

Attacks by Salvadoran regime bring mounting civilian toll

Towns bombed, priests assassinated

BY GREG McCARTAN

"They are bombing on top of us. Tell them to take away the airplanes," a woman in a working-class neighborhood of San Salvador told a reporter. "They are tearing us to pieces."

Refusing calls for a cease-fire by religious leaders, the U.S.-backed government of El Salvador stepped up its use of helicopters and C-47 gunships to machine-gun, bomb, and rocket whole neighborhoods.

On November 21 rebel forces occupied sections of the El Salvador Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador. Among the hotel residents were eight heavily armed U.S. military advisers and Green Berets.

Calling the occupation of the hotel "an outrageous act of terrorism, putting civilians at risk," State Department spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater said the U.S. government was considering "all options, including military ones." A special U.S. military unit, Delta Force, was readied to intervene.

Operating under the cover of a dusk-to-dawn curfew, 30 people in military uniforms — widely believed to be either from the army or a right-wing death squad — invaded the country's most prestigious university on November 16 and assassinated six Jesuit priests, the housekeeper, and her daughter.

The priests were well-known for their efforts in the country. This included publishing works from around the region, seeking a political solution to the war, and documenting

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Relief workers evacuate residents of Conacaste neighborhood in San Salvador November 13. José Vallejo lies wounded after his house was rocketed by Salvadoran air force.

Thousands protest U.S. aid to regime

BY RONI McCANN

Thousands of people in protests across the United States have issued a resounding "No!" to the U.S. government's continued, full-fledged support — to the tune of some \$1.4 million a day — of military rule in El Salvador.

Students, unionists, church officials, political activists, city government representatives, and immigrant workers, many from Central and Latin America, are loudly voicing their outrage at the criminal actions of the Salvadoran government and calling on Washington to halt all aid to that regime.

A spokesperson in the national office of the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) reported on November 20 that protests have taken place in more than 100 cities since the fighting began No-

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Pact reached in 16-week NYNEX strike

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

BOSTON — A tentative settlement of the 16-week strike by the Communication Workers of America (CWA) against NYNEX telephone company was announced November 21. Members of both the CWA and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) struck NYNEX August 6.

An initial regional accord covering health

insurance and wages was reached on November 13. Negotiations broke down over local issues, especially the company's refusal to grant amnesty to 142 CWA members. The union demanded that the suspension or dismissal of workers during the strike be set aside. Charges ranged from assault and battery and destruction of property to intimidation and harassment.

In addition to the workers victimized during the walkout, one striker was killed shortly after the strike began. The CWA member, Edward Horgan, was struck by a car being driven through a picket line by a scab in Valhalla, some 30 miles north of New York City.

In the November 21 accord, the CWA negotiating committee agreed to review each striker's dismissal on a case-by-case basis.

The regional agreement, which has to be voted on by CWA members, covers 60,000 workers — 40,000 CWA members in New York State and another 2,000 CWA and 18,000 IBEW members in New England.

The IBEW negotiating committee had recommended accepting both the original regional and local pacts, and a vote took place November 19.

Some 13,000 IBEW members voted. On the regional proposal, which covers basic wages and health benefits, the proposal passed by 9,000 to 4,000. The local agreement passed by a narrower margin, around 8,000 to 5,000. Under the local agreement, the cases of dozens of IBEW members who have been suspended or fired for strike activity will be arbitrated on a case-by-case basis.

IBEW members have now returned to work. Unity between the two unions on the regional pact was key, explained one CWA official, who said CWA members understood the IBEW's decision to go back after agreeing to the proposals. The IBEW will continue to honor picket lines that the CWA is setting up at two worksites in Boston.

Fight over health insurance

The proposed regional settlement represents a victory for the unions on the main issue in the strike — the company's demand that workers begin to pay up to \$1,500 for their medical insurance, a demand known as "cost shifting." Under the proposed agreement, workers will not pay health insurance premiums currently paid by the company.

Union members also won wage increases of 6 percent over three years and a cost-of-living adjustment in the second and third years if inflation exceeds 2% annually. The

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Pathfinder mural dedicated in New York



Pathfinder mural in New York is completed. Some 400 people gathered for celebration November 19. Dedication drew artists, political activists, strikers, and many other supporters of the international project. See story on page 5.

Militant/Margrethe Siem

Toronto Cuba supporters welcome Tablada

BY ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO — Cuban economist Carlos Tablada addressed one of the biggest political meetings ever held in Canada in defense of the Cuban revolution when he spoke to an audience of 225 people here on November 11.

The meeting, sponsored by the Pathfinder Bookstore, celebrated the publication in English of Tablada's book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* by Pathfinder. The meeting was translated into English and Spanish.

Tablada was introduced by Nadia Geith,

president of the Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association.

Mary-Ellen Marus — a member of the International Association of Machinists who chaired the meeting — outlined the main theme of Tablada's book and of the gathering: Ernesto Che Guevara's insistence that building socialism must involve more than transforming and developing the economy; human beings must transform themselves as well.

Michel Prairie, editor of the new Pathfinder French-language edition of *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Che Guevara, explained how the Cuban toilers' self-confidence and social solidarity increased through their in-

volvement in the growing movement of tens of thousands of voluntary workers.

Lennox Farrell, a leader of Rally Against Apartheid who participated in a tour to Cuba this summer, explained that what's important about Cuba's voluntary labor movement "is not just the changes you bring about in the course of building a socialist society, but what changes inside you."

Zaheer Bhyat of the African National Congress of South Africa, praised the decisive role of the 300,000 Cuban volunteers who went to Angola over the past 14 years to help defend that country's independence in the face of South African aggression.

Maxine Jones, a striking community college teacher and provincial executive board member of the 60,000-strong Ontario Public Service Employees Union, asked the audience to "try to imagine Michael Wilson, Canada's finance minister, asking workers to work for eight hours for no pay." No one would respond, she pointed out. The fact that "last week, half a million Cubans did just that" underlines the fundamental difference between Cuba, a society organized to meet human needs, and Canada, which is not.

Jones quoted Guevara from Tablada's book on the kind of society he fought for: "It is not a matter of how many pretty things from abroad you can buy. . . . It is a matter of making the individual feel more complete, with much more internal richness and much more responsibility."

Guevara's ideas timely

"Che's ideas are timely," given what's happening in today's world, Tablada told the meeting. When Guevara, as minister of industry, began his study of how to develop socialism in Cuba, Tablada explained, he foresaw that if capitalist methods and capitalist-style incentives continued to be used in the "socialist countries" that this would have "very damaging consequences. Che's thinking showed how political economy could be humanized."

In the mid-1970s, the Cuban government began to copy the economic model developed in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Tablada explained. This led to social, political, and, eventually, economic problems. The rectification process launched in Cuba by the Communist Party in 1986 aims at correcting these errors, he said. The goal is to increase the participation of the Cuban people in the development of a socialist society, and to fight for "the full development of the individual, not individualism and selfishness."

The January 1990 congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions will deepen the discussion on the involvement of workers in economic planning, he said.

"Communism is not some far off dream," Tablada declared. "Socialism is possible and in Cuba we're going to continue building it." His remarks were greeted with a standing ovation.

Other speakers at the meeting included Pastor Valle-Garay, Canadian representative of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua; Keith Brown from Canadian Action for Nicaragua; and Linda Grobovsky, from the Canada-Cuba Cultural Interchange. Five Cubans from the Embassy of Cuba in Ottawa, the consulate in Toronto, and one from the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs were introduced to warm applause.

The Toronto meeting to promote Tablada's book was the third in a series of four organized by Pathfinder in Canada.

Tablada also addressed five university audiences on the Ontario leg of his cross-Canada tour.

Unionists to miners: 'Your war is our war'

BY NANCY BROWN

CARTERTON, Va. — Unionists and strike supporters from six states arrived here at Camp Solidarity November 15 and attended the weekly Pittston strike support rally.

Some 1,700 miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America, have been on strike against Pittston Coal Group since April 5 in Virginia and West Virginia. The two hundred Pittston miners in Kentucky joined the walkout a few weeks later. The 10-acre camp is near some of Pittston's biggest operations in southwest Virginia and serves as a strike support center.

Two striking Eastern Airlines workers — myself and flight attendant Sandra Palmer — joined other airport workers and strike supporters from Washington, D.C., to visit the camp. Our trip coincided with a caravan of unionists driving in from other parts of Virginia, organized by the state AFL-CIO.

As soon as we arrived, Pittston striker Joel Phillips welcomed us to Camp Solidarity. Phillips had been in Washington, D.C., two days earlier for the national AFL-CIO convention. He took us to the picket line at Pittston's Moss No. 3 coal-processing plant, the site of numerous strike activities, including a mid-September 80-hour takeover by miners.

Harley Harliss, a Pittston striker from Logan County, West Virginia, was on duty at the picket shack. He filled us in on the recent mobilizations by miners there to prevent Pittston from running coal. Strikers in Logan face court injunctions limiting pickets, and several have been arrested as authorities try to enforce the court orders.

Harliss said Logan County miners are setting up their own camp in preparation for Pittston's plans to resume mining there.

Virginia strikers face the same restrictions. As another group of strike supporters arrived at the Moss No. 3 picket shack, we had to leave since no more than 20 persons can be at the shacks. As we left, two Virginia state police cruisers pulled up with video cameras to count the people present. Strikers said that one-third of the state's police force is as-



Miners' takeover of Pittston's Moss No. 3 coal-processing plant in September. Pickets are now limited to 20 at gates.

signed to this area.

Back at the camp, unionists were arriving for the rally. There were strike supporters from cities across Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and New Jersey, as well as Washington, D.C. Elaine Harris, from the Communications Workers of America union in Charleston, West Virginia, said that 85 CWA members had come down. Members of the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) came from throughout the Shenandoah Valley. There were 12 steelworkers from Newport News, Virginia, along with Teamsters, rubber workers, and letter carriers.

More than 50 cars and trucks left from the campgrounds to nearby St. Paul for the rally, which was attended by 600 people. It was the first such rally held with the UMW as an official member of the AFL-CIO. The miners' union was voted in at the federation's national convention November 13-16. David Laws, president of the Virginia AFL-CIO,

welcomed the mine union into the organization amidst cheers.

Jim Stroup from CWA Local 2205 in Newport News, who coordinated the Virginia caravan, said, "I've been in the CWA, a telephone worker for 32 years in Newport News, but I feel at home today."

"I'm proud of what you're doing — your war is my war!" He presented the mine union with a check for \$5,000.

Union after union then got up and presented donations to the Pittston strikers. Sheetmetal workers from Richmond, Virginia, brought \$4,500 from local unions. The IUE members brought money and truckloads of food. United Food and Commercial Workers union members from Local 1262 in Clifton, New Jersey, had sent 30,000 pounds of food and toys for Christmas. Teamsters in Hopewell, Virginia, raised \$9,249 and gave half of it to Pittston strikers and half to Eastern strikers. In all, more than \$20,000 was donated at the rally.

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A visit to northern Namibia: heartland of SWAPO support

BY SELVA NEBBIA

OSHAKATI, Namibia — Under the supervision of the United Nations, Namibians have elected a Constituent Assembly of 72. The assembly will soon meet to draft and approve a constitution and set the date for Namibia's independence.

Namibia, a country of 1.5 million in southwest Africa, has been under colonial rule for more than a century. Awarded to South Africa after World War I, Namibia has been ruled by South Africa since. Previously, it was a German colony.

As a result of the military defeat suffered by the apartheid regime last year in Cuito Cuanavale, Angola, Pretoria was forced to begin the implementation of UN Resolution 435 (approved by the United Nations in 1978), outlining steps for Namibia's independence.

The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) won more than 57 percent of the popular vote during the November elections.

The highest concentration of the Namibian population is in the northern part of the country. SWAPO received more than 90 percent of the vote here in the area known as Ovamboland, bordering Angola. This region was the main battle front during the 23 years of armed struggle between the fighters of SWAPO's People's Liberation Army of Namibia and South African military forces.

As one approaches Ovamboland, the blue, green, and red flags of SWAPO can be seen flying from trees and masts in the *eumbos* lined along Route B 1 — the main road that runs from southern to northern Namibia. Eumbo is the traditional extended family dwelling of the farmers in the area.

Surrounded by a fence made of narrow tree trunks split in half, the eumbo is made up of a series of *ondumba-yomwiidi*, separate straw-roofed round rooms. Each room serves a specific function: sleeping, cooking, or grinding corn. There are special storage areas for corn, water, milk, and dried meat. For some residents, housing consists of one-room homes built of corrugated metal, generally windowless.

In the small villages along Route B 1, bottle stores — liquor stores — are frequent, with names such as Beverly Hills, Country Club, or Good Times.

The land is arid and riverbeds are dry. The

vegetation consists mainly of small bushes and dry grass. For most of the year, little rain falls. In December the rains come, and for a few months the rivers run and the land turns green. Floods are frequent.

Sorghum and corn is grown during that time and stored for the long dry season. Most farmers raise cows, goats, sheep, pigs, and donkeys. Vehicles along the roads here often have to stop while animals cross.

"We are farmers," explained Sou-lee Sheya, a young woman from the area near Uukwamudhi. "We work very hard. We produce our own food and raise goats. Most of the time it's dry, our big concern is water. We produce during the rainy season, and store food for the dry season," she said describing life here. Money is not widely used by most farmers.

"Our big problem is colonialism," said Sheya, 19. "We need to be independent to build housing and other things we need. Health conditions are very bad," she said, "Well for the whites it's O.K., but for the rest of us not."

The daughter of farmers, Sheya is studying on a scholarship in East Germany to become a doctor. She was here on a school break to participate in the elections. "Most children in this area cannot go to school. Many live very far from the nearest school. I was lucky to live near the school."

The illiteracy rate in Namibia is estimated at between 60 and 70 percent. Schools and hospitals are racially segregated.

Herds usually led by young children gather at the water holes, where women and children also come for water. Women and young girls carry the water in containers balanced on their heads back to their homes. Most homes have no running water or electricity.

The land is sandy and winds sweep the terrain. While I was here a few showers fell, but the water quickly evaporated and seemed never to reach the ground.

The SWAPO flags on the eumbos are recent additions to the landscape. "Before April," explained Hafeni, 27, "to raise the SWAPO flag was illegal. There was a curfew from dawn to dusk." The curfew had been in effect for more than 10 years.

Oshakati is the main town here. Namibians living in town work mainly in the shops and in services. A meat-packing plant employs about 300 workers.



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Waiting to vote in Ondangwa polling station near Oshakati, November 7.

Among the many unemployed workers are "returnees," part of the more than 41,000 exiles who came back to Namibia from 46 countries after June as part of the UN agreement. The accord granted political exiles total amnesty.

The white neighborhood in Oshakati is a fenced-in enclave, with armed guards at the gate. Though most are now empty, the large homes with well-kept gardens stand in sharp contrast to those of Namibians who are Black. Every one of the homes in this enclave has its own bunker, built with sand bags, reminding the visitor of the war that recently was fought in this area.

Many of the polling sites in Ovambo were set up in school buildings. Next to many of the schools are military installations. The South African military forces built their bases next to schools so that in the event of an

attack, civilians would also be threatened.

One of the polling places I visited was at the Ponghosi secondary school where in September 1987 students initiated a boycott to protest the killing of two students by a mortar shell that fell on the school. The students demanded the removal of military bases near the schools. This boycott soon spread to the rest of the country.

As you travel further north, to the border town of Oshikango, the landscape more dramatically reveals the effects of the war. The burned stumps of trees line the road. On both sides of the Angolan border, what were once brick houses have been left in ruins. "South Africa used chemical defoliants in this area," explained Hafeni, who was born in the area near Oshakati.

