railway. Their example soon spread to other workplaces and the revolution's communist leadership sought to extend this experience throughout the country.

Lenin pointed out that as hard as it is to overturn capitalist rule it "is more difficult, more essential, more radical, and more decisive" to overcome "the habits that accursed capitalism left as a heritage to the worker and peasant." Lenin described this as "the entire atmosphere of bickering, distrust, enmity, disunity, and mutual intrigue that is inevitably generated and constantly regenerated by petty individual economy, the economy of private owners. . . ."

Lenin said the work habits and broader social understanding developed from voluntary labor pointed the way to breaking down the heritage of capitalism.

Communist labor — that is, the labor of free men and women — he said, "is labor performed gratis for the benefit of society. Labor performed not as a definite duty, not for the purpose of obtaining a right to certain products, not according to previously established and legally fixed quotas, but voluntary labor, irrespective of quotas. It is labor performed without expectation of reward, without reward as a condition, labor performed because it has become a habit to work for the common good. . . ."

Lenin noted that under capitalism working people, particularly in rural areas, had willingly helped each other without expectation of pay. But, he said, the subbotniks were something new that went beyond this. "This is not helping one's neighbor in the way that has always been customary in the countryside," he said, "it is work done to meet the needs of the country as a whole, and it is organized on a broad scale. . . ."

Lenin recognized Soviet Russia in his time was far away from making the spirit of volunteer labor a part of everyday life for all workers. That would require, he said, a gigantic increase in labor productivity and elimination of the prejudices inherited from capitalism.

But the subbotniks, he explained, represented the first steps toward communist labor.

"The feudal organization of social labor rested on the discipline of the bludgeon," he said. And the "capitalist organization of social labor rested on the discipline of hunger" — that is, if you don't work, you don't eat.

The communist organization of social labor, however, "rests, and will do so more and more as time goes on, on the free and conscious discipline of the workers themselves who have thrown off the yoke both of the landlords and capitalists."

Under Lenin's leadership, participation in voluntary work became a condition for membership in the Communist Party. Nothing helped so much to increase the party's political influence, he said, than for nonparty peasants and workers to see that members of the governing party were not using their positions to seek privileges; but, instead had obligations and duties. They were required to set an example to all working people.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The women's rights movement that sprang up in the late 1960s championed the liberalization of the country's

In 1970 California pioneered in eliminating the need to prove that one partner was at "fault" as the basis for divorce. By 1984, South Dakota was the only state that hadn't changed its divorce laws along the lines of California's. Now, neither partner has to prove fault in

A 1986 White House report claimed, "The divorce epidemic not only has devastated childhood, it has brought financial ruin to millions of women." Divorce re-

Supporters of women's equality should support the automatic right to divorce on the request of either partner. Husbands should be legally required to provide alimony and child-support payments. This should be combined with government provision for jobs and/or job training for the divorced woman, and economic welfare for her and her children.

January 29, 1988 The Militant 23

New York march hits racist violence

Protesters demand penalties for lynchers and killer cops

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NEW YORK — Chanting "Fired up, won't take no more!" several thousand antiracist protesters marched through the streets here January 18 and rallied at City Hall.

The demonstration, sponsored by a broad coalition, New Yorkers for Racial Justice, was called in response to violent attacks by racist thugs and shootings of Blacks by city cops.

The action — which coincided with observance of Martin Luther King Day — drew some 3,000 participants from scores of unions, high schools, colleges, and civil rights, women's rights, and gay rights organizations.

Notable in the crowd were the large number of young people — white, Black, Latino, and Asian — and the number of marchers carrying banners or wearing insignia identifying themselves as union members. A third or more of the antiracist protesters were white.

The rally and march were enthusiastic, despite the weather — a cold mist and rain that fell all morning. The turnout was substantial even though a number of other antiracist actions were held in other parts of the city that day.

The protest included a contingent of 200 from Local 1199 Hospital and Health Care Employees. Local 1199 played a big part in making the demonstration possible, providing the organizers with office space.

The protest also included a contingent of several hundred that marched into Manhattan across the Brooklyn Bridge.

At the rally, State Sen. David Paterson read nearly a dozen names of recent highly publicized cases in which Blacks, and members of other oppressed national minorities have been murdered by racist thugs or cops.

As a response, he called for support for legislation he has proposed that would increase the penalties for such crimes and establish a permanent special prosecutor to investigate and prosecute them.

Support for this legislation was part of the official call for the demonstration, and most of the speakers who followed backed it.

From the crowd, the biggest response seemed to come when speakers called for more protest and zeroed in on the reality of

officially sanctioned racism in New York City.

