Cuban leader Ricardo Alarcón speaks on Che's legacy

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SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE VOL. 61 NO. 36 OCTO

Socialists: equal rights for all immigrants!

The following statement was issued October 8 by Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York Olga Rodríguez.

The Socialist Workers Campaign salutes the October 12 march on the United Nations for immigrant rights. Our candidates in this election are demanding the U.S. government stop deportations and are calling for equal rights for all immigrants — with or without papers.

We welcome all immigrant workers to this country as part of the working class, who along with working farmers produce all the social wealth in the society. Immigrant workers strengthen the working class here with class-struggle experiences that they bring from other countries. The Socialist Workers campaign calls on the labor movement to join the fight for immigrant rights and recruit immigrant workers to strengthen the unions.

The Republicans and Democrats are carrying out a bipartisan offensive against immigrant rights. Summary deportations are accelerating. The recent changes in the U.S. immigration laws will require up to 1.5 million workers to return to their country of origin and wait for their residency papers,

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University of Havana conference celebrates Che Guevara

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL AND MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA — "Che was fighting to change society. He said that to be part of this process, universities must become factories to produce revolutionaries."

Fernando Vecino Alegret, who fought in the Rebel Army and worked with Ernesto Che Guevara during Cuba's revolutionary war in the late 1950s, was addressing 200 students, professors, and international guests at the close of a conference at the University of Havana on "Che: Man of the Twenty-First Century." Vecino Alegret is currently the minister of higher education.

The October 1 – 4 gathering was sponsored by the university's Ernesto Guevara Studies Program, together with the Personal Archive of Che Guevara, directed by Aleida March

A wide variety of political, academic, and cultural events are taking place throughout Cuba to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the death of Guevara and his fellow revolutionary combatants in Bolivia. Some of these meetings, like the University of Havana conference, have been marked by the participation of veteran revolutionaries who fought and worked with Che—in the Cuban revolutionary war, in the workers and farmers government during the decisive early years, and in the national liberation struggles in the Congo and Bolivia. These

Continued on Page 10

Workers say: 'Puerto Rico is not for sale'

Thousands strike, rally against phone sell-off

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Tens of thousands of workers and youth marched here October 1 as part of a 24-hour general strike to protest the proposed sale of the Puerto Rico Telephone Co. More protests are expected, as Governor Pedro Rosselló has vowed to continue with the privatization of not only the telephone company but other government-owned facilities such as hospitals, hotels, power plants, and sugar mills. One of the most popular slogans was "Puerto Rico is not for sale!"

Estimates of the number of people at the march ranged from 150,000 by the union organizers to 60,000 by Police Superintendent Pedro Toledo. Most of the participants were public sector workers or students. This colony of the United States has a population of 3.8 million people.

The strike stopped ferry service to the island of Vieques, where several hundred people marched who were unable to attend the main march. Some 40 people rallied in New York as well.

The largest participation in the strike was among teachers and workers at the government-owned telephone, water, and electricity utilities. Other public sector workers who participated in the march included transit, hospital, bank, tourism and postal workers.



Contingent of trade unionists participates in October 1 demonstration in San Juan

Members of the private sector unions who marched included dock, brewery, and construction workers. Members of the retirees club of the garment workers union UNITE

rode on a truck provided by the AFL-CIO. Pro-independence groups like the Puerto Rican Independence Party, National Hostos Continued on Page 11

Socialists fight Seattle election board demand for names of contributors

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BY ROBBIE SCHERR

SEATTLE — By a 2 – 2 tie vote, the Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission (SEEC) rejected a motion to grant the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign an exemption from disclosing the names and addresses of its contributors and vendors. Three commissioners of the seven-member body did not attend the October 8 hearing, including its chairman and vice-chairman.

"This is a blatant attack not only on our campaign and supporters, but against the political rights of all working people," said Jeff Powers, treasurer of the Socialist Workers campaign. "We are urging all supporters

Defend free speech in Seattle! — editorial, page 14

of civil liberties to protest the SEEC decision, and are preparing the next stage in the fight to win the right to privacy for contributors to the Socialist Workers campaign."

At its October 8 meeting, the SEEC first voted to reconsider their decision of September 22, which denied the campaign's original request to renew its exemption from disclosing names. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) decided the previous week to take up the case and secure legal counsel for the SWP. Julya Hampton, the legal program director of the Seattle ACLU, and Nancy Talner, the ACLU attorney assisting the Socialist Workers campaign, attended the hearing.

Talner was only allowed six minutes to make a presentation. She urged the SEEC to grant an exemption to the socialist cam-

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500,000 workers strike in Israel

The Histadrut Trade Union in Israel organized an eight-hour strike involving 500,000 workers after failing to reach an agreement with the finance ministry on pension plans. The September 28 labor action paralyzed railways and the national airport, stopped utility services, and shut down the stock market.

Government officials have been debating how to press austerity measures at a time when unemployment has jumped to nearly 8 percent and the annual inflation rate is 10 percent. The country's public debt was nearly 90 percent of gross domestic product last year. In early September Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu pushed through the cabinet a proposal to cut government spending by \$658 million, saying that would reduce the budget deficit to 2.4 percent of gross domestic product.

South Korea auto workers strike

Some 22,000 auto workers at Kia Motors in south Korea launched a two-day strike September 29 to protest bankruptcy proceedings that would lead to job losses. The workers have given up summer holidays, bonuses, and other concessions demanded by the company. They called for the government to take measures to halt the bankruptcy moves.

Meanwhile, the U.S. auto barons are pressing the Clinton administration to squeeze the south Korean regime into opening its auto market for U.S. companies. U.S. trade representative Charlene Barshefsky said the Big Three auto giants — Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors — have less than 1 percent of market share in south Korea, despite a 1995 trade pact to provide greater market access there.

Currency crisis deepens in Asia

The Indonesian rupiah dropped 9.3 percent against the dollar October 3, the Malaysian ringgit plunged 1.9 percent, and the Philippine peso plummeted to another new low before rising slightly as currency turmoil remains unabated in the region. The Banker Association of the Philippines has discussed reinstating a currency band as a way to restore stability to the exchange rate.



Protesters mobilize in Dajabón, Dominican Republic, in mid-September demanding better roads, schools, and electricity.

Several companies in the Philippines announced problems with debt payments, reflecting the deepening economic crisis engulfing Southeast Asia.

"You're definitely going to see a surge in bad debt," declared Seema Desai, regional economist at Schroders Securities in Singapore. On October 1 Malaysian prime minister Mahathir Mohamad renewed his call to "do away with trade in currency as a commodity" at an economic conference in Santiago, Chile. The currency instability was triggered July 2 when bank officials in Thailand released the Thai baht from any set relation with the dollar and it immediately plunged 17 percent against the U.S. currency. Other currencies in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines went through similar devaluations in the following weeks

U.S. officials defend AIDS study in underdeveloped countries

Harold Varmus, a doctor and the director of the National Institutes of Health, and David Satcher, director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, defended

as morally ethical their experiments on more than 12,000 pregnant women in Third World countries who are infected with the H.I.V. virus. In this research half the women are given a dummy pill, while the others receive the drug AZT, which can reduce by twothirds the transmission of the virus from mothers to infants. The women live in Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Thailand, Dominican Republic, and other underdeveloped nations, where researchers claim the full treatment with AZT is too expensive. They are experimenting to see what impact smaller doses have.

Instability stalks regime in Italy

The Olive Tree coalition government of Italy faces possible collapse after members of the Reconstructed Communism (RC) party in parliament opposed a budget that would chop \$2.9 billion from the country's pension and heath-care systems. State pension expenditures are 14 percent of the gross domestic product — double the average of other countries in Europe. Prime Minister Romano Prodi seeks to impose the austerity measures as part of meeting requirements for entering the European Monetary Union in 1999. Prodi, who relies on 35 deputies from the RC for his majority in parliament, could be forced to resign. Parliament scheduled a vote of confidence in the 18-monthold government for October 7.

More protests demand social services in Dominican Republic

In cities across the Dominican Republic, residents have been pressing demands for improved living conditions. In the town of Dajabón, a general strike paralyzed all production and social services. Organizers called a halt to the work stoppage September 27, after agreeing to a two-week "waiting period" for government officials to resolve the problems of water, electricity, schools, and for the dismissal of the governor, Santiago Batista Morel, who they called "incompetent." The coalition organizing the mass actions included unions, peasant organizations, youth and cultural groups.

Earlier, cops attacked demonstrators in the towns of Naguabo and Salcedo September 17, wounding six. The protesters, who had blocked roads pressing demands for improved services, fought back with homemade bombs. The day before, one cop was killed and another wounded during protests in Salcedo, which is 110 miles north of the capital, Santo Domingo.

Mexican citizen executed in U.S.

Mario Murphy, a Mexican citizen, was killed by lethal injection at the Greensville Correctional Center in Virginia September 17, despite a request from the Mexican government for clemency. Murphy was the only person to receive the death penalty among five other people who were also convicted in a 1991 murder conspiracy plot.

He was one of 61 foreign death row inmates in the United States who were not informed of their rights under the 1963 Treaty of Vienna that requires the U.S. government to inform them that they have the right to consult their national embassies for help. Last June, the execution of Mexican national Irineo Montoya in Texas sparked protests in Mexico.

Continental pilots reject contract

The Independent Association of Continental Pilots at Continental Airlines and Continental Express announced October 3 that the union had rejected the company's contract offer. The 5,000 pilots say their average pay is 38 percent less than the average salaries of pilots at other airlines and are demanding parity. The union officialdom has delayed initiating strike action and will continue to negotiate through October.

Meanwhile, pilots at United Parcel Service voted 1,861 to 39 to reject the company's contract proposal. They stated UPS did not pay their wages on a scale with major airlines and the company's rival, Federal Express. Officials of the pilots union said they would not strike this year, however. During the UPS drivers strike in August, the pilots honored the Teamsters picket lines and threatened to walk off the job during the busy holiday season over their own

N.Y. cop is convicted in choking

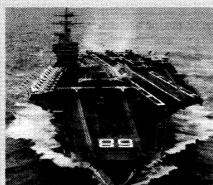
Former New York cop Francis Livoti was found guilty October 1 of slapping and choking Steven Resto in 1993. He faces a maximum one year prison term. Livoti was acquitted of criminal charges in the 1994 killing of Anthony Báez, but under the pressure of protests he was fired for using an illegal choke hold in that case.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

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New Zealand gov't wants right to use secret witnesses

BY RUTH GRAY

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand -Douglas Graham, the minister of justice in the National Party and New Zealand First coalition government, has announced that he will introduce an emergency law change that will allow the use of secret witnesses in trials. This change is one of a number of moves by employers, police, and the government that threaten important legal protections for working people.

The announcement came in response to a decision of the Court of Appeal, announced in mid-August. The court ordered a new trial for Denis Hines, an alleged member of the Manawatu Nomad gang, ruling that a witness for the prosecution should not have had his identity kept secret. Hines was up on an assault charge. Following the court's ruling, the police have dropped charges in several other trials of alleged gang members in Christchurch relying on secret witnesses.

The police claim that witnesses are being intimidated from giving evidence against gangs for fear of reprisal. Under current laws only undercover police or agents of the Security Intelligence Service can give evidence in secret. Graham stated in support of his proposed law change that greater protection of witnesses in gang trials is needed to prevent "anarchy.

The Christchurch *Press*, in an August 21 editorial, said, "Who though, can doubt that the balance of rights in many cases too often favours the accused? The primary need is that justice be done.

Greg O'Connor of the Police Association told the *Press*, "They have to be quick. They have to get it through. It's very frustrating for officers, and every case lost is potentially

somebody who should be behind bars." Labour Party justice spokesperson Phillip Goff also supported the change.

Rupert Glover, lawyer of accused Black Power gang members whose August 17 trial had to be aborted because it relied on secret witness evidence, said, "My fear is that a law change would be too sweeping. It's a fundamental right for a person to know their accuser and to be able to check the accuser's

Christchurch attorney Chris McVeigh, noting the widespread unpopularity of gangs, warned in a August 8 column in the Press, "The presumption of innocence seems to be conveniently overlooked by those eager to espouse the new law change.'

The government is also using the pretext of "controlling gangs" to give the police greater powers, including to use electronic bugging devices, and to search vehicles without a warrant, in the Harassment and Criminal Associations Bill now before the justice and law reform select committee. Auckland Council for Civil Liberties vice president Barry Wilson called the measures "another attack by government on basic civil liberties." The government has passed legislation allowing police to forcibly take blood samples from suspects. In Christchurch the police have armed themselves with pepper sprays in a move that could be extended to cops nationally.

The government said October 1 it would boost the national police budget by more than \$18 million, three months after proposing to reduce it. That same day the Police Association stated it had invited former New York Police Department deputy chief John Timoney to address its annual conference

1,000 protest plutonium rocket launch



Some 1,000 people rallied October 4 at the gates of Cape Canaveral Air Force Station in Florida to protest the launching of a Cassini space probe carrying 72.3 pounds of plutonium—one of the deadliest substances on earth. The plutonium is used to power electrical instruments. The rocket assigned to the Cassini sprang a fuel leak in early August, postponing the launch. NASA said that there was a 1-in-450 chance of a plutonium release, and that such an event would scatter plutonium over six counties, with some 2 million people.

in Wellington. The New Zealand Herald reported that police "are challenging their bosses to shift to a New York style of policing . . . where officers have a big presence on the streets and take a harder line on all crimes, including antisocial behaviour.'

In late September groups representing patients with psychiatric disorders objected to a proposal from the top-ranking policeman in Southland, Neville Cook, that police should have access to the medical records of the mentally ill. Psychiatric Survivors spokeswoman Susan Tawhai said "that if that sort of information is shared . . . they are going to always start by looking at us.'

Defenders of civil liberties also raised objections to a recent Auckland City Council decision to give police the right to demand the name and address of anyone sus-

pected of breaching a city council bylaw. According to the *Herald*, "the police sought the ruling because of difficulties controlling a protest by the Information on Ireland group at a St. Patrick's Day parade and persistent problems with window-washers and drag racers." Information on Ireland is a group that supports Irish unification.

News of another move against democratic and union rights broke in September when the Fletcher Challenge Forests company announced that it would institute random drugs testing of its 1,400 employees next year. The Engineering, Printing and Manufacturing Union and the Wood Industries Union opposed the decision.

Ruth Gray is a member of the Engineers

London probes curfew, low wages for youth

LONDON — The British government has stepped up scapegoating of youth for society's ills. On September 21 Home Secretary Jack Straw announced plans to impose curfews on young people. "Parenting orders" would be imposed on parents whose alleged lack of supervision is considered by the courts to have been a contributing fac-

These measures would include forcing parents to escort their children to school. Failure to take part in or complete the orders would be punishable by a £1,000 (\$1,500) fine. An unnamed government official told the Sunday Telegraph that there is "a proven link between young people's offending and bad parental control. Other factors like social background and educational ability do play a part, but the role of parents is crucial.'

According to the Chief Inspector of Prisons, "young offenders" are the most rapidly increasing section of the prison population in the UK. The extension of custodial sentencing of minors, removal of immunity from criminal prosecution of children aged 10 – 13 years, and making parents of children answerable in court for their youth's actions, are measures also being floated in "consultation papers" to be published in advance of the government's Crime and Disorder Bill due before Parliament in early

The Labour Party's brochure during the election earlier this year stated, "At present many young offenders have a licence to carry on offending." Promised action included halving the time from arrest to sentencing. In a further attack on the rights of young people, Labour's trade and industry secretary, Margaret Beckett, has suggested that those aged 16-25 might be exempted from the proposed statutory minimum wage currently under discussion.

Employers' organizations have opposed setting the minimum at the rate proposed by the Trades Union Congress of half of the male median earnings — around £4.61 (\$6.90) — on the pretext that they would

be forced to cut jobs and raise prices. A survey purporting to confirm such conclusions has recently been submitted to the low pay commission from the British Chamber Of Commerce, an employers organi-

The suggestion that young workers might be excluded from protection under the provisions of any minimum wage legislation was made in a letter from Beckett to low pay commission chairman George Bain. According to a Department of Trade and Industry spokesman, this was based on the fear that a national minimum wage would "provide a disincentive for young people to stay in education and training, or restrict employment opportunities for those looking for jobs."