Now UN troops from Malaysia guard the border on the Namibian side. Troops of the Angolan armed forces stand guard on the other side of the border.

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ST. LOUIS:

Speaker: **Jack Barnes** National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party
Friday, November 24, 7:30 p.m.
Sheraton-St. Louis Hotel — West Ballroom
910 North 7th St. (near Convention Center)

NEW YORK:

Doug Jenness Editor of the **Militant**
Saturday, December 2, 7:00 p.m.
Public School 11, 314 West 21 St.
(between 8th & 9th aves., Manhattan)

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA:

Mary-Alice Waters Editor of **New International**
Saturday, December 9, 7:00 p.m.
Travelodge, 250 Beach St. at Mason,
on Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco.
Sponsored by Militant Labor Forums.

These forums are part of three political conferences the Socialist Workers Party will host over the next few weeks. In **St. Louis, November 24-26**, socialist activists from the Appalachian and western coal-mining regions, the South, and Midwest will be meeting. Socialists on the East Coast will meet in **New York, December 2-3**. Activists from California, Pacific Northwest, and Southwest will attend a conference in **San Francisco, December 9-10**.

Contribute to the Pathfinder Fund

Pathfinder Press publishes writings and speeches by communist and working-class fighters such as Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Malcolm X, Maurice Bishop, Thomas Sankara, Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon, Nelson Mandela, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky.

To carry out its ambi-

tious program of publishing and promotion of revolutionary books and pamphlets, Pathfinder launched a \$150,000 fund in August.

So far **\$132,000** has been collected. The deadline for completing the fund is December 1. Please contribute as generously as possible.

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Abortion rights activists support Curtis defense

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year jail term at the state prison in Anamosa, Iowa, on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048,

Many rally participants offered donations for the defense effort. A total of \$140 was collected and supporters of the defense committee distributed more than 2,000 leaflets on Curtis' case.

Supporters of Curtis from New York to Des Moines helped staff the table. Nan Bailey of Des Moines spoke on behalf of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at a post-rally open house sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist

term before he can be paroled.

"What Mark Curtis was trying to do at Swift/Monfort, to unify the workers and strengthen the union, is what I'm trying to do in the packinghouses here," Johnny MacGraw, a United Food and Commercial Workers shop steward said. He spoke to a November 4 rally in defense of Mark Curtis held in Omaha, Nebraska, at the Chicano Awareness Center.

"We haven't had a raise in nine years. Only cuts and deductions, no cost of living raises," MacGraw explained. The bosses "are trying to destroy our union. If Mark is a packinghouse activist, he's a righteous guy," he said.

Rita Melgares, a central leader in the fight to defend Chicano activist Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, chaired the meeting. Martinez was framed-up in 1973 on letter-bomb charges. Melgares explained that after a 15-year defense effort Martinez was cleared of all charges and regained

his law license last May. "What happened to Mark, tomorrow could happen to us. We have to raise our voices in unison against this frame-up and against the prohibition of certain materials that are not in the English language," she said.

"To remain politically active in prison, Mark needs our help," Marjorie Farmer, an activist who aids Central American refugees, said. "Let's help Mark Curtis remove those barriers between prisoners so they can share all literature."

Hafeni Hatutale, the Midwest regional coordinator of the South West Africa People's Organisation, likened Curtis' fight for justice to the fight to free Nelson Mandela and other South African political prisoners, and to the frame-ups and imprisonment of many SWAPO members by the apartheid regime. "The struggle does not end when they lock up one of us. When they silence one of us, the rest must continue to work in his place. When they feel that having one of these people behind bars causes them more trouble, they'll let them out. This is the power of the struggle which will win," he said.

The keynote speaker at the rally, Alfredo Alvarez, explained that he became an endorser of the defense effort because "if it could happen to Mark Curtis, it could happen to any of us. I believe this is a case with national and international implications. Until more of us come out and take a stand to say, 'No more Mark Curtises! No more injustices!' then this society can never be a free society." Alvarez is the chairperson of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission.

Joe Swanson, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke about the party's recent victory over a 10-year harassment suit financed and organized by an antilabor outfit known as the Workers League. Swanson underscored the victory and explained how it has helped Curtis' supporters turn back the Workers League's attempts to peddle the cops' frame-up of Curtis and disrupt the defense effort.

A message of support from farm leader Merle Hansen was read at the rally. *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* video was shown. More than \$300 was contributed to the defense effort.

"On behalf of the Executive Board of the Salt Lake branch of the NAACP, I am pleased to be here to speak in support of Mark Curtis, because we believe in justice, and not just us," Lenoris Bush told a Salt Lake City rally in support of Curtis on November 12. Bush is the first vice-president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People branch.

The rally was held at the AFL-CIO's Union Labor Center and featured the Utah premiere of *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, which had a marked impact on the speakers and the audience. "Everyone who sees this movie will understand why Mark Curtis was framed," Nancy Jones, president of the American Federation of Government Employees Local 2199, said. "Appalling is not a strong enough word to use to describe how the cops and courts treated Mark. There is a direct parallel to Utah labor martyr Joe Hill in this story," Jones explained, "but we must remember Joe's last words: Don't mourn, organize!"

The rally also heard from the head of the Phoenix Center for Women, Kathy Hurd. The center is a self-help organization for women. Hurd described how she had been victimized and attacked by Iowa police years before. "Mark's case is reminiscent of South African fighter Steven Biko. While there are differences, the vengeance of the system is the same," she said.

Regula Burki, the past president of the Women's Physicians of Utah, spoke of the need to defend Curtis' rights behind prison walls.

Ellen Whitt from Washington, D.C.; Pat Leamon from Omaha, Nebraska; and Steve Warshell from Salt Lake City, Utah, contributed to this week's column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695.

If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

Hundreds of participants in the November 12 rally to defend abortion rights in Washington, D.C., crowded around the Mark Curtis Defense Committee table near the Lincoln Memorial to learn about Curtis' fight.

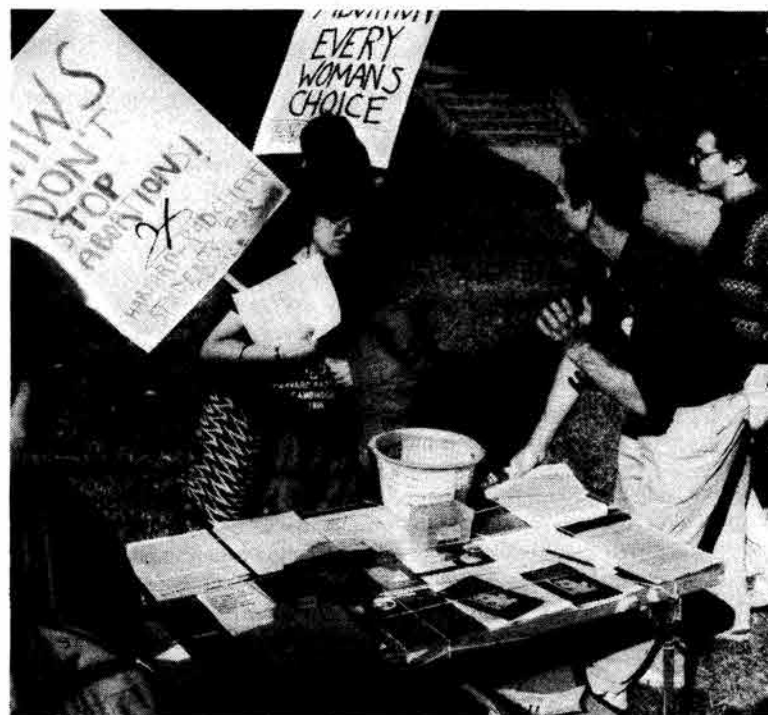
More than 150 demonstrators lent their support to the defense effort at the rally by endorsing the defense effort or adding their names to an open letter to activists for women's rights. The letter explains why women's rights activists have a stake in Curtis' defense effort.

Some participants said they read about Curtis' frame-up in various newspapers and publications distributed around the country and were eager to receive further information. A few said they would take materials to their campus groups and wanted a copy of the new video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle, Jr., *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* (see review on page 15).

One prochoice activist said that after reading about Curtis in a student newspaper she wrote to him in prison. Curtis wrote back to her explaining his political perspectives in defending activists against frame-ups. She appreciated the political character of his response.

Workers Party. Curtis is a member of the SWP. Bailey explained Curtis' continuing political activity in prison and his fight for the right of prisoners to receive materials and correspondence in languages other than English, and for the right of prisoners to share literature.

Curtis was denied parole at a hearing on November 8 and told he may have to serve six years of his



Militant/Arthur Hughes
Some prochoice activists at November 12 action had heard of Curtis case and wanted more information.

Havana int'l art event includes Pathfinder mural

BY MALCOLM McALLISTER

HAVANA, Cuba — Green banners sporting the logo of the Third Havana Biennial adorned the city as visitors arrived here for the opening of one of the Third World's most prestigious art events.

During the months of November and December, 25 of Havana's art galleries and studios, along with the spacious Museum of Fine Arts, are attracting Cubans and visitors from all over the world.

Some of the most exciting visual art produced from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America is on display free of charge.

This year more than 400 artists from nearly 50 countries throughout the Third World are participating. Included is a display of the Pathfinder Mural Project — a six-story work of art in New York City featuring portraits of revolutionary fighters from around the world.

Held every two years, hence the name, the First Havana Biennial was in 1984.

"The main idea is to establish a better understanding of the artistic richness of the Third World," explained Lillian Llanes, director of the Wilfredo Lam Center. She and Cuban Minister of Culture Armando Hart addressed the opening on November 1.

The heart of the Biennial is Havana's three-story Museum of Fine Arts where lectures, slideshows, and lively discussion and debate take place. The museum is open from 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. allowing for the steady stream of students, workers, and others interested in the arts to visit. Two video documentaries on Cuban art are shown continuously throughout the day.

Some 700 works of a wide variety of art are displayed at the museum alone. Featured is an installation by Mendive, one of Cuba's most prominent artists. Two performances — Afro-Cuban ritual dances by performers

whose bodies are painted by Mendive — were also given. A collection of colorful Guatemalan paper dolls attracted visitors as well as Inca-inspired monumental sculpture. There is half a floor of work by Cuban humorists, art from the struggle in South Africa, censored photographs from Chile, and several works of political commentary from British artists who are Black.

Pathfinder mural

The six-panel display of photographs of the Pathfinder mural is exhibited in a prominent spot on the first floor of the museum. Many Cubans were attracted by the portrait of Cuban President Fidel Castro painted on the mural by Cuban artist Aldo Soler. After reading the accompanying text beside the photographs, several people extended their congratulations on the project and all the literature on the mural was taken within the first few hours. This display was the only one of a mural project on exhibit at the Biennial.

The Biennial expands from the museum. In one of Havana's old forts is an exhibition on life in the Third World by Brazilian photographer Sebastião Salgado. His black-and-white shots of hundreds of mud-covered, sweating Brazilian gold miners, laden with rock, climbing hundreds of feet up near-vertical wooden ladders, are some of the most chilling images of capitalist barbarity.

A host of workshops on ceramics, screen printing, architecture, and other topics were held. Visitors were treated to an evening fashion show featuring a live orchestra, Cuban dancing, and opera singers, which was held in historic Old Havana.

The art on exhibit, including the Pathfinder Mural display, will stay up until the Biennial ends December 31.

Los Angeles forum celebrates rights victory

LOS ANGELES — A meeting to celebrate the recent victory against the 10-year disruption lawsuit of Alan Gelfand and the Workers League, an antilabor sect, was held at the Militant Labor Forum here November 21.

On November 13 federal judge Mariana Pfaelzer dismissed an attempt by Gelfand, a Los Angeles attorney, to amend the court's August decision in favor of the Socialist Workers Party. Gelfand's lawsuit, filed in 1979, went to trial before Pfaelzer in 1983. The suit charged that the SWP is run by FBI agents. Gelfand demanded that the court overturn his expulsion from the SWP and remove the party's leadership.

Joel Britton, speaking for the SWP at the forum here, said, "The victory in this case is important, not only for the Socialist Workers Party, but for everyone in struggle today." He cited union activists, workers on strike at Eastern, coal miners at Pittston, strikers at the

La Mode garment plant in Los Angeles, and others.

Britton pointed out that Gelfand's lawsuit threatened the fundamental right to freedom of association guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. "If Pfaelzer had ruled the other way," he said, "if the membership, leadership, and program of the SWP had begun to be decided by the courts, then the legal existence of the party would be in question. It would set a precedent where unions and other organizations would not have the fundamental right to run their own affairs."

Britton noted the significance of Pfaelzer's admission at the November 13 hearing that she had "made a bad mistake" in not tossing Gelfand's suit out of court six years ago. Gelfand's case, she said, "is groundless, and always was. A lot of it was simply harassment."

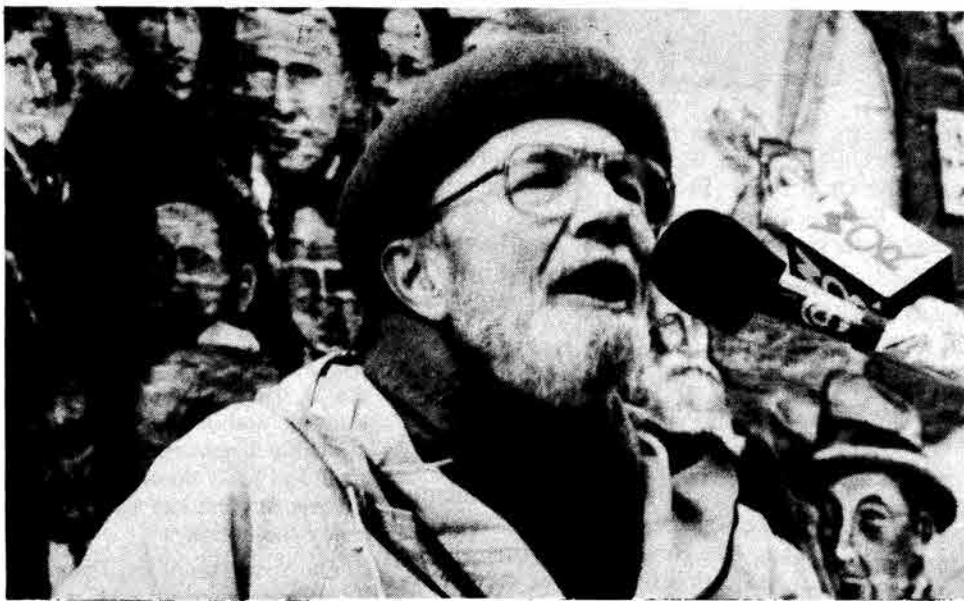
Britton stressed continuing the campaign to spread the word of this victory because of Gelfand's and the Workers League's antici-

pated appeal of Pfaelzer's decision. The 60-day period for filing an appeal is now in effect.

Monica Hill, Los Angeles organizer of the Freedom Socialist Party, urged opposition to a similar lawsuit brought against her party. The legal action was taken by a former member who five years after resigning from the party went to court demanding that a large financial contribution he made while a member be returned. The judge in this case has ordered the Freedom Socialist Party to turn over to the court membership lists, minutes of meetings, and financial records.

Among those joining the discussion was film director Nick Castle, Jr., who recently completed a video on the Mark Curtis case. Castle is an Iowa packinghouse worker and unionist serving a 25-year prison sentence on frame-up charges.

Castle stressed the link between building opposition to Gelfand's disruption suit and defending Curtis.



