

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Introduction to new edition  
of Che's 'Bolivian Diary'

International Socialist Review — PAGES 5-12

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 58/NO. 35 OCTOBER 10, 1994

## U.S. occupation force tightens grip on Haiti

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

With a 18,000-strong occupation force in place in Haiti, Washington is increasingly asserting its control over this Caribbean nation. The invasion, which purportedly was set in motion to pave the way for the return of exiled Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide by October 15, has been conducted in close cooperation with Haiti's military rulers — the very same thugs responsible for the reign of terror directed against Haiti's workers and peasants over the past three years.

Under an agreement announced by U.S. president Bill Clinton September 18, Haiti's military strongman, Gen. Raoul Cédras, is to step down from government as Aristide returns.

While seeking to work closely with Haiti's military forces, Washington's plan has been complicated by the deep hatred felt by masses of Haitian working people toward the army and police forces.

In Cap-Haïtien, the country's second-largest city, U.S. Marines shot dead 10 Haitian military men September 24. According to U.S. officials, the incident occurred after Haitian police officers pulled out their pistols in front of a crowd of Aristide supporters chanting anti-Cédras slogans, and raised them in the direction of U.S. troops in the area.

### Haitian military flee after killings

Some 400 Cap-Haïtien military personnel fled after the killings. Hundreds of Haitian working people then stormed the police stations and army barracks. They threw arrest records into the streets and marched through town displaying the weapons they had seized. The demonstrators then sought out U.S. Marines on the scene to return the weapons to them.

"I'd say we're the government now," stated Marine Lieut. Col. John McGyre.



U.S. troops on patrol in Port-au-Prince September 24. The country's second largest city, Cap-Haïtien, is effectively under U.S. martial law. "I'd say we're the government now," stated Marine Lieut. Col. John McGyre.

According to the September 27 *New York Times*, "Cap-Haïtien is essentially under American martial law."

When U.S. Marines first landed ashore in Cap-Haïtien, they took the town with a massive display of military force. Cobra helicopter gunships bristling with high-explosive rockets and 20-millimeter cannons circled overhead as amphibious armored vehicles came ashore. Their first action was to disarm the Haitian military officers they encountered on the city's main dock — only to be instructed by their officers to return the weapons.

Similarly, when U.S. forces landed in the southern Haitian town of Jacmel, residents there responded by surrounding a Haitian soldier and taking away his rifle. U.S. troops intervened to return the weapon to the soldier.

"I think there is general confusion," stated an unnamed U.S. soldier deployed in Jacmel to the *Wall Street Journal*. "We are not doing anything to deconstruct their [the Haitian army's] position in the country."

In Port-au-Prince, the country's capital,

Continued on page 3

## Auto workers strike GM for more jobs

BY HOLLY HARKNESS  
AND CINDY JAQUITH

FLINT, Michigan — Nearly 12,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 599, the largest General Motors local in North America, walked out of the 25 plants

that make up GM's Buick City complex September 27.

The strikers are protesting the company's refusal to hire more workers while they impose massive overtime and murderous speedup that is resulting in increased stress, exhaustion, and injuries.

GM has cut its U.S. workforce in order to be more competitive with Ford and Chrysler. One recent study showed that it takes about four GM workers per day to build one car, but only about three at Ford or Chrysler.

The Buick City complex plays a strategic role in GM's international production. One plant in the complex makes the torque converter used in transmissions for more than 80 percent of all cars and trucks GM sells in the United States and Canada.

Many workers on the picket line said they were working six to seven days a week and nine to 12 hours a day. They said the speed on one line increased recently from 65 to 77 cars per hour. "You can't even leave the line to get a drink of water," said one UAW member.

"We have more than 1,000 workers on sick leave," Dave Yettaw, president of UAW Local 599 told the press. "At some point organized labor has got to get off its knees. We haven't learned the lessons of our forefathers, that an injury to one is an injury to all."

Strikers reported that no union members were crossing the picket lines. But dozens of foremen attempted to drive through the line at the West Leith gate the first day. They were turned away by calm but disciplined picketers who maintained a tight line throughout the day.

Several foremen waited in front of the

Continued on page 14



Militant/John Sarge  
Unionists picket GM's Buick City complex in Flint, Michigan, September 27.

## 'Release Curtis from lockup' now

BY JOHN STUDER

"I am writing to you as General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, the largest trade union in South Africa and Africa," states Kgalema Motlanthe in his letter to Sally Chandler Halford, director of the Iowa Department of Corrections. "It is with deep regret and horror that we have learnt of the case of Mark Curtis in Iowa State Penitentiary. We ask you to release him from lockup and to investigate the nature of this latest verdict and his previous sentencing."

"As someone who has spent eleven years in prison and as General Secretary of a union whose members have also experienced long prison sentences, life imprisonment, and time on death row in the struggle to free South Africa," Motlanthe said, "I know the destructive and inhumane nature of similar conditions."

"Mark Curtis's 'crime' was being an active trade unionist, defending workers' rights, and marching against police racism and for women's equality. The same battles we have been fighting here in South Africa," he concluded.

This letter is one of hundreds that have

Continued on page 14

## Cuban gov't blasts Haiti occupation

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The Cuban government has vigorously condemned the U.S. invasion of neighboring Haiti. In a September 21 statement, Cuba's foreign ministry denounced the intervention as a case of "gunboat diplomacy, under the auspices of the United Nations."

The statement added, "We firmly oppose this kind of flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state and alert world opinion to the dangers that actions of this nature represent to international peace and security."

Radio Havana reported that in a September 20 interview, Cuban National Assembly president Ricardo Alarcón stated that Washington's "real goal" is to "organize Haiti's future in concert with [coup leader Raoul] Cédras." In this way, Alarcón was

Continued on page 4

### SPECIAL OFFER

**\$20** BOOK AND 12-WEEK  
SUBSCRIPTION TO THE  
MILITANT

### TO SPEAK THE TRUTH

Why Washington's 'Cold War' against  
Cuba Doesn't End

FIDEL CASTRO AND CHE GUEVARA

Why the U.S. government is determined to destroy the example set by the socialist revolution in Cuba and why its effort will fail. Introduction by Mary-Alice Waters.

\$12 book only (normally \$16.95)



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write  
Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212)727-0150.  
If ordering by mail please include \$3 to cover postage and handling.



Curtis describes prison life in 'the hole' — page 15





## General strike waged in Algeria

Tens of thousands of Berbers staged a general strike in Algeria September 21 as a show of force against the military government. A two-week school boycott demanding the teaching of the Berber language preceded the strike. An estimated 9 million Algerians speak Berber, about one-third of the population. Organizers are threatening an indefinite strike if their demands are not met.

The one-day walkout underlined the sharpening of the struggle against the government of President Liamine Zeroual. Five main opposition parties are taking part in talks with the government now. However, leaders of the Berbers have refused to join in since the government has not committed itself to relinquishing power.

## Lagos purges military officers

Nigerian military leader Gen. Sani Abacha fired 15 top armed forces officers in a purge of political opponents, Associated Press reported September 21. The 15 military commanders, who included some generals, had argued for a civilian government. Some 25 air force officers have also been reassigned, according to the government newspaper. Abacha recently routed a nine-week prodemocracy strike led by oil workers. Opponents were jailed, newspapers shut down, and draconian decrees issued setting the regime above all laws.

## Indonesia labor leader faces trial

Muchtar Pakpahan, the leader of the Indonesian Workers' Welfare Union, went on trial September 19 on charges of inciting violent riots. The Indonesian Workers' Welfare Union, the country's largest unofficial labor organization, led a struggle last spring protesting low wages and benefits. The Indonesian regime, which recognizes only a progovernment union, has refused to acknowledge the Workers' Welfare Union. Pakpahan could be jailed for as long as six years if convicted.

## Philippines blast kills 81 miners

A methane gas explosion on August 29 killed at least 81 coal miners in Malangas, a town 500 miles south of Manila. About 170 miners were working underground



A mother with her son, who is suffering from a recent outbreak of pneumonic plague in India. Some 300 people have died. Survivors blame government policies, which subject working people to overcrowding, pollution, and filth.

when the explosion occurred. It was the country's worst mining disaster ever.

Officials from the state-run Philippine National Oil Co. say the miners hit a pocket of methane gas. Some miners disagree, blaming the blast on dynamite.

## Japan's seniority system to end

Japanese companies plan to eliminate workers' seniority rights and introduce a merit-based system, according to a report issued by the Labor Ministry. In the past, Japanese capitalists have been able to remain competitive against their imperialist rivals and sustain economic growth by keeping labor costs down while minimizing unemployment. This, the report says, promoted enthusiasm about work and improved staff training. But now, according to the Labor Ministry, this system is weakening due to the prolonged recession, the number of older workers, and the gains women have made on the job market.

## Strike looms at Czech auto plant

Czech workers are threatening strike action at the Skoda Automobilová plant after the company announced September 20 it

intended to lay off 800 workers by the end of the year. Skoda states that the layoffs are needed to become more competitive in the world market. The Czech-Moravian council of trade unions said it would support the unions at Skoda if the workers at the company's main plant voted to strike.

## Ukraine facing social explosion

Ukraine, with the highest level of unemployment in Eastern and Central Europe, is approaching economic collapse, according to a report by the United Nations International Labor Organization (ILO). Attempts to bring Ukraine's economy into the world capitalist market have led to more than a third of Ukrainian companies firing 12 percent of their workforce in the past year. More than 25 percent of factory managers expect their enterprises to flop within a year, the ILO said.

## Immigrant attacked in Germany

A 25-year-old man from Ghana was stabbed, beaten, and kicked off a moving commuter train in Germany by six rightist thugs September 17. This was the latest in a series of attacks on immigrant workers. More than 30 people have been killed in rightist violence since 1990.

German cops, as well as right-wing goons, have been involved in brutalizing immigrants. Twenty seven German cops were suspended in mid-September after being accused of beating foreign detainees. A complaint was filed by the Nigerian government over 24 unexplained deaths of Nigerians in German custody since 1991.

## Suit filed on Brazilian debt

The U.S. government has stepped in to oppose a lawsuit filed by the Dart family, which seeks repayment of \$1.4 billion in Brazilian bank loans. The Dart family, a major U.S. investor that owns more than

50 percent of Brazilian loans, could demand immediate repayment from the Brazilian government under a 1988 agreement. They have refused to join in a \$52 billion bank debt restructuring agreement reached in April.

The Dart suit is seeking payment of interest arrears. Washington, for its part, says that a successful claim by the Darts would undermine the "voluntary restructuring of sovereign debt."

## Honduran cops attack protest

Honduran police assaulted a demonstration of 400 people protesting food price increases September 21, injuring 10 people. The melee lasted four hours as the protesters drove back riot cops and armed soldiers with rocks and bottles.

Prices for basic goods such as corn, milk, coffee, and eggs have increased by more than 300 percent in the past three weeks. Honduran economy minister Delmer Urbizo said the government would introduce price controls and regulate the cost of basic goods.

## Rally against Klan in Missouri

More than 300 people gathered to counter a Ku Klux Klan rally September 17 in Clayton, Missouri, a wealthy suburb of St. Louis. The mostly youthful crowd booed the 14 racists as they stood at attention holding U.S. and Confederate flags. Students from John Burroughs and St. Louis University high schools participated in the demonstration.

Workers from the Hazelwood Ford plant and several plants organized by the United Steelworkers of America were among the trade unionists protesting against the Klan. Jim Turner, financial secretary of the Steelworkers local at Cerro Copper, said, "It's important that we show that racism doesn't go hand in hand with unionism."

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

Becky Ellis, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in St. Louis, contributed to this column.

## WHEN WRITING FOR THE 'MILITANT'...

Whenever possible articles to the Militant should be sent by electronic mail.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant. Internet email can be sent to: 73311.2720-@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

Articles that come in by E-mail save valuable labor time because they don't have to be typed or scanned, also making it less likely that errors will be introduced. So if you don't have a computer with a modem and E-mail, ask a friend or coworker who does to help you out.

## THE MILITANT

## Defend the Cuban revolution

*The 'Militant' provides on-the-scene coverage of how working people in Cuba are defending their revolution against Washington's unrelenting attacks. Its in-depth analysis of the debates and challenges confronting Cuba's workers, farmers, and youth helps arm supporters of the revolution around the world. Don't miss a single issue!*



## SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

### NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks  
RENEWAL

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION

PHONE

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the Militant outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £7 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £8 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,300 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

## The Militant

Vol. 58/No. 35

Closing news date: September 28, 1994

Editor: GEORGE FYSON

Managing Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Martin Koppel, Sara Lobman, Paul Mailhot, Greg Rosenberg, Pat Smith, Brian Williams, and Maurice Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant

Internet email: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a

U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. Asia: send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Canada: Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. Britain, Ireland: £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East: £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. France: Send FF300 for one-year subscription to Militant, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. Belgium: BF 1,900 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of IMei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. Iceland: Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia. Pacific Islands: Send Australian \$75 or New Zealand \$100 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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



# London stalls on talks with Sinn Fein

BY RICH PALSER

LONDON — British prime minister John Major visited Belfast September 16 to promise a referendum in Northern Ireland on any agreement reached in forthcoming talks between London, Dublin, and parties in Northern Ireland. In the same speech, he announced that the British government was lifting the ban in the British media on direct transmissions of interviews with republican leaders. Northern Ireland secretary Patrick Mayhew announced that 10 border crossings to southern Ireland would be reopened.

These moves come two weeks after the Irish Republican Army (IRA) said it was ending military operations. In a joint statement known as the Downing Street declaration, London and Dublin said that Sinn Fein would be allowed to participate in the three-way talks three months after the IRA committed itself to "democratic and peaceful methods of resolving our political problems."

In a speech seen as appealing over the heads of rightist leaders, including Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party, Major stated, "Let me say clearly to all the people of Northern Ireland — The referendum means that it will be your choice whether to accept the outcome" of the talks. He said the timing of the vote would depend on when Sinn Fein renounced violence permanently and on the rate of progress of the talks. Once the IRA assured the truce was "in all circumstances, for all time," the three-month clock would start. The British government has maintained a military occupation of Northern Ireland for the past 25 years.

Labour Party leader Tony Blair greeted Major's announcement as a "very sensible step." Major's speech, made after consultation with Ulster Unionist leader James Molyneux, was generally welcomed by Ulster Unionist politicians. However, Peter Robinson of the Democratic Unionist Party, said, "By lifting the broadcasting ban, John Major de facto accepts the permanency of the IRA cease-fire."

In a statement issued September 8, the Combined Loyalist Military Command, an



British soldiers in Northern Ireland. Slogan on wall was demand of thousands of demonstrators who marched in Belfast August 14 to call for end to troop presence.

umbrella group of rightist terror groups that includes the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Freedom Fighters, ruled out a cease-fire until, among other things, they had proof that no deals were being made by London with the IRA, and assurance that Northern Ireland would remain within the United Kingdom.

## Rightist bomb attacks

A bomb planted by rightists was defused September 10 outside the home of Sinn Fein councilor John Hurl. Three days later two women were injured when a bomb partially exploded in a railway station in central Dublin. A statement issued by the Ulster Volunteer Force declared, "This is a warning to the Dublin government that Northern Ireland is still British and will not be coerced or persuaded into a United Ireland."

Major faces increased pressure from Dublin to accept the IRA cease-fire as permanent and to involve Sinn Fein in the talks. Speaking to the British Irish Associa-

tion, Irish foreign minister Dick Spring said that Sinn Fein, having committed itself to "democratic and peaceful methods," was "entitled in turn to respect for its democratic mandate, even if we don't like aspects of the politics they practice."

At the same time some senior Conservative Party politicians, including former cabinet minister Norman Lamont, have been campaigning for London to become "persuaders for the union." Lamont threatened a clash with Major at the forthcoming Tory conference. "The problem has been compounded by the British government's portrayal of itself as a disinterested, honest broker in the peace process," stated Lamont in an interview with the *Wall Street Journal*. "This of course is impossible. No government can be indifferent as to whether a part of its country switches allegiance." Lamont, however, welcomed Major's promise to hold a referendum.

Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams began a two-week tour of the United States on September 24. "There is a unique opportu-

nity for a lasting peace," he stated upon arriving in Boston. He also plans to visit New York; Washington, D.C.; Hartford, Connecticut; Detroit; Cleveland, Philadelphia; and San Francisco. Adams, who visited the United States on a two-day visa last February, had previously been barred from the country for the previous 20 years.

## Northern Ireland is artificial entity

Responding to Major's referendum announcement, Adams stated, "The six county statelet [of Northern Ireland] is an artificial and gerrymandered political entity with an inbuilt and permanent Unionist majority. The British government's imposed veto based on this artificial majority is undemocratic and unacceptable." He argued that decisions on how to measure popular agreement with the outcome of any talks should be part of those talks.