Access to university education will be restricted by a government decision to make students pay £1000 tuition fees for the first time next year.

A recent Office of National Statistics survey showed one in five workers would get a pay rise if a minimum wage was set at the Trades Union Congress definition of half male median earnings. Nearly half of all part-time workers would get a raise.

A scheme to withdraw benefits from young people unemployed six months or longer who refuse to accept a government subsidized job with a private employer, educational or training placement, or voluntary work will be implemented as part of Labour's election pledge to get more young people into work.

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MARY-ALICE WATERS

Participant in three-week Che Guevara 30th anniversary commemorations in Cuba

President of Pathfinder Press and editor of the English-language editions of Ernesto Che Guevara's The Bolivian Diary and Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War, as well as Pombo: A Man of Che's 'guerrilla' by Cuban brigadier general Harry Villegas. Waters also edited and wrote the introduction to Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women.

JACK BARNES

National secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and author of *The* Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions, published by Pathfinder Press in English, Spanish, and soon French. Barnes is an author of "The Politics of Economics: Che Guevara and Marxist Continuity," and edited the pamphlet Malcolm X Talks to Young People.

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Pathfinder Fund picks up steam

BY RUTH ROBINETT

NEW YORK — Pathfinder fund supporters around the world narrowed the gap between the "should be" and "paid" pledges with the best one-week collection to date, sending in contributions totaling \$17,441. This more than doubled any previous one-week collection, and set the pace needed in the remainder of the drive. To successfully raise \$125,000 on time, Pathfinder should receive \$18,000 weekly over the next four weeks.

San Francisco fund backers led the way, organizing a collection of \$3,315 at their October 4 fund rally, in the course of which they also raised their goal by \$1,500 to \$11,000.

Two new goals were adopted — in France and Iceland — and two others — Chicago and Twin Cities — were raised.

From Paris, Nat London writes, supporters of the fund "have adopted a goal of \$400 (2,400 francs). We already have 1,850 francs

in pledges and a good part of the remaining goal will be raised by contributions from our co-workers at the Renault and GEC Alsthom auto plants." In his note, he explained they are distributing a fund-raising letter among these workers, following it up with discussions on why they should contribute to the fund. "As a result of these discussions, several Pathfinder books have also been sold," he added

Jeff Payne, a rail worker and Pathfinder Reader's Club member in New York, sent a note with a contribution. Pathfinder, he said "enables working people to have access to books which challenge the mind to give serious thought to alternative courses for society today. Now, as I read articles in the capitalist press I am able to clearly cut through the doublespeak and understand whose interest they serve; and it certainly is not the world's workers. I have realized that at 51 I'm not too old to grasp new ideas which have been around a long time."

The rail worker noted that Pathfinder books helped him understand the place of the Cuban revolution in the world today, and added, "As a union worker I would highly recommend the Teamster series by Farrell Dobbs, which I'm currently reading. Mr. Dobbs shows that workers, when well organized, can bring about changes in their industries. I have come to picture world capitalism as a tick, its head firmly entrenched in the collective back of the world's working class. It grows larger sucking up profits created by the workers, and returns only enough to allow them to survive to create more wealth for the few. Thanks again for the tools to allow me to better understand the roads to look down for a better society.'

Contributions should be made to the Pathfinder Fund and mailed to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, or contact the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you listed on page 12.

Pathfinder books are a hit in Spain

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

MADRID — By the end of the three-day festival hosted by the Communist Party of Spain, the international team staffing the Pathfinder booth had sold more than \$1,500 worth of literature. This included 59 copies of Pathfinder's latest Spanish-language title, Che Guevara: economía y política en la transición al socialismo by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada.

Sales of the book were boosted by a roundtable discussion on the legacy of Che Guevara, one of a number of forums, book launchings, and rallies held during the festival. Speakers at the roundtable were the former prime minister of Algeria and leader of the Algerian revolution, Ahmed Ben Bella; Ricardo Gadea, a revolutionary from Peru introduced as Che Guevara's brotherin-law; Marta Harnecker, an exiled Chilean journalist and author of Fidel Castro's Political Strategy: From Moncada to Victory, also published by Pathfinder; Manuel Monereo, head of the Spanish Communist Party's ideological department; and Tablada. Left Unity member of the Spanish parliament Angeles Maestro, who chaired the event, encouraged the 300 people present to pick up a copy of Tablada's book from the Pathfinder table. Eighteen did so on the spot, and four bought the issue of the Marxist magazine Nueva Internacional on "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism." In all, 14 copies of that issue were sold during the festival.

Many people followed up the event by visiting the Pathfinder stand to get their copy of one or other title.

In opening the roundtable, Ben Bella described what the Cuban revolution had meant to Algeria and of the time Guevara had spent in the country. "We had relations that were the product not of diplomatic niceties but of common bonds in struggle," he said. "At the time we had to keep much secret. Now the secrets are being told, for example of how tanks sent by the Soviet Union explicitly for Cuba's use were passed on to us; how political cadres came with the tanks;

and how Che planned internationalist missions in Africa and Latin America from our country."

"Che is remembered for many things" said Ricardo Gadea at the roundtable. "His famous face is on many posters. He is well remembered for his example of commitment, of internationalism and as a guerrilla fighter. But perhaps his greatest contribution was as a leader of the Cuban economy and for his political contribution on building socialism."

Tablada also spoke on this theme. "Che explained that an enterprise doesn't just produce products; it also produces consciousness," he said. "That's why Che insisted that production be organized in a way that helped the development of socialist consciousness, not as had been done in the Soviet Union."

In all, people attending the festival bought 27 copies of *New International* in Spanish or English. After the issue on Che Guevara, the most popular issue was no. 10, featuring the articles "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War" by Jack Barnes and "Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution" by Mary-Alice Waters.

Another top-selling title was Junto a Che Guevara, the Spanish-language edition of At the Side of Che Guevara: Two interviews with Harry Villegas (Pombo). Villegas is currently a brigadier general in the Cuban army. His photograph was prominent in a Che Guevara feature in the color magazine

of *El Pais*, one of the main capitalist dailies in Spain, which appeared on the final day of the fiesta. Pathfinder volunteers made a display using the *El Pais* material and rapidly sold 12 copies of the pamphlet.

Interest was also high in the class struggle in the United States. "This is the first thing I've learned about the American class struggle. Until the UPS strike I knew nothing about trade unions in the United States," was a common sentiment. Most of the 14 people who bought subscriptions to Perspectiva Mundial or the Militant did so to get more information about the class struggle in the United States.

A further reflection of this was the sale of five copies of the Spanish translation of the Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions, four copies of ¿Por qué sigue preso Mark Curtis? (Why is Mark Curtis still in prison?), and five of Habla Malcolm X (Malcolm X Speaks).

Some of the visitors to the Pathfinder booth had come by last year, the first time that Pathfinder had participated in the fiesta when gross sales totaled \$850. "Last year I bought a copy of Marx and Engels on Ireland and the Irish Question," said Daniel Garcia. "Have you anything else on Ireland I could get?" He ended up buying New International no. 1, which includes articles by Lenin and Trotsky on the 1916 Easter rising in Ireland. Maria Trapiello picked up the

\$125,000 Pathfinder Fund September 1 – November 1

CITY/COUNTRY	GOAL	PAID	<u>%</u>
New Zealand*	2,870	1,247	43%
United States			
Seattle*	9,000	6,475	72%
Boston	5,500	3,441	63%
San Francisco*	11,000	6,530	59%
Des Moines	2,400	1,386	58%
Philadelphia	4,000	2,267	57%
Detroit	4,000	2,136	53%
Twin Cities*	7,750	4,130	53%
Birmingham	3,500	1,475	42%
Atlanta*	4,500	1,779	40%
Pittsburgh	5,000	1,880	38%
Newark	8,500	3,085	36%
Chicago*	12,000	4,241	35%
Washington, D.C.	3,000	852	28%
Houston	5,500	1,550	28%
Miami	3,000	845	28%
New York*	13,500	3,496	26%
Los Angeles	10,000	2,335	23%
Cleveland	2,400	30	1%
Other	2,918	1,756	60%
U.S. Total	117,468	49,689	42%
Australia	750	290	39%
Canada	5,300	1,881	35%
France	400	25	6%
United Kingdom	1,200	75	6%
Sweden	700	0	0%
Iceland	150	0	0%
Other Int'l	0	10	0%
INT'L TOTAL:	128,838	53,217	43%
SHOULD BE: *Raised Goal	125,000	70,000	56%

copy of *Nueva Internacional* no. 3 on the Nicaraguan revolution, which she had thumbed through 12 months earlier. An immigrant from the Dominican Republic living in Madrid renewed her subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Cannon article now available in French

BY SARA LOBMAN

NEW YORK — Pathfinder Press has a new French-language title, La lutte pour un parti prolétarien (The Struggle for a Proletarian Party) by James P. Cannon. The first of a new series Cahiers de formation communiste (Communist education notebooks), it contains major excerpts from the English-language book of the same name.

THE

ISSIR

Cannon was a founder of the communist movement in the United States and a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death in 1974.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party was written at the end of the 1930s, as Washington was preparing to drag millions of U.S. working people into the carnage of World War II. Cannon defends in it the political and organizational principles of Marxism against a petty-bourgeois current in the SWP that was retreating under the pressure of the imperialist war drive.

"The new Cahiers de formation communiste seek to make available to today's fighters important unedited translations of texts by communist leaders that Pathfinder already publishes in English," explained Michel Prairie in Montreal. Prairie is Pathfinder's French-language editor.

"Instead of these translations gathering dust until they can be edited and published in book form, Pathfinder has decided to quickly make them available to the new generation of French-speaking workers and youth who in growing numbers reject the horrors of capitalism," he said.

"This new series is particularly important given the growing resistance by the labor movement today, from the Teamsters strike against UPS in the United States to two province-wide demonstrations of some 10,000 each on September 27 by municipal workers in Quebec City and teachers in North Bay, Ontario," Prairie added.

The Cahiers have a format similar to that of the English-language Education for Socialists, also published by Pathfinder. The next titles in the French-language series include Teamster Rebellion by Farrell Dobbs, For a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States by Jack Barnes, and Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation, an international resolution the SWP leadership drafted in the

The publication of the Cahiers is made possible by the work of many volunteers. A team in Toronto is reviewing the unedited translations to make sure that they don't contain major inaccuracies.

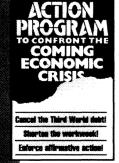
Another team in Vancouver has started to scan translations into digital form, in preparation for later work. And in Paris, where a group of Young Socialists and others have been studying what fascism is and how to fight it, a team organized volunteers there, as well as in Montreal and Toronto to translate *Counter-Mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks* by Farrell Dobbs. They completed the translation in record time and have already sold 57 copies of a draft edition.

An event celebrating the publication of La lutte pour un parti prolétarien was held at the Pathfinder bookstore in Montreal on October 4. The program was part of the international Pathfinder Fund, which aims to raise money to publish and reprint Pathfinder books — including the production of new titles in French like the upcoming Le visage changeant de la politique aux États-Unis — la politique ouvrière et les syndicats, the translation of The Changing Face of U.S. Politics — Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions by SWP leader Jack Barnes.

FROM PATHFINDER

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Debates on the Democratic Party and Independent Working-Class Politics Jack Barnes and others. \$11.95



An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis

A Program of International Working-Class Struggle Today

Edited by Doug Jenness How a program to fight for jobs and affirmative action, and to combat imperialism's pillage of the Third World, is crucial to uniting working people internationally. \$3.00. Available in English, French, Icelandic, Spanish, Swedish.

Available at bookstores listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

New readers sign up at events on Che Guevara

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

City/Country

Vancouver

Canada total

CANADA

Montreal

Toronto

'Ten students at the University of Florida in Gainesville subscribed to the Militant October 2-3," said Kristin Meriam, a *Militant* supporter, in a note she sent from Birmingham, Alabama. "Socialists from Atlanta and Birmingham set up a literature table in a busy plaza on campus both days. In addition to the subscriptions, we sold four copies of the Marxist magazine New International and 13 Pathfinder books.'

The Young Socialists (YS) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members were invited by a student and attended a meeting of a newly formed socialist student group. The next day, four of the six students who took part in that

30

50

'MILITANT' SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

September I - October 26

WEEK 5

17 57%

27 54%

78 60%

% Goal

10

10

meeting came by the literature table, Meriam said. "One subscribed to the Militant and bought six pamphlets, including The Communist Manifesto, Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle by Thomas Sankara, and Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today: Cuba Confronts the World Crisis of the '90s by Mary-Alice Waters. Another person expressed interest in distributing the Militant.

"The table featured a big sign that read simply, 'Subscribe to the Militant: \$10 for 12 weeks' and several people just walked up to us and said they

New Int'l

Sold

14

9

28

Goal

20

30

20

70

3

2

10

wanted to subscribe. Others were attracted by a colorful sign featuring books by Ernesto Che Guevara. A young Cuban-American from Miami had never heard of Guevara before and purchased a copy of Che's Socialism and Man in Cuba."

At the University of Alabama-Birmingham, a professor invited the socialists to give a presentation to his class "Comparative Communist Systems," Meriam wrote. "When they did, two days later, students in the class bought copies of the Militant and pored over a display of Pathfinder books and New Internationals. Several other tables on campuses in Alabama netted subscriptions and sales of the Marxist magazine, especially issue no. 8 with the article, 'Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to So-

In the middle of the October 4 – 12 target week of sales, Militant supporters are getting a similar response around the world, especially at events related to the 30th anniversary of Che Guevara's death.

During a Che Commemoration Conference at the University of Houston October 4-5, YS and SWP members sold 5 subscriptions to the Militant, 2 subscriptions Perspectiva Mundial, 20 copies of the Militant, and 18 Pathfinder books, reported Jerry Freiwirth from Houston, Texas.

YS members brought several high school students to the workshops of the Houston gathering, which was sponsored by the Irish Unity Committee,

AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMWU — Amalgamated Manufacturing Workers Union; CAW Canadian Autoworkers Union: EU-Engineers Union; MWU-Meat Workers Union; IAM--- International Association of Machinists; 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; UNITE — Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU —United Transportation the University of Houston Cuba Friendship Committee, and other student groups. Angela Davis; New International managing editor Steve Clark; and Blanka Kalzakorta of the Association of Relatives of Basque Political Prisoners, Refugees, and Deportees were the panelists at the main plenary session. A young restau-



Militant photos: Top, Rebecca Arenson Left, Angel Lariscy

Above, sales team in Puerto Rico attracts workers. Left, activist at October 4 demonstration against the launching of plutonium filled spacecraft checks out the Militant.

rant worker who had attended several Militant Labor Forums over the past few months participated in the conference and asked to join the YS after the meeting.

These results boosted Militant supporters in Houston a few notches in the scoreboard this week.

'We are now working to up recruitment to the socialist movement and increase sales of socialist literature," Freiwirth said. "Our work with others to build the upcoming panel discussion at U of H on 'Che Guevara, Internationalism, and His Legacy Today' bodes well for that." The event Freiwirth was referring to is sponsored by the University of Houston Department of History and African American Center and several student groups. It will take place October 28. Cuban brigadier general Harry Villegas has been invited to the panel discussion as the featured speaker.

Socialist workers are also making progress in sales on the job — particularly among members of the International Association of Machinists and the United, Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW).

"My election campaign has created an opportunity at Thorn Apple Valley, the meatpacking plant where I work, to discuss a broad array of political issues with co-workers," said Rosa Garmendía in an October 6 note to the Militant. Garmendía is the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Detroit. "Supporters of my campaign set up a literature table every

Friday outside the plant. Their consistent presence has helped introduce the literature to workers in the factory I never see. This week, as we discussed with workers coming out of the plant the October 12 'March for Human Rights for Immigrants' in New York City, two UFCW members decided to subscribe to the Militant. One of them is a Liberian worker who wants to follow developments of the Cuban revolution." The weekly plant-gate sale had a lot to do with winning these two new subscribers, Garmendía noted.