Folksinger and activist Pete Seeger sang at mural unveiling

Militant/Margrethe Siem

Pathfinder mural dedicated to working people of New York and the world

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — Despite the frigid weather and wind, some 400 people gathered on Manhattan's Lower West Side for the November 19 unveiling and dedication of the Pathfinder mural, a six-story work of art painted on the south side of the Pathfinder Building.

Steve Clark, director of Pathfinder Press, opened the dedication by describing how the goals of the publishing house are reflected in the mural. He listed the fighters and leaders whose speeches and writings are published by Pathfinder and are depicted on the mural, including Nelson Mandela of South Africa; Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro of Cuba; Maurice Bishop of Grenada; Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso; Karl Marx; V.I. Lenin, and other leaders of the Communist International in its early years; Rosa Luxemburg; and Malcolm X.

"The ideas and experiences of these figures

are needed more and more in today's tumultuous world. They are needed and demanded by working people here in the Americas, Western and Eastern Europe, and around the world," Clark said. He noted Pathfinder's motto that appears at the center of the mural designed by Mike Alewitz, "The truth must not only be the truth, it must also be told," and dedicated the mural to the working people of New York and the world.

Well-known U.S. folksinger and social activist Pete Seeger sang at the open and close of the ceremony. Prominent civil liberties attorney William Kunstler spoke and noted that three of his former clients are among the mural's portraits — Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rosa Parks.

Former New York City Council president Paul O'Dwyer said the mural was a contribution to the city and recalled the "desecration of New York" in 1933 by Nelson Rockefeller. The millionaire had commissioned a mural

by renowned Mexican muralist Diego Rivera, but the inclusion of a portrait of V.I. Lenin enraged Rockefeller, who had it destroyed.

Sam Manuel, director of the Pathfinder Mural Project, initiated the unveiling of the mural. As the music of *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika*, the inspirational anthem of the freedom struggle in South Africa, sounded, the green, black, and gray banners draped across the mural came streaming down. Phumzile Zulu, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa, and Tu Nokwe, a South African singer, moved by the moment took to the platform with clenched-fist salutes and sang the anthem. Applause and cheers rang out afterward.

'Post' attacks mural

Not everyone welcomed the new mural. The same day's edition of the *New York Post* carried an editorial attacking the artwork as an "unseemly effort" and a "bizarre celebration of totalitarianism." It challenged the New York State Council of the Arts' decision providing some funding for the project. "The mural should be removed," it provocatively concluded.

Clark noted the rising attacks on artistic expression, which, he said, are aimed at "the freedom to speak, write, and create in order to act" around social and political issues. He hailed the victory won the day before when the National Endowment for the Arts reinstated a \$10,000 grant for a New York art show about AIDS called "Witnesses: Against Our Vanishing."

Clark also called the mural's completion a victory for freedom of expression and read a message from former New York mayor John Lindsay saying, "Freedom of artistic and cultural expression is a hallmark of a genuinely open, democratic society. The artists who have painted the Pathfinder mural have creatively put this freedom into practice, enhancing the diversity of public art available to all New Yorkers." The project began two years ago.

Guests that were recognized by Clark at the unveiling included Margarita Delgado Ramirez, the first secretary of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations; Luis Miranda of Casa de las Americas, an organization of Cuban-Americans based in New York who organize solidarity with the Cuban revolution; and Don Rojas, the press secretary to the late Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Westbeth Gallery celebration

After the dedication, festivities continued at Westbeth Gallery a few blocks away. Pathfinder representative Mark Severs and Ventana member Ellie Bernstein chaired a program celebrating the mural's completion. Ventana is a group of artists who organize solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Artist Carole Byard introduced Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow. Byard presented Shabazz with the sketch of Malcolm X she used to paint his portrait on the mural.

"Pathfinder Press is dear to my heart," Shabazz said, referring to Pathfinder's work in publishing the speeches and writings of Malcolm X. "I salute you and celebrate with you the completion of the mural." Two of Malcolm X's teachers while he was a member of the Nation of Islam came from Washington, D.C., to join in the celebration.

50 artists, 20 countries

Sam Manuel explained how more than 50 artists from some 20 countries, from the ages of 13 to 78, were drawn together to work on the mural. He described the gains working people have won over the past four decades through the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War

movements and the revolutionary struggles in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada in the last 10 years making it possible to reach out and involve artists and activists from diverse views and backgrounds.

Pointing to today's rising labor struggles, Manuel said, "We did this for the Eastern Airlines strikers, the coal miners on strike against Pittston. This is their legacy, their history."

Ernie Mailhot, one of a group of Eastern strikers who attended the event, told the audience about their 261-day strike. Members of the United Mine Workers also attended the event. Greetings were read from Brazilian musician Gaudencio Thiago de Mello; Native American filmmaker Chris Spotted Eagle; South African poet Dennis Brutus; artist Charles White's widow, Fran; Irish republican activist Gerard Kelly; and Argentine artist Ricardo Carpani.

Photo exhibition in Havana

Professor David Kunzle, the chair of the Art History Department at the University of California in Los Angeles, sent a message explaining that he had recently learned of the mural in Cuba at the Havana Bienal. Malcolm McAllister, the mural's artistic director, set up a photo display of the mural at the world-renowned art exhibition.

Sandy Boyer of the Irish Arts Center in New York made a fund pitch that raised more than \$5,000 in cash and pledges to cover part of the remaining \$50,000 that needs to be raised toward the \$125,000 cost of the mural project.

Newark, New Jersey, artist Christine Vogel spoke, calling the mural an "extraordinary celebration of literacy and the figures portrayed." Prominent art critic and promoter of cultural exchange with Cuba, Lucy Lippard, said the mural showed that artists weren't "above it all or below it all, but right in the middle" of today's struggles.

The mural is like "fresh and pure air," Cuban painter Aldo Soler said. He called it a victory for revolutionary art and likened the mural to a rainbow opening up to different parts of the world. "I love this rainbow," he said.

Women of the Calabash performed at the celebration. The three-woman ensemble performed African and African-influenced music. "Get everyone you know down to that wall" to see the mural, group leader Madeleine Yayodele Nelson urged the audience.

Protest sent to 'Post'

Loud applause greeted a proposal from Andrea Morell, a Mural Project coordinator, that a protest telegram be sent to the *New York Post* responding to its editorial. "Your open invitation to defacement and attempts to destroy the mural is an intolerable assault on freedom of artistic expression and speech. We pledge to defend the right of this mural to stay on the wall and that of all art to flourish without interference from would-be censors whether in Congress or newspaper offices," the protest read.

Contributions to cover mural costs are needed!

Tax-deductible contributions should be sent to the Anchor Foundation, c/o the Pathfinder Mural Project, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Checks should be made out to Anchor Foundation.

'Many friends of Cuba' greet Cuban painter in Minneapolis

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Cuban painter Aldo Soler who is currently touring several cities across the United States recently visited Minneapolis-St. Paul and Des Moines, Iowa.

The Minneapolis College of Art and Design sponsored a meeting for the artist attended by 80 people on November 9. Seitu Jones, a well-known Black painter, introduced Soler. Jones and Soler both contributed to the six-story mural on the side of the Pathfinder Building in New York. Jones painted the portrait of W.E.B. Du Bois, a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Soler added Cuban President Fidel Castro and Karl Marx.

Tom Trow, a member of the Minnesota-Cuba Project, circulated a petition at the meeting calling on the U.S. government to allow free cultural exchange with Cuba.

Soler was invited to tour the Walker Art Center the following day. Later, he viewed an art exhibition of Inuit peoples of the far north at the American Indian Center in Minneapolis.

An open house at the home of a tour supporter attracted more than 50 people who took the opportunity to talk with the Cuban artist and ask questions about life in Cuba. Some of those who stopped by included Marvin Davidov of the Honeywell Project, American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt, members of the Venceremos Brigade, and members of various unions, including the United Auto Workers, Machinists, and United Food and Commercial Workers.

Bellecourt welcome

Bellecourt welcomed Soler to the land of the Chippewa and the Lakota peoples and described to him the plight of Native Americans since Christopher Columbus first landed in the Americas. He also told of the FBI harassment he has endured as a political activist and AIM leader. A representative of *The Heart of the Beast Puppet Theater* gave Soler a video of the theater's production of *The Reaper's Tale*, which aims to tell the truth about the colonization of the Americas. Soler promised to try to get the video shown on Cuban TV.

In a meeting of 75 people at the University of Minnesota, Soler was introduced by Chris Spotted Eagle, a film maker who painted on the Pathfinder mural. During the program the

art director of the Minnesota Museum of Art, Jim Czarniecki, described the difficulties the U.S. government creates to prevent and limit cultural exchange with Cuba.

Dozens of endorsers

In his talk Soler commented that the dozens of individuals and organizations who endorsed the meeting "show that Cuba has many, many friends here in the United States." Following the meeting several people signed for more information about traveling to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade, an activity promoted by brigade member Mary Jo Doyle.

Minneapolis Mayor Donald Fraser, St. Paul Mayor George Latimer, and St. Paul's mayor-elect Jim Scheibel were joined by several city council members and Minnesota state legislators as endorsers of Soler's tour. Other endorsers included trade union officials, church leaders, the Minnesota-Cuba Project, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Minnesota Peace Council, Minnesota Southern Africa Project, the Central America Resource Center, and the Art History, Studio Art, and Latin America Studies departments of the University of Minnesota.

Soler presented his slideshow on contemporary Cuban art at Iowa's Drake University on November 8. At the meeting of more than 70 people, including many art students, Soler explained that education in Cuba is free. Art students, he said, are provided materials free of charge and are guaranteed jobs after they graduate. Tim Worthen, chairman of the Drake University Art Department, introduced the Cuban painter.

That same day Soler was interviewed during the noon news program on local television in Des Moines. The brief interview featured a photo of the Pathfinder mural. Concluding the spot, the newscaster encouraged viewers to visit the mural on future trips to New York.

Farmers and farm activists met with Soler at Iowa State University in Ames and were able to discuss agriculture in Cuba.

More than \$300 was raised for the Pathfinder Mural Project during Soler's visit to Des Moines.

Tom O'Brien from Minneapolis-St. Paul and Jon Bixby from Des Moines, Iowa, contributed to this article.

6

Cubans in Nicaragua build new homes for hurricane victims

BY SETH GALINSKY

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — "A central part of the Cuban revolution is the idea of practicing internationalism to pay our debt to humanity," Rafael Valdez explained. He is the director of the José Martí Contingent, a group of 346 Cuban volunteers who are building 1,000 homes in this Atlantic Coast city. The homes are for victims of Hurricane Joan, which devastated the city in October 1988.

Valdez is a veteran of the July 26 Movement, which led the overthrow of the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship in Cuba in 1959. He also fought at the Bay of Pigs, where U.S.-backed mercenaries were defeated after an unsuccessful invasion in 1961. But this is his first time outside Cuba.

"I'm 60 years old," he said, "and I knew I wouldn't have many more opportunities like this. I asked the Communist Party to allow me to carry out an internationalist mission."

The project, which began in January, is scheduled to be completed in two years. So far 55 houses are finished and an additional 162 started.

The José Martí Contingent faced a number of problems. Dormitories for the workers had to be built, along with a recreation room, dining facilities, and warehouses for building materials that could be affected by the Coast's heavy rainfalls. Almost all of the materials for constructing the houses, with the exception of some of the wood trim, is shipped from Cuba.

The Cubans were not used to working under the region's adverse weather conditions. "But we've learned a tremendous amount," Valdez stated. "What used to take us all day, now we can do in an hour."

With almost all of the support facilities — including a bakery and ice cream factory —

now completed, workers will soon be able to concentrate all their energies on the houses. "As soon as the dry season begins, we are going to really take off," Valdez said.

Houses, schools, and clinics

The houses already built are impressive. Some are two stories, designed to have one family on each floor. All the homes have front porches, two or three bedrooms, a kitchen, a living room, indoor plumbing, and tile floors. The high quality of the workmanship is evident.

Each group of homes, spread out on three sites around town, will have a health clinic and an elementary school.

Most of the Cuban volunteers are veterans of the minibrigade movement in Havana, what Valdez calls "a revolution in the revolution." These construction minibrigades have concentrated on child-care centers, offices for Cuba's family doctor program, and housing to help alleviate the shortage that exists in Havana, Valdez said. "Being here means doing less of these social projects back home, but we are willing to sacrifice for our Nicaraguan friends."

The Bluefields contingent is organized the same way as the minibrigades in Cuba. "Everybody does physical construction work here," Valdez said, "even the bureaucrats." The volunteers work six days a week, 10 hours a day. They also take turns working additional hours during the week and on Sundays.

In addition to recreational activities, the Cuban workers have organized political study groups — with an emphasis on recent speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro. The Union of Young Communists plays an important role in this.

Working alongside the Cubans are Nica-



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Nicaraguans are working with José Martí Contingent from Cuba to build 1,000 new homes in Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast.

raguans — 200 young men who have finished their military service, 23 women, and one person from each of the families who will receive one of the first 150 homes. Other Nicaraguans will join the project as it progresses, Valdez said. "We hope to train 1,000 Nicaraguans in skilled construction work," he added.

Not everyone in Nicaragua appreciated the arrival of the Cubans. "There were rumors that we were a special military group that came to colonize Bluefields," Valdez noted. "When we first arrived the rejection was palpable. But, once the people got to know us, that all changed."

Many of the Cuban volunteers have established close friendships with Bluefields residents, Valdez said.

Women demand to participate

Claribel González, 35 years old, is one of 37 Cuban women volunteers who have recently arrived. "At first only men were sent here," she explained. "But Cuban women immediately demanded our right to participate." González is a lawyer in Havana's public prosecutor's office. On the project she

lays tile and pours concrete, skills she learned as part of the minibrigade movement in Havana.

"We were really glad to come here," González said, "because this is a country that really needs help. We believe that you become a better revolutionary by practicing internationalism." She added, "It is really painful to see the effects of underdevelopment and the war. It broke my heart to see the young children six or seven years old who are already working to help their families get by."

González recalled that the day she started working in Bluefields, a young Nicaraguan woman watched her for a while and then said, "That's men's work you're doing. That's no job for a woman." González laughed when remembering the incident. "I told her no, women can also do this. A month later she joined the project and worked by my side. She's now very good at masonry."

Juan Alberto Quezada is an electrical engineer on the contingent. "I am from a working-class family. Without the revolution I would never have become an engineer," he said. He is proud not just of the opportunity to "do something significant for the revolution," but also because he was chosen from among thousands of Cubans who volunteered. "I felt it was a distinction to win this healthy competition among so many who wanted to participate," he said.

Quezada had other reasons for wanting to be on the contingent. "Being here is a challenge for me as a professional," he stated. "We work on everything — from the most simple task like installing a switch, to more complex questions of electrical engineering. A lot of times we don't have what we need at the right time. We have to invent solutions."

Ricardo Espinoza Casanova is a veteran of Angola, where he fought as an internationalist volunteer against the invasion by the South African army. Before joining the minibrigades in Havana he worked as a seaman. "What Cuban wouldn't be proud to be here?" he asked. "It is proletarian internationalism that allowed Cuba to develop. We are just extending a helping hand."

"I don't know how to say this, but for me seeing the process of development of another country, well, I'm going to return to Cuba politically more mature."

Philippine army terrorizes toilers

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Passing through an airport on a recent trip to the Philippines, an issue of the right-wing *Soldier of Fortune* magazine caught my eye at a newsstand.

"Political body count: Philippine army tallies converts, not corpses," a prominent headline read. The article claimed the regime of President Corazon Aquino was successfully turning back the peasant insurgency led by the Communist Party of the

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

Philippines on the island of Negros, by shifting its focus away from seeking battlefield victory. The government is now "rooting out" CPP support in the villages by "exposing communist infiltrators" and implementing social and political reforms, the article said.