'Tell it like it is'

Shouts of "Yes, tell it like it is" greeted the remarks of New York Civil Liberties Union leader Norman Siegel, who pointed toward City Hall and denounced the city government for failing to protect Blacks from racist violence.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a leader of the contingent that marched in from Brooklyn, drew cheers and applause when he pledged, "Whenever racist violence rears its ugly head, we're going to stand against it."

Major Owens, U.S. congressional representative from Brooklyn, also encouraged continued actions.

"Look around you," he told the rally. "We are the majority. The power is in our hands. Our grievances are just. We have reasonable demands."

"We should be ready with every outrage in our power to see that these demands are met."

Mae Ngai from the Chinese Progressive Association said, "The struggle of Blacks in the United States is an inspiration to Asian-Americans." To applause from the crowd, Ngai stated, "It's not Japanese workers or Toyota that takes jobs from U.S. workers, it's Chrysler and GM!"

Hardyal Singh, a leader of the Indian community in nearby Jersey City, New Jersey, was invited up from the crowd to tell of the rash of attacks on Indians and Pakistanis that has occurred there recently. "We have to force the police to protect newly arrived immigrants," Singh said.

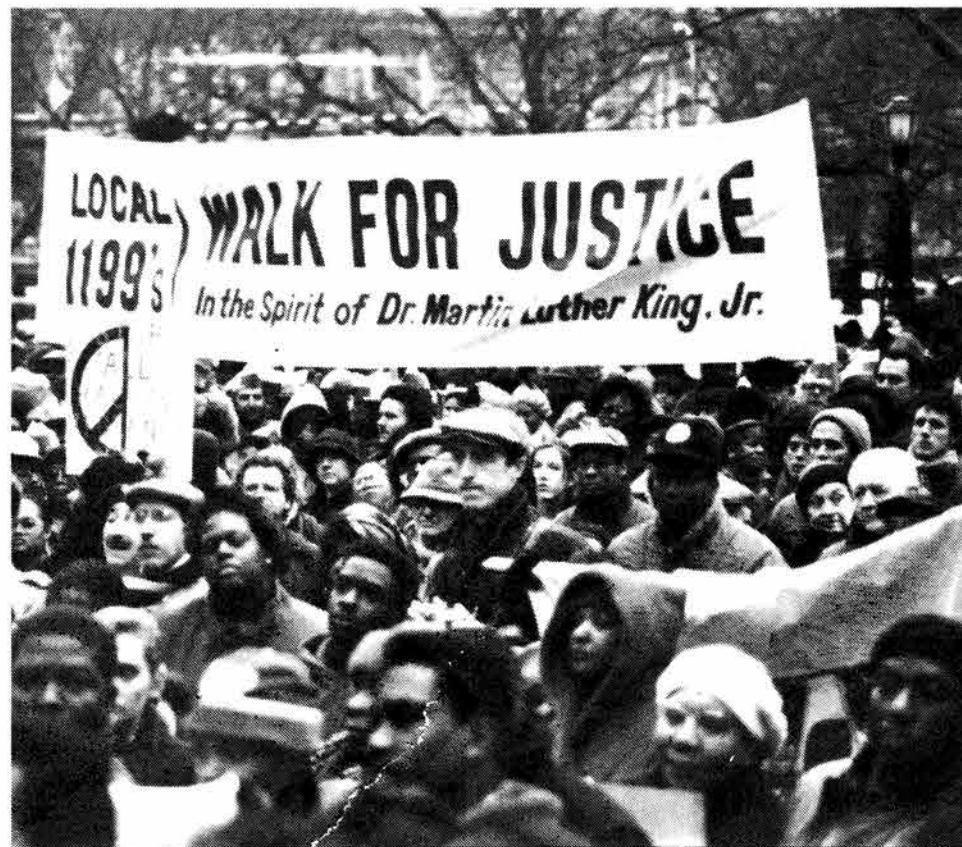
'Enforce the laws'

Richie Perez of the Latino Coalition for Racial Justice indicated his support for new legislation but added, "Laws alone are not enough."

"We also have to have the will to enforce these laws," he said. "This racist violence has got to be punished."

Perez reminded the audience that those who fight for progress are among those most likely to be victims of police attacks and police violence. He cited in particular the case of the Hartford 16, supporters of Puerto Rican independence who are being held in the United States under preventive detention laws.