"The British government has enough to do governing Britain," Adams said at his Boston press conference. "The people of Ireland have the intelligence, the wit, and the right to govern themselves. But it is up to the people of Ireland to decide, not the people of Britain." Adams also said that Sinn Fein is not interested in setting up a Catholic state. "We don't want a situation where the Unionists leave," he said. "They have as much right to be on this island as I have." Meanwhile, Irish prime minister Albert Reynolds told reporters that moves towards a united Ireland could take 20 years or more.

He also advised Adams to cease supporting direct action aimed at reopening closed border crossings. Sinn Fein has been calling for civil disobedience to open the borders, and leading demonstrations demanding that British troops be withdrawn. "This is where we started from in 1961," Reynolds said he told Adams. "We started from civil disobedience into violence."

## Investment opportunities in Ireland

In another development, John Hume, a leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, flew to Washington to meet with officials in the Clinton administration to encourage initiatives for investment in Northern Ireland. Irish foreign minister Dick Spring has already met with President Clinton and agreed that an international fund for Ireland should identify opportunities for investment in the northern provinces.

Over the past 30 years, southern Ireland has attracted considerable foreign investment in manufacturing industry. By 1985 foreign-owned firms employed two-fifths of the work force in manufacturing and accounted for three-fifths of the output. Geared towards the European Community, they accounted for three-quarters of manufacturing exports in 1988. These companies are increasingly not only British but also U.S., German, and Japanese. They export sophisticated products ranging from electronic equipment to pharmaceuticals.

Northern Ireland has attracted less foreign investment. In July, unemployment there stood at 13.1 percent, compared to 9.2 percent in England, 9.3 percent in Wales, and 9.6 percent in Scotland.

# U.S military tightens grip on Haiti

Continued from front page

U.S. military police are stepping up their road patrols throughout the city. At first, U.S. troops began accompanying Haitian cops on "parallel patrols." But increasingly as Haitian military police are being met with jeers and protests by working people, U.S. forces have assumed a more visible military role. U.S. troops are even being assigned to key police precincts in the city. They've also begun offering from \$50 to \$300 for weapons turned in by October 25.

Washington's plan is to restructure the Haitian military force into one that can more effectively maintain order and defend capitalist property relations. According to the *New York Times*, the leading candidate to conduct this retraining operation is former New York City police commissioner Raymond Kelly.

The U.S. military already trained large sections of the current Haitian military force, including Cédras and police chief Michel François. The CIA, for example, conducted courses in surveillance, interrogation, and weaponry for its "operatives" in Haiti.

## Some in Haitian military worried

But today, many of the current members of the Haitian military force are deeply worried about what the future holds for them. "You've been living on a block, terrorizing the people, killing the people, and they know you," one such individual told the *London Financial Times*. "Now, you've got no power, no guns. They're definitely going to kill you."

Emanuel Constant, head of the right-wing paramilitary group Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti (FRAPH), now sees the U.S. military occupation as a way to advance his own political career. He declared that 1994 would be "the year of the ballot, not the bullet." FRAPH as an adjunct of Haiti's military rulers has tortured and killed countless workers, peasants, and youth who supported Aristide.

Washington projects its mission as one to aid Haiti's downtrodden. In the Cité Soleil shantytown, U.S. troops delivered leaflets saying that they were here to "help you have democracy and to ease the suffering of all Haitians." And after the first week of occupation many Haitian workers and peasants support the U.S. military presence.

Many Haitian working people have taken to the streets to welcome the U.S. troops while also raising political demands in their fight for justice that they expect to be promptly met.

## 'Disarm the death squads'

In the largest political demonstration since the military seized power three years ago, thousands of protesters marched September 24 in Port-au-Prince shouting, "It's our time!" and "Aristide has won." Demonstrators carried signs saying, "Disarm the death squads." Others chanted, "Handcuff Cédras" and "Jail for the Macoutes," referring to the Tontons Macoutes, a thuggish paramilitary outfit set up by the Duvalier family dictatorship, which ruled Haiti from 1957 to 1986.

The same day in the city of Gonaïves, 60 miles north of the capital, a group of about 10,000 supporters of Aristide rallied outside army headquarters.

In Le Borgne, a northern coastal town near Cap-Haïtien, pro-Aristide demonstrators seized control of the town on September 27. Haitian military troops fled as protesters took control of police and army headquarters. The 20,000 people living in Le Borgne, faced particularly heavy repression from the military after Aristide was toppled in the September 1991 coup.

In Milot, another northern Haitian town, residents woke up September 26 to discover the Haitian soldiers had abandoned their posts.

Large demonstrations are expected September 30, the anniversary of the military coup. The Clinton administration has been urging Aristide to counsel restraint to

his followers. The Haitian president in turn has been encouraging his supporters to observe the occasion in a religious rather than political manner. However, a mass to be held in Port-au-Prince is expected to draw tens of thousands of people.

Aristide stated that he would convene a session of the Haitian Parliament September 28 to discuss granting amnesty to Haiti's military rulers.

While projecting U.S. military forces in Haiti as fighters for democracy, the Pentagon has detailed plans in place to put down what they term social unrest.

A contractor for the State Department recently told *Nation* magazine writer Allan Nairn that the naval task force now standing off Haiti has replaced its stocks of anti-armor weaponry with crowd-control gear, including shields, gas masks, and clubs.

## Clinton gets Congress, UN support

Clinton's military intervention in Haiti has won bipartisan support, despite some minor wrangling over how long U.S. troops should remain.

Speaking before the United Nations September 26, the U.S. president announced that Washington is lifting its economic sanctions against Haiti. He also urged the UN to rapidly end its embargo.

The U.S. military says it has plans to feed as many as 1.2 million Haitians a day. According to the State Department's Agency for International Development, various governments and other organizations will provide Haiti with \$1 billion over the next five years. However, the biggest chunk of this — \$375 million the first year — is earmarked for debts in arrears, debt payments, and cash to meet the new government's expenses.

Taking a dismal view of Clinton's actions in Haiti thus far, the *London Financial Times* in a September 27 editorial wrote, "The administration is mired in a foreign policy adventure in Haiti whose outcome is at best uncertain and at worst disastrous."

## A note to our readers...

This issue of the *Militant* reprints the introduction to the soon-to-be-released Pathfinder book, *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*. In order to make it possible to run this special feature by Mary-Alice Waters, a number of the columns that regularly appear in the paper have been dropped for this issue. As well, several articles written by worker correspondents for the *Militant* on union struggles and other issues that would have been in this issue will appear next week.

With Washington's stepped up provocations against the Cuban revolution and the occupation of Haiti by U.S. military forces, readers of the *Militant* will appreciate reading the introduction to this new edition of Che's *Bolivian Diary* and gaining a greater understanding of the socialist perspective he put forward in the fight against imperialist domination.



# Pathfinder supporters organize to reach goals

BY PAUL MAILHOT

As we approach the half-way point of the campaign to raise \$125,000 for the publishing program of Pathfinder Press, supporters around the world are beginning to gear up to get the drive on track. Last week more than \$6,000 came in bringing the total to \$20,495.

Supporters of Pathfinder are organizing a special push in a number of cities to reach the goal of \$50,000 on hand by October 1. The scoreboard printed in next week's issue of the *Militant* will record how well we have done in this effort.

"We got started organizing right away," explained Jon Teitelbaum from Philadelphia. Supporters of the Pathfinder Fund in that city are up at the top of the chart, having already sent in 59 percent of their goal. "We first went to people who already understand the importance of Pathfinder books for working-class fighters today. We got everyone to make a pledge and started collecting on them. Now that we have some momentum we can begin putting some energy into reaching out to workers and students who aren't as familiar with Pathfinder, but would certainly help out with a contribution if they were asked."

Supporters of the Pathfinder Fund in Philadelphia make it a point to tell everyone they meet at political events about the fund. "We made a pitch for contributions at a recent Militant Labor Forum and one person who stopped by for the first time made a small contribution. We value that," Teitelbaum said.

Supporters in Brooklyn are also doing quite well in getting in their pledges. "Every Saturday I call each person who has made a pledge to see if they can make a payment," said Amir Jamali. "We have two goals now — to get \$50,000 in by October 1 and to go over the top of the \$125,000 goal by November 15. So we are trying to bring in the contributions that will help make those international goals."

Supporters in San Francisco, who have

the highest goal of any city for the drive, are beginning to organize for a Pathfinder Fund event at the end of October. In addition Kathryn Crowder from San Francisco reports that supporters of Pathfinder there are starting to make a broader effort to get contributions from coworkers and friends. Already one member of the United Transportation Union has made a \$50 pledge. One member of the United Auto Workers has also said he will make a pledge.

## Che's writings in six languages

Pathfinder's newest book, *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*, is generating significant interest in advance of its November 15 publication date. Advance orders for *The Bolivian Diary* have come from 21 campus bookstores in the United States, 6 bookstore chains, 14 independent bookstores, and 7 U.S. book wholesalers. Three inmates from one prison in California have sent in prepaid orders for the book. *The Bolivian Diary* is one of more than a dozen collections of Guevara's works available from Pathfinder in English, Spanish, French, Swedish, Icelandic, and Farsi.

A new printing of *Labor's Giant Step*, by Art Preis, has just come off the press. This outstanding history of the rise of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) brings to life the fight of the labor movement to organize into powerful industrial unions in the 1930s. It also takes the reader through the important debates of the workers movement leading up to and after World War II on independent working-class political action and labor's attitude toward imperialist war.

A big push is needed now to get in \$50,000 by the time the next scoreboard is printed. These funds will help meet the costs of Pathfinder's extensive publishing program of revolutionary and communist books. Please be sure to get in all contributions to be reflected in the next scoreboard by Tuesday, October 4, by 12 noon EDT.

## 125,000 Pathfinder Fund

	Goal	Total Paid	Percent
<b>\$125,000</b>			
<b>Australia</b>			
<b>Britain</b>			
London		\$70.00	
Manchester			
Sheffield		\$105.00	
<b>Canada</b>			
Montreal		\$120.00	
Toronto		\$117.00	
Vancouver	\$150.00	\$20.00	13%
<b>France</b>		\$252.00	
<b>Greece</b>			
<b>New Zealand</b>			
Auckland	\$1,850.00	\$10.00	1%
Christchurch	\$550.00	\$0.00	
Wellington	\$100.00	\$0.00	
<b>Puerto Rico</b>		\$75.00	
<b>Sweden</b>		\$160.00	
<b>United States</b>			
<b>Albuquerque</b>	\$100.00	\$100.00	100%
<b>Denver</b>	\$100.00	\$100.00	100%
<b>Cincinnati</b>	\$150.00	\$100.00	67%
<b>Philadelphia</b>	\$6,500.00	\$3,825.00	59%
<b>Salt Lake</b>	\$5,000.00	\$2,545.00	51%
Brooklyn	\$8,000.00	\$3,420.00	43%
Pittsburgh	\$6,125.00	\$1,831.00	30%
Seattle	\$5,000.00	\$940.00	19%
<b>\$50,000</b>			
Twin Cities	\$7,500.00	\$1,245.00	17%
Detroit	\$6,000.00	\$935.00	16%
Los Angeles	\$8,500.00	\$1,280.00	15%
Newark	\$6,500.00	\$795.00	12%
San Francisco	\$10,000.00	\$1,075.00	11%
Birmingham	\$2,800.00	\$240.00	9%
Cleveland	\$3,500.00	\$255.00	7%
New York	\$7,500.00	\$270.00	4%
Boston	\$5,000.00	\$150.00	3%
<b>\$25,000</b>			
Chicago	\$7,400.00	\$220.00	3%
Washington, DC	\$3,500.00	\$51.00	1%
Atlanta	\$5,000.00	\$70.00	1%
Morgantown	\$2,175.00	\$25.00	1%
Miami	\$2,900.00	\$26.00	1%
Greensboro	\$2,500.00	\$5.00	
Des Moines	\$3,000.00		
Houston	\$4,000.00		
Peoria	\$750.00		
Portland	\$50.00		
St. Louis	\$3,750.00		
Other		\$63.85	
	<b>\$125,000.00</b>	<b>\$20,495.85</b>	<b>16%</b>

Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ I pledge ☐ \$1,000 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$100 ☐ Other\_\_\_\_\_

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Address\_\_\_\_\_

City\_\_\_\_\_ Zip\_\_\_\_\_ Country\_\_\_\_\_

Send contributions to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014

## Cuba blasts intervention

Continued from front page  
reported as saying, the United States could be getting involved in a process similar to that of the 1915 intervention, which lasted 20 years.

Meanwhile, Washington is dragging its feet on compliance with the immigration

accord it reached September 9 with the Cuban government. In a September 21 interview with the *New York Times*, Alarcón pointed out that the U.S. government had agreed to grant residence visas to 20,000 Cubans a year and that his government had upheld its part of the agreement by ending the flow of Cubans departing for the United States by raft.

"The thing that is going to discourage people from leaving illegally is to give them a real chance to emigrate legally. And until now, I have not heard of one single visa that has been granted," Alarcón said.

Washington has for years severely restricted legal emigration from Cuba while hailing all those leaving the island by raft. A rash of boat hijackings took place in Havana in July and early August. When the Cuban government announced August 12 it would no longer stop rafters, and thousands of would-be emigrants took to the sea, the U.S. government began detaining them at its base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Washington also agreed to issue visas to some 19,000 Cubans it had already authorized but who have been on a waiting list for years. Few if any have received a visa. "They have thousands of people who are ready to travel now," Alarcón said. "All they need is a stamp on their passports."

Cuban and U.S. officials are to meet again by October 24 to review the implementation of the accord. Some Cuban officials have indicated they are likely then to formally challenge the sanctions imposed August 20 by the Clinton administration that restrict travel and cash remittances to Cuba. Miami-Havana flights are now down from about a dozen to only two a week.

The situation at the Guantánamo detention camps remains volatile. Over the past month a series of disturbances and clashes with U.S. troops have erupted among many of the approximately 30,000 Cubans held there. Dozens have attempted to flee the camps back to Cuban territory.

Four Cuban-American lawyers from Miami who visited the detention camps



Militant/Martin Koppel

Part of September 7 student rally of 70,000 at University of Havana in support of revolution. U.S. government's aim remains destruction of the Cuban revolution.

September 16 issued a scathing report on what they termed "unacceptable" conditions:

\* The Cubans remain incommunicado, with no access to newspapers or television. U.S. authorities have refused to deliver mail sent by relatives of detainees.

\* About 300 Cubans have been put in "administrative segregation," punished for allegedly disturbing the peace or accused by authorities of having a prison record.

\* The hundreds of children detained in the camps — ranging from newborns to teenagers — are receiving poor treatment. They have lost weight due to inadequate diet and suffer from diarrhea and fevers. Some are traumatized, hiding in tents and refusing to eat. The health of those suffering asthma and respiratory infections has deteriorated.

Another 1,500 Cuban refugees are being detained at U.S. military bases in Panama. While conditions are not as bad as those at

Guantánamo, discontent there has grown. "We defied the ocean to leave Cuba and if necessary, we will scale the fences to gain freedom, whether in Panama or the United States," said a spokesperson of the newly formed Association of Cuban Rafters. Some of the detainees threatened to launch a hunger strike.

The Clinton administration is insisting the Cubans will be kept at Guantánamo Bay "indefinitely" as part of its aggressive stance toward the Cuban government. U.S. State Department official Richard Nuccio clarified this position September 16, stating, "Our goal of promoting a rapid and peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba should help us ensure that the safe havens are temporary solutions to a real human problem."

"Transition to democracy" is Washington's code phrase for its long-standing goal of overthrowing the revolutionary government led by President Fidel Castro.

## Young Socialists

### conclude FUND DRIVE

The Young Socialists fund drive successfully raised \$11,190 to meet the growing expenses of building an international movement of socialist youth. The largest contribution came from the San Francisco Bay area, where the YS chapter has grown from two to 14 members since July. Also, a special contribution arrived recently from Mark Curtis.

We thank all those who contributed.

Continued contributions are appreciated to help make up for the \$800 shortfall. Send to: Young Socialists, P.O. Box 2396, New York, NY 10009. Tel: (212) 475-6482.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

☐ I would like to join the Young Socialists

NAME\_\_\_\_\_ AGE\_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS\_\_\_\_\_

CITY\_\_\_\_\_ STATE\_\_\_\_\_ ZIP\_\_\_\_\_

PHONE\_\_\_\_\_



## New edition of 'Bolivian Diary'

# Socialist perspectives of Ernesto Che Guevara come alive for a new generation of fighters

Printed below is the introduction to the new English-language edition of *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*. The book will be available for distribution by its publisher, Pathfinder Press, on November 15. Copyright © Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

Havana, Cuba. New Year's Eve, 1958.