These kind of persistent efforts can contribute toward reversing the lag in the subscription drive, now 10 percent behind schedule, and meeting the goals by October

"We request that all distributors around the world fax or e-mail to the Militant where they stand in the drive by the end of Sunday, October 12," said Militant editor Naomi Craine in an interview. "The editorial staff will compile the figures by the next morning and send a chart so all our supporters can see what they accomplished by the end of the target week and what is still ahead in the next two weeks to meet the international goals in full and on time."

Rightists smash windows of Stockholm Pathfinder bookstore

BY CATHARINA TIRSÉN

STOCKHOLM — On the night of October 5 the windows of the Pathfinder Bookstore in Stockholm were smashed. Shelves and books were damaged. An eyewitness saw five skinheads break the windows and run away. They had each carried a 20-pound stone block from a work site 50 yards down the street. The five stone blocks were found inside the bookstore. The eyewitness and another neighbor who was awakened by the noise called the police.

The display in the bookstore was dominated by a poster advertising a demonstration in commemoration of Ernesto Che Guevara taking place here on October 8. The books on display included titles by Guevara, Fidel Castro, and others on the Cuban revolution. A notice about an October 10 Militant Labor Forum on the Cuban revolution in the world today was also posted in the

This is the second attack on the book-

store in less than two months. On August 15 the main bookstore window was smashed, also by two stone blocks from the same road repair site. That time there were no eyewit-

"This can not be understood as anything but an attack on political freedom, freedom of expression and freedom of the press," said Birgitta Isacsson of the Pathfinder bookstore in a statement. Supporters of the bookstore have sent out a press release and an appeal for support to organizations and individu-

Slides from the broken windows will be shown at an open house after the October 8 demonstration, which will provide an opportunity for participants in the demonstration to show their solidarity and find out more about the character of the bookstore that led to the attack by the skinheads.

Catharina Tirsén is a member of the Metalworkers Union.

October 20, 1997 The Militant

UNITED STATES Washington, DC* 34 76% 15 8 15 12 33 14 15 23 40 26 65% 20 14 20 10 **Des Moines** Birmingham, AL* 15 6 47 30 64% 5 10 25 25 63% 22 13 Miami **Boston** 24 60% 35 18 25 15 60% 8 8 Philadelphia 11 11 70 40 57% 30 35 San Francisco Seattle 70 37 53% 20 10 20 5 3 12 10 40 21 53% 8 Detroit' 48 24 50% 3 15 3 Pittsburgh 48 44% 55 23 55 20 Los Angeles 110 30 13 40 11 Chicago 45 Newark, NJ 120 50 42% 40 20 60 40 60 65 140 70 55 39% **New York** 15 Houston 40 15 38% 15 5 2 15 2 Twin Cities, MN 16 23% 0 10 6 20% Cleveland Other 1103 540 49% 392 189 470 255 U.S. total **NEW ZEALAND** Auckland 16 53% 3 10 15 5 4 0 0% 0 Wellington 8 16 **NZ** total 23 48% **UNITED KINGDOM** 35 41 20 40% 12 14 50 London Manchester 25 2 0 12 7 47 48 **UK total** 10 5 **AUSTRALIA** 5 31% **ICELAND** 3 8 **SWEDEN** 16 4 25% 40 Other international 688 53% 222 626 388 International totals 1398 400 250 600 1300 819 63% Should be * raised goal

IN THE UNIONS								
		Militant		PM		New Int'l		
Country/Union	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	
CANADA								
USWA	5	3	60%	1	0	5	1	
IAM	10	5	50%	1	2	5	0	
Canada total	15	8	53%	2	2	10	1	
AUSTRALIA								
AMWU	2	1	50%	0	0	1	0	
NEW ZEALAND								
EU	7	3	43%	0	0	1	0	
MWU	2	0	0%	0	0	1	0	
UFBGWU	2	0	0%	0	0	1	0	
NZ total	- 11	9	27%	0	0	3	0	
UNITED STATES								
IAM	50	26	52%	15	4	22	3	
UFCW	9	4	44%	13	7	9	5	
UTU	50	13	26%	5	0	20	1	
USWA	38	9	24%	4	0	22	1	
UNITE	8	1	13%	8	5	6	1	
UAW	50	5	10%	5	0	25	1	
OCAW	30	1	0%	10	1	15	0	
U.S. total	235	59	25%	60	17	119	12	
UNITED KINGDOM								
AEEU	5	0	0%	0	0	5	1	
RMT	3	0	0%	0	0	2	0	
TGWU	5	.0	0%	0	0	4	0	

UK total

Toronto students back teachers' struggles

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, 1573 N. Milwaukee, P.O. Box #478, Chicago, III. 60622. Tel: (773) 772-551. Compuserve: 105162,605

BY MICK O'DONALD AND GABRIEL CHARBIN

TORONTO - On September 25 students and teachers at three high schools organized a series of protests against the new Bill 160 introduced by Education Minister John Snobelen.

Bill 160 will extend the time students and teachers spend in class and will expand the use of non-certified instructors in schools. Bill 160 will also reduce paid time for teachers to prepare their classes. Teachers union officials say that Bill 160 will cut 10,000 jobs and save the government CAN\$450 million (US\$616 million).

Four hundred of the 420 students at Ursula Franklin Academy high school walked out in solidarity with the teachers. They marched to three other high schools in an attempt to get others to come out. At their first stop, Central Commerce high school, several students joined them.

That same day at Oakwood Collegiate, almost the entire school of 1,300 people walked out of class.

Teachers at Harbord Collegiate began picketing in front of that school at noon. Throughout the day, students planned a walkout for 3:00 p.m., 15 minutes before the end of school. The action was intended to show solidarity for the teachers. It was organized so that participants would meet up with teachers after school.

By the end of lunch it seemed as if the whole student body was going to be involved. All of a sudden, as students marched into their classrooms and in the halls, a contingent of teachers demanded everyone to stop and listen. An announcement over the PA system from the student council began to condemn the walk out and told students to "walk out at 3:15 and join your teach-

Despite the announcement, at 3:00 approximately 50 students walked out of class and met in front of the school. At 3:15, teachers met with the students who had walked out, along with others who were blocked from leaving class by their teachers. Colin Ellis, a student at Harbord Collegiate and a participant in the action said, "The walkout was very motivating and now we have to take it to the next level and go citywide."

Harbord Collegiate students began walking to Queen's Park (parliament) where a demonstration of teachers was organized. Students chanted, "You are our teachers, our only teachers, you make us happy when skies are gray, you'll never know dears, how much



Two days after students and teachers protested Bill 160, they joined thousands of unionists and others in Days of Action in North Bay, Ontario, protesting the bill.

we love you, so please don't take our teachers away!" They were greeted by hundreds of others at the park, and by 5 p.m. estimates of the size of the protest grew to 3,000.

Through chants, posters, and placards, it was made clear that teachers were ready to strike if necessary against Bill 160.

From October 31 to November 2, the Young Socialists in Canada will be holding a convention in Montreal. Actions like those described above will help make concrete discussions there about the struggle of workers and youth against the austerity programs of capitalist governments worldwide.

Fight-minded youth such as the ones who participated in these walkouts will be a central part of these struggles, and are among those who can be recruited to the Young Socialists.

A member of the Young Socialists in Toronto, Gabriel Charbin is a student at Harbord Collegiate who helped organize the walkout at that school.

Hundreds protest rightist Promise Keepers rally

BY CANDACE WAGNER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Hundreds of supporters of women's and gay rights protested the Promise Keepers' "Sacred Assembly of Men" rally on the Washington D.C. mall October 4. Located on the route to the mall from Union Station, the participants handed out information sheets containing statements by Promise Keepers' leaders that reveal their rightist political agenda, including opposition to women's rights. The demonstrators came from as far away as Savannah, Georgia, and Scottsbluff, Nebraska. Carloads of women came from New Jersey. The National Organization for Women organized the protest.

Earlier in the day 100 women's rights supporters, mostly college students, mobilized to defend area abortion clinics. According to Heather Amston, president of the Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force (WACDTF), antiabortion groups many times target clinics during Promise Keepers rallies. Forty abortion opponents picketed the Capital Women's Clinic, including Pat Mahoney, former president of the antiabortion group Operation Rescue.

The overwhelmingly male crowd at the Promise Keepers rally was estimated at about 500,000.

In the weeks leading up to the rally, article after article ran in the capitalist papers analyzing the group. For the most part the media coverage has been positive. The stated purpose of the organization, to atone

for sin and make men better husbands and fathers as the solution to "a nation whose morality has been on a downward spiral,' received big play. Promise Keepers leaders were quoted numerous times claiming the nonpolitical, purely religious nature of their organization.

On September 7 the Washington Post ran two counterposed articles in the Op Ed section. One by Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization for Women and the other by Stephanie Coontz, history professor and writer on women's issues.

"Promise Keeper rallies give these men a way of mobilizing personal willpower and emotionally charged experiences with other men to reinforce their family obligations," Koontz stated. "For many women, indeed, benevolent paternalism may well be the highest quality of life they can aspire to in today's winner-take-all, dependents-bedamned economy and culture.'

Ireland wrote, "Feminists will not be fooled by the many recent public disclosures about this feel-good form of male supremacy with it's dangerous political potential." She pointed to major support to Promise Keepers by longtime activists against abortion rights, including Rev. Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. The fact sheet produced by NOW contained a number of revealing quotes by leaders of the Promise Keepers.

"Don't you understand mister, you are royalty and God has chosen you to be the priest of your home?" Tony Evans, co-editor of Seven Promises of a Promise Keeper, stated in August 1996, quoted in The Progressive magazine.

"Abortion has become 'a second Civil War," Bill McCartney, founder of Promise Keepers, was quoted as saying in the Denver Post, Feb. 11, 1992. "Homosexuality is an abomination of Almighty God," he is quoted on the same occasion.

Of the participants in the rally, 90 percent answered a Washington Post poll saying that they are born-again, Evangelical, or charismatic Christians. Many expressed the opinion to the pollsters that Promise

Keepers should take a stand opposing gay marriage and supporting vouchers for students to attend religious schools and laws making divorce more difficult.

The survey stated that 80 percent of the participants were white and 14 percent were Black. The leadership of the Promise Keepers has made efforts to reach out to Black churches. Whites were encouraged to bring Black men with them to "demonstrate the power of biblical unity.'

Candace Wagner is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 27.

Socialist will be on ballot in D.C.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON, D.C. - After a successful four-week petitioning effort, supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign of Mary Martin for D.C. City Council turned in 4,047 signatures on petitions — more than 1,000 over the legal requirement — on September 23. She will be listed on the ballot in the December 2 special election.

Martin, an airline worker and member of International Association of Machinists Local 1759, was the SWP candidate for chairperson of the D.C. City Council in an election contest held earlier this year on July 22. In that race she won 1,425 votes — 8 percent of those cast — in a two-way race that pitted her against Democrat City Council incumbent Linda Cropp.

In a statement issued the day the petitions were turned in to the Board of Elections, Martin said, "Actions like the Teamsters' strike against UPS, protests against police brutality, the upcoming October 12 march for immigrant rights, and the recent strikes and demonstrations in Argentina against austerity policies and antilabor legislation are examples of how working people can effectively fight against the worldwide crisis of capitalism.

"The granting of vast political power to the financial control board in Washington, D.C.," continued Martin, "means a stepped up austerity drive against the rights and living standards of working people. Handing control of the public school system to an appointed emergency board of trustees with a retired army general as the chief executive officer will mean a worse education for the city's students.

"I call for a halt to the closing of public schools and to the slashing of funds for pub-

lic education," the socialist candidate stated, "I condemn the proposal to institute a school voucher program. Rather than funding more cops and prisons, I say expand funding for UDC and the public school system. I am also opposed to moves to privatize parts of the metro bus system."

Martin called for "a workers and farmers government to replace the political rule of the bankers and billionaires. Such a government could lead the struggle to overturn capitalist property relations and open the road toward construction of a socialist society that will put human needs before prof-

Martin spoke September 23 before an impromptu rally attended by some 75 people held in front of the metro bus headquarters in Washington, D.C. "I think it's an indictment of the capitalist government we live under that tens of millions can be appropriated for new prisons in the area but there is not a dime to expand the bus routes, fix up the schools that opened three weeks late due to delayed repairs, or give a raise to the nurses at D.C. General hospital who haven't had one in five years," stated Martin.

After a warm response from the bus drivers in attendance, Martin was invited to address a meeting of the D.C. Independent Coalition held later that night.

Two days earlier she spoke with some of the young activists participating in the annual AIDS walkathon in D.C. She has also received invitations to address a candidates forum sponsored by ACT-UP and the Statehood Party. The Green Party also invited Martin to speak at their monthly meeting.

Brian Williams is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2609.

Young Socialists Convention

October 31- November 2 * Montreal, Quebec Join an internationalist organization of communist youth!

- Defend Cuba's socialist revolution
- Support Quebec independence
- Solidarity with striking workers
- Self-determination for Native people
- Defend women's rights
- Stop racism and police brutality
- Equal rights for immigrants • Cancel the Third World debt

For more information, call or write:

Young Socialists

6

Montreal: 4581 St. Denis, H2J 2L4, (514) 284-5547, 104614,2606 @ CompuServe 851 Bloor St. W., M6G 1M3, (416) 588-8591, 103474,13@ CompuServe

Vancouver: 3967 Main St., V5V 3P3 (604) 872-8343, 103430,1552@ CompuServe

SWP campaign reaches out to workers in Iowa

BY MAGGIE TROWE

DES MOINES, Iowa — Socialists here campaigned intensively the last week before the Des Moines municipal primary election. Candidates Thomas Alter and Ardella Blandford, who are running for Mayor and City Council At-Large respectively, campaigned with supporters at factory gates, high school and college campuses, the farmers market, and in working-class areas.

Alter, 23, a packinghouse worker at IBP in Perry, Iowa, and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149, won a four-day unpaid leave to campaign. The head personnel at the Perry IBP plant initially rejected the request for the leave, which was to begin Wednesday, October 1.

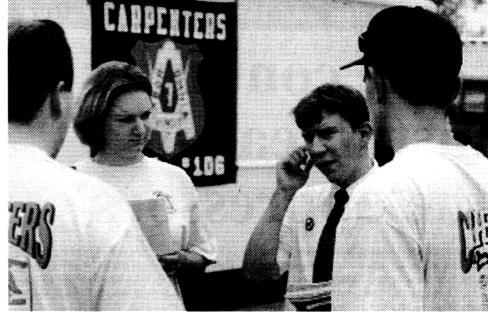
After receiving a letter from Alter's campaign committee, another from Iowa State University professor Mack Shelley, who had invited Alter to speak to his students, and a call from a *Des Moines Register* reporter, the Human Resources director at the IBP headquarters in Dakota City, Nebraska, reversed the decision and granted the leave.

The day after the leave was initially denied, a front page interview with Alter appeared in the *Des Moines Register*, featur-

ing two photos of the socialist candidate and a headline that read, "Candidate calls himself a 'revolutionary'." The *Register* interviewed not only Alter, but his father, who lives in Indiana, and one of his instructors from his student days at Indiana University.

The article stated that Alter is "trying to win votes in Des Moines while talking about defending the Cuban revolution and canceling the Third World debt, rather than focusing on local issues." In fact, Alter and Blandford also campaigned for a halt to deportations of immigrant workers, demanded affirmative action quotas for women, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in all-city hiring, and called for full civil and human rights for gays and lesbians.

During the week, Alter and his supporters campaigned at the John Deere agricultural implements factory in nearby Ankeny, at the IBP plant in Perry where Alter works, at Fawn Engineering, where Blandford works, and at the Bridgestone-Firestone tire plant. At the latter, several workers told Alter they had read about him in the paper and were going to vote for him. A worker who knew Blandford from her visits to the picket line during the 27-month Firestone strike



Militant/Joe

SWP candidate Tom Alter, second from right, campaigns at Labor Day parade.

greeted her warmly.

Alter spoke and fielded questions at a class on statistics taught by Shelley October 3. Alter and supporters also campaigned at Ankeny High School, where Young Socialist member Wade Eivens had organized a number of students to meet the candidates. The campaigners sold several pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press.