As I was able to see for myself during a visit to Negros, however, if there has been any shift in the military's tactics, it is toward intensifying a systematic terror campaign against workers and peasants organizing in defense of their land and labor rights.

"Communist infiltrators" turn out to be the organizers of the National Federation of Sugar Workers and the allied Small Farmers Association of Negros; or leaders of "basic Christian communities," church-based organizations through which villagers organize themselves in agricultural and health-care projects.

In an interview NFSW Vice-president Serge Cherniquin stressed that Negros had become the "social laboratory" for the Philippine military and their U.S. advisers in their effort to crush all worker-peasant opposition to the landlords and other capitalists. Since the overthrow of dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, 40 of the NFSW's members and organizers have been murdered, and thousands more have been forced to surrender to

the military as "rebels" or to resign from the union, he said.

Private armies

Central to the terror campaign has been the government's resurrection of the allegedly disbanded private armies of the sugar plantation owners, now known as the Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Units — CAFGU. These paramilitary forces are funded in Negros by a levy on the sugar harvest. Together with sword-wielding vigilante groups, they "protect" the villages and plantations from "communist infiltration."

Thirty-five thousand peasants have fled this "protection" and sought refuge in churchyards and school grounds around Negros. I visited two of these evacuation centers and interviewed some of the refugees in October.

Sixty-two families were camped under plastic sheets on the grounds of Binalbagan Catholic College in southern Negros, surviving on rice and medicines donated by private aid organizations. Half of the families had fled Sitio Bandling in the mountains behind Binalbagan, after the military and the vigilantes razed their village on September 6.

Maximo, a 33-year-old farmer from Bandling, said soldiers had rounded up the men from the village and ordered them to evacuate their homes. They were to report to the nearest military camp within three days and join up with the CAFGU or a vigilante group. They were warned that they would be held accountable for any clashes between the military and the guerrillas in the area. The soldiers then forced them to burn each others' houses, Maximo said.

At Sitio Bogambilya, further south in the mountains of Hinobayan, Trining Acosta protested vigilante harassment to the mayor. The vigilantes responded by coming to her house, slicing off her breasts, tearing out her intestines, and parading what was left of her around the village chanting "Join us, or else!" a neighbor told me. The villagers are now sheltered in a church at Pulpupandan, just south of the city of Bacalod.

Johnny, 14, was at that church with his

widowed mother and three brothers and sisters. He described how his father has suffered a similar fate, while he, his mother, and brothers cowered inside their house. The army accused the father of supporting the guerrillas. Afterward the family fled into the forest until they were driven down to the city by sickness and hunger. Three of his brothers died in a hospital. Almost 250 children have died under similar circumstances, aid workers told me.

Fler Demegillo, a professor at a local Catholic college who worked with the refugees, thought that Japanese pressure was a factor in the increased militarization of Negros. Tokyo has some large economic aid projects on the island, including a part in financing the transformation of more than 12,000 acres of prime rice land into prawn farms for the Japanese market, further fueling discontent among the landless peasant majority.

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Importance of Che Guevara's communist

Forward march of Cuba's working people to build social

The following was presented November 2 at a panel on "Che Guevara's Thought in Contemporary Cuba" during a conference on "Thirty Years of the Cuban Revolution: An Assessment," held in Halifax, Nova Scotia, November 1-4. The international conference was attended by 600 people, including a delegation of some 40 from Cuba. A report on the gathering was featured in the November 17 *Militant*. Mary-Alice Waters is editor of the Marxist magazine *New International*. She is also editor of *In Defense of Socialism*, a selection of speeches on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution by Cuban President Fidel Castro, published earlier this year by Pathfinder.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The political perspectives Ernesto Che Guevara fought for as part of the leadership of the Cuban revolution and began to implement in the Rebel Army and in the ministries and departments of the revolutionary government he headed, are of immense historical and scientific importance.

Che was one of the few great Marxists of the 20th century. He was a communist of depth and consistency who made the serious study and application of political economy the foundation of all politics. He was a materialist who understood that the only basis for creating a society in which human solidarity reigns — not dog-eat-dog competition — is for human beings, who are products of a world still dominated by capitalist relations of production and exchange, to fight to build socialism. The new man and the new woman of whom Guevara talked will emerge from the fight to eradicate the domination of capital and capital's necessary companion: the debilitating and mystifying hold of the law of value on social consciousness.

Abstracted from the dynamics of the Cuban revolution itself, however, the communist policies Che fought for are rendered lifeless. His arguments become fine words on a piece of paper rather than what they were — the generalization of the line of march of a class making history and remaking itself in the process.

Che's legacy

The worst fraud that has been perpetrated against Che's legacy in the 22 years since he was murdered in the mountains of Bolivia has been the attempt to separate him from the Cuban revolution, his life's greatest work and accomplishment. It was that revolution that made Che Guevara the human being he became. Over time both friend and foe, some

out of ignorance and some out of fear of the communist continuity he enriched, have conspired to present Che as if he were really an outsider to the revolution he helped lead, that is, someone out of step with its necessary line of advance.

While spared the indignity of being stuffed and placed in a glass case, Guevara was nevertheless transformed over time from a real human being who lived and fought at a given historical time in a concrete world. He became an icon on a wall. He was reduced to a moral example alone, stripped of his other political qualities and strengths.

This idealized Che was portrayed as heroic, courageous, and morally incorruptible, but still a less-than-practical dreamer. He was presented as an idealist who did not understand that human beings are by nature base and greedy. This romantic Che was a lonely and isolated fighter. It is the grotesque bour-

"The world of Cuba's working people slammed into a world of a privileged and narrow layer."

geois image of a hero, cast to render Che harmless and to appeal to those whose consciousness has been forged by the bourgeois ideology Guevara gave his immensely productive life to eradicate.

Today in Cuba, however, a profoundly proletarian movement is gaining ground under the banner of what is called the rectification process. A veritable political revolution has begun to restore the real Che, to rescue him from the wall and give life to the communist program he fought for. It is reasserting the truth that history is made by the deeds of millions, not the words of manuals.

The practical cause of the revolutionary mass movement now emerging in Cuba is seen against the backdrop of the economic stagnation and social crises exploding in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries where the political-economic policies Che rejected are being played out to the bitter end. These events of world historic importance are giving us all a new appreciation of Che's communist legacy. It is deeper and richer than we understood even two years ago, much less 20 years ago.

Che would have been the first to agree: what is most fundamental in contemporary Cuba is not his or anyone else's ideas but the titanic social forces that are clashing as the

rectification process deepens.

The arrest and conviction of Cuba's minister of the interior, José Abrantes Fernández, on charges of abuse of authority, negligence in carrying out his duties, and improper use of government funds and resources, and for which he was sentenced in September to 20 years in prison, marked a leap forward in the rectification process. It was even more important than the advance registered by the conviction and execution in July of Arnaldo Ochoa, Antonio de la Guardia, and two other high ranking officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior on charges of drug-trafficking and treason. Along with the arrest, conviction, and 20-year prison sentence given Diocles Torralbas, minister of transportation, these events of the summer of 1989 do not register a setback to the revolution. To the contrary, they are the product of victories, at home and abroad, and register the fact that Cuba's working people are on the march.

The victory over South African aggression in 1988 at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola, in which tens of thousands of young Cuban men and women played a decisive role, created the objective conditions for exposing and confronting Ochoa, de la Guardia, and their circles in a manner that advanced the self-confidence and fighting capacities of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces and working people. In the aftermath of the Ochoa affair it is clearer than ever why the future of the Cuban revolution, as well as the future of Africa, was at stake at Cuito Cuanavale.

The mobilization and deepening proletarianization of the tens of thousands of volunteer workers who are participating in minibrigades and revolutionary construction contingents that have emerged in the rectification process created the objective conditions in which the corruption, privilege, and abuse of power by a layer of the police and internal security forces — running the biggest international capitalist business operation in all Cuba — could be confronted and decisively dealt with.

All institutions affected

Loss of revolutionary integrity among a layer of those in the party, state, and government apparatus holding positions of authority and responsibility was not something newly discovered by the Cuban people in the summer of 1989. As Raúl Castro, head of Cuba's armed forces, noted in the course of the Ochoa affair, the people knew more than the party leadership, and knew it sooner. Other instances of corruption and abuse had been dealt with already during the rectification process.

In December 1986 a report by Cuban President Fidel Castro adopted by the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party referred to the fact that even the party was starting "to go to pot" under the corrupting impact of the erroneous political course the revolution had pursued for more than a decade. If not corrected, he noted, the consequences of the errors could eventually prove "irreversible," leading "to a system worse than capitalism."

In 1987 Luis Orlando Domínguez — head of the civil aviation ministry, a former leader of the Union of Young Communists, and recent member of Castro's special support team — was convicted on charges of gross corruption and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

The *Granma* editorial that drew the lessons of the Abrantes case in September of this year emphasized that "the entire nation realized that the problems faced by the country this summer go far beyond the fate of a handful of corrupt and disloyal individuals. . . . What has happened reflects a series of shortcomings that affect, in one way or another, all the institutions of the Revolution."¹ All the institutions.

1. Fidel Castro, "Important Problems for the Whole of International Revolutionary Thought," Dec. 2, 1986, in *New International*, no. 6, 1987, p. 217.

2. "Let's Learn from These Experiences and Continue Advancing," *Granma Weekly Review*, Sept. 10, 1989.

What was new, what had changed by the summer of 1989, was the increased strength and confidence of Cuba's working people, a change that enabled the revolution to strengthen its communist trajectory. The world of Cuba's working people, to paraphrase Castro, the world of the men and women who work 10, 12, 14 hours a day to produce what Cuba needs, had slammed into the world of a privileged and narrow layer within the army and state apparatus, and those they protected and fed. The confrontation between those two worlds came into the open.

"What do the lives of these gentlemen have to do with the life of a worker, the customs of these gentlemen with the customs of our working class," Fidel asked at the July 7 Council of State meeting. "They are two different worlds, and we cannot rest until



Che Guevara doing volunteer work. He ex communist consciousness.

there is one single world here; not the world of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, but the world of our workers, our working class, our proletariat, our farmers."³

A battle between these two worlds was joined and the working class emerged stronger, more confident. The war, however, has yet to be won.

What does this have to do with Che?

The generals and their friends who were tried and convicted were not accused of counterrevolutionary activity, of treason in the sense of deliberately losing a war, of directly passing intelligence to Washington or Pretoria, of preparing to defect to the enemy, of conspiring to assassinate fellow members of the armed forces or revolutionary government. Their crimes, *Granma* noted, were not "the work of enemy agents but rather of people coming from our own ranks. . . . They show us how, without going over to the enemy, men who have been in our ranks can inflict worse damage than any counterrevolutionary."⁴

Their crimes undermined the integrity of the revolution and its international prestige in the eyes of the toilers. Their social attitudes and behavior were those of a different class, alien to the character of a workers' and farmers' revolution, and the class attitudes it instills in its leadership, its army, and its police and security forces.

At the nationally televised July 9 meeting of the Council of State that discussed and

3. Fidel Castro, speech to Council of State, July 9, 1989, *Granma Weekly Review*, July 23, 1989.

4. "Let's Learn from These Experiences and Continue Advancing," *Granma Weekly Review*, Sept. 10, 1989.

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Marxist perspectives in today's Cuba

Socialism gives life to ideas he fought for

rejected commuting the death sentences against Ochoa and the three others, several council members whose remarks were widely praised by Cuban working people drew directly on Che's legacy to explain the character of the political challenge the revolution faced.

"I feel as never before how the teaching Che has to be relearned everyday," declared communist youth leader Roberto Robaina. Che taught us that "a leader must have and lack what the common people have and lack." And this is true not only of our leaders but should also be true of our Party and our state. And I'm not advocating an absolute and facile equality which leads nowhere, but I simply believe that much harm is done us by inequality when it is unnecessary and, above all, offensive."⁵

volunteer labor. It is through voluntary work that social, collective labor becomes a school for communist consciousness and socialist administration, that work begins to change its character. Through volunteer labor "man starts to see himself reflected in his work and to understand his full stature as a human being through the object created, through the work accomplished." This materialist understanding of the place of volunteer labor in the construction of socialism and communism has once again come to the fore in the Cuban revolution after more than a decade in which it withered in the face of a diametrically counterposed political perspective.

"Voluntary work," Che explained, is "based on the Marxist appreciation that man truly reaches his full human condition when he produces without being compelled by

the columns of the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra mountains were formed, when a few seasoned cadres of the first column divided off and organized a second column, and then a third and fourth column were created out of the first two. Each new column starts with the norms and discipline conquered by the founding units.

Participation in the contingents is on a volunteer basis, subject to being accepted. A flexible workday of 10 hours or more depends on the work to be completed. There is a single wage rate with no overtime pay or bonuses. Room and board is provided. Work discipline is organized and maintained by the contingent members themselves. Equipment is cared for and kept running by the workers who use it. Administrative tasks are more and more taken on by the workers themselves, not delegated to a separate group of increasingly nonproductive specialists. The percentage of administrative personnel is reduced to a minimum.

Having transformed the construction industry, the volunteer labor contingents are now being introduced in a few other industries in a measured way. They are starting to have an impact on the organization of all labor, which is the central question in the transition from capitalism to socialism: How should the working class organize social labor in order both to build a new economic foundation and in the process transform itself and its social consciousness?

This was the question that concerned Che, above all else.

With the continued advance of the rectification process, the minibrigade movement will expand its role and increase its impact. Important as it is, however, the minibrigade movement is still peripheral to the main organization of labor in basic industry, agriculture, and transport. The minibrigades set an example, mobilize tens of thousands of volunteers from every layer of society to take on special short-run projects that have high social priority, cut across petty-bourgeois prejudices against workers and physical labor, and act as a giant school for learning to think socially. But the minibrigades can ultimately play only an auxiliary role that spurs economic development and the growth of class consciousness and confidence.

Bureaucratic negation

If the minibrigade movement remains simply an adjunct to a system in which bureaucratic command planning dominates the organization of labor — bringing with it the inevitable increasing stratification and individual corruption, deadening class consciousness, and blocking workers' control of production — then volunteer labor on the scale of the minibrigades will not be a means by which the working class can school itself in economic management and transform itself in the process of transforming the economic foundations of society. Over time, it would be corrupted and turned into its opposite. It would become another means for administratively trying to fulfill the plan through bureaucratically conceived volunteer work that is neither voluntary nor productive.

This is what happened in the Soviet Union in the 1930s when the so-called Stakhanovite movement and its accompanying "volunteer" workdays became a thinly disguised program to increase the length of the compulsory workweek and the pace of labor.

Cuba has already experienced elements of this. The volunteer brigades of the 1960s and early 1970s were transformed into their bureaucratic negation and then largely eliminated with the argument that volunteer labor supposedly contradicts Marxist — in reality Stalinist — concepts of planning. Having experienced this kind of "volunteer labor," many Cuban workers remain to be convinced that the minibrigades and construction contingents represent a qualitatively different political course, the one advanced by Che.

Moreover, even among those who support the minibrigade movement in Cuba today,

there are many who express a degree of ambivalence about its future, sensing that the minibrigades alone cannot fundamentally alter the overall organization of labor and transform social consciousness. Other, more weighty moves must be made.

Thus the advance in organization from minibrigades alone to construction contingents and minibrigades qualitatively broadens the battle being waged to reorganize labor on a new foundation. The heavy battalions of labor in the factories, mills, and fields are beginning to be touched on this level for the first time since rectification began.