Confronted by rapidly expanding popular support for the July 26 Movement and its advancing Rebel Army guerrilla columns, the military command directed by Washington-backed Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista collapsed. The hated Batista, together with his government ministers and henchmen hauling the last of their booty, scrambled aboard hastily prepared flights into exile. A general strike swept the island. As the new year broke, the first free territory of the Americas was born.

Among the central leaders of the new revolutionary government soon to be headed by Fidel Castro was Ernesto Guevara—a young Argentine doctor whose leadership capacities, initiative and courage in combat, objectivity in dealing with fellow fighters, and depth of political understanding had won him the rank of commander in the rebel forces. Che, as he was called by his Cuban comrades, soon became one of the best known, most respected, and most popular leaders of the Cuban revolution. He was hated and feared by the fleeing landlords, industrialists, and their Washington and Wall Street overlords. He was loved and emulated by the workers and peasants, who looked to him for leadership and in whose capacities to remake the world and transform themselves in the process he had unshakable confidence.

From the day in 1955 when he joined the July 26 Movement led by Fidel Castro until his death in Bolivia twelve years later, Guevara's life centered around one single aim: to advance the fight of working people throughout the world to throw off the chains of imperialist oppression and colonial bondage, wrest political power from the propertied classes, and through the struggle to eliminate capitalist exploitation and oppression begin the socialist transformation of society and of humanity itself.

This book, Che's Bolivian diary, records one chapter in that fight.

Long out of print in English, the diary tells the story, in Guevara's own words, of the effort he led to forge a fight-

## Cuba demonstrated that a profound, popular, socialist revolution could withstand U.S. imperialist pressures...

ing movement of workers and peasants that could win the battle for land and national sovereignty and begin the socialist revolution on the South American continent. Providing a day-by-day chronicle of the eleven-month guerrilla campaign carried out in late 1966 and 1967 by some forty men and one woman in a remote area of Bolivia, the diary is not only a powerful narrative of struggle against great odds. More importantly, it offers an insight into the practical activity, leadership capacities, and strategic thinking of one of the outstanding communist leaders of the twentieth century.

Through the pages of the Bolivian diary we also come to understand more deeply the class character and weight of the Cuban revolution in the world today and the irreconcilable nature of its conflict with Washington and Wall Street.



As Cuba's minister of industry Guevara visits factory in Pinar del Río, 1962. Che challenged fellow fighters to stretch themselves to take on responsibilities they never dreamed they were capable of.

The overthrow of the Batista dictatorship in 1959 opened the door to the first socialist revolution in the Americas. As the new government took initial steps to implement the revolutionary democratic program to which it was committed—including rolling back rents, electricity and telephone rates; outlawing private beaches and race discrimination in all forms; and organizing the peasants to carry through a land reform—the U.S. government began to retaliate. Acting on behalf of the wealthy U.S. families who owned millions of acres of the best land in Cuba and virtually all major industry, Washington sought to intimidate the new leaders into abandoning their program. When that proved unsuccessful, they tried through accelerating political, economic, and military aggression to overthrow the new regime.

"When the revolution came to power, what did it find?" asked Cuban prime minister Fidel Castro, addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in September 1960.

First of all, the revolution found that 600,000 Cubans, able and ready to work, were unemployed—as many, proportionally, as were jobless in the United States during the Great Depression that shook this country, and which almost produced a catastrophe here. This is what we confronted in my country—permanent unemployment. Three million out of a population of a little more than six million had no electricity, possessing none of its advantages and comforts. Three and a half million out of a total population of a little more than six million lived in huts, in shacks, and in slums, without the most minimal sanitary facilities. In the cities, rents took almost one-third of family income. Electricity rates and rents were among the highest in the world.

Some 37.5 percent of our population were illiterate; 70 percent of the rural children lacked teachers; 2 percent of our population suffered from tuberculosis—that is to say, 100,000 persons out of a little more than six million. Ninety-five percent of the children in rural areas suffered from parasites. Infant mortality was astronomical. Life expectancy was very low. On the other hand, 85 percent of the small farmers were paying rent on their land of up to 30 percent of their gross income, while 1.5 percent of

the landowners controlled 46 percent of the total area of the country. Of course, the proportion of hospital beds to the number of inhabitants was ridiculously low compared with countries that have even halfway decent medical services.

Public services, the electricity and telephone companies, all belonged to U.S. monopolies. A major portion of banking, importing, and oil refining; the majority of sugar production; the best land; and the most important industries in all fields in Cuba belonged to U.S. companies.

The balance of payments in the last ten years, from 1950 to 1960, has been favorable to the United States vis-à-vis Cuba to the extent of \$1 billion. This is without taking into account the hundreds of millions of dollars extracted from the public treasury by the corrupt officials of the dictatorship and later deposited in U.S. or European banks. One billion dollars in ten years! This poor and underdeveloped Caribbean country with 600,000 unemployed was contributing to the economic development of the most economically developed country in the world!

This was the situation that confronted us. Yet it should not surprise many of the countries represented in this assembly. For what we have said about Cuba is but an X-ray view that could be applied to many of the countries represented here.<sup>1</sup>

### Course of revolutionary government

The revolutionary government, Castro told the people of the world as he addressed the General Assembly, had

1. In 1958 the infant mortality rate in Cuba was 60 per 1,000 live births. By 1993 it had dropped to 9.4, the lowest in Latin America, and lower than some urban areas of the United States. In the same period average life expectancy in Cuba rose from less than 55 to 74.

2. Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End* (New York: Pathfinder, 1992), pp. 39-40. This book is a collection of speeches by Castro and Guevara given between 1960 and 1979 from the platform of the United Nations and its bodies.





Workers carrying their union banners turn out for mass rally in Havana in October 1959 to support the revolution and condemn flights by counterrevolutionaries in U.S. planes. Cuba's revolutionary government earned Washington's hatred and fear because it remained true to the working people of Cuba and around the world.

one of two choices. It could remain true to the fighting workers and farmers of Cuba and their allies around the globe, thus incurring the enmity of the powerful neighbor to the north. Or it could satisfy Washington, as all previous regimes had done, by protecting the prerogatives of the imperialist-owned monopolies and their allied exploiters in Cuba.

The new workers and farmers government had chosen the only course that could bring dignity and hope to millions of Cubans, begin to improve their conditions of life, and offer a beacon to toiling humanity throughout the world.

#### Workers and peasants mobilized in their millions

Facing down the Yankee colossus, the workers, peasants, and youth of Cuba mobilized in their millions under the leadership of the revolutionary government to carry out a program, elements of which had been proclaimed many times previously in Latin America, but which had never before been carried through to the end. They implemented land reform and nationalized the banks and basic industry. They organized to eradicate illiteracy; to build homes, clinics, hospitals, schools, and day-care centers throughout the island; to provide education and employment for women; and to root out the institutionalized racism that made prerevolutionary Cuba comparable to the Jim Crow South of the United States. They offered solidarity and support to those fighting for national liberation and socialism around the globe.

Along this line of march, the people of Cuba demonstrated that a profound, popular, socialist revolution could withstand U.S. imperialist pressures. Over more

than thirty-five years, Washington has used virtually every weapon in its arsenal—from diplomatic isolation to sabotage, assassination attempts, economic embargo, blockade, nuclear blackmail, and military invasion—to try to destroy the revolutionary power of the workers and peasants ninety miles from its shores. To no avail.

\* \* \*

Che Guevara was one of the most authoritative representatives of the socialist revolution in Cuba. He was also one of its finest products. His understanding of the world and his capacities as a working-class leader were forged through the experiences of the Cuban revolution. "Wherever I am, I will feel the responsibility of being a Cuban revolutionary, and I shall behave as such," he wrote in 1965 in a letter addressed to Fidel Castro printed in this book.

During the first six years of the Cuban revolution Guevara shouldered a broad range of leadership tasks. "Many were the responsibilities assigned to him," Castro told a solemn meeting of hundreds of thousands in Havana in October 1967, one week after Guevara's murder in Bolivia at the hands of a CIA-organized counterinsurgency unit. "His versatile intelligence was able to undertake with maximum assurance any task of any kind. Thus he brilliantly represented our country in numerous international conferences, just as he brilliantly led soldiers in combat, just as he was a model worker in charge of any of the institutions he was assigned to."

Guevara was initially the troop doctor for the revolutionary forces of the July 26 Movement that opened a guerrilla front in Cuba's Sierra Maestra mountains in December 1956. By mid-1957 he was commanding a column of the Rebel Army as well as organizing Marxist education for its cadres. Following the victory in 1959 he served as head of the Department of Industry of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA);

3. Fidel Castro's speech of October 18, 1967, published as an introduction to *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara* (New York: Pathfinder, 1987), pp. 19-29.

4. The most complete selection of Guevara's writings in English translation are available in books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press, including *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara*; *Che Guevara Speaks: Socialism and Man in Cuba*; and *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* by Carlos Tablada. Two other articles by Guevara, long out of print in English, are newly translated in issue no. 8 of the Marxist magazine of politics and theory *New International*, a special issue on "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism," also available from Pathfinder.

working people set out on at the beginning of the 1960s had been opened some four decades earlier by the October 1917 revolution in Russia. Under the Bolshevik Party leadership headed by V.I. Lenin, for the first time in his-



Members of Young Socialist Alliance hold a press conference in New York City on their return from a visit to Cuba in 1969. A new generation of youth attracted by the power of Cuba's workers and farmers were won to communist movement in the United States and Canada.

tory, the working class began to use its newly won state power to start building socialism while fighting to advance the world revolution. These efforts—from the overthrow of the tsarist regime in February 1917 and the triumph of the Bolshevik-led workers and peasants government eight months later, through the end of Lenin's active political life in March 1923—left an invaluable legacy to revolutionists such as Guevara and Castro who later shouldered similar responsibilities as they continued and renewed the communist course.

The socialist revolution, as Guevara repeatedly explained, marks the first time in history that expanding revolutionary consciousness and growing political domination by the working class becomes a necessity in order to advance the economic organization of society. The door is opened for working people to cease being the objects of blind economic laws that determine their living and working conditions and social relations, and instead to begin placing the organization of productive forces under their own conscious control.

### ORDER NOW! SPECIAL PRE-PUBLICATION OFFER

**25% OFF** for members of the PATHFINDER READERS CLUB

OFFER ENDS DECEMBER 31, 1994

**\$21.95 Special offer \$16.95**

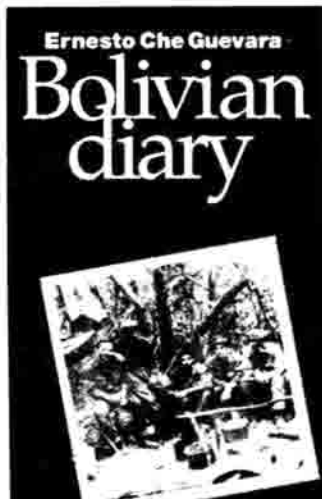
#### The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara

Guevara's account, newly translated, of the 1966-67 guerrilla struggle in Bolivia. A day-by-day chronicle by one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution of the campaign to forge a continent-wide revolutionary movement of workers and peasants capable of contending for power. New translation includes material published in English for the first time.

**SPANISH LANGUAGE EDITION**

**El diario del Che en Bolivia.**

**\$29.95. Special offer \$22.45**



**JOIN THE PATHFINDER READERS CLUB** For a \$10 annual fee you can take advantage of special offers like this one and get a 15% discount on all other Pathfinder titles. Available from your local Pathfinder bookstores. See directory on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling.



This is not just one way among others that might be used following a successful popular revolution to advance the transition to socialism. The most committed and self-sacrificing vanguard of the working people, organized in a communist party, *must* lead growing layers of their class in taking more and more control over the political direction and administration of the state and economy. In carrying out whatever leadership task he was assigned, Che organized along a course that made it possible for workers to transform themselves and their social and political consciousness as they collectively transformed the social relations under which they

economic questions and decisions during the transition to socialism was central to everything Guevara did as a leader of the Cuban revolution. His experience had given him infinite confidence in the capacities of ordinary working people to understand these questions in the process of taking control over their labor and their lives, and, in fact, to become different human beings.

To this end, Guevara set the example of consistent study and disciplined reading. He did so at the same time that he carried an immense political workload—including international travel, meetings with assemblies of factory workers, and frequent participation on days off in volun-

ble of. The library of 300-400 books the guerrillas rotated among themselves for reading and discussion; the study classes on political economy, history, mathematics, Quechua, Aymará, and French; Che's study of *The Young Hegel* and *Capital*—all are described in vivid detail here in the accounts by Inti Peredo and by Pombo, both members of the general staff.<sup>8</sup> "The objective Che was pursuing was to raise our cultural level," Pombo notes.

At the same time, he always made us see clearly that even though war presented difficult circumstances, in which one had to live under constant tension, nevertheless we could not let ourselves take an easy-going and conformist attitude that would have us put off study until later. We had to study right there in the guerrilla camp, he said, with an enthusiasm and determination equal to the way we confronted the vicissitudes and difficulties we faced. And one of the biggest such difficulties to overcome was precisely the one he sought to instill: the habit of study.

The guerrilla unit was a leadership school in another way as well. As shown by many examples in his diary, Guevara considered the battle to develop proletarian norms of conduct and leadership relations among the



MILITANT/JOSEPH HANSEN

Delegates from revolutionary organizations throughout the Americas hear Fidel Castro address the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) conference in Havana, held in August 1967 while the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia was taking place. The slogan, taken from the Second Declaration of Havana, reads, "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution."

worked, produced, and lived. He explained that this is the only way working people carrying out the revolutionary process can make the new social relations more transparent and direct and, at the same time, base these relations on human solidarity. It is the only way to tear away the veils and fetishes behind which the capitalist system hides the brutal consequences of its exploitation of working people and obscures the unique contribution labor makes to all social and cultural progress.

#### Key is political consciousness

By the time the Cuban revolution conquered, the balance sheet of twentieth-century experience had demonstrated beyond any doubt that society will not—and cannot—advance toward socialism and communism along any other course. If it is directed down any other road, it will become mired in bureaucratic planning and management, fostering growing demoralization and alienation of working people from their labor. New privileged social

tary work mobilizations on priority social projects. He immersed himself in the literature discussing the most technologically advanced industrial processes and automation in use in other countries. He learned the principles of accounting and took classes in higher mathematics so he could help advance the application of computerization to economic planning and financial control in Cuba.

He organized a weekly study group that systematically worked through the pages of *Capital* by Karl Marx. As the references throughout his writings attest, he frequently went back to the works of Lenin, Marx, and Frederick Engels to deepen his knowledge and understanding of the history of the modern working-class movement and draw upon that experience to help chart the way forward for the socialist revolution in Cuba.

The example of Guevara's seemingly inexhaustible work to deepen his understanding of Marxism, and to combine that knowledge with concrete experience to advance the fight for national liberation and socialism worldwide, was one of the attributes Castro pointed to in his 1967 speech commemorating Guevara's life:

If we looked through the windows of his offices, he had the lights on until all hours of the night, studying, or rather working or studying. For he was a student of all problems; he was a tireless reader. His thirst for learning was practically insatiable, and the hours he stole from sleep he devoted to study.<sup>5</sup>

In the pages of Guevara's Bolivian diary that follow, as well as in the memoirs of his fellow combatants, this Che comes alive—the leader of men and women who challenged all of them to expand their cultural horizons and stretch themselves to take on responsibilities they never dreamed they were capa-

bles of the unit to be a life-and-death question. The ability to work objectively and impartially with all and encourage the leadership potential of each man and woman; civil discussion among those who held different points of view; intolerance of any abuse of authority; integrity in personal relations—these were indispensable characteristics of revolutionary leadership that Che sought to instill.

Rolando, another member of the general staff, a portion of whose diary is reprinted here, describes a political talk given by Che to the combatants. In it Che rebuked two of the Cuban volunteers for unacceptable behavior but was especially hard on Marcos, who had previously held important leadership responsibilities in Cuba. "Seven years of revolution had left their mark on certain comrades," Rolando quotes Che as saying. "He spoke of how having chauffeurs, secretaries, and others working under them had made them accustomed to giving orders and having things done for them." Che insisted that Marcos change the "insulting manner he employs," which "undermines his authority."

There was no special status in Bolivia for the Cuban volunteers, Che insisted, even though many had proven

## The road Cuban working people set out on had been opened by the October 1917 revolution in Russia...

layers will be spawned that ape the values and attitudes of the capitalist classes still dominant on a world scale. Willy-nilly, revolutionists will be turned into accomplices of the law of value and its corrosive social consequences. They will begin, at first even unconsciously, to seek support and collaboration from petty-bourgeois layers at home and from bourgeois forces internationally, as they turn their faces away from the toilers of the world, who are humanity's only salvation. Along this road, a workers state will not only regress toward restoration of capitalism but, as Fidel Castro put it in 1986, "to a system worse than capitalism."<sup>5</sup>

Recognizing the fundamentally political character of

5. Fidel Castro, "Important Problems for the Whole of International Revolutionary Thought," speech of December 2, 1986, in *New Internationalist* no. 6, p. 217.