Other speakers included State Assem-



Militant/Osborne Hart

Hospital workers contingent at January 18 antiracist action of 3,000 in New York

blyman Roger Green and Zoilo Torres of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, who cochaired the rally; Stanley Hill, executive director, District Council 37 of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins; Zola Dube, representing the fighting young people of South Africa; and David Westheimer of the Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Coalition.

A range of chants was heard along the march route. Most popular were "No jus-

tice, no peace" and "Whose streets? Our streets!" — a direct reply to racists who think they can tell Blacks or anyone else there are parts of this city where they can't go.

Marchers also invented some chants as they marched along. One referred to the notorious Howard Beach case, where the three white thugs convicted in December of manslaughter faced sentencing a few days later: "Maximum time for the Howard Beach Three. Lock them up and throw

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Open house draws many youths

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — "We are proud of what we did out there a short while ago," said Francisco Picado, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, to more than 70 people gathered at an open house at the Pathfinder Bookstore here. The open house followed the January 18 March for Racial Justice.

Picado continued, "We mobilized with others to let this city know that racist violence must come to an end."

A huge banner carried at the demonstration by YSA members and supporters summed up the fighting perspective of the youth organization: "Stop racist attacks; jail the racist lynchers and killer cops — Young Socialist Alliance."

The YSA marched with other youth contingents: SOS Racism (a high school antiracist group), Children for World-wide Peace, youth from the Young Korean-American Service and Education Center, and representatives of Black fraternities in New York.

Accompanied by Korean kettledrums, the youth reached out to Palestinian groups behind them, chanting, "End all racist attacks, from New York to Gaza, we're beating them back." And they linked up with gay rights activists marching ahead of them, chanting, "Gay straight, Black white — same struggle same fight." The chants were taken up by the other groups and rang through the Wall Street area.

The favorite chant of the youth groups was "Jail all the killer cops, racist violence has got to stop."

The YSA's banner had been painted at a banner-making party the day before at the

Pathfinder Bookstore. High school students from Bronx Science came to the party and made their own banner, which they carried in the demonstration.

Among the guests at the open house were nearly a dozen Bronx Junior High School students with their teacher. When asked if he wanted to be on the YSA mailing list, one student responded, "You bet! It looks like interesting things go on here."

Meg Hall, a student at the State University of New York at Purchase had come into New York City for the second weekend in a row to attend events at the Pathfinder Bookstore. Hall told the *Militant*, "I'm really thinking about joining the YSA. I've had a lot of good talks here. When I talk to people in the YSA I get a lot more information than when I talk to anybody else."

Picado emphasized that the more youth in the United States are able to unite their struggles with those of the oppressed and exploited around the world, "to that degree we will be able to get out of the dead end that capitalism offers us — racism, unemployment, homelessness, and war."

In conclusion, the Young Socialist leader said, "To join this international struggle, you need an organization that puts these struggles together and takes action. I think that sums up what the Young Socialist Alliance is. Join us. It will be one of the best moves of your life."

Members of the YSA joined other supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in selling 96 copies of the papers and eight subscriptions. Nearly \$500 in literature was sold at the demonstration and open house.

Ariz. march demands King holiday, chants 'King yes, — Mecham no!'

BY BARBARA GREENWAY

PHOENIX — Led by banner-carrying members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, some 5,000 marchers braved high winds and rain to demand a Martin Luther King state holiday in Arizona.

Union banners and contingents representing the homeless were prominent in the January 18 event.

There were several contingents representing units of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, including one from San Antonio, Texas. They were greeted by applause from Arizona state workers observing the demonstration from offices along the march route.

Among the other union contingents were those from the Laborers' International Union, United Food and Commercial Workers, and International Association of Machinists. A contingent from the post office mail handlers' union was identified by their union jackets and hats.

Other groups in the march included the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Urban League, and the Black-Jewish Coalition.

The two most popular chants were "King yes — Mecham no!" "Hey, hey, ho, ho — Mecham's got to go!" This was an expression of the overwhelming sentiment against Arizona Gov. Evan Mecham.

When Mecham assumed office a year ago he rescinded King Day as a holiday, sparking widespread protests. The governor is notorious for his abusive remarks about Blacks, women, Jews, Japanese, and homosexuals.

On the same day as the demonstration, petitions to recall Mecham, which would compel the holding of a new gubernatorial election, were certified by county officials. Some 300,000 signatures — well over the 216,000 required for recall — were valid.

A select committee of the state House of Representatives has opened hearings on impeaching Mecham. A special House counsel reported January 15 that Mecham had violated several laws, including failure to report a \$350,000 campaign loan. Mecham has also been indicted by a state grand jury on six counts of perjury and violating campaign finance laws.