The trade unions too, long comfortable in their assumed role that is closer to an auxiliary to management than the organizer and leader of a revolutionary working class, will have to be transformed in the deepening revolutionary process.

Nonproductive administrators

The advance of rectification also brings with it a challenge to the middle-class pretensions and prerogatives of the grossly inflated ranks of nonproductive administrative and "professional" personnel. The introduction of the Economic Management and Planning System in the mid-1970s, largely copied from the Soviet Union, brought with it nearly a tripling of the numbers of administrators and officials, from 90,000 in 1973 to 240,000 by 1984. As Fidel Castro noted in a recent speech celebrating the second anniversary of the founding of the Blas Roca Contingent, there were some "enterprises with more people in the infrastructure than in direct work."⁹

With the inauguration of the contingents a veritable revolution has begun. At the beginning of August 1989, of the 28,000 workers incorporated in 60 volunteer construction contingents, only 6.4 percent were carrying out primarily administrative responsibilities.

In 1988, while 55,000 new workers were incorporated into the work force, for the first time administrative personnel and other officials were simultaneously reduced by nearly 23,000.

This reorganization of the division of labor, too, goes to the heart of one of the most important questions in the transition to socialism: the withering away of a specialized, and inevitably to some degree bureaucratized, stratum of administrators and officials. The working class itself, better educated politically and technologically, and increasingly confident of exercising control over the administration of the economy and state apparatus, progressively incorporates more and more elements of the necessary administrative tasks into its division of labor.

'Witch doctors'

The university-educated technocrats and administrators — the "witch doctors," as Castro has called them — are threatened by this revolutionary process in which the contingents are fighting to lead the reorganization of all labor in Cuba. The division of labor from which the administrative layers seek to derive their higher social status could begin to fade away and with it the privileges and petty-bourgeois self-esteem they have come to believe their due.

Rectification is a revolutionary response to the problems confronting Cuban society. It is a line of march that would have been impossible without the revolutionary upsurge in the region that brought the two great victories of 1979 in Grenada and Nicaragua. Those struggles broke through the 20-year dry spell in the Americas without a revolutionary victory resulting in a workers' and farmers' government. Rectification is a line of march that would have been difficult to sustain without the victory at Cuito Cuanavale.

It must also be seen in relation to the profound crisis now shattering the bureaucratic castes and parties in Eastern Europe and the USSR. The roots of this crisis are to be found in the system of organization of labor that has been imposed for decades on the working classes of those countries. It is a system that relies on bureaucratic planning and individual and material, rather than political, incentives. It depends on and rein-

Continued on next page



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plained that it is only through volunteer work that collective labor becomes a school of

Noting that the problem confronting the revolution could not be reduced to the corruption of a handful of individuals, Lidia Tablada, director of the national Veterinary Medicine Center, quoted Che at length. "A counterrevolutionary is someone who fights against the Revolution, but a counterrevolutionary is also someone who through his influence obtains a house, and then two cars, and then who cheats the ration system, and adds up with everything the people don't have, and flaunts it, or doesn't flaunt it, but has it just the same."⁶

With the events of the summer of 1989, the rectification process in Cuba entered a new stage. Dealing decisively with corruption at the highest levels and responding to the blows dealt to the integrity of the Revolutionary Armed Forces command proved to be not a diversion from the course of rectification but a deepening of the process. Mass confidence in rectification, which is rooted in proposals and ideas identified with Che, has increased not diminished.

Voluntary work

During the last three years, volunteer labor as a social movement has been reborn — phoenix-like, Castro said — at the heart of the rectification process. Basing himself on some of Marx's most profound insights, Che explained over and over why it is that "man-as-a-commodity ceases to exist" only through

physical necessity to sell himself as a commodity."⁸

As voluntary work becomes an increasingly weighty component of the total organization of labor, producing a growing portion of the socially necessary product, the scope of the domination of the law of value — of the modern fetish that turns us all into objects — is progressively reduced.

The revolutionary mass movement that began with the relaunching of the minibrigade movement in the city of Havana a little more than three years ago, building child-care centers, apartment complexes, family doctors' office-homes, polyclinics, schools, bakeries, and more, has now been joined by a growing number of volunteer construction contingents, a more advanced and complex form of volunteer labor whose impact on the future of the Cuban revolution is potentially even more far-reaching.

Labor contingents

In the last two years more than 60 labor contingents, averaging over 500 workers in each, have been established. Concentrated in the construction industry, more than 30,000 men and women are already involved. The largest and oldest of the contingents, the Blas Roca Contingent, now has some 2,600 workers organized in 23 brigades, building bridges, roads, airports, dams, hospitals, and similar major projects.

The numerous brigades of these contingents, have been organized in the same way

7. Ernesto Che Guevara, *Socialism and Man in Cuba* (New York: Pathfinder, 1989), p. 9.

8. Ibid.

9. Fidel Castro, speech of Oct. 1, 1989, *Granma Weekly Review*, Oct. 15, 1989.

5. *Granma Weekly Review*, July 23, 1989.

6. Ibid. The quotation is from Che's speech to members of the Department of State Security, May 18, 1962, in Ernesto Che Guevara, *Escritos y discursos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1977), vol. 9, p. 220.

Cubans at conference discuss and debate

BY JON HILLSON

HALIFAX, Nova Scotia — This port city on Canada's eastern coast was the setting for an unusual encounter between Cuban revolutionaries coming from Cuba and a diverse group of Cubans who live in the United States. They were gathered here for a conference on "30 Years of the Cuban Revolution: An Assessment."

The event, sponsored by the Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies and supported by several Halifax-area universities and U.S. foundations, attracted some 600 North American academics and Cuba studies specialists, as well as students, Cuba solidarity activists, and scholars from many countries. (See November 17 *Militant*.)

Workshops on "The Cuban-American Community and U.S.-Cuban Relations" and "The Cuban-American Community" drew over 100 participants — the vast majority of them Cuban.

Among the Cuban-American participants were numerous professors who specialize in "Cubanology" — the academic study of the Cuban revolution — with ideas ranging from sympathy for the socialist revolution and its leadership to militant rejection of the communist course of the government.

Groups and individuals working for normalized U.S.-Cuba relations, such as the Cuban-American Committee and prominent Cuban-Americans like María Cristina Herrera of the Miami-Dade Community College Institute for Cuban Studies, who describes herself as an "ex-terrorist" and who took part in actions against the Cuban revolution, played an active role in discussions.

Right-wing émigrés like Carlos Montaner, an employee of U.S.-run Radio Martí, and Emilio Adolfo Romero, who spent more than 18 years in a Cuban jail for plotting to assassinate Cuban President Fidel Castro, engaged in the debates.

Noteworthy given pressures

The participation of such individuals was noteworthy given the pressures from the U.S. government to undercut the conference. Adding to the pressures against Cuban-American participation were preconference articles in the *Miami Herald* stating the event would be "one-sided" favoring the Cuban revolution.

Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's deputy foreign minister and head of the Cuban delegation, said in an interview that the presence of the right-wing opponents of the revolution "implies something different" is happening in the U.S. Cuban community. He termed the span of views "useful."

Ramón Cernuda, vice-president of Miami's Museum of Cuban Art and Culture, the target of ultrarightist threats for defending cultural exchange with artists living and working in Cuba, focused his attack on Cuban restrictions on visits aimed at family reunification.

A lawyer, Cernuda also acts as a defense attorney for self-professed human rights activists in Cuba. He called on the Cuban government to implement a policy of "democratization, liberalization, and national reconciliation with the Cuban-American community."

University of Havana Prof. Esteban Morales challenged Cubans living in the United States to reject being instruments of Washington's anti-Cuban policies. The "triumphalism" of the Bush administration, its decision to drive ahead with Television Martí, and pending congressional legislation to stiffen terms of the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba meant there would be "no favorable changes" in Cuba-U.S. relations.

This, he said, was "especially unfortunate" given that today "the majority of the U.S. Cuban community supports normalized relations, while only a minority rejects this, and a minority supports the revolution itself."

One Cuban-American professor demanded Morales "forget about the United States." "What about us?" he asked. He sounded a theme of several émigrés: that Cuba should take unilateral action to enhance relations with the Cuban-American community.

Can't be taken out of context

Andrés Gómez — a director of *Areíto* magazine, a Miami-based publication that supports normalization of U.S.-Cuban relations — answered that it was impossible to "forget" Washington, and that such relations can't be taken "out of their context, that



Miami protest in June against U.S. government's TV Martí. Banner calls for an end to criminal blockade against Cuba, a demand that many Cubans living in the United States support and work for despite differing political views.

[Cuba's] original sin was having made a revolution."

In a lively debate that continued even after the workshop session, Cernuda and Morales exchanged opinions on these themes. "I am in agreement with you," the Miami lawyer told Morales, that any discussion of relations between the Cuban community and Cuba start with recognition of the Cuban government.

There are "things that must change," Morales said, concerning the strictness of Cuban law regarding family visits, mail, and phone contacts. He agreed that retirement in Cuba

of elderly Cuban émigrés was a legitimate topic of consideration.

In the workshop on "The Cuban-American Community," panelists discussed the changing social composition of the community, the impact of the Mariel generation within the Cuban community, the changing economic and social status of women, and the default of the trade unions in not seriously trying to organize workers who are Cuban in South Florida.

José Cruz, head of the newly formed Miami-based Cuban-American Coalition, explained from the floor to good-natured

laughter that the community was like "children born outside of marriage," part of the Cuban family, but not really accepted anywhere.

The coalition works for family reunification and stands for "tolerance and freedom of expression" in Miami, Cruz, a former Catholic high-school principal, told the *Militant*.

Throughout the conference, exchanges on these and other topics took place informally and at social events, marking the first time that many of those involved had ever had such a dialogue among themselves.

Guevara's communist perspectives

Continued from previous page

forces the demobilization, demoralization, and depoliticization of the working class, not heightened communist and internationalist consciousness. Far from advancing the self-transformation of men and women as they transform the economic foundations of society, capitalist values and social norms have been reinforced. Ultimately this system, and the zigzagging policies of those who promote it, came into irrepressible conflict with nationalized property itself, because the anti-working class political course is incompatible with building socialism. The contradictions are uncontainable, as witnessed today.

This system of organization of labor — against which Che polemicized with such insight — was copied wholesale from the Soviet and East European experiences and introduced in Cuba in the mid-1970s. It rapidly led to a decline in communist political consciousness and revolutionary perspectives in virtually every arena of daily social and economic activity. Volunteer labor, as Castro put it, survived only because it took refuge in internationalism and defense — in aid to Angola, Nicaragua, Grenada, and other countries, and in the birth of the Territorial Troop Militia in 1980.

Communist leadership

The party and government in Cuba, however, remained qualitatively different from the ruling parties in the rest of the workers' states and thus a qualitatively different road out of the morass was possible. A revolutionary change of direction could be initiated because a communist leadership and politicized working-class vanguard existed in Cuba even if the party was damaged or weakened by the errors it had made. The "nag", as Castro has named the System of Economic Management and Planning, could be kept working while a new course was charted, the fight to win a majority to a communist perspective advanced, and a revolutionary replacement for the "nag" gradually conquered.

Under the system of planning, administration, and labor organization borrowed from the Soviet Union, alienation, cynicism, corruption, and political demoralization grew in the working class in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Che's — and Fidel's — communist political perspective lost ground to those who thought building socialism was primarily a matter of administration by a talented few

and of mechanisms that would bring economic growth — an automatic process to be guided by the skillful use of the law of value and other mechanisms left over from capitalism.

Those who thought of workers as objects to be controlled, as incorrigible little animals capable of advancing only if tempted with a carrot or whipped by a stick, were setting more and more of the economic and social policy of Cuba. Those who like Che and Fidel believed in the revolutionary capacities of working people to take the organization of the economy in hand and build a socialist society no matter what the obstacles, no matter what the odds, transforming themselves in the process, were put on the defensive.

Che's program untested

Twenty-five years ago, however, Che argued that if economic planning and the organization of the working class are not designed to reinforce communist consciousness rather than undermine it at every step, you wind up in a blind alley "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."¹⁰ Che not only argued this communist perspective, he tried to implement it through the budgetary finance system he pioneered in Cuba.

But Che's program for the organization of the economy and the revolutionary leadership of the working class was never tried broadly enough in Cuba to test it. Leaders responsible for other important sectors of the economy could not be convinced of the political and economic perspectives on which the budgetary finance system was based. Yet, as Castro emphasized in his October 1987 speech marking the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death, without Che's economic program "communism cannot be built."¹¹

Crises of bureaucratic castes

Che did not waste his time or energy answering the hollow breast-beating of those

who loudly proclaim that a reformed capitalism is the hope of humanity. He pointed out how the course of modern history offered ample proof of the kind of future capitalism will bring.

Che joined the real debate of our time. He took up the challenge of how imperialism can be defeated and how workers and farmers can firmly establish their political power. He joined the issue of how socialism can be advanced, and communism realized. If his answers seemed utopian to some when he posed them, it was only because a version of the road defended by the bureaucratic technicians of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe still seemed possible.

Today the burden of proof lies not on Che and Fidel, but on those who defend the political course that led to the social crises tearing apart the parties and bureaucratic castes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"Many wonder what factors have led some socialist processes to a disastrous state," Castro noted October 1. "Someday it will be clear and there will be those who explain what this has to do with the methods used in the construction of socialism which were actually capitalist methods. Unfortunately we were affected by the virus, thanks to some people, supposedly very theoretically knowledgeable, but who forgot the true path, the really revolutionary path to build socialism. The issue is whether you do or don't believe in people."¹²

The practical relevance of Che's contributions, as well as their place in the continuity of scientific socialism, can be more accurately gauged today in the context of Cuba's rectification process and the deepening crisis in Eastern Europe, the USSR, and China. In this context Che can and will be restored to his true historical dimensions.

The profoundly revolutionary struggles that are unfolding in Cuba, led by the working people in whom Che had such confidence and with whom he identified blood and bone, will save Che from the fate of being redrawn as a new, but still two-dimensional, portrait, a new but equally sentimental and liberal icon on a wall.

10. Guevara, *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, p. 6.

11. Fidel Castro, speech of Oct. 8, 1987, contained in *Socialism and Man in Cuba* (New York: Pathfinder, 1989), p. 36.

12. Fidel Castro, speech of Oct. 1, 1989, in *Granma Weekly Review*, Oct. 15, 1989.

International miners' meeting addresses world struggles

BY LIZ SUMMERS

CAIRO, Egypt — More than 100 delegated miners and mine union officials from 47 countries met here to discuss the world political situation and common challenges facing miners internationally.

The General Egyptian Mine and Quarry Union hosted the Second Statutory Congress of the International Miners Organisation. The five-day event took place here October 29–November 2.

The IMO was founded after the 1984–85 strike by British miners. In his opening remarks, IMO President Arthur Scargill, who is also head of the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain, explained the IMO was founded to "bring into existence a truly international organization representing mine workers and energy workers in all parts of the world." Its membership nears 6 million, encompassing 46 miners' federations and 26 organizations from 43 countries.

Attending the congress were delegates from countries where workers are involved in massive struggles, such as Namibia and South Africa, and from countries where miners and others confront government repression like the Philippines, Chile, New Caledonia, and Peru. Representatives also came from unions in countries fighting against the effects of colonial domination or war like Nicaragua, Vietnam, Zambia, Ethiopia, and Libya.

After the opening speech by Scargill, delegates utilized the remainder of the conference to make remarks on the struggle of miners in their countries. Extensive discussion and debate took place on the conference floor and informally.