6. *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, p. 26.

7. In the early 1960s some 75 percent of Bolivians were classified as indigenous peoples. Sixty percent spoke only Aymará or Quechua dialects. Study of these languages, with classes taught by Bolivian combatants, was obligatory. French was a voluntary course, taught by Che.

8. Extensive biographical information on all members of the guerrilla column is provided in the book's glossary, along with information on other individuals mentioned throughout the book.

## FOR FURTHER READING

### *The Communist Manifesto*

KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

Founding document of the modern working-class movement, published in 1848. Explains how capitalism arose as a specific stage in the economic development of class society and how it will be superseded through revolutionary action on a world scale by the working class. \$2.50

### *Capital*

KARL MARX

Marx explains how large-scale modern industry draws men, women, and children into the factories and into the army of wage-laborers who compete for jobs. And he shows how this exploitative social system produces the insoluble contradictions that breed class struggle and make possible the revolutionary transformation of society into one ruled for the first time in history by the majority: the producers. Volume 1, \$13.95

### *Collected Works*

KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

The writings, in 50 volumes, of the founders of the communist workers movement. 43 volumes available now. \$1,075 for 43-volume set, \$25 per volume.

### *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*

V.I. LENIN

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, that of the economic essence of imperialism," Lenin wrote in 1917. "For unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics." \$3.95

### *The History of the Russian Revolution*

LEON TROTSKY

The social, economic, and political dynamics of the first victorious socialist revolution, as told by one of its principal leaders. 1,358 pp. \$35.95

AVAILABLE FROM BOOKSTORES, INCLUDING THOSE LISTED ON PAGE 12, OR FROM PATHFINDER, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014. IF ORDERING BY MAIL, ADD \$3 FOR POSTAGE AND HANDLING.

KARL MARX-FREDERICK ENGELS

## The Communist Manifesto

KARL MARX  
FREDERICK ENGELS  
Collected Works  
Volume 45  
Marx and Engels  
1824-1879



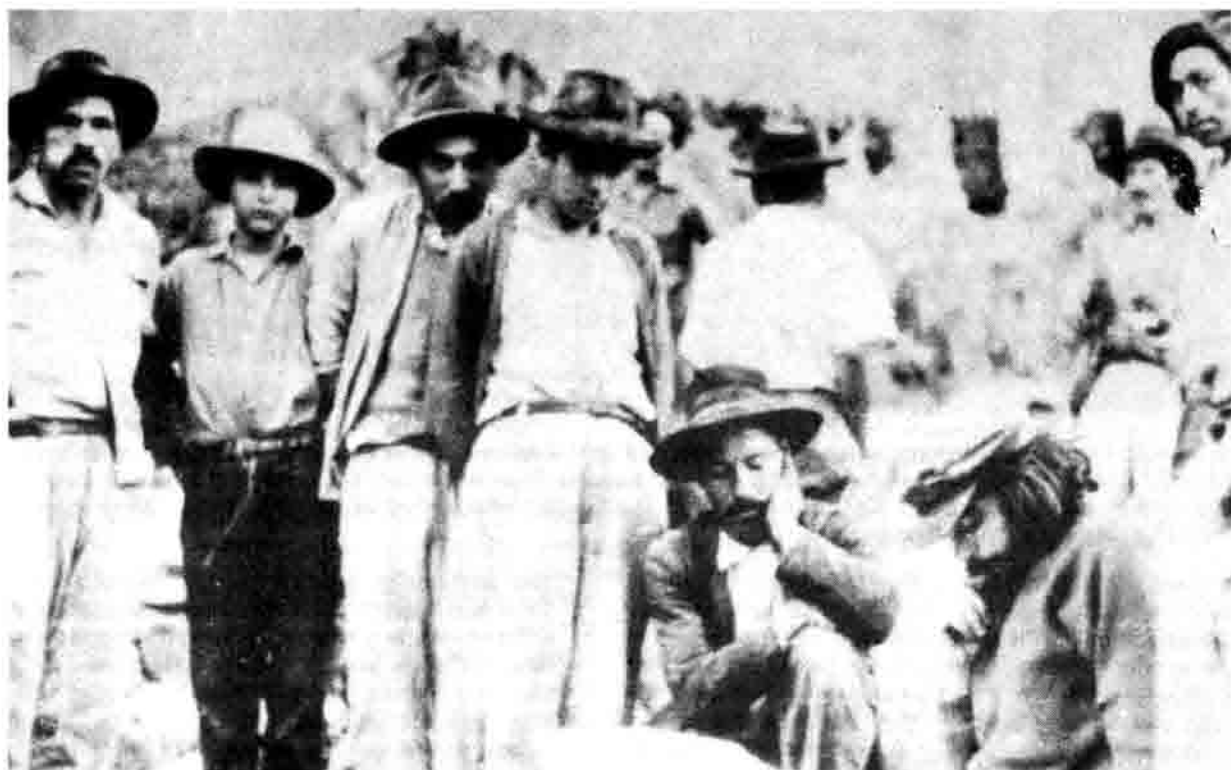


Above: Guevara reading in guerrilla camp. He sought to instill among fellow revolutionary fighters the habit of disciplined study.

Top right: Part of guerrilla unit, including Guevara (second from right) and Inti Peredo (second from left).

Inset: Bolivian guerrilla leader Inti Peredo, whose account of the struggle is included in the new Pathfinder edition.

Right: Guevara (bottom right) with residents of a Bolivian farming village.



themselves in combat and in various leadership assignments and had been asked by Che to volunteer for the Bolivian campaign. "What I had in [Cuba] were not friends, but comrades," he said. "Whenever I defended someone in difficulty, I did so because it was correct, and not out of friendship. Whoever is deserving here can have responsibilities and the opportunity to set an example."

\* \* \*

As Fidel Castro pointed out in his 1960 address to the United Nations General Assembly, the economic, social, and political conditions that made possible the first socialist country in the Americas were not unique to Cuba. The Cuban revolution was only the crest of the rising tide of mass struggles across the continent, which, in turn, registered a new level of energy and explosiveness in the wake of the Cuban victory.

Fear that the example of Cuba would spread and that other proimperialist regimes would be overthrown by mass revolutionary struggle underlay Washington's determination to crush the workers and farmers government in Cuba. At Wall Street's bidding, bourgeois governments throughout the hemisphere rushed to try to isolate the revolutionary regime.

The counterrevolutionary war drive orchestrated by the U.S. government included everything from the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba in April 1961 (the "Bay of Pigs" landing, which was wiped out in less than seventy-two hours), to the orchestrated expulsion of Cuba from the Organization of American States in January 1962, to the imposition of a brutal embargo on trade with Cuba by the United States a few days later.

On February 4, 1962, at a mass rally of more than a million in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution, Fidel Castro read the response of the Cuban people, known as the Second Declaration of Havana.

What is it that is hidden behind the Yankees' hatred of the Cuban revolution? What is it that rationally explains the conspiracy—uniting for the same aggressive purpose the richest and most powerful imperialist power in the contemporary world and the oligarchies of an entire continent, which together are supposed to represent a population of 350 million human beings—against a small country of only seven million inhabitants, economically underdeveloped, without financial or military means to threaten the security or economy of any other country?

What unites them and stirs them up is fear. What explains it is fear. Not fear of the Cuban revolution but fear

of the Latin American revolution. . . . Fear that the plundered people of the continent will seize the arms from their oppressors and, like Cuba declare themselves free people of the Americas.<sup>9</sup>

Disavowing decades of subordination by the official Communist and Socialist parties of the continent to various bourgeois political parties and currents, the Second Declaration of Havana boldly proclaimed the necessary proletarian leadership and socialist character of the revolution on the agenda throughout the region:

In the actual historic conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience shows that in our nations that class, even when its interests are in contradiction to those of Yankee imperialism, has been incapable of confronting it, for the national bourgeoisie is paralyzed by fear of social revolution and frightened by the cry of the exploited masses.

In ringing terms the fighting people of Cuba explained what was already unfolding across the continent:

### Guevara organized a weekly study group that worked through the pages of 'Capital' by Karl Marx...

Now history will have to take the poor of the Americas into account, the exploited and spurned of the Americas, who have decided to begin writing their history for themselves for all time. Already they can be seen on the roads, on foot, day after day, in endless march of hundreds of kilometers to the governmental "eminences," there to obtain their rights.

Already they can be seen armed with stones, sticks, machetes, in one direction and another, each day, occupying lands, sinking hooks into the land which belongs to them and defending it with their lives. They can be seen carrying signs, slogans, flags; letting them flap in the mountain or prairie winds. And the wave of anger, of

9. *The Second Declaration of Havana* is available as a pamphlet published by Pathfinder.

demands for justice, of claims for rights trampled underfoot, which is beginning to sweep the lands of Latin America, will not stop. That wave will swell with every passing day. For that wave is composed of the greatest number, the majorities in every respect, those whose labor amasses the wealth and turns the wheels of history. Now they are awakening from the long, brutalizing sleep to which they had been subjected.

For this great mass of humanity has said, "Enough!" and has begun to march.

### 'Cuba sí, yanqui no!'

From the throats of revolutionary-minded youth and class-conscious workers, the cry of "Cuba sí, yanqui no!" resounded from Mexico City to Buenos Aires, and into the Yankee metropolis itself.

Within the United States and Canada a new generation of youth, attracted by the power of Cuba's workers and peasants taking their destiny in hand, was won to the communist movement. Responding to the growing mass movement for Black rights and the powerful example of the victorious Cuban revolution, they brought new life to a working-class movement battered by more than a decade of postwar prosperity and anticommunist witch-hunts. A similar admiration and effect spread worldwide, as growing numbers of working people and youth were drawn toward the revolution in Cuba.

Young rebels from across the Americas made their way to Cuba to see the revolution with their own eyes. They hoped to learn from its successes and return home to emulate the "Cuban road." Frequently, in their inexperience and determination, they saw or understood only a one-sided piece of that reality. They saw in bold relief the audacious military victories registered by the guerrillas of the Rebel Army. They often missed the years of party-building work that preceded the landing of the *Granma*; the stature of the July 26 Movement and the mass support it had won even before beginning the struggle in the Sierra Maestra; the caliber of the leadership team carefully put together by Fidel Castro; the profound roots the movement had among the Cuban toilers and the political astuteness the leadership demonstrated in its feel for the tactical ups and downs of the struggle—in short, the factors that registered almost a decade of work forging and tempering a revolutionary movement that drew on the lessons of a century of struggle, and thus the factors that made possible the victory of the Cuban revolution.

During the first years after the triumph in Cuba, nuclei





of guerrilla fighters went into action in the countryside of Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Argentina, and elsewhere. Coming from many different political origins, they adopted the banner of the Second Declaration of Havana as their own, challenging the long-established Communist and Socialist parties for leadership of the workers and peasants struggles. Although the majority of these efforts were soon defeated, in a number of countries they had significant and growing political impact.

In hopes of stemming the rising revolutionary tide, the U.S. administration of John Kennedy proclaimed the Alliance for Progress with complicit regimes throughout the hemisphere. Along with plentiful bribes to fill the personal coffers of accommodating bourgeois forces, Washington promised \$20 billion in development loans over the span of a decade. As Che Guevara explained with scientific precision to a United Nations-sponsored trade conference in March 1964, the Alliance for Progress was a program that served above all to accelerate, through interest charges and loan repayments, the transfer of billions of dollars of capital to the coffers of the imperialist-owned banks of North America.<sup>10</sup>

#### Kennedy tries to counter popular struggles

More importantly, Kennedy responded to the growing popular struggles throughout Latin America by supporting murderous dictatorships; expanding operations by the Central Intelligence Agency, army special forces units, and others; and employing direct military action. He demonstratively maintained U.S. imperialism's insulting and provocative military occupation of the area around Guantánamo Bay in eastern Cuba, a usurpation of Cuba's sovereignty dating back almost sixty years. The administration of Lyndon Johnson continued the same course.

In Brazil the CIA engineered the overthrow of the government of João Goulart in 1964, installing one of the most brutal military dictatorships yet seen in Latin America. The fierce repression unleashed against workers, peasants, and students—much of it carried out by death squads organized by the Brazilian army officer corps and police—became the infamous prototype for fascist-minded military regimes that would follow in other countries.

In the Dominican Republic a mass popular rebellion against a U.S.-backed dictatorship in 1965 was crushed by 20,000 U.S. troops.

Despite such defeats, mass struggles by workers and peasants against their exploitation and oppression deepened in many countries. The specter of revolution hung over the moneyed interests of the Americas.

At the same time, the attention and resources of the U.S. rulers were more and more concentrated on their rapidly escalating war against the people of Vietnam. By late 1963 the Kennedy administration had increased U.S. troop strength in Vietnam to more than 16,000. In August

1964 Washington began bombing North Vietnam, and the war increasingly spread to neighboring Laos and Cambodia. The buildup of U.S. combat forces in Vietnam that eventually exceeded half a million was well under way.

One unintended by-product of Washington's growing difficulties and preoccupation with attempts to crush the tenacious resistance of the Vietnamese people was a relatively larger breathing space for Cuba. Alone among all the governments allied with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, however, it was the Cuban leadership that fought to close ranks in support of Vietnam. Cuban revolutionaries pointed a finger at the criminal refusal of the governments of the Soviet Union and China to provide the level of political, financial, and military aid necessary to win and to lessen the enormous sacrifice of lives and economic devastation being imposed on the people of Vietnam.

Nowhere was this more eloquently stated than in the article by Che Guevara referred to several times in the pages of his diary, his famous message to the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America better known as OSPAAAL, or, at the time, the Tricontinental. Published under the title "Create Two, Three . . . Many Vietnams, That Is the Watchword,"<sup>11</sup> Guevara's message was written in 1966 on the eve of his departure for Bolivia, and printed in the magazine *Tricontinental* in April 1967, soon after the launching of the guerrilla front and Guevara's presence in Bolivia had become public knowledge.

In this "Message to the Tricontinental," as it became known, the last major article written by Guevara, Che surveyed the world political situation and explained the decision to open a guerrilla front in Latin America. It was justified not only as a response to the economic and political conditions and deepening social struggles across the continent, he stated. It was also the responsibility of revolutionaries everywhere to come to the aid of the embattled Vietnamese people.

When we analyze the isolation of the Vietnamese we are overcome by anguish at this illogical moment in the history of humanity. U.S. imperialism is guilty of aggression. Its crimes are immense, extending over the whole world. We know this, gentlemen! But also guilty are those who at the decisive moment hesitated to make Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory—yes, at the risk of a war of global scale, but also compelling the U.S. imperialists to make a decision. And also guilty are those who persist in a war of insults and tripping each other up, begun quite some time ago by the representatives of the two biggest powers in the socialist camp.

Defensive weapons, and not in sufficient number, are all these marvelous Vietnamese soldiers have besides love for their country, for their society, and a courage that stands up to all tests. But imperialism is bogged down in Vietnam. It sees no way out and is searching desperately for one that will permit it to emerge with dignity from the dangerous situation in which it finds itself.

Under these conditions, "what is the role that we, the exploited of the world, must play?" Guevara asked. "Since the imperialists are using the threat of war to blackmail humanity, the correct response is not to fear war. Attack hard and without letup at every point of confrontation—that must be the general tactic of the peoples."

Examining the struggles unfolding in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, Guevara concluded that only in Latin America did the conditions prevail to open the kind of anti-imperialist front he envisioned.

In Latin America, the struggle is going on arms in hand in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, and Bolivia, and the first outbreaks are already beginning in Brazil. Other centers of resistance have appeared and been extinguished. But almost all the countries of this continent are ripe for a struggle of the kind that, to be triumphant, cannot settle for anything less than the establishment of a government of a socialist nature.

In Latin America, Guevara pointed out, it was "either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution." And the Americas would have the historic responsibility of creating "the world's second or third Vietnam, or second and third Vietnam."

How close and bright would the future appear if two, three, many Vietnams flowered on the face of the globe, with their quota of death and their immense tragedies, with their daily heroism, with their repeated blows against imperialism, forcing it to disperse its forces under the lash of the growing hatred of the peoples of the world!