Campaign supporters spent a half day in Ames, Iowa, with activists of the September 29 movement. This student group is protesting racism at Iowa State University, particularly the administration's decision last year to name a building after Carrie Chapman Catt, who campaigned for women's suffrage in the early part of the century along the axis of using white women's votes as a counterweight to those of Blacks and immigrants.

More than 20 people attended a campaign meeting in Des Moines October 4, including an activists from the newly-formed Iowa Coalition Against Police Brutality, and students from Ankeny High School, Roosevelt High School, Lincoln High School, and Des Moines Area Community College. Two students Eivens and Isaac Christensen, spoke on the panel along with Alter, Blandford, and Jennifer Benton, Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis. The meeting raised over \$250 for the campaign.

Socialists fight denial of disclosure exemption

Continued from front page

paign, citing recent rulings by both the Federal Elections Commission and the Washington State Public Disclosure Commission in favor of the Socialist Workers Party.

Talner referred to *Buckley v. Valeo*, a 1976 U.S. Supreme court ruling supporting the First Amendment right to free association and privacy in the case of disclosing the contributors and vendors of minor parties.

A substantial amount of additional written evidence was put into the record backing the campaign's position that public disclosure of contributors could subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from either government officials or private parties.

Despite the well documented history of government, police, and anticommunist harassment, Commissioner Timothy Burgess

said he "was not persuaded." In explaining his continued opposition to granting the exemption, Burgess said that none of the evidence of past and present harassment "shows a chilling effect in the Northwest."

The commission's executive director, Carolyn Van Noy, sent a letter to the socialist campaign October 1 stating, "Reports filed by the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign are not in compliance with the law." Van Noy gave the campaign committee a deadline of October 10 to turn over the names and addresses of its contributors and vendors in amended reports.

The Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign will fight the SEEC's decision. The ACLU is now planning to take the case to court. They will immediately file with the King County Superior Court to get a stay on the

SEEC's decision and possible penalties.

Meanwhile, a debate continues in the pages of the local press over the issue.

"Are harassment and retaliation against the Socialist Workers Party a thing of the past?" is the question posed in the opening paragraph of a lengthy article in the October 1 issue of the Seattle Weekly. The article sported a large photograph of Scott Breen, who was the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle. It describes an incident that occurred on September 18 — two days after the nonpartisan primary — in which Breen's employer, The Boeing Company, subjected him to an interview regarding comments he made in a campaign interview on a radio talk show.

The Seattle Weekly quoted Breen saying, "I criticized some of Boeing's political po-

sitions and explained mine as a Socialist."

"Mr. Breen seems to be under the mistaken impression that he is being investigated for his alleged comments on the radio," rebutted Brian Ames, identified by Seattle Weekly as a company spokesman. Ames said that since Breen "did choose that platform to make comments about the company," Boeing's employee relations department had a right to question him. Ames said the company plans no further action.

The paper then quotes Hampton of the ACLU, who defended the SWP's right to an exemption from disclosure laws citing the example of Breen's investigation by Boeing as proof that "certainly this particular Socialist Worker Party candidate is experiencing some repercussions."

An editorial in the Seattle Times urging the Washington State Public Disclosure Commission to reverse the SWP's long-standing exemption from disclosure laws has drawn heat as well. The October 5 Times published letters from three angry readers who disagreed with the editorial.

In one letter, Doreen McGrath argues, "The *Times* editorial also completely ignores the fundamental intent of disclosure laws, which is to expose attempts by big-money interests to manipulate elections. The likelihood of big business buying the election of socialists into office is nil."

The Times printed an Op Ed editorial by Scott Breen October 8, the day of the SEEC meeting. His column explained, "Socialist Workers candidates welcome the give and take of political debate, including facing and replying to views that differ sharply from our own. Our request for an exemption is not intended to defend 'secrecy' as the Times falsely claims. It is intended to protect the right to privacy of individuals who contribute to socialist candidates. Many such contributors — primarily working people and youth who make modest contributions (we raised about \$1,300 in 1997) — do not want their political views made known to employers, landlords, or the government."

Seattle-area supporters of privacy and freedom of association have been sending messages support for the requested exemption. For example, Anne Atkeson, who works full-time for the United Farm Workers, wrote to the SEEC September 26 stating, "Without reporting exemptions, contributors will fear making contributions to the candidate of their choice and these candidates will not have a fair playing field. I strongly urge you to reconsider your decision, conduct a re-hearing, and approve the renewal of the exemption for the SWP."

Robbie Scherr is a member of the International Association of Machinists.

7

N.Y. garment workers 'glad to hear a candidate who defends workers' rights'

BY AMY SÁNCHEZ

NEW YORK — "The Socialist Workers Campaign has something different to say than the other campaigns represented here, explained Shoghi Fret, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Public Advocate in New York City. "That's because we represent an entirely different class with different interests than the Democrats or Republicans, who find salvation within this system of unemployment, racism, war and depression —capitalism.... But there is an alternative. Workers and fighters can join together to build a movement to take power away from the war-makers. We urge people to join the Young Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party.'

Fret is a 21-year-old member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) and chairperson of the New York Young Socialists. He was speaking at a September 25 televised debate sponsored by the Campaign Finance Board. Also participating were incumbent Mark Green, a Democrat, and Jules Polonetsky, a Democratic Assemblyman who was picked by Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani to run on the Republican and Liberal Party lines. Wendy Lyons, the Socialist Workers candidate for comptroller in New York, was also part of a September 29 debate with the incumbent. Democrat Alan Hevesi, and Genevieve Torres of the Independence Party. Both debates were carried live on New York One cable television and WNYC radio station. The mayoral debate, which will include Republican incumbent Rudolph Guiliani, Democrat Ruth Messinger, and Socialist Workers candidate Olga Rodríguez will take place October 9.

In an interview, Lyons, also a member of UNITE, described the response of co-workers at Lord West, the garment factory she works in.

"The debate sparked a huge discussion" among the largely immigrant workforce, explained Lyons. "Half the workers in the plant had watched it, including many who don't understand English well. Some said they translated into Spanish for family members. People I had never met came up to me and told me they liked what I had to say. Many expressed pride that a worker like themselves was speaking out in defense of workers' rights."

The debate took place on the eve of the new immigration provisions going into effect. Lyons told coworkers she was going to be on TV and elicited ideas on points to make in defense of immigrant rights.

After the debate, many workers responded favorably to the points she made about overcoming divisions among workers and the examples of the recent UPS and Bay Area Rapid Transit strikes.

Police brutality has been a big issue in the plant. At the beginning of the year a neighbor of some Lord West workers, Librado Sánchez, was killed by cops, and many participated in protests organized by the Sánchez family. Both Lyons and Fret spoke of the need for protests against cop brutality, instead of reliance on Democratic and Republican Party politicians.

Some workers in Lyons's plant had supported Democratic Party candidate for mayor Alfred Sharpton in the primaries because of his participation in recent mobilizations against the brutalization of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima by the cops. Lyons explained in the debate that while Sharpton and the Democratic Party offered no solution to the crisis facing working people, she defended his right to be in a run-off election with Messinger, who was declared the "winner" in the primary after a week-long recount of the ballots found her to have won by less than one percentage point.

Not all workers at the plant agreed with the socialist candidate. "There was quite a debate at the lunch table over welfare, with some saying 'welfare cheats' are a big problem we face," said Lyons, "I pointed out how workers on welfare were scapegoated in order to keep us divided so we wouldn't fight the real enemy — the capitalists. Many workers saw the analogy with how the boss keeps us divided in the plant with a two-tier wage scale where newer workers make substantially less money than workers who have been there many years."

Since the debate, sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* have been brisk. After the Public Advocate debate a young woman who had been assigned by her college professor to attend bought a subscription to the *Militant* and asked for more information on the Young Socialists.

'Che continues to instill fear in the oppressors'

The following speech was given at the opening of an October 1-4 symposium on "Che: Man of the Twenty-First Century," held at the University of Havana and sponsored by the university's Ernesto Guevara Studies Progam along with the Personal Archive of Che Guevara, directed by Aleida March Guevara. Ricardo Alarcón is the president of Cuba's National Assembly and a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba. The translation, subheadings, and footnotes are by the

BY RICARDO ALARCÓN

Che continues to fight. He represents a real threat that instills fear in the oppressors. This is demonstrated by the abundant literature attempting to distort his life, falsify his thought, and blunt the sharp edge of his image.

A recently published book shows in detail how the CIA, FBI, and other imperialist agencies followed Che's tracks step by step, even before the landing of the Granma, 1 and how, through a press that pretends to be free, they strove to distort his efforts. Further documents will be published some day, showing how the imperialists have continued to pursue him systematically from the time of La Higuera² to today, as they will surely keep doing in the future.

In the book I alluded to, U.S. attorney Michael Ratner reveals a fact that confirms that Che truly lives — not only in the hearts of youth and the fists of the exploited. In 1988 the region of Bolivia where he fought was still considered a security zone by the authorities. More than 20 years later, a new generation of military officers still seemed to be on the lookout for guerrilla movements around the Nacahuazú river!

How should we look at Che today? What

This selection is part of a weekly series marking the 30th anniversary of the death in combat of Ernesto Che Guevara. Argentine by birth, Guevara became one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution that brought down the U.S.backed Batista dictatorship in 1959 and, in response to mounting pressure from Washington, opened the socialist revolution in the Americas. Che, as he is popularly known, was one of the outstanding Marxist leaders of the 20th cen-

In 1966-67, he led a nucleus of revolutionaries from Bolivia, Cuba, and Peru who fought to overthrow the military dictatorship in Bolivia. In the process, they sought to forge a Latin America-wide movement of workers and peasants that could lead the battle for land reform and against U.S. imperialist domination of the continent and advance the struggle for socialism. Guevara was wounded and captured on Oct. 8, 1967. He was shot the next day by the Bolivian military, after consultation with Washington.

As part of the commemoration of this anniversary in Cuba, dozens of articles, speeches, and interviews by those who worked with Che are being published, dealing with the Cuban revolution, its impact in world politics, and the actions of its leadership. Many of Guevara's collaborators and family members have spoken at conferences and other meetings, bringing Che to life for a new generation and explaining the importance of his rich political legacy today. These materials contain many valuable firsthand accounts and information, some of which are being written down and published for the first time. They are part of the broader discussion taking place in Cuba today on how to advance the revolution.

The Militant is reprinting a selection of these contributions as a weekly feature, under the banner "Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution."

is his legacy for the century now beginning? This is the question asked by revolutionaries, those of us who are fighting to transform the world and who believe in the betterment of humanity.

As we do so, his image and his memory spread through the world. His portrait appears on T-shirts worn by youth who never knew him; it is carried during protests by the dispossessed masses who were not able to read his basic writings. It becomes increasingly a symbol that encourages rebellion and hope, attaining legendary dimen-

Conferences like this one can contribute to the collective search needed to begin to find the indispensable answers, which above all must be turned into concrete actions. It could not be otherwise, since the subject of our attention is Ernesto Guevara.

Found time to write about revolution

Besides his enormous contributions as a guerrilla combatant and leader, as well as the important responsibilities he shouldered in the revolutionary government, Che left us a body of writings of astonishing breadth and depth, especially considering they were produced over the course of just a few years by a young leader thoroughly immersed in the storm of events during the most intense period of the life of our people.

In essays, articles, letters, speeches, lectures, and other public addresses, Ernesto Guevara took up the questions that the revolution confronted at that time and made a priceless contribution to the concrete political struggle and revolutionary consciousness of the Cuban people. Imperialism's threats and acts of aggression in that period were subjected to his incisive analysis and his clarifying indictment.

Alert to dangers from the outside, he also focused on questions specifically related to the economy, the trade unions, the formation of the party and its methods and style of work, and the special role played by the youth organizations, among other important subjects. For workers, students, and youth, for political and administrative cadres, he left a wealth of ideas that — aside from conjunctural aspects, of course — remains completely relevant today.

It is remarkable to discover that in the heat of those years, he found time to write about his guerrilla experience in Cuba, leaving subsequent generations a precious testimony that enriches our historic memory. But what surprises others was, for him, something natural and necessary.

Preserving these experiences was essential to the goal — which he carried out with rigorous dedication — of summarizing the story of the Cuban insurrection and elaborating his theory on guerrilla warfare. There, in the concrete development of the armed struggle, where everything depended on each individual combatant, and on their willingness to give their life, he discovered the seeds of the new man.

His intellectual work had an internationalist character that, from the very first article, anticipated his future actions in the Congo and Bolivia. In various international forums he exposed imperialism's criminal exploitation and presented a coherent theory for the liberation of the Third World, without omitting a justified socialist criticism of those who did not practice solidarity as an obligation.

Uncovered roots of events in E. Europe It is in his study of the questions related



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Guevara (left) participates in volunteer work in Cuba in early years of revolution. "At a time when some people are giving in or vacillating, we must reproduce Che's unblemished example in the conduct of the vanguard and extend it throughout society. We must cultivate solidarity as a norm of everyday life."

to building socialism, registered in his memorable polemics and other basic works, that his thought achieves its greatest depth and begins to anticipate the future. Who could imagine in the early 1960s that a brutal capitalism would reemerge out of European socialism? Who was capable of uncovering the root of the problem and explain it with honesty and courage?

In the battles that imperialism continues to wage against Che we find the greatest proof that he remains alive, that his message prevails. There are attempts to present Ernesto Guevara as a symbol of a bygone era, as something from the past. In the euphoria following the crumbling of the Soviet Union, the imperialist academic establishment — which has joined with others, since cloning existed in the ideological sphere well before it was discovered in the laboratories — has tried to make people believe that the defeat of that model meant the death of the socialist ideal and that this would forever put an end to the movement by workers to achieve that goal.

Che would undoubtedly share our bitterness at the serious setback these events have meant for the people who today are suffering in flesh and blood the experience of real capitalism, and he would understand its negative consequences for the Cuban revolution and for the liberation of the Third

His pain would be even greater, similar to that of the wise man who foresaw the inevitable, to that of the messiah who announced the catastrophe and illuminated the road that could have avoided it. He had already warned about how difficult it would be "to defeat capitalism with its own fetishes," and raised this crucial point: "Socialism cannot exist if there is not a change in consciousness that creates a new, fraternal attitude toward humanity, both individually in a society where socialism is being built or has been built, as well as internationally, toward all peoples who suffer imperialist oppression."

His distress would be even deeper and more genuine because, having clarified this question theoretically, he preached by example both "in the society in which socialism is being built" — through his austerity; his total devotion to revolutionary activity; his genuine, modest, and quiet participation in voluntary labor - as well as in his attitude "toward all peoples oppressed by imperialism," as he would demonstrate more eloquently a few months later.

But before resuming the guerrilla path, he explained, in one of his most widely circulated works, his concern about the challenges facing a nascent socialist society: "There is the danger that the forest will not be seen for the trees. The pipe dream that socialism can be achieved with the help of the dull instruments left to us by capitalism (the commodity as the economic cell, profitability, individual material interest as a lever, etc..) can lead into a blind alley. And you wind up there after having traveled a long distance with many crossroads, and it is hard to figure out just where you took the wrong turn. Meanwhile, the economic foundation that has been laid has done its work of undermining the development of consciousness. To build communism it is necessary, simultaneous with the new material foundations, to build the new man."

His creative and truly Marxist thought allowed him to foresee the fate of that experience and discover the roots of its failure at a time when the very theoreticians of anticommunism considered it unchangeable and when the predominant dogmatism within the left clouded judgments. The new man was certainly not the one who had been defeated, but rather "the pipe dream of achieving socialism" without him.

Nor did capitalism achieve a global victory over the forces of socialism and national liberation. It did achieve a temporary victory through the lack of consistent and **Continued on Page 10**

Socialist Workers Party sends greetings to Congress of Communist Party in Cuba

Below we reprint greetings by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes for the party's National Committee to the 5th Congress of the Communist Party taking place in Havana, Cuba, October 8 - 10.

Dear Comrades,

Commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the fall in combat of the Heroic Guerrilla and his comrades not only solemnly marks the 5th Congress of the Communist Party in Cuba and reminds us all of the course that Fidel has fought for from the beginning. It also foreshadows the battles that will decide the fate of the 21st century.