Debt burden

Many delegates from Africa and Latin America spoke of the burden of the growing Third World debt on their countries and the toll on workers whose living standards are worsened by debt-repayment plans. Víctor Cuadroz Paredes from Peru explained how prices rise every day in his country. Soumaila Allazi from Niger said the policies of the International Monetary Fund have only resulted in devastating poverty.

John Maitland, general president of the Coal and Shale Employees' Federation in Australia, added to a discussion on the multinational corporations in the developed countries and how they move from one country to the next exploiting cheap labor under the free market system. He said the result is miners competing against miners.

He explained how the employers in Australia show no sympathy for workers there — so why would the union side with the bosses against their "foreign" competition?

Coal miners in Nova Scotia show interest in 'Militant'

BY GREG NELSON

CAPE BRETON ISLAND, Nova Scotia — One of the oldest coalfields in North America, and still one of the most productive, is located here on Cape Breton Island on Canada's Atlantic Coast. The miners are organized by District 26 of the United Mine Workers of America.

A *Militant* sales team visited the Lingan and Prince collieries on November 6 and 7. Some 1,400 miners are employed between the two operations. The mines here are submarine mines, as much as four miles deep and from there, several miles out to sea.

A waitress in a local pub directed the team to the first mine visited. She said that her father had been a coal miner and died from black lung, a disease that commonly afflicts miners.

The two mines are owned by the Canadian government and work crews have been cut to the bone. In addition, bathhouses and parking lots are understaffed most of the time so miners bring little cash to work.

Despite this fact, 15 miners scraped together the \$5 Canadian needed for an intro-

Maitland added that workers need to act together as one working class.

Widespread violation of human rights was the subject of remarks by delegates from the Philippines and South Africa.

"Repression of miners has continued unabated by the police and the private armies of the mine employers," said Marcel Golding, assistant general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers in South Africa. "Daily, workers are harassed, detained, and dismissed."

Role of unions in South Africa

Golding also discussed the role of the unions in the fight for broader social gains. "Our union and our federation, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], are crucial vehicles in the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa and represent the organized interests of the working class in our country."

As an example he described the role of the mine workers' union in the recent demonstrations and rallies to celebrate the release of eight longtime political prisoners in South Africa.

Anthea Billy, a leader of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN), also addressed the congress.

"The IMO international congress takes place at a turning point in the struggle of the mine workers in Namibia, when the final chains of imperialism and colonial oppression and exploitation are soon to be broken from the racist South African colonial regime." She explained that Namibia has a high illiteracy rate, so her union undertook a campaign of voter education in preparation for the elections. "At present two South African NUM organizers are assisting the MUN in the independence process, thus strengthening the unity and solidarity of southern African miners in practice."

As part of the discussion on the attacks against unions and workers in general, the delegates exchanged their experiences with schemes companies use to try to prevent union organizing.

In Pakistan, miners are employed by contractors who hire for many jobs, not for one specific company. The labor laws there only allow action against the immediate employer — in this case the contractor — so the miners have no way to call the mining companies to order or get recourse if injured on the job.

In Chile, the ownership of the mines may change hands several times in a few years. With each new owner, miners have to battle for union representation.

A woman miner from the United States noted the increasing fightback of workers against the bosses' attacks. She used the strike

ductory subscription to the *Militant*. More than once, groups of miners pooled their pocket change to share a subscription. Another 20 miners signed up but asked if they could be billed, and another 35 miners purchased single copies of the paper.

Interest in the strikes against Pittston Coal Group in Appalachia and Eastern Airlines was high. Miners here have been working without a contract for 10 months and many felt they too would be forced to strike. The government has been threatening to close the 20-year-old Lingan mine "because it's contract time," one miner said. The Prince mine is more modern, but the government is pushing for concessions from workers there too.

Miners also showed interest in reading a socialist newspaper with coverage on the liberation fight in South Africa, the struggle of Palestinians, and the freedom fighters in Northern Ireland.

Several miners coming off work had already read a bit of the paper shown to them by those who bought issues on their way in. When asked how he liked it, one miner replied, "It's excellent!"



Militant/Liz Summers

Gold miner Edward Ramaila, representative of the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa, addressing miners' meeting in Cairo, Egypt. Miners from 47 countries attended.

against the U.S. Pittston Coal Group by her union, the United Mine Workers of America, as an example. She extended an invitation to all to come and visit the strikers' Camp Solidarity organizing center in Virginia.

Delegates were eager to hear news on the strike and, by attending the conference, U.S. miners were able to get out the word. They made available recent issues of the UMW strike newsletter, the *Camo-call*.

Three messages were sent from the con-

ference delegates during the proceedings: one protesting the government bombing of the trade union offices in El Salvador, another to the government of Zimbabwe protesting the arrest of union leader Morgan Tsvangirai, and a message of solidarity to the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia.

Liz Summers works at a Peabody Coal mine in Sundial, West Virginia, and is a member of UMW Local 2271.



WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

Bolivia jails unionists, declares state of siege

Following a march by tens of thousands of workers in support of striking teachers, the Bolivian government declared a three-month state of siege.

The Bolivian Interior Ministry said 500 teachers and other labor leaders were then rounded up and sent to detention centers in the Bolivian tropics. Bolivia is located in central South America.

The Bolivian Workers Federation said that at least 3,000 were taken into custody during police raids on union offices around the country.

Three teachers on a 24-day hunger strike were also taken to private clinics and were in serious condition.

The 80,000 teachers, organized in the Union of Education Workers, have been demanding a one-time bonus of \$100 over their regular pay of \$45 a month to compensate for inflation.

The teachers' struggle has won the support of students and workers in the county. They had clashed with police in the capital city La Paz. The government responded by closing all schools.

While the monthly minimum wage is only \$25, the cost of living in the country is one of the highest in South America.

The government of President Jaime Paz Zamora said the state cannot meet the teachers' demands without "risking the economic and financial stability of the country."

Zamora, who heads the Social Democratic group, Movement of the Revolutionary Left, took office August 6. He has continued the anti-working class measures of the previous government. The measures include a wage freeze and lower government spending.

Zimbabwe union, student leaders freed

The secretary general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) has been released from prison following five weeks in detention.

All charges against Morgan Tsvangirai, which ranged from spreading subversive literature to being a South African spy,

have been dropped.

The trade union leader was arrested at his offices in early October after the ZCTU protested the government jailing of several Zimbabwe University student leaders and the breaking up, with tear gas and riot sticks, of a student protest against the detentions. The government then closed the campus.

The student leaders have also been released. University Vice-chancellor Walter Kamba defended the government's actions. "Students have brought down governments," he said. "Look at Nigeria and South Korea."

Peru's governing party drubbed in by-elections

Peru's governing American People's Revolutionary Alliance (the Aprista party) lost all 18 of its seats in Lima, the capital city, during municipal elections.

In nationwide voting November 12 to elect nearly 2,000 mayors, a coalition of parties called the Democratic Front won at least 23 of the 40 mayoral posts in the Lima suburban area. The United Left came in second, winning five races.

Millionaire television executive Ricardo Belmont won the mayor's office in Lima. Running as an independent, he supports the Democratic Front in presidential elections slated for April 1990.

Peru, a country of 21 million people, is located on South America's Pacific coast; north of Chile. Lima's population of 5 million has swollen dramatically in recent years as tens of thousands of peasants come to the city seeking employment.

President Alan García of the Aprista party cannot run for reelection. Because of the growing crisis of the country's capitalist economy, García's party has been widely discredited. Inflation in Peru is running at 3,000 percent annually. Wages for salaried workers have fallen by 50 percent in the past year.

Democratic Front presidential candidate Mario Vargas Llosa has a significant lead in the polls. Vargas Llosa, a novelist, led a campaign against García's plan to nationalize the banking system in the country. His campaign promises to "decentralize" government decision-making and privatize state-owned industries.

And easier to swallow — New Zealand's prime minister takes a dim view of various members of Parliament doing TV commercials. Like one lawmaker who plugs a



Harry Ring

brand of sour cream with assurance, "It doesn't leave as bad a taste in your mouth as politics."

Cut-rate communicator? — "That's what was offered and I

didn't protest, even though I knew there was an actor in Hollywood who got \$3 million just for doing a Toyota commercial there. I just thought that in 16 years I hadn't made any kind of money." — Ron on why he took the \$2 million for the Japan trip.

In GE we trust — Michael Abbott, a nuclear scientist, lost his job for blowing the whistle on his employer, a General Electric subsidiary that was peddling defective safety devices for nuclear reactors. Abbott sued GE but ran out of money. Now, GE is suing him for court costs. Sure. They need the money to spread their slogan, "We bring good things to light."

They care — Warned that cattle feed contaminated with lead had been shipped to Britain, officials did not act until weeks later. With milk samples showing four times the "safe" lead level, more than 500 farms were then quarantined. Initially, officials permitted contaminated milk to be dumped in with clean milk to dilute the lead.

Billion-dollar carpenter bailouts? — "I want it to be as clear as it possibly can be that we are just as much a part of providing housing for the American people as the carpenters who drive the nails." — Barney Beeksma, chairman, U.S. League of Savings Institutions.

Law 'n order, Israeli style — In

the village of Kaboul, inside Israel's pre-1967 borders, a Palestinian teacher was busted for teaching children how to paint the Palestinian flag. And, in the West Bank, Adel Erani was fined \$7,500 for allegedly throwing stones. Erani is nine.

But everything's fine — After the 1987 stock market dive, 17,000 brokerage jobs were lost. One Wall Street analyst estimates that by mid-1990, another 7,000 jobs will be gone. Brokers Shearson Lehman Hutton, Inc., have begun layoffs that could total 2,500 in the next six months, "if times don't get better."

Stoic — "It could have been worse." — Broker James Regan who was convicted on 63 counts of

stock swindling and drew six months.

House calls? — Having a stressful relationship with Fido, resulting in messed-up rugs, chewed-up shoes, etc.? Call Animal Behavior Consultants, Inc. A specialist will observe the situation and provide counseling. \$300.

Barely time to wink — The Agriculture Dept. proposes to "streamline" meat inspection. Inspectors will have 12 seconds to check each carcass. A random one in 300 will get a "thorough" inspection. All the meat will receive the USDA stamp of approval. The plan will boost slaughterhouse production 40 percent.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Los Angeles Premier Showing of the Video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*. At the home of director Nick Castle, Jr. In attendance: Kate Kaku, wife of Mark Curtis; John Studer, national officer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee; Mark Pennington and William Kutmus, two lawyers in the case. Sun., Dec. 3, 3 p.m. 2231 N. New Hampshire. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 666-6842.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The Crisis in Eastern Europe. Speaker: Joanne Murphy, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 3, 7 p.m. 5019½ Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Why the Palestinian People Fight. A panel discussion on the West Bank and Gaza uprising. Sat., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Conversation on Contemporary Cuban Art: A Slideshow Talk. Speaker: Aldo Soler, National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists. Sun., Nov. 26, 3 p.m. 701 Market St., 7th Floor. Sponsors: Pathfinder Mural Project, St. Louis Artists Coalition, Left Bank Books, Latin America Solidarity Committee. For more information call (314) 361-0250 or 241-1127.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

U.S. Hands Off El Salvador! Panel of speakers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Celebrate the Publication of *In Defense of Socialism*. Speakers: Zayid Muhammad, Frontline Artists; Wantu Zenzile, African National

Congress of South Africa Youth Section; representative, South West Africa People's Organisation; Natasha Terlexis, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 9. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Palestine: Healing the Wounds of Occupation. Benefit concert for Palestinian medical aid. Music by Roy Brown, Human Condition, Toshi Reagan, Al-Watan. Wed., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. The Triplex, Theatre 1, Borough of Manhattan Community College, 199 Chambers St. Donation: \$10 to \$50. Sponsor: Palestine Solidarity Committee, Arab Club of BMCC. For more information call (212) 964-7299.

Labor Solidarity Benefit: A Musical Tribute to the Striking Workers of NYNEX, Eastern Airlines, and Pittston Coal. Featuring: Hazel Dickens, Pete Seeger, and other special guests. Fri., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. Washington Irving High School, 16th St. and Irving Pl. Tickets: \$10. Sponsors: New York Emergency Committee in Solidarity with the United Mine Workers of America, Communications Workers of America, International Association of Machinists District 100, Transport Workers Union Local 553, Air Line Pilots Association. For information call (212) 673-5120 ext. 242.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Celebrate the Pathfinder Mural. See new mural video, meet local artists, and hear from participants in mural dedication in New York City. Sun., Dec. 3, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (919) 272-2958.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Cuba Today: 30 Years of Revolutionary Progress. Speaker: Greg Nelson. Sat., Dec. 2, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

The Miners' International Fight for Justice. A panel discussion by working miners. Sat., Dec. 9, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

The Fight for Liberation in Southern Africa:

A Historic Turning Point. Panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 16, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The Philippines, U.S. Bases, and the Fight for a Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific. Speaker: Russell Johnson, national secretary Communist League of New Zealand. Fri., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (02) 692 0319.

The Crisis in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Speaker: representative, Communist League. Fri., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (02) 692 0319.

BRITAIN

London

After the Guildford Four Victory. Speakers: Paul May, Birmingham Six Campaign; Tony Hunt, member Amalgamated Engineering Union, supporter Mark Curtis Defence Campaign; representative of Winchester Three Campaign. Fri., Nov. 24, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 01-928-7947.

Sheffield

Crisis in Eastern Europe. Wed., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call (0742) 729469.

Rally to Celebrate Publication of *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro. Speakers: Roberto de Armas, first secretary of Embassy of the Republic of Cuba; representatives of African National Congress of South Africa, South West Africa People's Organisation, and Britain-Cuba Resource Centre. Sat., Dec. 9, 2 p.m. SADACCA, 48 The Wicker. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Sheffield Pathfinder Bookcentre. For more information call (0742) 729469.

CANADA

Montréal

Grand Opening of the Librairie Pathfinder. Speakers: Chengiah Ragaven, African National Congress of South Africa; Guy Roumer, *Haiti-Progress*; Armand Vaillancourt, sculptor. Video presentation on the Pathfinder Mural Project.

ST. LOUIS

Defend Mark Curtis! International Rally for Justice

Hear fighters from around the world speak out on behalf of Mark Curtis, a union packinghouse worker framed up on rape and burglary charges last year in Des Moines, Iowa. He is now in the state prison at Anamosa, Iowa.

Sat., Nov. 25 7:30 p.m.

Sheraton-St. Louis Hotel

West Ballroom

910 N. 7th Street

(next to Convention Center)

Donation: \$5.00. For more information call Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines (515) 246-1695. In St. Louis call (618) 452-0089 or (314) 361-0250.

Sat., Nov. 25, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Librairie Pathfinder. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

ICELAND

Reykjavík

The 'Failure of Socialism' and the Future of Communism. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*. Sat., Dec. 9, 3 p.m. Litla Brekka, Bankæstri. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (91) 17513.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

The Struggle for Palestine: Two Years of the 'Intifada.' Eyewitness report and slideshow. Speaker: Tony Carlsson. Sat., Nov. 25, 3 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (08) 31 69 33.

Meeting to Present *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro. Speakers: Cuban Ambassador Denny Guzmán Pérez, Bengt Hallberg, Daniel Håkansson, others. Sun., Dec. 3, 3 p.m. Lilla Horsalen, Medborgarhuset (T-bana Medborgarplatsen). Sponsors: Pathfinder, Sweden-Cuba Friendship Association.

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SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10, S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Neighborhoods bombed, clergy assassinated

Continued from front page
human rights abuses by the Salvadoran regime.

The fighting began November 11 when forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), a bloc of five organizations, engaged government troops in open combat. The scope and the intensity of the combat made it the most extensive fighting in the 10-year civil war.