## BASIC WORKS OF CHE GUEVARA

### Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution

*Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara*

The most complete collection in English. Guevara writes about the revolutionary war that brought the workers and farmers to victory; Cuba's efforts to overcome economic backwardness; how "the new man and woman" will create themselves in the process of building a society on the road to socialism; and Cuba's commitment to freedom struggles around the world. \$21.95



### Che Guevara Speaks

*Selected Speeches and Writings*

"A faithful reflection of Che as he was, or, better, as he developed"—from the preface by Joseph Hansen. Includes works by Che not available elsewhere in English. \$12.95



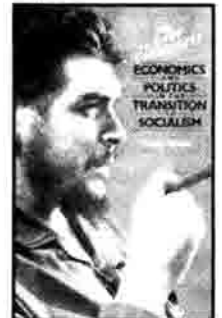
### Socialism and Man in Cuba

Guevara's best-known presentation of the political tasks and challenges in leading the transition from capitalism to socialism. Includes Castro's speech on the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death. [Also available in Spanish, French, Farsi, and Swedish.] \$3.50

### Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism

CARLOS TABLADA

Quoting extensively from Guevara's writings and speeches, explains why building socialism is the task of free men and women transforming themselves and society at the same time. Also available in Spanish and French. \$17.95

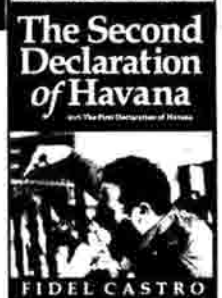


## MORE ON THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

### The Second Declaration of Havana

FIDEL CASTRO

In 1962, as the example of Cuba's socialist revolution spread throughout the Americas, the workers and farmers of Cuba issued their call for revolutionary struggle from Tierra del Fuego to the Río Bravo. \$3.00



### Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution

JOSEPH HANSEN

To understand the first socialist revolution in the Americas, Hansen says, "it is not necessary to begin from zero. The problems presented to Marxist theory by the uniqueness of the events were solved at the time." This compilation, written with polemical clarity as the revolution advanced, presents the conclusions that guide fighters worldwide. \$19.95

### Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro

Includes 1961 speech, "I Shall Be a Marxist-Leninist to the End of My Life," explaining why only a socialist revolution could bring about the profound changes Cuban working people had overthrown the Batista dictatorship to achieve. 8 1/2 x 11 format. \$14.00



### In Defense of Socialism

*Four Speeches on the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution*

FIDEL CASTRO

Not only is economic and social progress possible without the dog-eat-dog competition of capitalism, Castro argues, but socialism remains the only way forward for humanity. Also discusses Cuba's role in the struggle against the apartheid regime in southern Africa. \$13.95

### Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today

*Cuba Confronts the World Crisis of the '90s*

MARY-ALICE WATERS

Socialism can be built only by free men and women working together to lay the foundations for a new society and transforming themselves in the process. That practical commitment was championed by Ernesto Che Guevara in the early years of the Cuban revolution. It remains central for Cuban working people today. \$3.50

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write **Pathfinder**, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail please include \$3 to cover postage and handling.

10. *To Speak the Truth*, pp. 106-7.

11. Published in *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, pp. 347-60.





Part of a mass working-class demonstration in Chile in early 1970s. Events in the years immediately following the defeat of the guerrilla campaign in Bolivia confirmed many of Che's objective premises about the approach of revolutionary struggles in the Southern Cone region.

"Other nations of the world summon my modest efforts of assistance," Guevara wrote to Fidel Castro before leaving Cuba in 1965. "I can do that which is denied you owing to your responsibility at the head of Cuba."

While preparations for opening the guerrilla front in Bolivia were under way, Guevara spent six months in the Congo (today Zaire) fighting alongside the forces that had been led by murdered independence leader Patrice Lumumba. He then returned secretly to Cuba to continue training the volunteers who would accompany him to Bolivia.

#### 'Turn Andes into Sierra Maestra of the Americas'

In putting himself on the front lines of a guerrilla struggle in Bolivia, Guevara was carrying out an even broader revolutionary perspective he had long anticipated and prepared for. "This was an old idea of his," Fidel Castro told Italian journalist Gianni Minà in 1987.

When he joined us in Mexico—and it's not that he made it a condition—he did ask one thing: "The only thing I want after the victory of the revolution is to go fight in Argentina"—his country—"that you don't keep me from doing so, that no reasons of state will stand in the way." And I promised him that. It was a long way off, after all. No one knew, first of all, if we'd win the war or who was going to be alive at the end—and he surely, because of his impetuosity, had little chance of coming out alive—but this is what he asked. Once in a while, in the Sierra and afterward, he would remind me of this idea and promise.<sup>12</sup>

Che thought and acted as an internationalist. He knew that the future of the Cuban revolution did not ultimately depend on the efforts and capacities of the communist leadership in Cuba of which he was part, however deep-going that revolution might be, however capable the leadership. Only new revolutionary victories elsewhere, especially new socialist advances in the Americas, would

change the relationship of class forces internationally and break the isolation that weighed so heavily on Cuba.

As Guevara explained to Bolivian leader Inti Peredo, whose memoirs are printed here in English for the first time, the Bolivian front was chosen because "Bolivia is located in the heart of the Southern Cone of our continent, bordering five countries,<sup>13</sup> each with a political and economic situation becoming increasingly critical. Bolivia's geographic position thus makes it a strategic region for extending the revolutionary struggle to neighboring countries." The struggle would be long and hard, protracted over many years.

"Turn the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the Americas" became the often-voiced rallying cry of revolutionary forces that sought to emulate the Cuban road toward socialism.

Bolivia had its own recent history of sharp class struggle and growing impoverishment. In 1964 a military dictatorship headed by Gen. René Barrientos had overthrown the presidency of Víctor Paz Estenssoro, ending twelve years of rule by the increasingly corrupt and fractured regime of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR).

The MNR, a bourgeois party with strong support from Bolivia's superexploited tin miners, had been thrust into control of the national government in the wake of a revolutionary upsurge in 1952. That powerful upheaval resulted in nationalization of the largest mines, legalization of the trade unions, initiation of land reform, and elimination of the literacy requirement that had effectively disenfranchised the majority of Bolivia's people, the Aymará and Quechua-speaking population. But Bolivia remained one of the poorest countries in the Americas; only Paraguay and Haiti had lower per capita incomes. By the early 1960s average life expectancy was still only forty-three years (compared to sixty-six years in the United States and Canada). With tin prices falling and inflation soaring, the economy was in a shambles. The leadership of the powerful Central Organization of Bolivian Workers (COB), once a supporter of the government, had gone into political opposition.

In 1965 the Barrientos dictatorship provoked a confrontation with the trade union movement by arresting Juan Lechin, the central leader of the COB. When workers responded with a general strike and seizure of the country's tin mines, the regime unleashed a wave of repression, arresting union leaders and sending in troops to occupy the mining camps, killing many. After the strike was defeated, a 40 percent wage cut was imposed on large sections of the working class.

By then, preparations for the guerrilla front were already under way. As Castro recounts here in "A Necessary Introduction," however, these efforts were undermined by the general secretary of the Communist Party of Bolivia, Mario Monje, who "devoted his energies to sabotaging the movement." The accounts by Guevara and Peredo amply detail the extent of this treachery by Monje and those who followed him and

its deadly consequences for the guerrilla unit.

\* \* \*

In the aftermath of Che's death and the defeat of the guerrilla nucleus in Bolivia, a wide-ranging debate inevitably erupted. Was it simply a political adventure doomed from the start?

Not only Guevara's enemies in both Washington and La Paz, but also those political opponents who Castro refers to in his introduction as "the pseudorevolutionaries, opportunists, and charlatans of every stripe"—were quick to proclaim that revolutionary struggle, especially arms in hand, had been proven to be a romantic death wish at best, a dangerous provocation at worst.

"These people call themselves Marxists, Communists, and other such titles," Castro continues.

They have not hesitated, however, to call Che a mistaken adventurer or, when they speak more benignly, an idealist whose death marked the swan song of revolutionary armed struggle in Latin America. "If Che himself," they exclaim, "the greatest exponent of these ideas and an experienced guerrilla fighter, died in the guerrilla struggle and his movement failed to liberate Bolivia, it only shows how mistaken he was!" . . .

That is how they justify themselves. That is how they justify their treacherous leaders who, at a given moment, did not hesitate to play at armed struggle, with the true aim—as could be seen later—of destroying the guerrilla detachments, putting the brakes on revolutionary action, and imposing their own shameful and ridiculous political schemes. . . .

That is how they justify those who have made a caricature of revolutionary ideas, turning them into an opium-like dogma with neither content nor message for the masses; those who have converted the organizations of popular struggle into instruments of conciliation with domestic and foreign exploiters; and those who advocate policies that have nothing to do with the genuine interests of the exploited peoples of this continent. . . .

Those who see the outcome of his struggle in Bolivia as marking the failure of his ideas can, with the same oversimplification, deny the validity of the ideas and struggles of all the great revolutionary precursors and thinkers. This includes the founders of Marxism, who were themselves unable to complete the task and to view in life the fruits of their noble efforts.

Noting how many times the small band of Rebel Army fighters in the Sierra Maestra had been close to annihilation, Castro emphasized, "In all epochs and under all circumstances, there will always be an abundance of pretexts for not fighting; but not fighting is the surest way to never attain freedom."

The plan for the Bolivian campaign, Castro stressed in his 1987 interview with Gianni Minà, was entirely Guevara's. Che selected the territory and supervised the detailed preparations. "The importance of the area he picked seems to have been its proximity to the Argentine border," Castro noted. But "in essence, he made no mistake in his choice."

From his days in the Sierra Maestra on, "because of Che's courage, his qualities, his importance, in our war we gave him the most important missions," Castro remarked. But "this mission we didn't give him. The idea, the plan, everything was his." The political perspective was shared by the entire revolutionary leadership of Cuba, however. "We believed in what [Che] was doing, and we believed he could carry out what he proposed."

What we did was help him. We helped something we thought was possible. We would not have been able to help something we thought was impossible, something in which we did not believe, because it would have been our duty to tell him: It's not possible, we can't do that, we can't sacrifice comrades on this mission.

As Guevara's diary and the additional accounts make clear, neither Che nor other leaders of the guerrilla unit ever intended for their base of operations to be the area in which they moved and fought for what became eleven months. They had planned, after a preliminary training period, to move to a nearby region with a larger population and conditions more favorable for launching operations. The early detection of the guerrilla unit by the armed forces, however, and the accidental separation of the rear guard from the rest of the unit, kept them from carrying out their plan.

Castro also points out that Cuban leaders strongly disagreed with Guevara's decision to himself join the group in Bolivia at the beginning. The fact that some comrades had already given their lives in an effort to establish a guerrilla front in northern Argentina was "a factor that greatly influenced his impatience to carry out his ideas," Castro told Minà.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, Che "should have waited until a stronger movement developed," Castro said. The initial stage "is the most difficult and the most dangerous phase, as the facts showed, and it resulted in his death."

The leadership of the Cuban revolution knew that Guevara's role in the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia would be used by enemies of the revolution to try to escalate attacks on Cuba. But "U.S. imperialism has never needed a

## FROM PATHFINDER

### The Leninist Strategy of Party Building

The Debate on Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America

JOSEPH HANSEN

In the 1960s and '70s, revolutionists in the Americas and throughout the world debated how to apply the lessons of the Cuban revolution to struggles elsewhere. A record of that debate. \$26.95

### Peru's 'Shining Path'

MARTÍN KOPPEL

How can Shining Path's development, and its mounting internal political crisis, be explained? Why are its perspectives so destructive to the working class in Peru and worldwide? What is the alternative for workers and peasants fighting to defend their interests against the landlords and factory owners? \$3.50

AVAILABLE FROM BOOKSTORES, INCLUDING THOSE LISTED ON PAGE 12, OR FROM PATHFINDER, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014. IF ORDERING BY MAIL, ADD \$3 FOR POSTAGE AND HANDLING.

### The Leninist Strategy of Party Building

JOSEPH HANSEN  
THE DEBATE ON GUERRILLA WARFARE IN LATIN AMERICA



13. Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, and Peru.

14. Published in *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, pp. 347-60.



pretext to carry out its crimes anywhere in the world," Castro writes in "A Necessary Introduction."

Its efforts to crush the Cuban revolution began as soon as our country passed its first revolutionary law. This course stems from the obvious and well-known fact that imperialism is the policeman of world reaction, the systematic promoter of counterrevolution, and the protector of the most backward and inhuman social structures that remain in the world.

Cuba's solidarity with the revolutionary movement may be the pretext, but it will never be the real cause of U.S. aggression. To refuse solidarity in order to avoid providing a pretext is a ridiculous, ostrich-like policy that has nothing to do with the internationalist character of the social revolutions of today.

"Grave dangers have threatened our country since the triumph of the revolution," Castro noted. "But imperialism will never make us give in for these reasons, because the difficulties that flow from a consistently revolutionary line of action are of no importance to us."

\* \* \*

Events in the years immediately following the defeat of the guerrilla nucleus in Bolivia amply confirmed what Che had described as the "increasingly critical" economic and political situation throughout Latin America's Southern Cone that had been the objective basis underlying his revolutionary course.

#### Upsurge in the region

In Bolivia itself a profound working-class upsurge occurred. After several years of deepening instability and a rapid succession of military regimes, in 1970 growing mass mobilizations of workers and students led to an uprising in La Paz. The army split wide open as armed workers took control of the streets, and detachments of peasants and students joined them. The workers established a united "Political Command" to coordinate their struggle. That body soon transformed itself into a People's Assembly, whose delegates set up operations in the chambers previously used by the Bolivian congress.

Neither the workers nor the bourgeoisie were strong enough to decisively gain the upper hand, however. Only after ten months of posturing and wasted opportunities by the officialdom of the workers movement did the counter-revolutionary forces have the strength and cohesion to make their move. They ousted the latest military regime headed by "left-wing" Gen. Juan José Torres, and replaced it with a ferocious dictatorship headed by Gen. Hugo Banzer.

In Argentina a 1966 military coup had installed a regime headed by Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía. By 1969 the class struggle was again on the rise, however, with increasing strike actions and student protests. In May of that year, anger over price increases at a university cafeteria triggered a series of events that rapidly led to a general strike in Rosario, Argentina's second-largest city, and a semi-insurrection in Córdoba, the third-largest city and center of Argentina's auto and aviation industry.

The Córdoba, as it became known, ushered in a period of intense class struggle that lasted for more than half a decade, with inevitable ups and downs, and several sharp shifts by the Argentine bourgeoisie as it desperately sought to regain its balance. In 1976 the military installed Gen. Jorge Videla to preside over a dictatorship so bloody that it stood out for its brutality, even in the Latin America of the 1960s and 1970s.

In Chile rising working-class and peasant militancy carried Socialist Party leader Salvador Allende into the presidency in 1970. For the next three years, the increasingly organized popular movement pressed forward the fight for economic and social measures that threatened the prerogatives of capital, both foreign and Chilean. The Communist and Socialist parties that dominated the government, however, refused to prepare to win the ap-

**'U.S. imperialism has never needed a pretext to carry out its crimes anywhere in the world,' Castro said...**

proaching showdown, and the U.S.-backed military coup organized by Gen. Augusto Pinochet imposed a crushing defeat on the workers movement in September 1973.

Today, more than a quarter century after the events recounted in these pages new economic and social crises are looming, and a new generation of young fighters is coming onto the stage of history, not only in the Americas but throughout the world. It is a generation that does not carry the scars of past defeats; nor is it doomed to justify and repeat the same mistakes. As new class battles erupt, Che's socialist perspectives and the lessons for those striving to build a revolutionary party capable of leading the workers and farmers to take political power acquire an ever more immediate weight. The lessons of these tur-

bulent years of struggle are an integral part of the history revolutionists must critically absorb. There could be no better reason to make broadly available once more *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*.

\* \* \*

The history of Che Guevara's Bolivian diary is itself a political saga. At its heart has been the ongoing battle pitting those who have sought to accurately present Che's political legacy against those seeking to discredit him and distort his place, as well as the place of the Cuban revolution, in the history of the twentieth century.

Carried in his knapsack, the diary was among the items that fell into the hands of the Bolivian military when Guevara was wounded and captured on October 8, 1967. The document was immediately relayed to the army high command, with copies to Washington.

The existence of the diary became public knowledge within days of the murder of Guevara. In November 1967 passages were read by the Bolivian military prosecutor in the trial of French journalist Régis Debray. Debray, as Guevara recounts in the diary, had been captured by the Bolivian military following a visit to the guerrilla camp. Sentenced to a thirty-year prison term, he was released in 1970.



Cuban president Fidel Castro displays photograph of Bolivian generals celebrating Che's murder. In a July 1968 televised broadcast, he answered charges that the Cuban publication of Che's diary was a fabrication. "The imperialists and the Bolivian militarists were most interested in keeping the contents of the document a secret," Castro said. The Cuban government produced and distributed thousands of copies of the book.

The military regime and its backers in Washington used carefully selected quotations—as well as fabrications and rumors about the diary's contents—to justify widespread arrests, incriminate prisoners, and attempt to discredit Guevara and Cuba.