New generations of revolutionary toilers — including those inside the most brutal and mighty imperialist power in history, the United States of America will draw strength from the example of these heroic fighters and the lessons we have learned from the men and women who made the Cuban revolution possible

and changed the course of history in our

The reality that will mark the century on whose threshold we stand is that of the growing historic weakness of U.S. imperialism — faced as it is around the world with ever increasing numbers of gravediggers of its own creation, and diminishing political barriers to unity in struggle amongst them. As that truth breaks through the surface of imperialist wealth and arrogance, the example of the combatants of Nacahuazú, of the leadership of the Sierra Maestra, and of the worker-bolsheviks who established and defended the first socialist victory in our century will be emulated.

Our task is to organize, prepare, and fight - now.

Communist greetings,

Jack Barnes National Secretary for the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

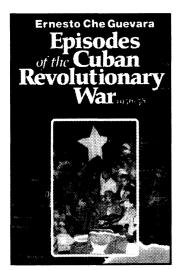
¹ In late 1956, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and 80 other members of the July 26 Movement left Mexico and arrived in Cuba aboard the yacht Granma to initiate the revolutionary war against the Batista dictatorship.

² La Higuera is the Bolivian village where Guevara was killed.

³ See Guevara, Socialism and Man in Cuba, published by Pathfinder Press.

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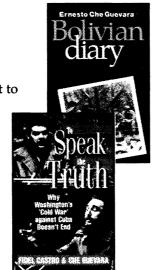
The Debate on Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America JOSEPH HANSEN

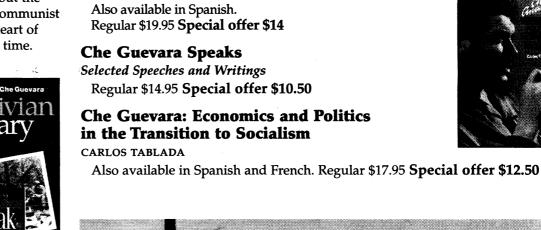
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JACK BARNES







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Meeting on Guevara

Continued from front page

speakers have taken up Che's legacy for today, appealing to the new generation of Cubans to do with their lives what the previous generations of revolutionary fighters did with theirs. In addition to the meetings, a wealth of articles, interviews, and books by these veteran cadres is appearing in the Cuban media.

These initiatives share a common thread with a book published here earlier this year called Secretos de generales (Secrets of generals). In it, 41 Cuban generals address Cuban youth today by recounting their own participation in revolutionary battles in Cuba and around the world.

Ricardo Alarcón, president of Cuba's National Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, opened the conference at the University of Havana. "How should we apply Che today?" he said. "This is the question asked by revolutionaries, those of us who are fighting to transform the world."

Alarcón described how Guevara, while shouldering major responsibilities in the revolutionary government, made time to write about big political questions, from the struggle against imperialism, which he wrote about with a scientific understanding, to the challenges of building socialism. Noting Guevara's argument that it is impossible "to defeat capitalism with its own fetishes," he said the disintegration of the Soviet regime was "not a defeat for Che but rather his vindication." In Cuba today, he concluded, to advance the revolution "we need Che more than ever." (See full text of Alarcón's speech beginning on page 8.)

Relatives of Guevara and individuals who had worked with him spoke at several panel discussions during the conference. They included Armando Hart, longtime Cuban leader and currently director of the Office of the José Martí Program; Brig. Gen. Harry Villegas, who fought with Che in the Cuban revolution, the Congo, and Bolivia; Aleida Guevara March, the revolutionary leader's daughter; Orlando Borrego, former head of the sugar ministry; and Enrique Oltuski, deputy minister of fishing. The latter two worked closely with Guevara in the Ministry of Industry in the early 1960s. Aleida March, Guevara's widow and comrade-in-arms, participated in all the conference sessions and read the final declaration at the conclusion of the gathering.

'Lessons for new generation of fighters'

Borrego highlighted Guevara's contributions to economics and politics in the transition to socialism. Pointing to the "lessons that the new generations of fighters must not forget," he explained that "while Che's boldness and bravery as a guerrilla fighter is often emphasized, the great contribution he made to the world revolution through his theoretical work is not always fully appreciated."

He underscored Guevara's conviction that deepening political consciousness among working people "is essential to the building of a new society that is qualitatively different from capitalism's commoditybased society. Che concluded that 'Man is the conscious actor in history, and without that consciousness marking his entire social being, there can be no communism."

Borrego also recalled how Guevara, while heading the Ministry of Industry, devoted many hours after the regular workday to studying politics, economics, and science, and encouraged his collaborators to do likewise. "Monday nights he studied applied mathematics and statistics. On Thursdays we would rigorously study po-



Cuban volunteer troops in Angola defending against invasion by South African army, which hastened end of the apartheid regime. "Our struggle in Cuba is intimately tied to the struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people," said Aleida Guevara March.

litical economy until daybreak. Together with Capital, Karl Marx's crowning work, Che delved into Marx's 1844 philosophical manuscripts," Borrego said.

Oltuski spoke on "Che's human dimension." He read vivid accounts by several individuals who had collaborated with Guevara. One was by the Mexican revolutionary Arsacio Vanegas, who gave military training near Mexico City to the initial recruits of the Rebel Army before they left for Cuba on the *Granma* expedition in December 1956. Vanegas recounts how Guevara refused to be excluded from strenuous military exercises on account of his asthma.

Vecino Alegret, who himself had been part of an aborted second expedition of fighters from Mexico to Cuba in late 1957, described some of the times he had met Che, particularly after the 1959 revolutionary

victory. At that time Vecino Alegret was a student at the University of Havana.

'In the early months of 1959, the Central University of Las Villas offered Che an honorary doctorate in education. At that time the class struggle was in full swing, and the universities still had not been transformed,' Vecino Alegret explained. Most of the professors who hadn't already left Cuba were holdovers from before the revolution, and they had diminished authority, while the revolutionary students had considerable in-

Attacked class differences at university

"Che hated the class and caste differences that were widespread throughout the university. He decided to accept the honorary degree, but he refused to put on the gown

Continued on Page 14

'Che continues to instill fear in the oppressors'

Continued from Page 8

united action by these forces, which were unable to take advantage of a favorable international balance of forces. In short, what was missing was the duplication of Che's heroic example and the application of his ideas by the revolutionary movement as a whole.

Events vindicate Che

The dramatic events of recent years are not a defeat for Che but are rather his vindication. That is why Che lives, why he is taking on gigantic proportions, springing up everywhere, and advancing. That is why his enemies' fears grow.

His humanistic, renovational, and ethical conception of socialism enriched the Cuban revolutionary process and has been present throughout its history, in completion, of course, with tropical expressions of "real socialism" and in the midst of the most far-reaching confrontation ever with imperialism. Even when erroneous views and negative tendencies predominated in the

leadership and administration of the economy, Che's legacy survived among us by remaining intact in foreign policy, reaching extraordinary levels that propagated his example on a massive scale.

The process of rectification of errors and negative tendencies, initiated by Fidel Castro in 1986, revived the revolutionary spirit and confirmed the correctness of Ernesto Guevara's ideas and teachings.

Before real socialism's course toward bankruptcy had become visible, Cuban revolutionaries, inspired by Che, were deepening the struggle against its causes and attacking the root of the problem.

The authentic character of the Cuban revolution, which was exclusively the product of our own history, the result of the struggles and sacrifices of Cubans; its genuinely independent character; and the intelligent, consistent, and firm hand of its central leader, explain why those pernicious elements did not acquire the uncontrollable dimensions that led to the disintegration of the European experience.

The Cuban revolution did not succumb as the empire's chiefs and pimps had predicted a few years ago. It was able to resist the terrible consequences of the sudden disappearance of its markets, the complete loss of foreign credit and financing, the drastic reduction of supplies of oil and raw materials and other vital imports. It was able to do so and even begin to recover economically despite the fact that Washington's economic war against us came on top of the blow suffered by the disintegration of the USSR.

What does Che mean today for Cuba and the Cuban people? How should we integrate him into the current situation, into our perspectives and aspirations? What is his role, as a son of our people and one of its most clear-sighted leaders, in the complex, difficult, and decisive stage we are now going through? What should we do about his revolutionary passion, his unflagging militancy, his creative thinking?

Let us state the obvious. He is with us here and now, fighting stubbornly to rescue his work and his dreams as a builder.

Need Che's ideas today

Under the particular circumstances of this period — when in order to save our socialism, the only socialism possible in Cuba today, we have been forced to make concessions, we have had to introduce into our society undesirable values that are alien to his values — we need Che more than ever. Because of the fact that the inevitable changes in our society and the brutal imperialist offensive introduce new — and sometimes more subtle and serpentine — elements in the ideological struggle, Che is indispensable for us. We must take his ideas and turn them into a vital guide for workers, students, professors, and the entire people. At a time when the poison of selfish individualism threatens us from the inside, when some people are giving in or vacillating, we must reproduce his unblemished example in the conduct of the vanguard and extend it throughout society.

We must cultivate solidarity as a norm of everyday life.

Through the systematic involvement of the workforce and its unions, it is necessary to make the utmost efforts toward economic recovery, to save our resources, raise productivity and efficiency, especially in the state sector, combat indiscipline, and strengthen the cohesion and unity of all

revolutionaries and patriots.

We must strengthen the role of the party, perfect our democratic system and the work of the mass organizations and our socialist civil society as a whole, and develop consistently popular participation in and controls over these bodies. What the invincible guerrilla is calling for is more socialism on the political-ideological level, a more heroic, creative, and Cuban socialism.

We will be like Che, our children declare. This is not just a beautiful phrase. It captures a strategy and a hope. The homeland will be saved; the revolution will prevail; our socialism will survive and be better and more genuine if we are capable, as a people, of being like him, of fighting and living like

Thirty-five years ago, during "the brilliant yet sad days" of the October crisis,4 when the threat of total extermination hung over Cuba, Ernesto Guevara left us this message, which remains true for today and

'From here, from their solitary vanguard trench, our people are making their voices heard. It is not the swan song of a defeated revolution, but a revolutionary hymn that is destined to become eternal on the lips of fighters throughout the Americas. It resonates with history.'

From here, from his indestructible trench, let us tell him once again:

¡Hasta la victoria siempre! [Forward ever to victory]

¡Socialismo o muerte! [Socialism or

¡Patria o muerte! [Homeland or death]

⁴ Amid escalating preparations by Washington for a new invasion of Cuba in the spring and summer of 1962, the Cuban government signed a mutual defense agreement with the Soviet Union. In October 1962 President John Kennedy demanded removal of Soviet nuclear missiles installed in Cuba following the signing of that pact. Washington ordered a naval blockade of Cuba, stepped up its preparations to invade, and placed U.S. armed forces on nuclear alert. Cuban workers and farmers mobilized in the millions to defend the revolution. Following an exchange of communications between Washington and Moscow, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, without consulting the Cuban government, announced his decision to remove the missiles on October 28.

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Puerto Rico strike

Continued from front page

Congress, Socialist Front, and the Revolutionary Workers Party (Macheteros) participated, as did a group of fishermen and a gay rights organization.

Of the 6,000 union members at the telephone company, only 28 crossed the picket line. The participation rate was very high among other utility workers as well.

There were no classes at any of the 11 campuses of the University of Puerto Rico. At the main campus in the Río Piedras section of San Juan, an all-night concert mobilized students to block access to the campus. The next day many students marched downtown to join the protest.

According to the Department of Education, 76 percent of public school students were absent October 1. Renán Soto, president of the Teachers Federation, put the figure at 96 percent. Thousands of teachers from both the Teachers Federation and the Teachers Association participated in the march even though they had been threatened with being fired.

At the Metropolitan Bus Authority only 6 of 120 drivers were working.

María Luisa Escobar is a telephone operator with six years experience who traveled to the rally from Mayagüez. She is a member of the Independent Union of Telephone Employees (UIET). She said that so many people were at the march because "they [the government] are trying to sell everything."

Doris Arroyo, a social worker at the Mental Health Center in Carolina, a suburb of San Juan, is not a member of a union. She wore a ribbon that said, "Because the children are first, no to privatization." This slogan mocks the Department of Education slogan "Our Children First." "The health centers are in danger of being privatized," said Arroyo. "The telephone company is our national patrimony. They are in danger like us. We can see the cost of privatization in our center. With privatization the working class will have still less resources." The public hospital in Fajardo was closed after the government was unable to privatize it.

The demonstrators assembled on the Dos Hermanos bridge and marched to the capitol, where a rally was held. The main speaker was UIET President Alfonso Benítez, who called on the governor to organize a referendum to vote on the proposed sale of the telephone company.

The day after the march, some of the participants faced reprisals. The president of the Government Development Bank, Marcos Rodríguez, is in charge of the committee that is selling the telephone company. The bank workers had recently struck for a month. About 138 workers were given two-day suspensions without pay for being absent the day of the march. María Rodríguez, president of the union said that this violates the published norms of the bank, which call for suspensions only after the fourth unexcused absence.

The Department of Education announced

that 7,715 teachers who were absent will not be paid for the day.

Rosselló has announced that the march will not change his plans to sell the telephone company.

"I don't believe that the government will change because, as everyone knows, they are stubborn as mules," said electrical worker Orlando Díaz at the rally. "Nevertheless we also know that, at times, that mules can change with the force of sticks."

The general strike marks the second time in seven years that the trade union movement has organized mass protests against selling the telephone company. When former governor Rafael Hernández Colón tried to sell the telephone company in 1990, the unions called a similar-sized march.

Ron Richards is a member of the American Federation of Government Employees in San Juan.



Militant/Rebecca Arenson

Many young people joined in October 1 protest during general strike in Puerto Rico

Socialist steelworkers discuss class struggle

BY STEVE WARSHELL

PITTSBURGH — Socialist workers who are members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) met here September 20 – 21 to discuss the shifting relationship between the employers and the working class and the openings to explain socialist ideas today. Pittsburgh was selected as the site of the meeting so the participants could also attend the events held around the AFL-CIO convention.

Discussion at the socialist meeting began with a main political report presented by Gaetan Whiston, a steelworker from St. Paul, Minnesota. Hightlighting the collapse of the Southeast Asian "tiger economies," he outlined the deepening worldwide economic depresssion and deflationary pressures leading to stagnating industrial productivity as key factors in understanding today's political developments.

"The world capitalist system is increasingly unstable," he said, "and we and our co-workers need to better understand the political economy that underlies both the attacks by the bosses and their government on our unions, as well as the resistance to it by union members."

A number of workers at the meeting said they and their co-workers are producing more steel than ever before, yet the corporations are on a drive to reduce the workforce by eliminating and combining jobs, cutting back safety needs, holding down wages, and further increasing production.

"There is a recent list of victories by workers in the United States," Whiston noted, "such as the victory at UPS, the 10-month-long Wheeling Pitt Steel strike, the transit workers strike in San Francisco, the six strikes against General Motors this year, and the continuing struggle against the Detroit News and Free Press." Whiston pointed to a recent headline in Business Week. The

magazine referred to the UPS victory as a "wake-up call for business."

John Studer, who works in a steel mill near Chicago, noted the change in many of the UPS strikers. He described meeting a Teamster picket captain, a Vietnam veteran, who summed up his life experience saying, "In the '60s the government sent us to war to kill people who had nothing against us. Now the corporations are at war against us, and the government is their biggest ally."

"Many workers," Studer went on "have had to think this through. They've been told strikes don't work, that they have to make concessions. But what they've seen is that retreat only leads to more retreat."

The weekend included a special Militant Labor Forum by Betsey Stone, an airline worker and member of the International Association of Machinists. She discussed an international labor conference held in July in Havana, Cuba.

Virtually every participant in the socialist meeting had been actively involved in work supporting the strike by at Wheeling-Pitt Steel. The socialists discussed the strike as an important victory for the USWA and the working class as a whole and a blow to the bosses plans to drive down wages and pension benefits.

Sheila Ostrow, a steelworker from Pittsburgh, noted both the changes in the strikers as they fought the battle as well as the contributions made by socialist workers. "Strikers began to reach out to others, to look for fighters to link up with. They went to the NAACP convention here in Pittsburgh seeing it as a place to build support for their strike. And we built support for them in our locals by being part of plant gate collections, raffles, food drives, getting our co-workers to the picket lines, and where possible having strikers come to our local meetings to speak. This kind of solidarity makes us bet-

ter revolutionary politicians in the union."