The rebel offensive succeeded in holding major sections of the biggest cities in the country for nearly a week.

Thousands dead and wounded

In San Miguel, the country's third largest city, hundreds of casualties have been reported. The army bombed residential areas for hours one resident reported. "It's the worst thing I've ever seen," he said.

The military hospital there, filled to capacity, "is operating 24 hours a day with only five doctors and less than a dozen nurses taking 12- to 14-hour shifts," an army doctor reported.

FMLN leaders said they will fight until "there are full guarantees for negotiations." The rebels have been pressing the government to dismiss 18 senior army officers, make some changes in the constitution, restart a

stalled land reform program, and begin a mutual cease-fire in order to bring about a negotiated peace.

Residents remained in most neighborhoods occupied by the rebels in San Salvador until the army began the bloody assaults. Tens of thousands had fled the city by midweek. The Salvadoran Red Cross said more than 26,000 people had taken refuge in their facilities alone.

Some people in working-class neighborhoods and many leaders of unions and other organizations took up arms and participated in the fighting along with the rebel forces.

No figures on the number of dead or wounded are available. The Red Cross alone has treated 1,189 civilians and fighters.

El Salvador, a country of 5.5 million people, is located in Central America. More than 70,000 people have died since 1980 in the civil war, most of whom were killed by the U.S.-backed and financed armed forces or by death squads linked to the military. An additional 1 million have been forced into exile.

The U.S. government, in an attempt to shore up the embattled regime, has sent \$4 billion in aid in the past 10 years. Most of the funds have gone to the military. The Salvadoran armed forces are trained and equipped by the United States.

By November 21 traffic had resumed and business reopened in much of San Salvador. Fighting continued in several areas on the outskirts of the city.

Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani has played little role since the start of the offensive. U.S. Ambassador William Walker holds daily news conferences and a Bush administration official acknowledged that Cristiani's control over the military "varies from time to time."

Domination of military

The Salvadoran government has long been dominated by the military in a country where 2 percent of the population controls 60 percent of the land. About half of the infants born in El Salvador die before their first birthday. Average income is \$820 a year.

In an attempt to put a democratic veneer on the government, elections were organized in 1984 and in 1989. Cristiani, the candidate of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), won the presidency in March of this year. ARENA is the party most closely associated with internationally condemned human rights abuses by the Salvadoran army and right-wing paramilitary death squads.

Cristiani was the party's candidate in place

of ARENA leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, who Washington considered bad for public relations because of his ties to the death squads. The slogan of ARENA during the elections was "Cristiani to the presidency; D'Aubuisson to power."

The *Washington Post* quoted a diplomat in San Salvador who said, "What is scaring me rigid is that the right wing is taking over. I think Cristiani has lost control."

Following the murder of the six Jesuits, Attorney General Mauricio Eduardo Colorado sent a letter to Pope John Paul II asking that Catholic bishops "acting outside the general policy of the church" by "keeping alive the questionable ideology of the 'church of the poor'" be removed from the country for their own personal safety.

At the same time the U.S. Congress prepared an \$80 million package of military aid to the Salvadoran government for 1990.

Some members of Congress, who are embarrassed by defending a regime that openly carries out human rights abuses through death-squad activity, proposed a measure that would have held back some aid if Cristiani did not bring the Jesuits' assassins to justice. Opposed by the Bush administration, the measure failed by a vote of 215 to 194.

Washington's campaign in region

Washington is stepping up its campaign against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Panama as well.

The Bush administration, with the approval of congress, has allocated \$3 million for CIA use to attempt to topple the government of Panama.

New guidelines for the first time explicitly permit U.S. participation in operations that might result in the death of a leader of another sovereign country. The plan, called Panama 5, includes the use of U.S. troops in the operation.

State Department officials denounced Cuba November 15, charging the country "may have" received advanced MIG-29 jet aircraft from the Soviet Union.

"We see no legitimate Cuban need for such advanced aircraft," Richard Boucher said. "Other countries in the region don't have similar equipment."

The plane is similar to the U.S. F/A-18 Hornet. The United States is 90 miles from Cuba, and the U.S. Guantánamo military base is located on Cuban soil.

Secretary of State James Baker added, "Soviet behavior toward Cuba and Central America remains the biggest obstacle to a full, across-the-board improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union."

He claimed the Soviet Union holds special responsibility for the conflicts in Central America "because its arms and money, moving through Cuba and Nicaragua, continue to support violence, destruction, and war."

U.S. aid to El Salvador protested

Continued from front page

November 11, and hundreds of other actions are being organized. Many occurred after the slaying of six prominent Jesuit priests on November 16.

Demands to halt U.S. aid

"The weapons of destruction in El Salvador are financed by U.S. taxpayers — the message of today is that the people of Boston will no longer accept that," declared Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn after leading a march of 3,000 in that city November 19. Flynn ordered flags in the city to be flown at half-mast commemorating the slain priests.

The rally, called on 24-hours' notice, was addressed by a city council member, a representative of the offices of U.S. Sen. Edward Kennedy, a member of the miners' union, an Eastern Airlines striker, a representative of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador (FMLN), and others.

Ellen Convisser, president of the Boston chapter of the National Organization for Women, sent a statement to the rally declaring "NOW condemns the U.S. government's policies of violence. . . . We stand in solidarity with our sisters and brothers of Latin America in working for self-determination and social justice." Later in the day 1,000 people gathered at Boston College for a memorial mass.

Death-squad 'democracy'

More than 2,000 protesters filled the streets of the largest Salvadoran neighborhood in Los Angeles on November 18 demanding an end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

Workers joined or cheered the demonstrators as they marched to a nearby park. Scores of marchers carried posters demanding "No more dollars for death-squad 'democracy' in El Salvador."

FMLN representative Luis Flores addressed the rally, charging that North American pilots are flying some of the planes that are strafing working-class neighborhoods and murdering residents. He urged continued protests against U.S. aid and intervention.

Eastern Airlines striker Eugene Colon spoke in Spanish. "The same people who are responsible for the murder of the Jesuit priests

are responsible for the bombing of the FENASTRAS office and the murder of 10 labor leaders," he said, referring to the death-squad attack on a Salvadoran trade union federation October 31.

"You are workers," Colon continued, "I am a Puerto Rican worker — they treat us like they treat you. But if you keep fighting," he said to cheers, "you will win."

Mzwandile Kibi, a leader of the youth section of the African National Congress visiting from the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania, spoke. "We are fighting the same enemy," he said, "who gives money for bombs and planes but not for homes for people lying in this very park."

Other speakers included actor Martin Sheen and Blase Bonpane, who spoke on behalf of North American solidarity groups.

'We remember Vietnam'

Calling on the U.S. government to "stop funding the blood-thirsty regime in El Salvador," Jesse Jackson addressed a Washington, D.C., rally of 1,500 on November 18. Demonstrators had marched from the Vietnam veterans memorial to the White House. Four buses of protesters traveled from New York for the action. A contingent of students from New York University carried a banner that read, "No more money for death in El Salvador."

Agreement reached in 16-week NYNEX strike

Continued from front page

fact includes none of the lump sum payments or bonuses the company had originally proposed. NYNEX owners said they had agreed to withdraw the cost-shifting demand in exchange for a lower wage increase than was offered earlier in the strike.

More than 200,000 workers at NYNEX and three other regional phone companies covering 20 states — known as "Baby Bells" — went on strike in August, most over company demands that union members begin paying health-care coverage. The other three companies settled after dropping the cost-shifting demands. NYNEX, however, held out, hoping to force the CWA and IBEW to accept the concession.

During the week before November 13, the strikers demonstrated their determination to hang tough. On November 6 IBEW Regional Vice-president John Flynn intervened in the talks over the heads of the IBEW negotiating committee, made up of heads of the 10 striking locals, and agreed to union members paying some health coverage costs.

As word spread of the deal, 1,500 angry IBEW strikers converged on the hotel in Boston where Flynn was trying to press acceptance by the negotiating committee, forcing him to flee. The committee then demanded, and got, IBEW President Jack Barry to order Flynn out of the negotiations.

The company continued to hold out. Talks were broken off November 10 by the CWA and November 11 by the IBEW. The proposed regional settlement came shortly after, when it became clear that the unions were not going to back down.

Only a handful of union members have crossed the picket lines during the strike. NYNEX has lost 18,000 customers since the walkout started, along with 100,000 anticipated new accounts. Scab crews and management have been unable to keep up with the flood of repairs — not to mention new installations — as the highly automated phone system began to break down.

An important advance registered in the strike has been the unity between the IBEW and CWA. In earlier contract negotiations the two unions had bargained separately.

As a result of the 1986 settlement with NYNEX, in which the IBEW went back to work before the CWA, a new leadership was elected in IBEW Local 2222 in Boston. The local has 6,000 members.

During the strike, Local 2222 held bi-weekly membership meetings, each attended by thousands of union members. The strikers organized mass picketing, rallies, and other support actions. Dozens of strikers were arrested.

The NYNEX workers also linked up with other strikers, often showing up in groups on the Eastern Airlines picket line. Members of Local 2222 and other IBEW and CWA locals in the Boston area have come forward during the strike to organize food banks, fund-raisers, and hundreds of mobile pickets that drove scab crews out of several towns completely. The strikers' militancy took NYNEX by surprise.

In Massachusetts IBEW and CWA members waged an unsuccessful fight for unemployment benefits. In New York strikers received unemployment benefits after seven weeks.

The CWA exhausted its \$18 million strike fund and began mapping out plans to ask for \$5-a-week contributions from the union's 650,000 members for the duration of the strike. During the last few weeks, many strikers in New England have not received strike benefits.

On the picket lines, reaction to the tentative agreement on medical care and wages was positive. "I'll wait to read the fine print, but it looks like we beat them because we stuck together," said one CWA member, before the collapse of the local talks November 19.

"This proves labor can win," said one IBEW striker. "I hope those guys at Eastern are next."

"Cuba Will Never Adopt Capitalist Methods"

Excerpts from
**Fidel Castro's
July 26, 1988 speech**
32 pp. pamphlet, \$1.50

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The protests in Eastern Europe

Gigantic changes are sweeping one country after another in Eastern Europe. Hardly a week passes without the removal of a central political figure from power, massive protest marches, the lifting of repressive measures, or announcements of new steps for restructuring these countries' economies.

These changes reflect the growing disintegration of the Stalinist Communist Parties in Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, and are leading to major adjustments in the way the privileged bureaucratic strata have dominated these countries for 40 years.

The structures and patterns of totalitarian rule maintained by the bureaucracies are being shattered and curbs on democratic rights are falling. This includes to some degree lifting restrictions on freedom of speech, press, and travel, and freedom to organize political and other associations.

Massive protests are pushing these changes along. Hundreds of thousands have marched, rallied, and protested for the elimination of restrictions on democratic rights and an end to aspects of the bureaucracies' dead-end economic policies. Broad layers of the population are participating, including professionals, students, and workers.

For more than 40 years the ability of working people to engage in politics has been blocked by the privileged ruling strata in Eastern Europe. Now, for the first time in decades, the possibilities for working people to participate in and organize political activity are opening up.

The political crisis confronting the bureaucratic layers in these countries is connected to the depth of their economic difficulties expressed in low labor productivity, stagnating economic growth, and declining living standards.

The self-perpetuating bureaucracies are narrow-minded, self-seeking layers that parasitically live off the wealth created by working people. Their economic model, which relies on the mechanism of a bureaucratically dominated plan rather than the active participation of a politically conscious working class, has not led toward socialism or even caught up to capitalism. It has ended up in this worsening crisis.

On November 13 the departing finance minister told the East German parliament, to gasps of amazement, that the country's budget deficit stood at \$70 billion. Debt to creditors in capitalist countries is said to be at least \$20 billion. Labor productivity in factories producing goods for export fell by almost 50 percent in the last nine years.

This shattered the illusion that the East German economy, the most developed in Eastern Europe, was a success. In Poland and Hungary the situation is much worse.

The bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and a growing number of Eastern European countries see *perestroika* and *glasnost*-type policies as the only way to maintain stability and derail even bigger protests.

They hope that by relaxing some of the more onerous restrictions on political rights they can get the backing from the population to impose belt-tightening measures, reduce social benefits, and implement policies promoting

competition among workers.

Lifting of restrictions on democratic rights and the introducing of parliamentary-type forms of political rule are also seen as necessary to winning more trade agreements, loans, and investments from capitalist countries. The bureaucracies see this aid as a way of shoring up their declining economies.

These sweeping changes have brought with them increased pressure to return completely to the capitalist mode of production and social system.

Serious obstacles to capitalist restoration exist, however.

First, there will be the resistance of the bureaucratic castes that depend on nationalized property for their privileged position. Their domination of political life and control over the economy stem from their parasitizing the state-owned means of production. They literally skim off a significant part of the social product created by workers and farmers for their own use. Their privileged status doesn't come from private ownership of the mines, mills, factories, and other means of production, however, which is necessary for the restoration of capitalism.

Secondly, resistance will come from workers and farmers in Eastern Europe who more and more bear the brunt of the mounting economic crisis. As the crisis deepens, more belt-tightening will be demanded of them. Ending subsidies for basic food items, cutting expenditures on everything from housing to medical care, imposing longer work hours, and speed-up on the job will be implemented.

Unemployment will grow, and workers' wages will be ravaged by rising inflation.

Attempts to return capitalism to Eastern Europe, though, would require far more severe measures to undermine working conditions and the standard of living of working people.

Workers in Eastern Europe have resisted these measures — and will do so more and more. Protests, strikes, and other actions aimed at protecting their social wage, standard of living, and working conditions deserve the full support of workers everywhere.

The crumbling of restrictions on democratic rights opens space for workers to fight for the politicalization of the working-class movement as a whole.

It increases the opportunity to discuss, travel, learn, and organize. Without this elbow room, the ability to defend the wages, working conditions, and social benefits from further erosion is curtailed. Working people around the world should back every protest and demand for the expansion of democratic rights in these countries.

These fights and the crumbling ability of the bureaucracy to keep workers out of political life over time will lead workers in Eastern Europe to directly seek links with fighters in other countries from southern Africa to the Caribbean, from Palestine to North America.

Through this process a communist vanguard that is part of the working class will be assembled. This is a prerequisite for building a working-class movement that can chart a course, as part of a world fight, towards the construction of socialism.

Defend the Pathfinder mural!

On November 19, the very same day the Pathfinder mural was unveiled, the *New York Post* editors launched a scurrilous attack against the artistic landmark headlined, "Off the wall — and that's where it belongs."

For the last two years more than 50 artists from across the United States and some 20 other countries volunteered their labor to complete the mural on the side of the six-story Pathfinder Building on the Lower West Side of Manhattan.

The artwork pictures portraits of figures whose speeches and writings are published by Pathfinder Press including Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro of Cuba, Malcolm X, Maurice Bishop of Grenada, Augusto César Sandino and Carlos Fonseca of Nicaragua, and Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, and Rosa Luxemburg. Others depicted are Martin Luther King, Jr., Harriet Tubman, Archbishop Oscar Romero, Bobby Sands, Emiliano Zapata, Joe Hill, José Martí, John Reed, Tomás Borge, and hundreds of others from the South Pacific, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Europe, and the Americas.

Calling the mural a "bizarre celebration of totalitarianism" the *Post* said, "Whether or not it's appropriate to inflict such a mural on the sensibilities of ordinary New Yorkers is, by itself, an open question. We rather doubt that a mural depicting, say, Adolf Hitler would be deemed appropriate even if it were displayed on private property."