#### Rulers attempt to profit from diary

At the same time, Bolivia's dictators instinctively saw the diary as an opportunity for personal financial gain. Although his murderers had no moral or legal basis to exercise literary rights belonging to Guevara's widow, Aleida March, Bolivian government leaders entered into negotiations with major U.S. and French publishers to sell the rights. Figures as high as \$400,000 were floated in negotiations.

As condemnation of the Bolivian dictatorship's cold-blooded murder of Che mounted world-wide, however, divisions appeared within the inner circles of the regime. Antonio Arguedas, the country's interior minister and chief of intelligence throughout Che's Bolivian campaign, grew increasingly resentful of CIA pressure on him and growing U.S. dictates. He decided to provide microfilms of the diary to the Cuban government. Supporters of the Cuban revolution organized a clandestine operation that succeeded in delivering the microfilms to Havana in mid-March 1968.

Working with accelerated speed and great secrecy, a team of Cubans including Aleida March verified the authenticity of the diary and arranged for its virtually simultaneous translation and publication inside and outside Cuba in eight different editions.

On July 1, 1968, the Cuban government published the diary, distributing hundreds of thousands of copies free of charge to the Cuban people. News of its publication made front pages around the world.

The Bolivian regime was stunned by this unexpected move. With political machinations and financial hopes

shattered, its first response was to claim that the Cuban edition was a fraud. President Barrientos called it "a fictitious diary, falsified and conveniently presented. . . . I am sure that the whole thing is part of a scheme by the Castro hierarchy."

Castro responded to these charges in a televised address on July 3, 1968. "The publication of the diary has upset a few applecarts," Castro explained. "In the first place the imperialists and the Bolivian militarists were most interested in keeping the contents of the document a secret. In the second place, its publication ruined a number of shady and grossly mercenary business deals in connection with the document." He announced that to eliminate any shadow of a doubt, the Cuban government would make photocopies of the diary available to any international journalist accredited in Cuba.

On July 10 the La Paz periodical *Presencia* published the diary. Military chief of staff Alfredo Ovando acknowledged its authenticity and announced the formation of a military tribunal to determine who was responsible for handing it over to the Cuban government. The source of the leak was rapidly traced to Arguedas, since the edition published in Cuba was missing thirteen entries. These were precisely the thirteen entries deleted by Ovando from the version given to the intelligence min-

istry in order to trace unauthorized duplication. Copies turned over to the CIA had also been marked in an identifiable manner. Arguedas skipped across the border to Chile.

The first English-language edition was published July 2, 1968, in a special issue of *Ramparts* magazine in the United States, under rights granted by the Cuban govern-

### New International

*A journal of Marxist politics and theory*

No. 8

The Politics of Economics: Che Guevara and Marxist Continuity by Steve Clark and Jack Barnes • Che's Contribution to the Cuban Economy by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez • The Creativity of Che's Economic Thought by Carlos Tablada. \$10.00

No. 9

The Triumph of the Nicaraguan Revolution • Washington's Contra War and the Challenge of Forging Proletarian Leadership • The Political Degeneration of the FSLN and the Demise of the Workers and Farmers Government. \$14.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling.





ment on behalf of Aleida March. This version was released a week later as a paperback book by Bantam.

Almost simultaneously a different English version was issued by U.S. publishers Stein and Day, under the title *The Complete Bolivian Diaries of Che Guevara and Other Captured Documents*. Stein and Day claimed they had been granted "exclusive literary rights" by Bolivia's military dictatorship. The Stein and Day edition contained the thirteen entries missing from the Cuban edition, as well as the captured diaries of three other Cuban combatants. It featured a lengthy introduction attacking Guevara and the Cuban revolution and praising Barrientos and the Bolivian regime. Publisher Sol Stein told the press he had undertaken the project "as an act of conscience," because the Cuban edition was "a clear attempt to build Guevara as the Robin Hood of the 20th century."

Both editions have been out of print for many years.

This Pathfinder edition of the Bolivian diary has been newly translated by Michael Taber and Michael Bau-

livia, most of which are referred to in the pages of the diary, as well as several messages and letters.

Of particular interest are the additional accounts by other combatants, a number of which are published here for the first time in English.

"My Campaign with Che" by Inti Peredo is of special note, offering an extensive account of events paralleling Che's diary. Peredo was a member of the general staff of the guerrilla unit and one of the five surviving veterans. He had joined the Communist Party of Bolivia in 1951 at the age of fourteen and was secretary of the La Paz region of the party prior to joining Che's group. In addition to providing a narrative framework for the events referred to in Guevara's diary, Peredo's memoir adds substantial information on relations with the Bolivian Communist Party, the guerrillas' political functioning, Che's methods of leadership, and events following his capture and death.

Excerpts from the diaries and accounts of Rolando, Pombo, and Benigno record the political talks by Gue-

trapped in the unfavorable terrain most were unable to escape from, and on the political character of the nucleus of combatants. Taken from interviews that have appeared in the Cuban press over the years, these eyewitness accounts are part of the living political continuity of the Cuban revolution. The bulk of the material in this section appears here in English for the first time.

Numerous explanatory notes, an extensive glossary, chronology, list of combatants, and index have been prepared by translator Michael Taber. The aim has been to help readers follow the story more easily, especially given the passage of time and the nature of the diary itself, which was written under difficult conditions and intended by Guevara as notes for his own use.

Fifteen maps, charting the month-by-month progress of the events recounted, were created for this volume by Eric Simpson, who also designed the book's cover, layout, typography, and photo insert. Virtually every river, mountain range, village, and town mentioned in the diary can be located, along with the route taken by the guerrillas.

This edition of *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara* would not have been possible without the help and collaboration of numerous individuals in Cuba. Special thanks go to Hugo Chinea, director of Editora Política; Iraida Aguirrechu who edited *El Diario del Che en Bolivia* for Editora Política in 1987; and Ana Rosa Gort, also of Editora Política.

Gen. Harry Villegas (Pombo) and Col. Leonardo Tamayo (Urbano), Guevara's co-combatants in Bolivia, provided firsthand information and recollections that helped in translating a number of obscure phrases and in preparing the explanatory notes, glossary, maps, and in identifying photos.

Matilde Lara, widow of Inti Peredo, gave permission to publish "My Campaign with Che." Pedro Álvarez Tabio of the Council of State Office of Publications helped obtain photos. The research conducted over a number of years by Adys Cupull and Froilán González, who annotated and supplied photographs for the 1987 edition of the diary published in Cuba and have authored several other books on the Bolivian campaign, was an irreplaceable aid.

The interest and encouragement of Aleida March was greatly appreciated.

#### Bring to life work of communist leader

In preparing Pathfinder's new edition of the Bolivian diary, the fundamental aim has been to bring to life for a new generation of revolutionary-minded fighters worldwide this work by one of the great communist leaders of our time. Guevara was not only the revolutionist of action, the great student and practitioner of guerrilla warfare revealed through these pages. He was also the communist leader capable of heading up the reorganization of industry and banking in Cuba; representing the socialist revolution worldwide; promoting the development of volunteer labor as a political necessity for the transition to socialism; and writing some of the most important contributions to Marxism in the twentieth century. All these facets of Che are revealed in other collections of his writings and speeches available in English translation from Pathfinder Press. But without the Che of the Bolivian diary, the rounded communist is missing.

Today, growing numbers of workers and youth throughout the world are seeing with their own eyes what capitalism holds in store for humanity as we enter the twenty-first century. They are repelled by the social consequences of the deepening world capitalist crisis: growing economic conflict and interimperialist competition, trade wars that foretell military confrontations, sharpening inequality and social polarization, unemployment, racism, attacks on women's rights, murders of immigrant workers, growing rightist and fascist movements, famine, disease, devastation, and war.

Through their own observations and experiences, this new generation of rebels will come to the conclusion that the heart of the revolutionary perspective presented by Ernesto Che Guevara some three decades ago remains a burning reality for today—that only working people, through conscious organization and disciplined action, can build a communist organization and lead a fighting humanity out of the abyss and degradation of capitalism toward a socialist future of free men and women.

It is to these fighters above all that this edition is directed, to those who will read the Bolivian diary in the spirit Che wrote it—not as a book about the past, nor as a "manual" of revolution, but as an irreplaceable set of working notes helping us to understand the present and prepare to meet the future.



MILITANT/NANCY COLE

Youth defend Philadelphia abortion clinic, July 1993. The new generation of fighters coming into politics in the Americas and throughout the world does not carry the scars of past defeats. As new class battles erupt, Che's socialist perspective and the lessons for those striving to build a revolutionary party capable of leading the workers and farmers to take power acquire even greater weight.

mann, and contains materials not available in any of the previous editions, in any language. The entries missing from the first Cuban and Ramparts editions have been restored. This has been made possible by the careful work of Editora Política in Cuba, which in 1987 published the complete text of the diary in the Spanish original. Also included are other documents written by Guevara in Bo-

vara to the guerrilla unit. They expand on Guevara's own one- or two-sentence descriptions of some of these meetings in the camp and convey the impact these talks had on the combatants.

The accounts of Pombo and Benigno, two of the Cuban veterans of the campaign, shed additional light on Guevara's thinking, on how and why the fighters got

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Nueva Internacional*.

### UNITED STATES

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**CALIFORNIA:** Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. San Francisco: 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

**CONNECTICUT:** New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516. Tel: (203) 688-5418.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: 803 Peachtree NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 724-9759.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018. Peoria: P.O. Box 2817, East Peoria. Zip: 61611. Tel: (309) 672-6443.

**IOWA:** Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

**MINNESOTA:** Twin Cities: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: 141 Halsey. Mailing address: 1188 Raymond Blvd., Suite 222. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: P. O. Box 2357, E.S.P. Zip: 12220. Tel: (518) 465-0585. Brooklyn: 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 399-7257; New York: 214-16 Avenue A. Mailing address: P.O. Box 2652. Zip: 10009. Tel: (212) 388-9346; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (910) 272-5996.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 662-1931. Cleveland: 1855 Prospect. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. Pittsburgh: 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**TEXAS:** Houston: 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite 250. Zip: 77087. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: 147 E. 900 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 1802 Belmont Rd. N.W. Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

### AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010.

Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000. Tel: 02-281-3297.

### BRITAIN

**London:** 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 071-928-7993.

**Manchester:** Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839-1766.

**Sheffield:** 1 Gower St., Spital Hill, Postal code: S47HA. Tel: 0742-765070.

### CANADA

**Montreal:** 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369.

**Toronto:** 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

**Vancouver:** 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

### FRANCE

**Paris:** 8, allée Berlioz 94800 Villejuif Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21

### ICELAND

**Reykjavik:** Klappargistig 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

### NEW ZEALAND

**Auckland:** La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

**Christchurch:** 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

### SWEDEN

**Stockholm:** Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.



## WHERE WE STAND end of week three

25% SOLD

SHOULD BE 30%

## Target week to boost sales

BY SARA LOBMAN

As we go to press, socialist workers and young socialists are gearing up for a special target week in the international drive to win new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International*.

The intensive October 1-9 effort can be an important boost to help get all three components of the campaign on schedule. Most importantly, however, every copy and every subscription of the socialist periodicals that gets into the hands of a fighting worker or youth tells the truth about Washington's military occupation of Haiti, its 35-year war against the socialist revolution in Cuba, and the strikes and struggles of working people around the world.

Supporters in Los Angeles will be setting up all-day campus tables during the target week, said Craig Honts. Since many distributors work or go to school, they have figured out a relay system where volunteers take shifts at the tables during their time off. Schools on the target-week agenda include the Long Beach and Dominguez campuses of California State University, Los Angeles Community College, Santa Monica Community College, and the University of California at Los Angeles.

In the week leading up to the target week, supporters will be participating in activities to build the October 16 immigrant rights protest. "Four young people at a recent meeting to organize student actions to build for the protest



Striking worker at Fibre Die garment shop in Brooklyn, New York, reading *Perspectiva Mundial*. Workers are demanding a union contract.

bought subscriptions to the *Militant*," Honts said.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Houston are organizing four regional teams during the target week. A two-day team is going to Shreveport, Louisiana, to sell at a college campus and a large plant organized by the United Auto Workers there. A one-day team to Dallas will include showing "The Frame-up of Mark Curtis" video to some young people who were first introduced to the *Militant* at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference last month.

Houston distributors haven't been neglecting their hometown, either. Nine copies of *New International* were sold at a recent *Militant* Labor Forum, eight to a young person who has been working through the reading suggested by the Young Socialists in the pages of the *Militant*.

Gary Boyers reports from De-

troit that the *Militant* got a friendly reception at a meeting of nearly 1,000 people who came to hear Gerry Adams speak about the situation in Northern Ireland. One man bought a single copy of the paper and went inside. Twenty minutes later he was back. "Can I get a subscription and a copy of this book right now?" he asked, pointing to the ad for *To Speak the Truth* on the front page of the paper.

A team of *Militant* supporters attending a trade union conference in solidarity with Cuba in Windsor, Ontario, September 23-25 sold 6 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 34 single copies of the paper, 3 copies of *New International*, and 8 copies of *To Speak the Truth*. "Cuba is a ray of hope for our hemisphere," a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in northern Michigan said before buying a subscription.

Another conference participant, who had just picked up a copy of the *Militant*, suggested that unionists who support the Cuban revolution put out a newsletter drawing on articles in major U.S. periodicals, the Cuban newspaper *Granma*, and the *Militant*.

We urge readers to send in short stories on sales during the target week. And if you haven't taken a goal yet, it's not too late to join the international effort. Just contact the *Militant* to order a bundle of papers and get your city on the chart. Subscriptions that arrive by Tuesday at noon EDT will be counted on next week's chart.

## Cuba book gets good response

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The campaign to sell more than 500 copies of the Pathfinder book *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War'*

against *Cuba Doesn't End* is getting an excellent response. With the international effort just past the midway point, 247 copies have been sold.

Supporters of the campaign in Auckland, New Zealand, and Brooklyn, New York, have led the way in this effort. The campaign in Auckland has reached its goal of selling 10 copies of the book.

With less than two weeks remaining to the campaign, socialist workers in Brooklyn have sold 29 out of a goal of 40 books — almost 75 percent. They are reaching out to factory workers, students, activists at political events, and have set up numerous street tables, Frank Gorton, a laid-off auto worker, said.

Pattie Sanchez reports she sold a copy of *To Speak the Truth* and a subscription to the *Militant* to a student at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. "The student who bought the book said, 'This is great! I love this stuff!' He was all smiles from ear to ear," Sanchez reports.

"We sold 10 copies of *To Speak the Truth* in combination with the special offer of a subscription to the *Militant*," Floyd Fowler, a garment worker at Kuppenheimer in Atlanta, said. "Seven of these were sold directly as a result of our work in

defense of the Cuban revolution," Fowler added. "A member of the Teamsters union who we met during the nationwide strike earlier this year came by the Pathfinder bookstore and, after several hours of discussion, renewed his *Militant* subscription and bought a copy of the book."

Mike Itale, an auto worker at the Ford plant in Walton Hills, Ohio, sold a copy of *To Speak the Truth* along with another Pathfinder book — *How Far We Slaves Have Come*, by Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela. "This coworker wears a button everyday in the plant expressing solidarity with the Caterpillar strike and other labor battles in Illinois," Itale said. "He is especially interested in the role of Cuban troops in Africa and the warm welcome Fidel Castro received at the presidential inauguration of Nelson Mandela in May."

Reports from local areas on the campaign to sell *To Speak the Truth* should be sent in to the *Militant* every week so that the experiences of using this important political weapon against Washington's aggression can be shared with others around the world. In order to get your totals reflected on the scoreboard please have them in by Tuesday at 12 noon, EDT.