Brian Williams, who works at a steel mill near Baltimore, reported on gains made by socialists in the USWA to advance along three areas, "First, by acting as revolutionaries we seek to win workers to our socialist ideas through talking socialism, sales of Pathfinder books and the *Militant* newspaper and publicizing party campaigns. Second, socialist workers are activists seeking to build worker participation in a wide range of protests from fights against police brutality to the fight against the U.S. war drives. Third, we are union activists with a revolutionary perspective who, while operating within the union structure and realities of today, have a clear picture of the revolutionary transformation that needs to occur."

Williams pointed to several union gatherings that socialist workers had participated in during the past months, including regional union conferences, the USWA legislative conference, the Working Women's Conference, and the AFL-CIO convention just getting under way in Pittsburgh.

"Using Pathfinder books and the *Militant* newspaper is central to our political work in the unions." He continued, "We have seen increased interest in our ideas as the working class has scored some recent victories."

Conference participants took a goal of selling 40 Pathfinder books and pamphlets per month to fellow steelworkers and plan to sell 38 subscriptions to the Militant newspaper by October 26 as part of the international circulation drive and to track their progress along these lines.

Steve Warshell is a member of USWA Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio.

Amtrak says no raise for maintenance

BY RUTH ROBINETT

NEW YORK — The passenger railway Amtrak has rejected the recommendations of a government-appointed board that would extend to the 2,800 members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE) at Amtrak the same wages and benefits paid to BMWE members employed by class-1 freight railroads. This is a central demand of the BMWE, whose members have worked without a general wage increase for more than two years. The union organizes workers who construct and maintain Amtrak's railroad tracks, buildings, bridges, and electrical power systems that power trains.

The "presidential emergency board" recommended a series of 3.5 percent annual salary increases going back to 1995 through 2000, along with a series of lump sum payments. There were no recommendations on work rule adjustments, another disputed issue, other than leaving it to the company and union to resolve.

Amtrak had applauded Clinton's invoking of the Railway Labor Act on August 21, prohibiting a strike by the union for 60 days and setting up the board. Clinton's action followed the BMWE's rejection of a federal mediator's offer of arbitration.

The emergency board's recommendation isn't legally binding. The railroad and union have until October 22 to accept it or to use it as the basis for a settlement. If they haven't agreed by that time, the union can strike, or the rail bosses can impose a lockout.

Amtrak, which is partially federally funded, claims it is borrowing funds to meet its expenses and cannot pay the wages that would bring the BMWE members up to parity with other rail workers. The company said the legislative measures under consideration do not include sufficient funding to implement the board's proposals.

A September 22 company press release quotes Tom Downs, Amtrak's chairman, president, and chief executive officer, as saying, "Amtrak simply cannot sign a contract it cannot pay for." The press release continues, "The recommended wages from freight settlements, if extended to all employees, would cost Amtrak over \$250 million. The company will work with the BMWE over the next 30 days to convince the union the corporation's survival will be imperiled by an impasse or work action and will continue to urge the extension of the current agreement."

It added the threat that "Amtrak will also immediately approach Congress and urge it

to prepare to take appropriate action to avoid disruption of service which could cripple Amtrak operations nationwide and commuter travel throughout the Northeast, Chicago, and California."

At Amtrak's Sunnyside Yard in Queens, New York, Ron Aliendre, a track worker explained, "Ten percent over three to four years, plus a \$400 bonus is being asked for. It's unreasonable for Amtrak to turn it down. We've been working almost three years without a contract.

"I think we're ready to strike," he added.
"It'd be good to make a stand even for two
or three days to show what the union is."

Terrence Jones, who has worked eight years at Amtrak, said, "They want to contract out work. They want us to report to the job site and start our time there, not at a central location. Amtrak makes all their money between New York and Washington. If we shut them down for even 12 hours, we could hurt them."

Jones called the government intervention "unfair. This is supposed to be a democracy. But if the government can send us back to work, what's the use of striking?"

Ruth Robinett is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1370 at Amtrak.

Labor union women to meet in Seattle

BY NAN BAILEY

SEATTLE — The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) will hold its ninth biennial convention here November 6 – 9, at the Westin Hotel.

Highlights of the convention will include an international forum on November 7, and a young women workers forum scheduled for November 8.

CLUW president Gloria Johnson has been promoting participation in the convention at several recent conferences of women unionists. She spoke at the "Ask a Working Woman" conference sponsored by the newlyformed AFL-CIO Women's Department, held in Washington, D.C., in September.

Three industrial unions recently held women's conferences where Johnson encouraged participation in the CLUW meeting; the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), and the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

For more information, contact CLUW at 1126 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 466-4610/4615.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Promise Keepers: The Culture War Against Women and the Fight for Women's Equality. Panel discussion: Representatives Birmingham National Organization for Women, Young Socialists, others. Fri., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 111 21st South. Donation: \$4. Tel: (205) 323-

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Che: Love, Politics and Rebellion. A new documentary on Che Guevara. Includes interviews with Fidel Castro, Harry Villegas, and Che Guevara. Fri., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Behind Washington's Push for Domination of Caspian Sea Oil. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, author of articles on Central Asia for the Militant. Shirvani has traveled extensively in the region. Fri., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 87A Halsey St. (1 block west of Broad St., 2 blocks north of Raymond Blvd.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (201) 643-

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics Today. Speaker: Robert Miller, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, and member of United Auto Workers union. Fri., Oct. 17,

7:30 p.m.

The Middle East Today. Fri., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. Both events held at 1906 South St. Donation \$4. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Stop the Attacks on Immigrant rights: A Panel Discussion. Fri., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 1930 18th St. NW. Donation: \$4.

Che Guevara: His legacy for Today. A celebration of the publication by Pathfinder Press of Pombo: A Man of Che's 'Guerrilla' by Harry Villegas and Che Guevara: economía y política en la transición al socialismo by Carlos Tablada. Speaker: Ved Dookhum, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. Dinner, 6 p.m. Dinner: \$5, Program: \$5. Both events held at (18th and Florida, entrance

CANADA

Vancouver

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Mary Ellen Marus, participant in Amigos de Cuba 1996 volunteer work brigade in Cuba. Fri., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

on Florida). Tel: (202) 387-2185.

Christchurch

Why Working People Should Support the Ngai Tahu Settlement. Fri., Oct. 17, 7 p.m. 199 High St. (Corner High and Tuam). Donation: \$3. Tel: (03) 365-6055.

Albanians debate outcome of revolt

Continued from Page 16

tion." But, he added, "if that money ends up in the pockets of those in the government, we are here and we are watching what they

Although the committee has not met since June, its members continue to be in contact with each other and with members of rebel councils in other towns.

Working people do not readily identify the pyramid holding companies and their functioning with capitalism, and many hold illusions that foreign investment can offer a way out from the economic catastrophe. On the other hand, their experience as superexploited immigrant workers in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere means that they have

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gained first-hand knowledge of the exploitation of living and working for a boss. "I know these people exploit," said one worker boarding the bus leaving Vlore for Athens, along with his family. "I know how things work in Greece. But if they came here and invested in a factory, then at least there would be some jobs and people could stay in their homes and work.

People are again taking the path of immigration in massive numbers. "You can't cry about it forever," said one high school teacher who lost her house in the pyramid collapse. "I have to work to get a new house for my family while I am still young. This time I've decided to go abroad." At the same time there is a growing combativity among these immigrants. This June, for example, a strike took place involving agricultural workers from Albania, India, and Pakistan in a village near Thebes, Greece. The undocumented workers demonstrated in the village square demanding better pay.

Clashing class outlooks

Over the past half decade, while most working people have sunk into poverty, those in the ruling caste, such as company managers and government or army bureaucrats, as well as professionals and other petty-bourgeois layers, have enriched themselves by working in partnership with Greek and some Italian entrepreneurs seeking access to the Albanian market and to cheap labor. Freddy, for example, who identified himself only with his first name, graduated from the university as a civil engineer but was forced to work as a construction worker in Thessaloníki, northern Greece, for a few years. He was later able to strike a deal with a Greek merchant there to import machines into Albania. He now employs a half dozen people, including family members, in a small factory in Fier assembling window frames out of Greek aluminum and is doing well financially.

The director of the state-owned TEC power plant in Fier is also the one who got a five-year lease under Berisha to operate the town's state-owned hotel. Most among these layers, whose loyalties alternate between the SP and the DP, are deeply convinced that capitalism is the necessary and inevitable future for Albania, and they get a hearing among workers and farmers.

But the desires of these would-be capitalists are running up against the active opposition by many working people for whom further "market reforms" spell nothing but

The TEC power plant outside Fier is on the long list to be sold off to private investors. It is a plant of 650 workers — 30 percent of whom are women — who make an average of \$20 a month. The facility produces one-third of Albania's electricity. "So far the privatization has unfortunately remained on paper only," complained Muharrem Stojku, the factory director.

One woman operator voiced an opinion held by most workers interviewed by the Militant, saying categorically "no" to the idea of selling to foreign investors what she described as "our" plant. "It would mean losing our jobs, that's what we have heard from other countries." The workers of this plant, along with some management, defended it against attack and vandalism from Berisha's forces and criminal gangs throughout the insurrection. Many workers there had investments in the pyramid schemes. "All this time we never stopped producing electricity for the people," said operator Koci Anastasiadi.

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For more information, call Department of History, University of Houston (713) 743-3085; Houston Cuba Coalition, Tom Kleven (713) 313-7355.

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'People's' Republic of China? — Thirty-two workers at a Jinjiang shoe factory perished last month when fire swept through their dormitory. They couldn't escape



because they were locked in, assertedly to prevent them from stealing shoes at night.

Parachutes might be better — ValuJet, the cheapo airline whose plane crashed in the Florida Ever-

glades last year, bought out another company and will be flying as AirTran Airlines. A business analyst suggested investors are betting people won't realize it's ValueJet under another name. He said, "It's a leap of faith."

Like a temp job — Travel Wholesalers Int'l is setting up a corporate reservation center at the women's prison in Greenwood, South Carolina. The co-owner says the inmates will start at 50 cents an hour, "and you don't have to pay benefits." Actually, he's boasting a bit. His agency has to pay \$3 an hour, and the prison takes a \$2.50 cut.

Ain't easy to unscramble the among American children has been

egg — Pushing for privatizing of the land, Russian prez Boris Yeltsin vetoed a measure that ruled out the sale of land to private openers. The lower house of parliament promptly overturned his veto. Nationalization of the land to ensure its availability to all who worked it, was one of the acts of the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

Breathing up our good air — The conservationist Sierra Club will conduct a membership ballot next March on whether it should take a stand in favor of curbing immigration, assertedly to reduce population growth.

Duh! — "The rate of cancer

rising for decades. Although the reason remains unclear, many experts suspect the increase may be partly the result of growing exposure to new chemicals in the environment." — September 29 New York Times.

Read-it-and-retch dep't — June Lauer quit her Kentucky Fried Chicken job in Superior, Wisconsin, when she could longer abide the manager's foul tongue — including referring to female managers as "bitches."

A judge denied her unemployment benefits claim, declaring, "Use of vulgar and obscene language and terms can serve to promote group solidarity." His ruling has been appealed and a sexual harassment suit

filed against the state's "equal rights" division.

\$\$\$ bring out the best — Now being probed for Medicare fraud, Columbia/HCA Healthcare Corp., the definitely for-profit hospital chain, has also gained a rep for turning away the uninsured. Like the homeless fellow who died on the lawn of Columbia's Las Vegas hospital after being discharged without treatment.

Thought for the week — "Do we have an obligation to provide health care for everybody? Is any fast-food restaurant obligated to feed everyone who shows up?" — Richard Scott, recently iced Columbia CEO.

Defending Soviet workers state in face of WWII

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party by James P. Cannon contains the record of a political fight that broke out in the Socialist Workers Party in 1939 - 40, as World War II was opening in Europe. Under this political pressure, a pettybourgeois section in the party began to reject the theoretical foundations, political principles, and organizational methods of the communist movement, which included the rejection of defending the U.S.S.R. against imperialist attack. This grouping, led by James Burnham, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern, initiated a seven-month faction fight that led to a deep-going split in the party. The docu-

BOOK OF THE WEEK

ments of this struggle form a manual of Leninist party organization. Major portions of *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* have just been published in French in the *Cahiers de formation communiste*. A companion book is *In Defense of Marxism: The Social and Political Contradictions of the Soviet Union*, which contains Leon Trotsky's letters and articles written in relation to this fight.

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BY JAMES P. CANNON

Political struggles in general, including serious factional struggles in a party, do not take place in a vacuum. They are carried on under the pressure of social forces and reflect the class struggle to one degree or another. This law is demonstrated in the most striking manner in the development of the present discussion within our party....

For those who understand politics as an expression of the class struggle — and that

is the way we Marxists understand it — the basic cause of the crisis in the party is not hard to find. The crisis signifies the reaction in our ranks to external social pressure. That is the way we have defined it from the outset of the crisis last September, immediately following the signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact and the beginning of the German invasion of Poland. More precisely, we say the crisis is the result of the pressure of bourgeois-democratic public opinion upon a section of the party leadership. That is our class analysis of the unrestrained struggle between the proletarian and the petty-bourgeois tendencies in our party.

We define the contending factions not by such abstract general terms as "conservative" and "progressive." We judge the factions not by the psychologic traits of individuals, but by the programs they defend. The discussion has revealed not a difference of opinion about the application of the program — such differences frequently occur and usually have a transitory significance — but an attempt to counterpose one program to another. This is what has divided the party into two camps. Naturally, these terms, which we have used from the beginning of the discussion to characterize the two tendencies in the party, are meant as definitions and not epithets. It is necessary to repeat this in every debate between Marxists and petty-bourgeois politicians of all types; the one thing they cannot tolerate is to be called by their right name.

The leaders of the opposition consider it outrageous, a malicious faction invention, for us to place this class signboard above their faction, when their only offense consists in the simple fact that they turn their backs on the Soviet Union and deny it defense in the struggle against world imperialism. But our definition and description of such an attitude is not new. Back in the days when Shachtman was paraphrasing Trotsky and not Burnham, he himself wrote:

At bottom, the ultra-leftists' position on the Soviet Union, which denies it any claim whatsoever to being a

workers' state, reflects the vacillations of the petty bourgeois, their inability to make a firm choice between the camps of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, of revolution and imperialism.

This quotation, from an article written in the *New International* by Shachtman two years ago, can be accepted as a scientific definition of the opposition combination and its present position, with only one small amendment. It is hardly correct to describe their position as "ultra-leftist."

The leaders of the opposition in the past have written and spoken a great deal along the lines of the above quotation. Year in and year out in innumerable articles, documents, theses and speeches the leaders of the opposition have been promising and even threatening to defend the Soviet Union — "In the hour of danger we will be at our posts!" — but when the hour drew near, when the Soviet Union almost began to need this defense, they welched on their promise.

So with the program in general, with the doctrine, the methods and the tradition of Marxism. When all this ceased to be the subject for literary exercises in times of tranquillity and had to be taken as a guide to action in time of war, they forgot everything that had been said and written and started a frantic search for "new and fresh ideas." In the first half-serious test they revealed themselves as "peace-time Trotskyists."

And this shameful performance, this betrayal of Marxism, has taken place in the American section of the Fourth International even before the formal entry of American imperialism into the war....

In the proletarian majority of the party there is not a trace of pessimism. On the contrary, there is universal satisfaction that the defection of a section of the party leadership revealed itself in time, before the war, and under conditions where it could be combatted openly and in free discussion and beaten down. The virtual unanimity with which the proletarian cadres have rallied to the defense of the party and the Fourth International, the militancy and irreconcilability with which they have met the attack of Burnham, Abern and Shachtman is living proof of the vitality and indestructibility of our movement. That is a good omen for the future. It gives us confidence that it will stand up against the real test of war when it comes. It gives grounds for the most optimistic calculation that the Fourth International will not only "survive," but conquer in struggle.