	Militant			Perspectiva Mundial			New International		
	sold	goal	%	sold	goal	%	sold	goal	%
France	3	4	75%	2	5	40%	12	20	60%
Greece	5	11	45%	0	1	0%	2	6	33%
Australia	12	30	40%	0	8	0%	2	18	11%
New Zealand									
Wellington	3	5	60%	0	0	0%	0	4	0%
Christchurch	14	35	40%	0	1	0%	3	8	38%
Auckland	24	75	32%	2	5	40%	3	30	10%
N Z total	41	115	36%	2	6	33%	6	42	14%
Canada									
Toronto	30	90	33%	2	17	12%	6	35	17%
Montreal	18	80	23%	3	25	12%	4	45	9%
Vancouver	21	75	28%	1	10	10%	6	20	30%
Canada total	69	245	28%	6	52	12%	16	100	16%
Sweden	11	40	28%	7	20	35%	3	15	20%
United States									
Portland, OR	3	2	150%	0	1	0%	0	2	0%
Denver, CO	3	5	60%	0	3	0%	0	2	0%
Twin Cities, MN	51	125	41%	1	17	6%	8	35	23%
Cincinnati, OH	4	10	40%	0	5	0%	0	4	0%
Hartford, CT	2	5	40%	0	1	0%	0	4	0%
Peoria, IL	12	30	40%	0	2	0%	2	10	20%
Houston	23	60	38%	3	12	25%	10	12	83%
Seattle	28	80	35%	4	12	33%	3	23	13%
Des Moines, IA	28	85	33%	4	36	11%	0	35	0%
Philadelphia	36	115	31%	5	30	17%	6	47	13%
Salt Lake City, UT	32	110	29%	0	16	0%	1	35	3%
Detroit	28	100	28%	2	11	18%	0	27	0%
San Francisco	39	150	26%	6	42	14%	10	70	14%
Washington, D.C.	22	85	26%	12	30	40%	0	35	0%
Cleveland	24	95	25%	0	16	0%	0	20	0%
Brooklyn	27	110	25%	8	36	22%	12	65	18%
Boston	28	115	24%	4	36	11%	13	52	25%
Los Angeles	51	230	22%	18	101	18%	10	105	10%
Pittsburgh	23	105	22%	2	12	17%	2	26	8%
Greensboro, NC	14	65	22%	3	4	75%	3	15	20%
Albany, NY	2	10	20%	1	1	100%	0	3	0%
Birmingham, AL	15	75	20%	0	5	0%	1	15	7%
Miami	24	120	20%	19	55	35%	9	70	13%
Morgantown, WV	11	55	20%	0	1	0%	0	17	0%
St. Louis	15	80	19%	1	6	17%	4	22	18%
Chicago	27	145	19%	6	32	19%	2	50	4%
Atlanta	19	105	18%	1	15	7%	0	25	0%
New York	25	145	17%	8	40	20%	5	70	7%
Newark, NJ	21	140	15%	10	35	29%	10	50	20%
Albuquerque, NM	1	7	14%	0	2	0%	6	2	300%
New Haven, CT	1	10	10%	0	2	0%	3	8	38%
Edinboro, PA	0	6	0%	0	1	0%	1	3	33%
Ft. Madison, IA	0	2	0%	0	1	0%	1	2	50%
U.S. total	639	2582	25%	118	619	19%	122	961	13%
Britain									
London	19	70	27%	0	3	0%	5	37	14%
Sheffield	7	40	18%	0	1	0%	0	14	0%
Manchester	8	50	16%	0	3	0%	2	20	10%
Britain total	34	160	21%	0	7	0%	7	71	10%
Iceland	2	13	15%	0	1	0%	0	4	0%
Belgium	0	2	0%	0	2	0%	0	1	0%
Puerto Rico	0	2	0%	4	5	80%	1	4	25%
TOTAL	816	3204	25%	139	726	19%	171	1,242	14%
SHOULD BE	990	3300	30%	210	700	30%	375	1,250	30%

IN THE UNIONS									
	sold	goal	%	sold	goal	%	sold	goal	%
AUSTRALIA									
AWU	1	3	33%	0	0	0%	0	1	0%
IFPU	0	3	0%	0	1	0%	1	2	50%
BRITAIN									
AEEU	0	6	0%						
RMT	2	22	9%						
TGWU	2	7	29%						
NUM	0	2	0%						
Britain Total	4	37	11%						
CANADA									
ACTWU	0	2	0%	0	0	0%	0	1	0%
CAW	9	12	75%	0	1	0%	0	3	0%
CEP	0	5	0%	0	0	0%	0	1	0%
IAM	1	18	6%	0	3	0%	0	7	0%
USWA	4	9	44%	0	1	0%	0	3	0%
Canada Total	14	46	30%	0			0		
NEW ZEALAND									
UFBGWU	0	5	0%	0	0	0%	0	1	0%
EU	0	6	0%	0	1	0%	0	1	0%
MWU	0	4	0%	0	0	0%	0	1	0%
N.Z. Total	0	15	0%	0	1	0%	0	3	0%
SWEDEN									
Food workers	0	3	0%	0	0	0%	0	2	0%
Metal workers	0	2	0%	0	0	0%	0	2	0%
Sweden Total	0	5	0%	0	0	0%	0	4	0%
UNITED STATES									
UMWA	3								
UFCW	8	15	53%	3	17	18%	0	5	0%
UTU	32	85	38%	0	10	0%	0	25	0%
UAW	29	135	21%	1	15	7%	0	30	0%
IAM	13	80	16%	0	3	0%	1	14	7%
USWA	12	80	15%	1	3	33%	1	19	5%
OCAW	14	46	30%	1	2	50%	0	15	0%
ILGWU	2	20	10%	3	20	15%	2	15	13%
ACTWU	2	25	8%	5	11	45%	0	14	0%
U.S. Total	115	486	24%	14	81	17%	4	137	3%

ACTWU-Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEEU-Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AFMEU-Automotive, Food, Metals and Engineering Union; CAW-Canadian Auto Workers; EU-Engineers Union; IFPU-Food Preservers' Union; IAM-International Association of Machinists; ILGWU-International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU-Meat Workers Union; NUM-National Union of Mineworkers; NUW-National Union of Workers; OCAW-Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT-National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU-Transport and General Workers Union; UAW-United Auto Workers; UFBGWU-United Food, Beverage and General Workers Union; UFCW-United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA-United Mine Workers of America; USWA-United Steelworkers of America; UTU-United Transportation Union.



# U.S. hands off Haiti and Cuba!

As U.S. military forces tighten their hold over Haiti, Washington's aims become clearer every day. The invasion — launched under the pretext of restoring President Jean-Bertrand Aristide — has nothing to do with defending the rights of Haiti's workers and farmers. It has everything to do with protecting capitalist stability and profits.

The U.S. military is now running Haiti in collaboration with the very thugs who have terrorized the country for years. The U.S. rulers' goal is to restructure the government and police apparatus to keep Haiti's ruling class firmly in the saddle as Washington's junior partners in their exploitation of that Caribbean nation.

The Haitian military is too weak and despised to be effective rulers of the country. The U.S. rulers aren't very confident about Aristide either, because he has not proved reliable in keeping a lid on workers and farmers, who toppled the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986 and continue to fight for social and political rights. But Washington has no alternative on hand, so it is drawing in both to cobble together a capitalist regime.

Washington invaded Haiti, not to strike a blow for democracy, but because, despite the repression, the fighting capacity of Haiti's workers and peasants has not been crushed. In addition, the U.S. rulers also want to reassert what they consider their right to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, especially in what they consider their own "backyard."

The U.S. intervention, carried out with bipartisan support at home, is a blow to the Haitian people's fight to take control over their country and their lives. So far, the occupation forces have avoided a direct confrontation with working people, who, while supporting the U.S. military presence, continue to seek opportunities to get the local thugs off their backs. But as the U.S. Navy's stockpiles of clubs, gas masks, and other riot gear

testify — not to mention their tanks and weaponry on shore — Washington is prepared to take further steps to crack down on struggles for social justice.

The U.S. invasion of Haiti is also a grave threat to revolutionary Cuba. In August the Clinton administration took a series of aggressive moves against Cuba, from tightening its trade embargo on the island to provocatively detaining Cuban emigrants on its military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The Cuban government quickly moved to counter these threatening moves, speaking out in public and negotiating an immigration accord with Washington. But the continuing explosive situation in the Guantánamo detention camps and the massive deployment of U.S. troops in Haiti create a dangerous atmosphere that the U.S. government may try to use to take further hostile action against Cuba.

While the wealthy U.S. rulers have no fundamental problem with Haiti's military dictatorship, aside from the fact that it is no longer very effective as an instrument for capitalist rule, Washington continues to have a giant problem with revolutionary Cuba because it is a bastion of workers and farmers power in the Caribbean and an example to working-class fighters worldwide. Haitian workers and peasants will need to draw on that example in order to free themselves from imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation.

The Clinton administration — like eight administrations before it — remains determined to destroy the Cuban revolution. Thus, as the marines invade and occupy Haiti, working people should also keep our eyes on Cuba and protest every aggressive U.S. move against it.

Broad protest actions are needed to demand that Washington get its troops out of Haiti now, open its borders to Haitian refugees, release all detained Haitians and Cubans, get out of Guantánamo, and lift all its sanctions against Cuba.

# Support auto workers at GM

The battle being fought by members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) at the Buick City complex in Flint, Michigan, is one that all unionists and other working people should rally to support.

The walkout by nearly 12,000 auto workers against General Motors shows the tremendous economic clout and social power that working people acting in unity can bring to bear in the fight against attacks by the bosses and their government on our rights and living standard.

The stakes in this fight are important for all working people. The UAW is fighting to force GM to hire more workers, and to reduce forced overtime and speedup, which have led to a soaring rate of on-the-job injuries.

In a drive to boost its sagging rate of profit, GM aims to increase productivity by turning out more cars with fewer workers. Since 1986, it has slashed its U.S. hourly workforce from 402,000 to 247,000, with further reductions planned. The bosses have employed temporary workers and put in place two-tier contracts in an effort to divide working people and weaken the unions. By utilizing union power to lead a fight for jobs, the striking workers at GM are providing a good example of how to answer the employers' assault.

Despite concession contracts that auto workers and

many other unionists have been forced to accept, the bosses have failed to quell the fighting spirit of the U.S. working class. This is the fifth walkout by UAW members this year against a GM plant. In August, UAW members in Anderson, Indiana, won a victory in their fight for jobs after striking for three days. That work stoppage quickly idled 14 assembly plants across the country, forcing GM management to cave in and agree to maintain current employment levels at the plant through 1997.

The auto workers on strike against GM bring valuable reinforcements to the side of fighting unionists involved in other labor battles taking place in the United States today. These include the 14,000 UAW members on strike against Caterpillar, United Rubber Workers on the picket lines against Bridgestone/Firestone, and members of the United Paper Workers International Union locked out by the A.E. Staley Manufacturing Co. in Decatur, Illinois.

Unionists involved in these fights will be attending an important labor solidarity rally in Decatur on October 15. This event can send a powerful message to the bosses and help forge a deeper bond of unity among all those engaged in strike actions. Linking up with fighters involved in other labor battles can help strengthen each and every one of them.

# The 'Militant' tells the truth

"The time to speak the truth has come," Fidel Castro told the United Nations General Assembly in 1960. The U.S. government cannot be on the side of workers and farmers anywhere in the world, the Cuban leader explained, because it is on the side of the ruling rich who oppress and exploit them. Castro's words ring as true today as they did 34 years ago. While government officials, the major media, and even self-proclaimed progressives are working overtime to spew out lies about Cuba's socialist revolution, the U.S. military occupation of Haiti, and the struggles of working people around the world, the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* are on the front lines of answering these slanders.

*Militant* staff writers and worker-correspondents have gone to the scene of events to provide accurate reports of what working people in Cuba and South Africa have to say about their struggles. Feature articles have exposed the real history of U.S. troops in Haiti and explained how Washington set up the Guantánamo naval base on territory stolen from the Cuban people. The *Militant* and its sister publications tell the truth about the strikes, skirmishes, and resistance of fighting workers — from United Auto Workers members at General Motors and Caterpillar in the United States to gold miners in South Africa.

The experiences of the first three weeks of the international campaign to sell the socialist press is proof positive that many fighting workers and youth are looking for the answers the *Militant* provides. Already more than 800 people have purchased introductory subscriptions to the paper. The challenge now facing every single supporter

of the socialist press is to use the October 1-9 international target week to step up this effort and get each component of the sales campaign back on schedule.

This will require a serious and organized effort on the part of partisans of the socialist press in every city. We urge our readers to make this campaign to tell the truth one of their central priorities over the coming week, thinking out how to use every available hour and take advantage of every opportunity to win new subscribers. This will include arranging to take time off work to participate in special sales teams and organizing local sales on high school and college campuses, in working-class neighborhoods, at picket lines and plant gates, and at political events. Readers who are members of industrial unions can make a special push to introduce the paper to coworkers and fellow unionists.

Socialist workers and young socialists in many cities report brisk sales of the book *To Speak the Truth* sold together with a subscription to the *Militant* for a special offer of \$20. We should build on this success, pointing out this offer to every potential new reader and striving to increase the number of these "combination" truth kits that get into the hands of interested readers.

Each subscription to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*, or copy of *New International* or *To Speak the Truth*, is a precious tool in the hands of workers or youth trying to understand what is happening in the world and how they can act to change it. With an all-out push during the target week, we can head into the second half of the international drive on course and help arm a new generation of fighters for the battles ahead.

# 'Release Curtis'

Continued from front page

been sent in the last couple of weeks to Chandler Halford at the Department of Corrections and to Paul Hedgepath, acting warden of the Iowa State Penitentiary.

Curtis, a union and political activist framed up by Des Moines police in 1988, was thrown into segregation in the maximum security prison at the end of August. On September 12, he was taken, shackled hand and foot, before Administrative Law Judge Charles Harper. He was denied an attorney, the right to cross-examine the evidence against him, and the right to confront his accusers, including one anonymous witness who was identified only as a "confidential informant," and whose written statement Curtis was not even allowed to see.

Even though the law judge found the evidence presented against Curtis "not the best," he upheld charges leveled against him by prison guards and ruled that Curtis was guilty of assaulting another inmate. Harper sentenced him to the harshest punishment permitted under prison regulations — 30 days in the "hole" and one year in lockup. Curtis has appealed.

Before being thrown in lockup, Curtis and his supporters were organizing a campaign to press for his release on parole. Given the six years Curtis has served behind bars, his excellent conduct evaluations, and the strong support for him, state officials were finding it increasingly difficult to justify keeping Curtis behind bars.

## 'This man needs to be freed'

"I do not think that Mr. Curtis's rights were respected in the prison hearing that sentenced him to one year in solitary confinement for assaulting a prisoner," writes Richard Levac, chairperson of the Chrysler section of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1900 in St. Laurent, Quebec. "With all that I have seen and read of Mark Curtis, I think this man needs to be freed from jail."

"The Saint Ouen GEC-Alstom General Labor Confederation (CGT) demands that the September 12 decision condemning Mark Curtis be overturned and that Mark be released from lockup," Alain Barbier writes on behalf of the union from Saint Ouen, France. "Workers in France consider it important that the rights and freedoms of workers in the United States be respected."

"Once again Mark Curtis has been convicted on a trumped-up charge designed to keep him in jail," B.J. Edgeler, Branch Secretary of the Canterbury Meat Workers Union in Christchurch, New Zealand, faxed to the warden and the Department of Corrections.

Lyle Bogges, a rank-and-file member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa, wrote, "This is obviously a phony charge. No real evidence was presented, and I believe that this whole thing is just an attempt to keep Mark from getting a fair hearing from the parole board in October." At the time he was arrested and framed in 1988, Curtis was a member of the UFCW. He was singled out by police because of his participation in a public campaign to win freedom for 17 of his coworkers from Mexico and El Salvador who had been seized in an immigration raid on their plant.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines is asking all supporters of political and union rights to fax or mail letters to Iowa authorities urging that the conviction of Curtis be overturned and he be released from lockup.

Letters should be sent to Sally Chandler Halford, Director, Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 East 12th Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50309, fax (515) 281-7345, and Paul Hedgepath, Acting Warden, Iowa State Penitentiary, Box 316, Fort Madison, Iowa 52627, fax (319) 372-6967.

Copies of protest message, and needed financial contributions, should be mailed to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311, or faxed to (515) 243-9869.

# Auto workers strike

Continued from front page

picket line for several minutes in apparent disbelief that they were being denied entry into the plant. One picketer asked a foreman to sing "Solidarity Forever" along with the strikers while he sat in his car. Another foreman attempted to provoke the strikers by calling to the one female picketer, "Come over here so I can hit you first!"

The Buick City complex isn't the only GM facility where overtime is angering workers. On September 18, workers at GM's Hydra-Matic plant in Warren, Michigan, voted unanimously to authorize a strike, after 70 temporary workers were laid off and the remaining workers forced to work harder. A strike authorization vote was also taken at GM's rear-wheel drive transmission plant in Toledo, Ohio.

Meanwhile, 130 temporary workers were laid off September 16 at the GM assembly plant in Linden, New Jersey. To maintain production the company is making high seniority workers, some of whom have not worked on the line in more than 10 years, replace the temporaries. The company's action angered workers, many of whom believe that the temporaries should be made permanent and get the same wages and benefits as others. Currently the temporaries get only 70 percent of the wages earned by permanent workers and receive no benefits.

One group of workers at the Linden plant took up a collection and organized a going-away party for the temporaries, including a cake decorated with the words, "Good-bye for now — Future GM employees."