As for the "hard future" — the Bolshevik-Marxists never expected that the period of the death agony of capitalism could produce anything but crises and war with their inevitable repercussions in workers' organizations, including the party of the workers' vanguard.

From these "hard" circumstances, the Fourth Internationalists only drew the conclusion that the grandiose social convulsions, which we foresaw and analyzed in advance, create the conditions out of which the oppressed masses, impelled by iron necessity, must carry through the social revolution and the reorganization of the world on a socialist basis. Only one thing is needed: a genuine Bolshevik party of the vanguard. Only Marxism can be the program of such a party

-25 AND 50 YEARS AGO

THE MILITANT

October 20, 1972

"The obstacles facing the women's liberation movement in the United States seem paltry in comparison with the barriers that exist in Italy," says Diana Loercher in a special report in the Sept. 11 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Most interesting is her interview with Liliana Merlini, a leader of the Women's Liberation Movement (MLD — Movimiento di Liberazione della Donna).

The MLD, formed in 1970, is currently petitioning to collect 50,000 signatures calling for women's right to abortion. The petitions will be turned over to parliament.

Although Loercher just touches on the question of divorce in her article, this is one of the most controversial issues in Italian politics today. Under a law passed in 1970 divorce became legal, but only after five years' official separation. Although still very restrictive, the law has generated tremendous opposition from the Catholic Church hierarchy, the fascists, and the Christian Democrats.

Antidivorce groups collected enough signatures last year to place a referendum on the divorce law on the ballot. The date has not yet been set for the referendum.

When the referendum does come up for a vote, there is sure to be a big battle between divorce opponents and supporters.

THE MILITANT

EW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) C

October 20, 1947

Truman's high-powered and costly propaganda campaign to reduce the food consumption of the American people — The "Eat Less-Waste Less" program — has quickly been revealed as a fraud.

The workers are eating less all right, but that's because prices have taken another spurt since Truman's much-ballyhooed program got under way. In the week ending Oct. 10, the Bureau of Labor Statistics general index of basic commodity prices rose another 1.1 points.

[Secretary of Agriculture Clinton] Anderson admitted that Truman's "Meatless Tuesdays" and "Poultryless and Eggless Thursdays" are pure ballyhoo. Anderson conceded, were "not primarily to save the foods themselves" but were "symbols of sacrifice."

The Truman administration wants to claim credit for trying to "do something" about high prices — everything, in fact, except halt the profiteering and price-gouging by the big food corporations and speculators.

The contention that higher wages and greater food exports are responsible for higher prices was further exploded by Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, who on Oct. 9 put the blame for higher prices on speculation and profiteering. "As a matter of fact," he stated, "wages did not push prices up, but lagged well behind them."

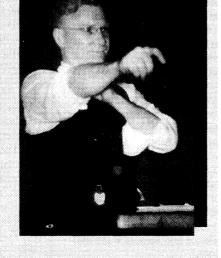
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The Struggle for a Proletarian Party lames P. Cannon \$19.95

In french
Cahiers de formation
communiste

La lutte pour un parti prolétarien [Extraits] James P. Cannon US\$8, CAN\$12, 48FF

Background to 'The Struggle for a Proletarian Party' James P. Cannon, George Clarke, and Leon Trotsky Education for Socialists publication \$6.00



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Defend free speech in Seattle!

With flagrant disdain for democratic rights, the Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission (SEEC) has escalated a fight that is now of national importance to the labor movement and all defenders of civil liberties. The October 8 decision of the SEEC to require the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign to make public the names of its financial contributors is a serious threat to the First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and association protected under the U.S. Constitution. Acting on behalf of the wealthy rulers, the commission's action represents an opening attempt to roll back these hard-won rights around the country.

This fight is especially important for unionists. The party's candidate for Seattle mayor is Scott Breen, a member of the International Association of Machinists employed by The Boeing Company, the largest manufacture of aircraft in the world and a gigantic producer of military weapons. The SEEC ruling takes aim at the tens of thousands of workers who are resisting — through strikes, organizing drives, and on-the-job actions — the decadeslong employer offensive. It sends a clear warning to Breen and other workers at Boeing who want to organize an independent working-class political course, and to speak on the job and in public in the interest of working people around the world. It is a warning to unionists at Boeing to think twice about organizing against company speedup, for increased wages, or in defense of their union.

Undemocratic federal, state, and local laws require election campaign committees to report to election commissions the names, addresses, and employers of those who contribute over a specified amount, which is \$25 in the case of Seattle. These names are available to the public and are therefore a ready-made hit-list for government

agencies, employers, right-wing outfits, and others to wield against those who oppose their policies.

The SEEC's ruling that the socialists have not proven extensive enough harassment in the Seattle area is false to the core. It flies in the face of recent rulings granting the SWP financial reporting exemptions by both the Federal Elections Commission and Washington State's own Public Disclosure Commission. Since the 1970s, when campaign disclosure laws first came into effect, socialists have fought for and won court rulings declaring disclosure unconstitutional when applied to minor parties that can document a past and present record of harassment of their members and supporters. Breen's campaign supplied the commission with a compelling record of harassment from rightwing organizations, government sources, and employers on both a national, state, and local level.

The SWP has fought for and won the right to keep private the names of contributors to its election campaigns, given this long-standing record of hostility. Federal and Supreme Court decisions backed the party's contention that forced disclosure, either to government or private sources, would have a chilling effect on those who may want to support the party. Disclosure under such conditions would be a violation of the freedom of speech and association.

The *Militant* urges unionists, young fighters in labor battles and social protest action, and those who defend democratic rights to join with the Breen campaign in protesting the commission's decision and to support the political and legal fight launched by Breen. Turning back the SEEC decision and winning an exemption is now an important political battle.

Equal rights for immigrants

Continued from front page

and deny legal status to hundreds of thousands who would previously be entitled. These measures aim to deepen the bosses' ability to victimize this layer of the working class.

The ruling rich in the United States go all over the world exploiting labor and expropriating the wealth produced by workers and farmers in the semicolonial countries. Their actions ensure that the vast majority of the world remains "underdeveloped." Workers should have a right to travel and live wherever they can find a livelihood. We stand for a world without borders.

Discrimination against immigrants hurts all workers and working farmers. Keeping a section of the working class in second-class status puts downward pressure on the wages of all. As the capitalist crisis deepens, immigrants are scapegoated as the cause of unemployment and cuts in social services.

The purpose of this propaganda is to further divisions among workers and keep our eyes off the real source of our problems — the system of capitalism, where the profits of a tiny minority are put before the human needs of the vast majority

In this campaign, the Socialist Workers candidates put forward an action program for overcoming the divisions that the capitalist class fosters among toilers so the working class can use its potential power to reorganize society in the interest of the vast majority of humanity.

Both the Teamster strike against UPS and the transit workers strike against Bay Area Rapid Transit in San Francisco landed blows against divisions the bosses have foisted on workers through keeping some at part-time jobs or at permanently lower wages through the two-tier system. These strikes are part of a growing resistance to the

bosses' offensive. The same kind of unity should be extended to fight the attempt to scapegoat immigrants.

The outpouring of popular rage against the police torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima is another example of this working-class resistance. The protests by thousands showed the way forward in fighting for our dignity, and against the widespread police brutality, racism, and scapegoating of immigrants that are a hallmark of the profit system.

The action program that we are presenting aims to unify workers and oppressed peoples to fight for our democratic rights, our living conditions, and for a new society.

* Rescind the reactionary legislation against all immigrants. Stop all deportations now! Open the borders!

* Jobs for all: for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to spread the available work. There is plenty of work to be done from the point of view of human needs. For a massive public works program to build housing, child-care centers, schools, mass transit, clinics, and so on.

* For defense of affirmative action — a gain that was won in the struggle to overcome historic discrimination against Blacks, Chicanos, and women.

* The Third World debt sucks hundreds of billions of dollars every year from semicolonial countries and pours their social wealth into the imperialist banks and other lending institutions. The Socialist Workers Campaign calls on the labor movement take on the fight to cancel the Third World debt.

Our campaign fights for a society where those who collectively create the wealth will also make the decisions on how it is used. We call for a workers and farmers government, the only government that has the will and the interest in carrying out such a program.

Meeting on Che Guevara

Continued from Page 10

and mortarboard. No one could convince him to put it on. He simply draped the gown over his arm," Vecino Alegret reported. The professors felt deeply offended, but the students loved it.

"Shortly afterward, Che went to the University of Oriente in Santiago," he continued. Speaking there to a student body that was still disproportionately white in its social composition, "Che declared that the university 'should be dressed in black and mulatto, like the people of Santiago.'"

At another panel discussion devoted to the topic of "Che and youth," Aleida Guevara March was the featured speaker. She explained Che's view that a socialist society — where private ownership of the factories, fields, and natural resources has been abolished, along with the exploitation of one human being by another — cannot be built by relying on capitalist methods, which perpetuate the old social relations. It must be based on "consciousness and solidarity, not personal selfishness," she emphasized.

During the discussion period, Guevara March responded to a student who questioned the usefulness of voluntary social labor in Cuba today because it is often organized in a bureaucratic manner and results in little productive activity. "Yes, voluntary labor is important in

developing consciousness," she stressed. Agreeing that if not politically led it will become demoralizing and wasteful, she added that voluntary labor is an advance "only if people gain a sense that they are useful in society. The one time I cut sugarcane as part of a mobilization of voluntary work, I developed a deep respect for the cane cutters, the hard work they do, and their contribution to society."

She also noted that some young people today doubt whether it was worth it for hundreds of thousands of Cuban volunteers to have gone to Angola in the 1970s and '80s to help defend that nation's sovereignty against invasion by the apartheid regime. "Did we ask anything in exchange when we went there? No," said Guevara March, who carried out an internationalist mission in Angola as a doctor, as she had also done in Nicaragua. "Our struggle in Cuba is intimately tied to the struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people." The victory in Angola also contributed to Namibia's independence and hastened the end of the apartheid regime, she noted.

Guevara March told the audience that when she traveled to Brazil she saw "a rich country, but one with people living in the streets and children stricken by drugs. Some day there will be a social explosion there." Seeing the conditions there, she concluded, "strengthened the ideas that I have learned through our revolution."

Assassination attempt backfires for Tel Aviv

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

After being exposed for direct involvement in the failed assassination attempt on Hamas leader Khaled Meshal, the Israeli regime was compelled to make concessions to Palestinian liberation fighters. On October 6 Tel Aviv released Ahmed Yassin, the central leader of Hamas, after eight years in prison, as well as 20 other Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails.

On September 25 two Israeli government agents with Canadian passports attacked Meshal from behind in Amman, Jordan, and injected him with a potentially fatal poison. Surviving the agent plot, Meshal called the action Israeli "state terrorism." The two cops were taken into custody by the Jordan government.

King Hussein of Jordan, pressured by opposition forces to not let the violation of Jordanian sovereignty by Tel Aviv go unanswered, demanded that the Israeli government release Yassin and other political prisoners. In return the two agents were freed.

Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu unapologetically defended the actions of Tel Aviv's political police as "justified" and vowed to continue its assault on anti-Zionist rebels.

The release of Yassin and the other prisoners was widely celebrated by Palestinians. More than 10,000 people, many of them young, lined Yarmuk Stadium in Gaza October 6 in a welcome home ceremony for the Yassin. Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat, who met with Yassin after his release in Jordan, remained in the West Bank during the ceremonies.

The assassination attempt against Meshal has brought Netanyahu criticism from many quarters. The Canadian government temporarily withdrew its ambassador to Israel in protest against what it said was the use of forged Canadian passports. Zeev Schiff, a prominent columnist in the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, said the cop bungling "must go down as one of the worst operational failures in the history of Israel's intelligence service."

U.S. officials offered mild criticism over the incident. During a visit of Israeli president Ezer Weizman in Washington October 7, U.S. president William Clinton stated, "I believe that it's important to fight terrorism, but I think it's important to consider in the fight the consequences on all of your allies."

Washington deploys warship to Gulf

Meanwhile, U.S. defense secretary William Cohen, ordered the warship *U.S.S. Nimitz* to speed towards the Arab-Persian Gulf October 3 after warning the governments of Iran and Iraq not to violate the U.S.-enforced "no-fly zone" in southern Iraq.

On September 29 an unnamed Iraqi official alleged that "eight Iranian warplanes raided targets inside our territory in Daiya and Kut provinces." The Iranian government said that they were responding to attacks by the group Mujahdeen Khalq.

"We are trying to send the signal to all parties that we will enforce the no-fly zone," said a U.S. national security council official, threatening to retaliate against any flights by Iranian or Iraqi planes in the area. The "no-fly zone" is a section below the 32 parallel in southern Iraq carved out by Washington, Paris, and London after their 1991 assault on Iraq to supposedly protect Shiite Muslims from Iraqi government attack. The Clinton administration has since pushed the zone deeper into Iraqi territory at the 33rd parallel.

The *U.S.S. Nimitz* — an aircraft carrier with a crew of 5,000 — is hauling nearly 80 aircraft and more than 4.6 million pounds of air-launched missiles and bombs. It is accompanied by six other ships, including two cruisers and an attack submarine.

U.S.-French conflict over Iran oil deal

In other developments in the region, the French energy company Total SA, despite U.S. sanctions on Tehran, is carrying through a \$2 billion investment with the National Iranian Oil Co. to develop part of the South Pars gas field near the border with Qatar. The U.S. Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, passed in 1996, calls on the Clinton administration to impose sanctions on companies in other countries doing business with energy industries in Iran or Libya exceeding \$20 million.

Gazprom, a Russian oil company, has joined with Total SA, Petronas from Malaysia, and Aquitaine, another French company, in the venture. Russian president Boris Yeltsin, warning Washington not to impose sanctions, said, "Interference from any other state is not to be tolerated."

The European Union (EU) and Paris also support Total's venture. EU chairman Leon Brittan said the U.S. government's attempts to deny trade rights for EU countries "risks setting in motion a chain of events which could seriously damage" broader trade relations between capitalists of the two hemispheres.

Washington backed away from the hardened stance against the investment, proposing a Europe-wide waiver if EU governments agree to six international protocols "combating terrorism." At the same time an anonymous senior U.S. official said that a thorough investigation was underway to see if "any sanctionable activity is taking place."

Chemical workers reject contract

BY JENNY BENTON AND MICHAEL PENNOCK

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Members of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 6-418 who work at the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing (3M) plant in Cottage Grove, Minnesota, and members of Local 6-75 at 3M's St. Paul Tape Plant are currently working without a con-

The Cottage Grove local voted September 5, by a margin of 60 - 40, to reject the proposed pact that covers both locals. This is the first time since the early 1970s that this local has rejected a contract. On September 7 the St. Paul local rejected the contract by a 92 - 8 margin.

Negotiations broke off in April because of the company's demand for mandatory overtime and refusal to discuss pensions. In response, workers at the Tape Plant observed a "Work Smart" week, during which the Tape Coatings and 6-Maker departments refused voluntary overtime. That weekend production was canceled due to a lack of staffing. The success of "Work Smart" boosted workers' morale and solidarity.

Negotiations resumed August 25. A proposed contract was presented to workers in both plants September 4. The company's offer was a raise for most production workers of 54 cents per hour for each of the three years, and 64 cents for most maintenance workers. This is a 3 percent raise for the first year and a decreasing percentage for the following years. Monthly medical and dental premiums were moderately increased.

One of the main reasons given by work-

ers for rejecting the contract was the perception of an inadequate raise in pensions over an already inadequate plan. In addition, medical premiums for retirees would go up to \$69 per retiree per month and another \$69 per month for their spouse in 2001.

During the presentation of the contract at the ratification meeting at the Cottage Grove local, it was reported by the committee that this was 3M's "last and best offer." The one worker to speak in the discussion asserted that this was what UPS told the Teamsters during their bargaining talks, and look how the Teamsters won a better contract. Loud applause greeted his remarks.

In St. Paul signs were posted around the plant prior to the ratification vote reading "VOTE NO! What an insult!" These were quickly taken down by management. On the door of the high school where the ratification meeting was held, a sign was posted informing workers of Cottage Grove's rejection of the contract.

At 12:01 a.m. on September 8, workers no longer had a contract. St. Paul workers organized another "Work Smart" to last until negotiations resume. Midnight shift workers, generally the youngest and lowest seniority workers, took the lead.

By the second day, 100 percent were honoring the program. One worker explained, "If we don't sacrifice now, we'll never get a decent contract." A worker with more than 20 years seniority said, "I've never seen this kind of solidarity in all the years I've worked

Some workers in Cottage Grove have also taken up the "Work Smart" idea. In Build-

Health-care workers rally for contract



Tens of thousands of members of Local 1199 of the National Health and Human Service Employees Union marched in Manhattan September 16. The health-care workers are campaigning for a new contract at hospitals and nursing homes.

ing 15, site of a major chemical release in April, 25 of the 26 workers have vowed not to work voluntary overtime until a new contract is approved.

Negotiations have not resumed on Octo-

ber 6.

Jenny Benton is a member of OCAW local 6-75 in St. Paul and Michael Pennock is a member of local 6-418 in Cottage Grove.

- LETTERS

New position on NAFTA? Doug Jenness' "Discussion With

Our Readers" column in issue number 28 of the Militant fell short of setting the record straight with respect to the stance that the Militant has advocated towards imperialist trade pacts.

Jenness implies that the Militant has taken a consistent position of opposition to imperialist trade pacts, and he cites the article "Imperialism's March Towards Fascism and War" in New International no. 10 as an example of that position. He paraphrases that article's author in stating, "Working people clearly cannot be neutral toward a pact (the North American Free Trade Agreement — NAFTA) with such devastating consequences for exploited producers.'

Imperialist trade pacts like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, and the European Economic Union are frequently discussed and debated in the unions and other working class organizations. In Canada, the Canada-U.S. agreement, ratified in 1989, I believe, and the 1994 NAFTA are often cited by workers as the source of the capitalist economic crisis itself. The Militant has done a good job in explaining how these agreements codify the trends in capitalist trade and investment patterns and political/military alliances and are not the source of the crisis per se. It has argued why workers should reject any opposition to these pacts that would be based on a nationalist, pro-capitalist outlook. But it has stopped short of arguing that workers should oppose these pacts, and along what lines. The articles and editorials on the subject have avoided a specific stand on the trade agreements, all the while putting forward a program to unite workers and farmers against the capitalist offensive — shorter work week with no loss in pay, defend and extend social programs, eliminate the debt burden on the countries oppressed by imperialism, etc.

There are many examples of this dichotomy in the pages of the Militant. At the time of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, the Militant published several polemical opinion columns stating that under no circumstances should the unions or other working class organizations campaign the against agreement. An opinion article from Canada in the May 24, 1991 issue entitled "Union tops stand on Mexico trade pact is blow to labor" put forward a valuable program of

struggle to unite workers in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, but said nothing about whether the trade agreement itself should be op-

An October 11, 1993 opinion column was headlined "Why 'Stop NAFTA' campaign won't save jobs" and argued, "By campaigning against NAFTA, the bosses' agents split workers on two sides of a river" (U.S.-Mexico). A December 12, 1994 editorial on issues behind trade disputes among member countries of GATT was entitled, "GATT: a dispute among bosses.

A front page opinion piece in the November 29, 1993 issue reporting on the adoption of NAFTA by the U.S. government concluded, "The debate on the trade agreement is entirely a dispute over how the capitalist rulers can best drive down the working class in North America and compete with other capitalists abroad.

"Workers and working farmers have no stake in any of the arguments for or against NAFTA, whether those of Clinton, Perot, Buchanan, or the AFL-CIO bureau-

255 HAMB: WOR ALM Larsdo AFTER 27 LIGHT YEARS ON THE INTERGALACTIC HIGHWAY ZOLDAR FOOLISHLY PLOTS LANDING CO: ORDINATES 2 MILES FROM THE MEXICAN BORDER IN A PLACE CALLED TEXAS!

The article in New International no. 10 cited by Jenness is a guide to understanding NAFTA and other imperialist trade agreements. But it does not propose that workers should fight the agreements per se, nor how this could be done. Several readers of that article with whom I have discussed have drawn from the following sentences in the article the idea that there is something historically progressive about NAFTA. "Putting aside the demagogy of NAFTA's bourgeois proponents and opponents alike, however, the accelerated industrialization in Mexico and elsewhere in the Americas is swelling the ranks of the industrial working class and generating even larger immigration flows into the United States. It is expanding and strengthening the battalions of capitalism's gravediggers on both sides of the Rio Bravo.'

A few pages later, the article states, "Overall, the bourgeoisie's privatization campaign and Washington's 'free trade' offensive in large parts of the Third World will accelerate the inevitable and increase the social and political weight and leadership of the working class. Our class will emerge in a stronger position to take part in giant class battles between the urban and rural toilers and radicalizing youth, on the one side of the barricades, and the exploiting and parasitic classes, on the other." It would be more accurate to state that the working class will emerge in a stronger position only to the extent that it organizes to fight the capitalists' profit drive, including their trading agreements and all their consequences.

Roger Annis Vancouver, British Columbia

Safety on the railroad

Your article by Kay Sedam on rail safety reminded me of an incident following the June 7 CSX train crash in Scary, West Virginia. It is typical of the rail bosses arrogant attitude toward workers on the trains and in the communities affected by railroad 'accidents'. CSX sent company people to Putnam County and handed out checks for \$100 to residents who agreed to sign forms promising not to sue the railroad. The crash, a head-on collision of two trains, killed the engineer on the train. It also ignited a chemical tanker fire that burned for five days and forced people in Scary hollow to stay in their homes.

Some 300 people fled their homes right after the crash. Only people who had so stay in their homes were eligible for the \$100 bribe. In spite of CSX's best efforts, a class-action lawsuit was filed against the railroad shortly after the crash.

Rich Stuart Birmingham, Alabama

BART strike settlement

Reduced pay for new hires and longer periods of time necessary for new hires to reach full pay were among the major concessions given up by the United Auto Workers in the last

two or three contracts with the Big Three auto manufacturers. Thus it's very heartening to see the BART workers in the Bay Area go on strike against this concession in their contract and push it back (Militant, September 29).

The article indicates that in the proposed transit workers agreement, although new hires continue to receive lower starting wages, the time needed to reach full pay is shortened (to 3 or 4 years rather than 6). Yet twice in the article it says the two-tier system was "ended" or "eliminated." Based on the information given in the article, it seems to me the subhead — which says the two-tier system was "push(ed) back" — is more correct.

Bob Braxton Atlanta, Georgia

The letters column is an open

forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers.Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Albania: workers discuss rebellion

Working-class revolt created new obstacles in attempt to restore capitalism

BY BOBBIS MISALIDES AND NATASHA TERLEXIS

VLORE, Albania — "These are the city limits of Vlore," said Artur Xhafaj as we entered this port city in southern Albania on the bumpy road from Fier in late September. "Berisha's men never made it past this point," he stated, since the start of the working-class rebellion that shook this country in the first half of this year. The openly pro-imperialist Sali Berisha, Albania's former president, is no longer in office as a result of the revolt. The roadblock working people erected to guard the city is currently manned by uniformed police.

Now, seven months later, the city of Vlore gives the appearance of returning to normalcy. The central paved streets are full of people since early morning. Students pack the city buses on the way to school. Women are at work sweeping the central streets and piles of garbage are being burned here and there. The open air markets are stocked with basic necessities brought by truck from Greece and by boat from Italy at steep prices. It is hard to walk very far without seeing a construction sight or repairs being made. Scores of unemployed men spend their day in the cafes that line the main avenue. Cars cruise the streets until after dark and there is generally no sound of Kalashnikovs.

'This peace is deceptive," said Edmond Tahirai, a leader of the Committee for the Salvation of Vlore, in an interview here. The committee is one of the popular citizens councils that emerged during the armed rebellion, which was centered in Vlore, and took over control of many cities in the south.

The revolt began in January when fraudulent investment funds promoted by Berisha's regime, called "pyramids," collapsed and hundreds of thousands of working people lost their life savings. Workers, farmers, students, and others took to the streets to demand compensation from the state and to protest the already heavy burden of the government's "market reforms," as well as the police repression unleashed by Berisha. The government lost control of one-third of the country, Albania's army and police were effectively dissolved for a time, and jails were thrown open. Residents of many towns, especially in the south, attacked agents of the hated secret police, the SHIK, and burned down police stations.

A coalition government of the Socialist Party (SP) and Berisha's Democratic Party (DP) was cobbled together, and called elections in June and July that were held in the midst of an occupation by Italian, Greek, and other imperialist troops. The SP, which won the elections, played a central role in collaboration with Berisha — in inviting the imperialist powers to intervene and help authorities quell the rebellion.

Working people are still armed

Since coming to power, Prime Minister Fatos Nano's regime has set out to "restore order and stability," a precondition imperialist powers in Europe and North America have set before extending new loans and other credits to Tirana.

The Nano government set a deadline of September 30 for the population of Albania to return the weapons — taken from the army's stores during the rebellion — under threat of heavy penalties. Most of the heavy

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arms, such as tanks and antiaircraft guns, are now back under government control. Kalashnikov rifles and small arms are an entirely different matter.

"The most serious problem we face is the collection of arms," stated Platon Arapi, the

prefect of the region of Fier. Speaking to *Militant* reporters September 24, he said that throughout Albania approximately 600,000 arms were taken, and only "10 - 12 percent have been retrieved" by the state. Albania's interior minister Neritan Ceka stated recently that 1,200 of the country's 1,500 army depots were destroyed during the revolt. He also said that 1,311 people were killed, including 52 policemen, and 1,450 were wounded. Arapi stated that



shall wipe them away from the surface of

The president of the parliament, Skender

Giinousi, left open "the possibility of

Berisha standing trial for the crimes com-

mitted by his regime," in a statement to the

the earth by democratic means."

Militant photos by Natasha Terlexis

Above, a crowd at Flamur Square in Vlore June 30 cheers the ousting of former Albanian president Sali Berisha. During the uprising, many buildings were damaged. Left, a worker rebuilds in Vlore.

Albanian daily Koha Jone. Such a step would be a breach of the accords between the two parties that formed the basis for the earlier coalition government. Nano was jailed for four years by the Berisha regime on alleged corruption charges. The call for Berisha to stand trial for the hundreds of people his police forces killed during the rebellion in February and March was a central demand of the rebel councils.

Conflicts between the SP and DP further deepened during a recent discussion in parliament on increasing the Value Added Tax (VAT), which will hit working people the most. During the parliamentary debate on September 16, SP member Gafur Mazrehu shot and seriously wounded Azem Hajdari of the DP. The following day the offices of the SP in the northern city of Shkoder, where Berisha's party has a large base of support, were largely destroyed by a bomb.

The new tax package passed by the SPdominated parliament is one of the measures pushed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a condition for loans. The law, which will raise VAT to 20 percent from 12.5 percent, was introduced by Finance Minister Arben Malaj as "the shortest and quickest route" to cut the budget deficit and hold down inflation, currently running at an annual rate of nearly 33 percent.

'Market reforms' bring devastation

Albania, still largely an agricultural country, is the poorest country of Europe, with a per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of \$340 a year. The capitalist "market reforms" of the previous regimes by the SP and DP, which qualitatively deepened the economic and social problems created by the antiworking-class methods of planning and management by Hoxha's Stalinist regime, have devastated Albania's economy.

As of 1993, some 92 percent of the land cultivated by collectives under Hoxha's reign and 62 percent of the state-owned farms were turned over to individuals. Ownership of the land by foreign capitalist investors is still prohibited by law. The small parcels of land the farmers received amounted to an average 3.7 acres. Without any credit, fertilizers, or access to machinery, cultivation of the land came to a standstill in large areas of the country. An exporter of agricultural products in the 1980s, Albania now imports about half of its needed goods.

Measures to denationalize state-owned industries also had devastating consequences for working people. Most of the country's factories shut down production, throwing hundreds of thousands of work-

ers in the streets. Unemployment benefits are \$15 a month for the 300,000 people who do not have jobs. The average monthly wage of Albania's 550,000 workers, out of a population of 3.2 million, is between \$60 -\$80, while social security for retirees was

\$30 in the cities and \$7 in the countryside in 1995. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Albanians emigrated to neighboring countries in the 1990s in search

Despite the ambitious privatization plans of Berisha's government, large-scale industries such as mining, oil refining, electric power, and others remain state owned. With Berisha discredited, the imperialists of Greece, Italy, and other governments rushed to give support to Nano's government. Although most of the 7,000 imperialist troops that occupied the country between April and August have left Albania, the Italian, Greek, and Turkish governments are maintaining hundreds of soldiers and "advisers" to help Nano's government reorganize its army and police forces. Athens also promised to extend a \$20-

million loan.

Albanians debate outcome of revolt

Working people and youth are discussing the evolution of their revolt, weighing what they gained and the next steps to take in the struggle to regain the money they lost in the pyramids. "This was not a revolt. It was two or three gangs of thieves killing each other. Only criminals and politicians were out on the streets of Vlore for three months," declared Sezai Bazaj, the rector of the University of Vlore.

A group students waiting for their exam results in the lobby of the university had different opinions. Aida Malasi, a fourthyear nursing student, participated in the events leading up to the armed insurrection. She was one of the dozens of students who began a hunger strike in February. "We did it for our three demands," she explained. "That Berisha resign, that we get back the money taken by the pyramid firms, and transparency in government." Only one of the demands was won, she said, Berisha is out. "The fight we began was taken out of our hands by the politicians."

Bitterness against the main political parties that have alternated in power since the opening of the 1990s runs deep.

"They have promised many things — all lies," stated Edmond Tahiraj. "I am a member of the Socialist Party, but nevertheless I believe they are setting up a new dictatorship." Looking back at the experience and the two members of his family who were killed in the events, he concluded, "If we knew things would turn out this way, we would never have supported the political parties.... Vlore has sworn not to surrender the arms before the money is returned. This is a matter of life and death, and the gov-

ernment should think it through carefully."
"The revolt was beautiful!" said Andi, a 15-year-old high school student who gave only his first name. "But then the politicians manipulated the protests to their own advantage. Both the SP and DP are the same.'

Some are willing to give the new government a longer honeymoon. "We had the guns because Berisha did not understand words," said Albert Shyti, a leader of the Committee for the Salvation of Vlore, "Now we don't need guns to talk.

We asked them to finish what we started," said Shyti, "now we have to see if they respect us or if they made a deal with Berisha." Shyti said the new government "will do whatever the United States and European Union tell them. Money will be given then by other countries to build roads, factories, hotels, and life can begin to func-

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Prefecture secretary Vladimir Shehu pointed to the village of Leven, outside Fier,

where during the insurrection 17 people, "including 13 members of the worst criminal gang in the region," were killed in a shoot-out. Some of the rebels have now been hired onto the police force, in an effort to increase people's confidence in it.

road blocks would continue to be used to

look for concealed arms, but that there were

no plans to search people's homes or take

other measures of that type. "We are trying

to convince people to hand them over.

People have to feel that they are secure."

The police have to be strengthened, he said.

Crisis of ruling caste

The revolt threw the rule of the bureaucratic caste in Albania — the privileged social layer that has held sway in that country since the degeneration of the socialist revolution half a century ago - into deep crisis. During the revolution of the 1940s, workers and farmers overthrew capitalist property relations and nationalized basic industry, the banks, and the land; gave land to the peasants; charted a course towards industrial development; and founded an Albania free from imperialist domination for the first time — establishing a workers state. The privileged social layer that early on usurped political power out of the hands of the toiling majority was represented until the early 1990s by the Stalinist Albanian Workers Party, or Communist Party, headed by Enver Hoxha. The SP and the DP both hail from the Communist Party and represent competing sections of that same social layer. The Democratic Party calls for a rapid restoration of capitalism, while the SP leaders describe themselves as social democrats.

The DP suffered various splits even before the June elections. Recently another central DP leader, Pjeter Arbnori, has organized a public faction in the party against Berisha. Arbnori has denounced the corruption of Berisha's previous regime. The DP has been boycotting parliament and organizing daily protests since September 19, demanding Nano's resignation. The DP and SP fiercely blame each other for the crisis ushered by the rebellion. Calling the Nano government "a gang of bandits, thieves, traffickers, and killers," Berisha said that "we

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