**Coming up next?** — Responding to skeptical media questions, Madeleine Albright, U.S. rep to the United Nations, said, "The president has more facts than you all have.... If Haiti were threat-

Haitian mob lynches unpopular president. U.S. Marines invade Haiti to restore order and enforce the country's financial obligations to American creditors."

speculators gambling on the opening of a free market in Cuba. One broker judiciously observed: "People are inventing places to invest."

today's crop of seniors. Currently, half the people over 65 have incomes less than \$10,200.

denial was persuasive. "I don't even know how to use a parking meter, let alone a phone box," she declared.



Harry Ring

ened by communism, none of you would be raising these questions."

**Which was the "mob"** — One newspaper chronicle of U.S.-Haiti relations opened: "1915 —

**They rate** — While Cuban rafters were being shipped to Guantánamo, the dogs and other pets that accompanied some of them were taken to the Key West animal shelter. Several of the dogs have already been turned over to the owners' relatives in Florida.

**Friendly gesture** — According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the Haitian army "is equipped with Israeli-made assault rifles and other lesser weapons."

**A needless problem** — A Boston College parley on financial markets heard a warning that the Social Security system will be worth "little more than food stamps when the baby boomers retire." One broker responded that the problem is people don't save enough and don't invest wisely. This must have also been true for

**Give that man another prize** — At that Boston confab, Frank Modigliani, a Nobel Prize winner in economics, suggested scrapping the Social Security system and letting folks make their own investments for the future. Which is really a neat idea, when you consider how well-heeled everyone is, and how stable the market is.

**Now there's an alibi** — We didn't keep up on the allegation that Britain's Princess Diana made some 300 crank calls, some from pay phones, to the chap acting as go-between for her and her estranged spouse. But we think her

**First prize, a seat on the stock exchange** — Celebrating the 45th anniversary of the People's Republic of China, there will be a revolutionary song contest with entries judged by a committee of top government officials and "veteran revolutionaries."

**Sounds like a healthy plan** — Prez Clinton promised to make the government "user friendly," with phone calls and mail answered more quickly, improved postal service, shorter waits at veterans hospitals, and more helpful people at federal agencies.

## Curtis describes prison conditions in 'the hole'

BY MARK CURTIS

FORT MADISON, Iowa, Saturday, September 17 — Thirty days in the hole and one year in lockup. That's the punishment the prison judge handed me on Monday when he found me in violation of Rule no. 2 — assault.

Last night my appeal came back, denied, and I started serving my hole time. Two guards handcuffed me, locked me in the shower, and searched my cell. They removed the items I'm not allowed to have, radio and headphones, and put me back in my cell. They exchanged my boots for

until I'd had a chance to meet with him. This too was denied.

Secret "evidence" against me, in the form of a "confidential informant" statement, was determined to be "reliable." The judge refused to let me know what it said or who said it, but he claimed it was an inmate eyewitness who saw me assault a guy who was awaiting an examination in the hospital outpatient area. The other evidence was a transcript of a recorded interview with a nurse who says she observed the alleged assault.

I denied assaulting anyone and pointed out that the nurse did not identify me at the time and that the transcript itself is mainly a statement from two guards, with one or two word responses by the nurse. It wasn't signed or initialed by anyone, and had a coached character to it. The judge admitted that the transcript was "not the best evidence," but that it would be used because it "corroborated" the confidential information.

A witness statement by my coworker and a report by a guard both proved I never admitted to assaulting anyone. Even the judge had to agree to that fact. The prison Internal Affairs officer who conducted the investigation wrote the lie in the disciplinary report — that I admitted to the assault.

### Half-hour hearing

The hearing lasted a half hour and less than two hours later the judge came by my cell and handed me his decision: Guilty of assault; not guilty of threats and intimidation, damage to property, and obstructive/disruptive conduct.

I'm doing my hole time in the same cell I've been in since August 23 when the cops brought me straight here from my job at the hospital. Its in cell block 319, the main lockup unit, which contains about 100 cells.

There are 26 "ranges," or rows, of seven or eight single cells to a range. The first cell in "C" range, which is my range, has been converted into a shower. My cell is next to that, with six more cells down from me. The cells measure about five and a half by eight feet. An L-shaped piece of steel, bolted to the wall and floor, with a foam rubber mattress on top, makes the bed. We get sheets, two blankets, and a pillow. There is a sink and toilet but no mirror. Two shelves, a small stool, and a foot locker hold my things, and I have a table where right now I'm writing this as I sit on my bed.

We exercise outdoors for one hour a day, Monday to Friday, in chain-link and barbed wire pens. This is the high point of the day, seeing the sun, other prisoners in the pens and those in the yard, standing just beyond off-limits boundary. All other time is spent in my cell, including for meals. Any time out of the cell you will be handcuffed — walking to exercise, to a visit, or to a shower. We shower three times a week and argue for every second of the 10 minutes we get to shave and cleanup.

### 100-year-old cell house

Cell house 319 is more than 100 years old and I wonder how many men have been locked in this cell. A bulletin board on the wall carries the graffiti slogans of past occupants: "Gangsta," "Harley-Davidson," "5 Deuce,"



Defense committee supporters John Studer, Natalie Bombaro, and Kate Kaku visit Mark Curtis in Ft. Madison, Iowa, in September. "I'm kept company by the campaign fighting for my release," Curtis said.

"White Power," "God Rules," and, on the most recent one, "Hands Off Cuba ¡Viva Fidel!" The bars are thick with uncounted coats of paint, and the cracked plaster on the ceiling and walls crumbles a little each day. Near the wall across from my cell is a hole in the floor through which an electrical conduit passes. Early in the morning, when not a creature is stirring, I've seen a rat also using that tunnel to visit C range.

I've been able to keep some of my books, soap, toothpaste and deodorant, my files and my radio and headphones, except for while I'm in the hole. My typewriter, which I sorely miss, tape player, personal clothes, and other items will be kept in storage until I finish my one year of lockup or overturn the report.

### Conditions meant to isolate prisoners

The purpose and effect of these conditions is isolating. Especially in the hole, with no TV or radio, no phone calls, and on weekends no exercise or mail — all you have is the other guys on the range. A good bit of camaraderie exists on our range and I suspect it does everywhere. Even if you can't see the other men on the range, you can be heard. "You doing all right down there in the hole, Curtis?" a guy asks me. "Let me know if you need anything."

I already knew a couple guys on my range from doing time together at the medium-security unit. Most have been very surprised to hear what happened to me, how much punishment the judge threw at me, and that criminal prosecution was a possibility. "You know why they're doing all that to you," said one. "Its because of your political stuff, they don't like that, Mark."

Political discussions like anywhere else take place in the exercise pens. Last week we were talking about Haiti and someone mentioned that he'd just seen some program on TV that showed how the U.S. had invaded Haiti earlier this century.

Fortunately, quite a few people have gone out of their way recently to pay me a visit. Close friends like Kate Kaku, Natalie Bombaro, and John Studer spent their Labor Day weekend with me. Stu Singer, a founder of my defense committee surprised me by coming to see me during his vacation. I've seen copies of the messages sent to the prison and the Department of Corrections protesting this frame-up.

These conditions, although no picnic, lend themselves to reading and writing and I'm doing both, inspired and kept company by the campaign fighting for my release."

## BEHIND PRISON WALLS



a pair of canvas slippers. If I'd had canteen food or tobacco, that would've had to go, too. Under prison rules, no one can be in the hole more than 10 days in a row, so I will serve 10 days in, then one day out, then 10 days in, one out, etc., until 30 days are up.

Thirty days in "the hole" (Disciplinary Detention) is the maximum that can be legally handed out under prison rules. I also lost 365 days of the good time I had earned over the last six years, time that had shortened my release date. On Monday I will file a "supplementary appeal." Like my first appeal, it gets heard by a prison administrator here. A final appeal is heard by a Department of Corrections official in Des Moines. Anything further would have to be taken to state or federal court.

### Prisoners don't stand a chance

As my situation shows, a prisoner doesn't stand a chance when the prison accuses him of a rule violation. The hearing itself is a true kangaroo court. I had been in lockup for almost three weeks before going before Administrative Law Judge Charles Harper. The judge is appointed by the Department of Corrections.

The hearing was held in the lockup cell house. I was handcuffed behind my back and couldn't take notes or turn the pages of the written material they placed in front of me except with a not-very-successful contortionist maneuver. When I asked to at least be called in front, my request was denied even though I already had leg shackles on and two guards were present. I also requested that my lawyer be present or at least that the hearing be postponed

## Free Mark Curtis

### ♦ Speakers ♦

**Frankie Travis**, "Road Warrior" locked out from A.E. Staley in Decatur, Illinois • **Kate Kaku**, Curtis's wife • **Jane Curtis**, Curtis's mother • **Nell Wheeler**, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431 and representative, Mark Curtis Defense Committee

Saturday, October 8

Reception 6:30 p.m. • Program 7:30 p.m.

Best Western Starlight Village  
2nd Street just south of I-235  
Des Moines, Iowa

\$5 donation

Sponsored by the  
Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048,  
Des Moines, Iowa 50311(515) 246-1695



## Political conflicts in S. Africa sharpen

BY GREG ROSENBERG

PIETERMARITZBURG, South Africa — King Goodwill Zwelithini, a traditional Zulu leader, broke off ties with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of the rightist Inkatha Freedom Party, September 20. This development marks the further disintegration of the united front projected by Inkatha against the African National Congress-led government. The split is a result of the advances of South Africa's democratic revolution and the course charted by the ANC toward its goal of a nonracial, nonsexist South African nation.

Buthelezi, who is also Minister for Home Affairs in the South African government, finds himself increasingly isolated and fighting for political survival. On September 25, in an action viewed by many as bizarre, he and his bodyguards charged onto the set of a live television show and physically accosted Prince Sifiso Zulu, who had said that the Inkatha leader was no longer principal adviser to the king.

### Rift widens among Zulu leaders

The rift between Buthelezi and traditional Zulu leaders, who had been allied to him earlier, sharpened at the beginning of September when South African and ANC president Nelson Mandela announced he would be attending the annual Shaka Day celebration with the support of the king. Buthelezi strongly protested. On September 19, Mandela met with Buthelezi and Zwelithini at the royal residence in Nongoma. Following the meeting, Mandela reported that both had advised him not to attend the Shaka Day events and that he would not participate.

As Mandela was waiting to depart, Inkatha supporters, angered by the meeting, shouted anti-ANC slogans and stoned the ANC president's helicopter. Zwelithini announced the cancellation of Shaka Day shortly after the gathering, citing the intimidating actions of Buthelezi's supporters. The Inkatha leader, however, organized his backers to make sure the Shaka Day events took place. An estimated 10,000 people attended the commemorations on September 24 in KwaMashu, bearing spears, shields, and clubs.

Mandela told SABC TV on September

20 that he had originally planned to attend the ceremonies to transform them "from a tribal event, which it has been, into a national event."

Working people in KwaZulu-Natal province, like other parts of South Africa, are expanding their fight to wipe out apartheid-induced racist discrimination



Nurses at King Edward Hospital rally in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal province, September 16. Working people are expanding fight for their interests across South Africa. Militant/Greg Rosenberg

and win land, housing, jobs, services, and health care.

Land occupations to demand housing are sweeping through this area. More than 7 million people in South Africa live in squatter camps.

### 'Now we are not forced off the land'

On a hillside next to what was formerly an Indian township here, Rafael Hadebe, a 32-year-old automobile painter, explained why he was busy building a house of wood and mud. Dozens of primitive dwellings are springing up on the hill, in a settlement

informally dubbed Inhlalakahle, which means "staying well," in Zulu.

"We began occupying this land on April 22," said Hadebe, a supporter of the ANC. "I came here because I have a bigger family. We were living in another camp and our place was too small for everyone." In response to a question about whether there

money to compensate for what we've spent here."

There is no running water or electricity in the informal settlement. Residents obtain water from the home of a local ANC leader further up the hill. "We want reasonable houses with water and electricity," said Hadebe. "We can create jobs with this. I could paint cars. But without electricity, I can't do it."

### Growing space for political activity

This province has long been the political base of Inkatha. A Bantustan system of patronage for land use was backed up by the KwaZulu police and hit squads armed and trained by the South African government. The democratic elections in April and the political fight waged by the ANC leadership to lessen the tensions have resulted in growing space for political activity and a sharp drop in violence. This enables working people to unify and fight for their demands on a class basis, weakening tribal divisions and arguments over political affiliation.

In nearby Happy Valley, formerly a township for so-called Coloreds, residents have fought to share services and cooperate with the growing squatter camp next door, which is populated by Africans. "The so-called Colored people here speak Zulu," said Mervyn Dirks, chair of the ANC branch in Happy Valley. "I'm not a Colored," remarked Victor Santorius. "I'm a South African."

"When poor whites come here, to drink in the *shebeens* (township bars), there's no problems. But there are problems with rich whites," said Dirks. "It's moving from a race thing to a class thing."

### Debate over housing policy

A growing debate on government housing policy is also emerging around the successful protests by residents of Johannesburg's southwestern townships for a flat-rate municipal services fee and the write-off of back debts owed for the substandard housing in which they currently live.

National Housing Minister Joe Slovo recently joined in this debate. Slovo, a member of the ANC national executive committee and chairman of the South African Communist Party, denounced regional ANC officials for promising that the central government would foot the bill. Pretoria-Witswatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) housing minister Dan Mofokeng's call for wholesale cancellation of personal rent and service charge debts was "fiscally unsustainable," and has "no basis in law," Slovo argued.

National housing ministry spokesperson Stephen Lauffer said, "To help those people who already have houses by scrapping their arrears is to harm those who do not have houses."

An editorial in the September 23 *Citizen*, which reflects the views of the National Party, stated, "Billions of rands are simply not available for the asking.... Mr. Slovo talks good sense."

## Gun pulled on Caterpillar strikers; company tries to create racial stir

BY KATHY RETTIG AND JOHN STAGGS

YORK, Pennsylvania — An individual got out of his vehicle while leaving the Caterpillar plant here August 30 and brandished a gun at the 100 strikers and their supporters who were on the picket line that evening. Those walking the line included a delegation of strikers from Caterpillar plants in Illinois, who had just addressed the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 769 weekly information meeting in York.

UAW bargaining chairman Terry Orndorff reports that Darryl Doleman, who is Black, pulled the gun on the pickets. Doleman was driving out of the plant after dropping off his wife, who is employed by Caterpillar as a "temporary replacement worker." When Orndorff went to the police to report the incident, he was charged with harassment and ethnic intimidation. Later, Caterpillar suspended him for five days. Strike supporter Duane Burlingame was also charged with harassment and ethnic intimidation. Doleman was charged with simple assault.

"I am innocent," Orndorff said at a press conference called by the union to refute the charges. "There is no way they can prove it, because it didn't happen."

Striker Kenneth Hite, who was also on the line during the incident, said, "This man was recklessly pointing his gun all

around. Our wives and kids were there. A man was going to shoot our wives and kids." Both he and Orndorff said they shouted scab at the people in the car, but did not yell racial slurs.

### Company tries to smear union

John Williams, a striker who is Black, was picketing that night on the line across the street. "Ray Charles can see through this," he said at the press conference. "Caterpillar plans to cause a racial stir among the membership."

"Caterpillar is trying to turn this into a racial situation and that's not true at all," Orndorff later told the *York Dispatch*. "Racial issues have never been an issue in this local."

The police have taken other steps to intimidate the strikers. On September 6, they filed charges of harassment and criminal mischief against 10 UAW members in connection with the August 1 solidarity rally outside the Caterpillar plant. The mass picket line of more than 500 people was successful in preventing most of the scabs from entering the plant that day.

### Plant is 'a nightmare'

On September 8, a UAW member who crossed the picket line was seriously injured when steel coils weighing thousands of pounds fell on his leg. There was "no

breach of safety precautions and the victim was an experienced employee," said Caterpillar spokesman Jeff Hulfish.

"The whole place is a nightmare," Barry Koicuba, president of UAW Local 786, said. He pointed out that the company will not even allow officials from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration into the plant. This "means they have serious problems," he said.

During an interview in a local coffee shop, one replacement worker explained that the company had allowed her a special schedule to accommodate her child-care arrangements. She said that meals are provided free on the weekend to induce people to work. Recently the company held a banquet for all the workers to tell them that production was excellent and they did not need to worry about their jobs since the company was not going to give an inch on the union's demands.

Caterpillar continues to hire scabs. The September 18 *Philadelphia Inquirer* advertised for job openings at Caterpillar plants in Illinois. "85 needed.... \$23 to \$32 O.T.... Will be working during a labor dispute.... Immediate openings. All shifts," the ad said.

John Staggs is a member of UAW Local 1695 in Lansdale, Pennsylvania.

### Labor's Giant Step

The First Twenty Years of the CIO: 1936-1955  
Art Preis

The story of the explosive labor struggles and political battles that built an industrial union movement and transformed U.S. society in the 1930s.

\$26.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12 or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. FAX (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail, please add \$3 to cover postage and handling for the first book and 50 cents for each additional item.