The editorial's provocative conclusion: "That public funds were used to subsidize this unseemly effort settles the issue, as far as we're concerned. The mural should be removed."

It is no accident that the *Post* ran an editorial the following day, November 20, attacking the decision by the National Endowment for the Arts reversing its decision to withhold a \$10,000 grant for "Witnesses: Against Our Vanishing," an art show about AIDS exhibited at New

York's Artists Space gallery. The endowment initially withheld funding because of the "political" character of the show's catalog.

Earlier this year controversial photo exhibitions by artists Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano were canceled after Sen. Jesse Helms and other public figures claimed the displays were obscene.

Using controversial art, promoters of censorship have demagogically used public funds as a weapon to chip away at freedom of expression and speech. In his column, carried by the *Post* on November 22, former White House aide Patrick Buchanan attacked funding for "Witnesses: Against Our Vanishing," and the mural. "Between the arts and gay communities on the one hand, and the U.S. Treasury on the other, we need to erect a 'high wall of separation,'" he said.

The *Post*'s call for the destruction of the mural and open invitation for vigilante action against it must be repudiated in the strongest way. All supporters of democratic rights and all working people have a stake in beating back this intolerable assault on freedom of artistic expression and speech.

Supporters of the mural and democratic rights now need to mobilize a united response protesting the *Post*'s attack. Messages of protest need to flood the *Post*'s offices at 210 South St., New York, N.Y. 10002. Messages demanding city authorities uphold constitutional guarantees of free speech and artistic expression, and vigorously prosecute perpetrators of vigilante violence also need to be sent to Mayor Edward Koch, c/o City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007. Copies can be sent to the Pathfinder Mural, c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 191 7th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011, telephone (212) 675-6740.

In addition, New York mural supporters hope to initiate a broad, united front protest meeting to press these demands. If you can help, contact the Pathfinder Bookstore.

Stalinism and Leninism

BY DOUG JENNESS

Earlier this year, the *New York Times* ran a three-part series on "Communism Now: What Is It? — In the Words of the Faithful," which presented the questioning of many "communists" about the prospects for communism today. It came in the context of the avalanche of coverage in the big-business press heralding the triumph of capitalism and gloating about the "communist crisis."

Martin Jacques, editor of *Marxism Today*, a British magazine, told the *Times*, "Stalinism, intellectually and ideologically, was a sort of predictable degeneration, if you like, of Leninism."

A Soviet lawyer and "strong supporter of Gorbachev's policies," likewise argued that while he respects V.I. Lenin,

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

the communist leader "was also responsible for many of the things that led us to the situation of the '20s and '30s" under Joseph Stalin's reign of terror.

This notion that Stalinism is the continuation or logical extension of Leninism is promoted by the opponents of communism who contend the seeds of the horrible repression of the Stalin years were embedded in the policies and practices of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin.

It is also held by Stalinists who claim the heritage of the Bolshevik Party that led the October 1917 Russian revolution.

The truth, however, is that Stalinism is a reactionary negation of Marxism and Leninism — of the entire progressive character of the working class' struggle to defend itself and establish a more humane social order.

Communism, as it was described by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, is a movement of "the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country," which, based on the experience of the class struggle, understands "the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

Bolshevism and Leninism refer to the experiences and lessons of the working-class movement in the imperialist era, as lived through and generalized by the "most advanced and resolute section" of the working class. The rise of imperialism at the turn of this century ushered in an era of wars and revolutions.

The Bolshevik-Leninists were the communists who provided leadership to the mass revolutionary movement that overturned Tsarist tyranny and capitalist rule in Russia and established the world's first workers' and peasants' republic.

This victory proved that the perspective of advancing toward communism is possible, indeed necessary, in our time, and not a task for the year 3000 or beyond. In this spirit the Bolshevik-Leninists helped to set up the Communist International in 1919 and gave leadership to the process of educating communist workers in other countries.

Stalinism, on the other hand, was spawned by the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the Soviet Communist Party. It did not grow out of something inherently wrong in the communist vanguard, but out of ultimately more powerful forces, the unfavorable conditions confronting the revolution. Political isolation, as the result of working-class defeats in other countries, and internal difficulties wore down the revolutionary masses and the communist vanguard.

A bureaucratic layer, motivated by self-interest and nationalism rather than by advancing the struggles of working people internationally, got the upper hand. Over time this stratum used its position within the bureaucracy to acquire a wide range of privileges. A reactionary social caste emerged with its own interests antagonistic to those of working people.

In a 1937 article, *Stalinism and Bolshevism*, Leon Trotsky, the foremost Soviet communist leader to continue fighting on the Bolshevik-Leninist course, wrote that the bureaucracy "cowed the revolutionary vanguard, trampled upon Marxism, prostituted the Bolshevik Party. Stalinism conquered."

At the time Trotsky wrote this, a mass purge of the Soviet Communist Party, including frame-up show trials was taking place, which he said, "draws between Bolshevism and Stalinism not simply a bloody line but a whole river of blood." An entire generation of Bolsheviks who had participated in the revolution was annihilated, he said.

(Trotsky's article, well worth reading, is available in *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1936-37* from Pathfinder.)

There is not one smidgeon of progressive content or one molecule of Marxism in Stalinism. It's thoroughly counter-revolutionary. Its base in the state ownership of the factories, mines, and basic transportation doesn't change that one tittle. It is a parasitic growth, with no necessary function in an economy where the capitalist class has been expropriated.

Stalinism is the polar opposite of communism, which supports every revolutionary movement against oppression and exploitation and recognizes that the emancipation of workers must be by the working class itself.

Documentary about Curtis case, a weapon for truth

The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis. A VHS video documentary produced by Nick Castle, Jr., 49 minutes. Available from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

BY PETER THIERJUNG

A powerful documentary that tells the truth about the frame-up of Mark Curtis is now available from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines. Every supporter of Curtis' fight for justice will want to widely promote this video.

It was produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle, Jr., who has written and directed several movies including *Tap*, released earlier this year, starring Gregory Hines.

Interspersed with clips from TV news broadcasts and trial footage, the documentary features interviews with Curtis,

floor fightback against abusive working conditions; and his activity in defense of immigrant workers victimized by the Immigration and Naturalization Service made him a target of the bosses.

In the video Curtis reviews the events that led to his frame-up on charges of burglary and rape. He tells of the March 1, 1988, raid at the Swift plant and how the INS picked up and jailed 17 of his Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers.

Curtis was part of organizing against this attack on immigrant workers' rights. He participated in a March 4, 1988, meeting to plan a protest against the INS action. He spoke in Spanish of the need to use the power of the union on behalf of the victimized coworkers. A few hours later Des Moines police arrested him and beat him, calling him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds."

Scenes from the trial are juxtaposed with interviews of Curtis' attorneys, Mark Pennington, William Kutmus, and Lylea Dodson Critelli, who expose the prosecution's lack of evidence and efforts, assisted by the judge, to hamper the courtroom defense effort. The revelations of brutality, sexism, and racism that rocked the Des Moines Police Department are part of the background to this case and are explained in an interview with Des Moines Human Rights Commission Chairperson Alfredo Alvarez.

Angela Sanbrano, a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, explains that Curtis had been framed because he was an effective political activist. Files released to CISPES by the FBI showed that they had a file on Curtis for his political activity. Curtis' active opposition to U.S. involvement in Central America brought him to the secret police agency's notice.

The documentary shows how Curtis' defense effort came together. Neighbor Julia Terrel explains how she read about

the charges against Curtis in the newspaper and became upset at the prospect of having a rapist living across the street. But then she saw Curtis, his fresh wounds from the police beating, and decided something wrong had happened.

Terrel said she was convinced prior to the trial that Curtis was innocent and explained how the trial itself wiped any second thoughts from her mind. Today Terrel is the treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Defense committee leader Hazel Zimmerman explains how the committee functions and the growing international support won by the defense campaign. Clips from rallies held in Des Moines with international guests and speakers on the platform testify to the attraction of Curtis' fight for other activists and militants.

Farm activists Harold Dunkelberger and Merle Hansen explain in the documentary why they support the campaign to defend Mark Curtis and how their own experiences in the fight to save their land from bank foreclosures made it easier for them to see the stakes in his case.

The closing scenes of the video show Kaku, telling of her trips to New Zealand, the Philippines, Sweden, and Britain. Clips from each of these countries show that Curtis' fight for justice has truly become an international battle.

The documentary is an effective political tool and is professionally done. It is certain to provide a boost to the defense campaign's already growing support in the United States and throughout the world.

Curtis' Des Moines supporters showed their enthusiasm and appreciation for Castle's important contribution by wiring him a telegram of thanks after a preview showing. Supporters of justice for Mark Curtis everywhere will feel the same way when they see it.

IN REVIEW

his wife Kate Kaku, friends, neighbors, coworkers, comrades, and defense committee activists.

Grievances accumulated over years of concession contracts and harsh working conditions gave rise to a wave of strikes among packinghouse workers in the mid-1980s. In Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota, packinghouse workers were in revolt and the bosses were determined to quash it. Scenes from these struggles open the documentary and provide the context for the police frame-up of Curtis, a young rebel worker at the Swift/Montfort packinghouse in Des Moines.

Curtis' ability to speak Spanish, which helped bridge divisions among coworkers; his participation in the shop-

LETTERS

Int'l Falls subscriptions

During the recent nine-week *Militant* circulation drive, 69 workers in International Falls, Minnesota, and Fort Francis, Ontario, bought subscriptions.

International Falls is the scene of a major confrontation between construction unions and BE&K that began earlier this year when union construction workers walked off the job at Boise Cascade's paper mill. Boise Cascade had awarded the bulk of a half-billion dollar expansion project to BE&K, the notorious union-busting firm that gained national attention for its role in breaking a strike of paperworkers at an International Paper mill in Jay, Maine, two years ago.

In order to carry out their scabherding operation, Boise Cascade and BE&K have brought 250 Vance Security guards into this town of 5,000. Vance is the same strike-breaking company being used by Pittston Coal company in Virginia.

Dressed in paratrooper boots and military-style sunglasses, these hired thugs have earned the hatred of many in the town for their attacks on strikers and strike supporters. More than once people told *Militant* supporters that it felt like their town was under military occupation.

Just outside town is a huge fortified housing complex called the "man camp." Over 20 trailers house 44 workers each. The camp has a cafeteria and recreation centers and buses needed to move workers into the mill.

In spite of a continuing ban by city officials on selling the *Militant* without a permit, workers were receptive to a newspaper that tells the workers' side in the major battles at Eastern Airlines, Pittston Coal, and Boeing, as well as in their own fight.

Thirty-five subscriptions were sold to workers in Fort Francis,

which sits across the Rainy River from International Falls. Boise Cascade of Canada dominates the town, and workers there have faced aggressive attacks as their own contract is due to expire in the spring of 1990. Workers at the Canadian plant gate bought 11 subscriptions.

Craig Honts
Austin, Minnesota

Camp Solidarity

I heard a report back from the miners' Camp Solidarity at a fundraiser for the mine union held at the Letter Carriers' hall in Los Angeles recently.

Two hundred of us saw a slide-show given by a delegation of California unionists who had recently visited the center for solidarity with the Pittston miners' strike. Striking miner Sam Hughes told us about some of Pittston's actions against the strikers. "Not only do they ride up and down the picket line, but the company videos your home and family," he said.

Hughes said more than 3,500 people have been arrested. The arrests are not popular in the area and most have been thrown out of court.

He described solidarity among strikers. "The second time I was arrested for participating in a sit-down, the guy I rode to work with for the past 10 years put up his house to pay my \$10,000 bond. And I put up mine for him. That's what solidarity is all about."

Hughes invited everyone to get involved in strike solidarity and to "help fight corporate greed."

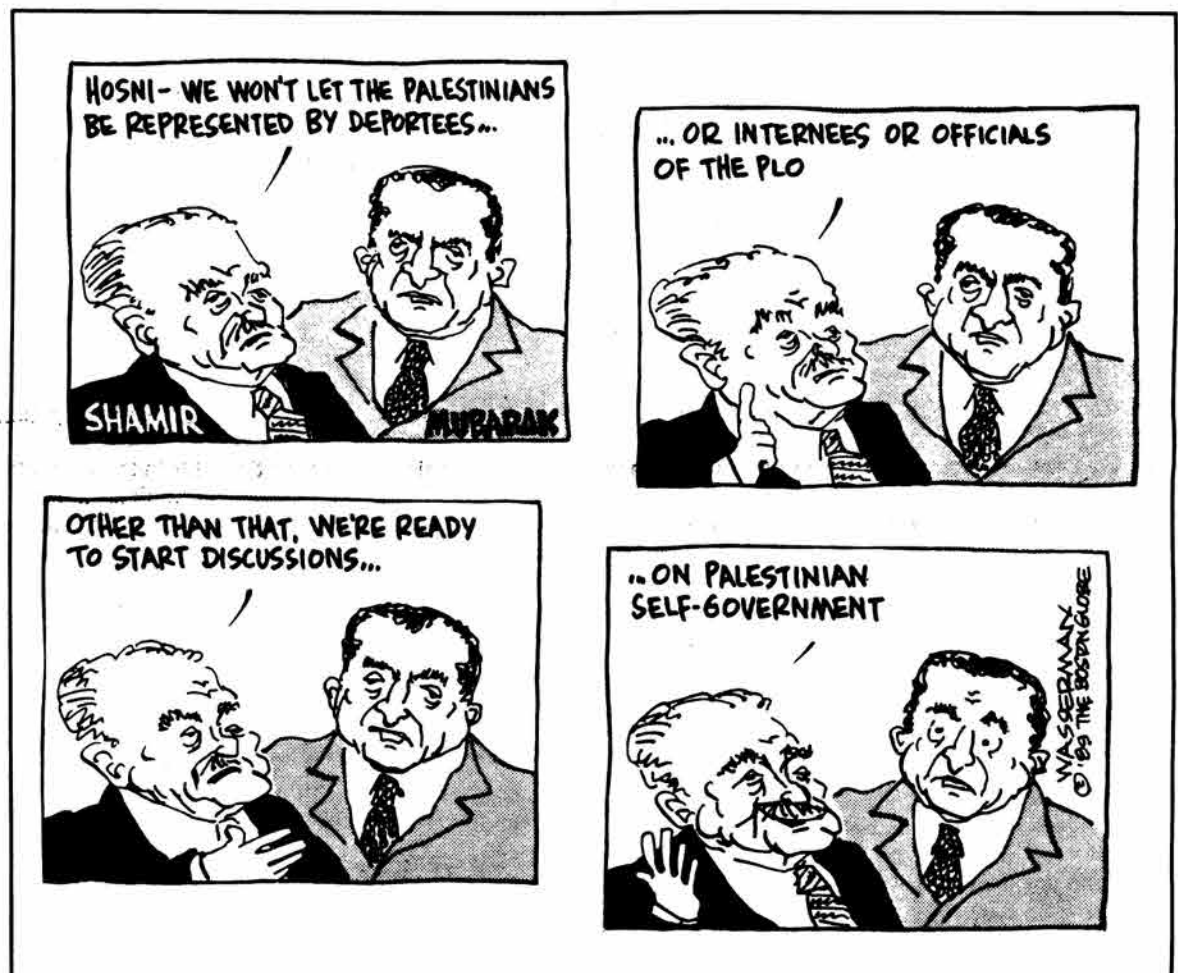
Herb Bradley, an Eastern Airlines striker who went to Camp Solidarity, wrapped up the program, saying, "Labor is on the march — from the Machinists at Eastern to the miners at Pittston, and our brothers and sisters at Boeing."

Carole Lesnick
Los Angeles, California

Support Eastern strikers

In May 1989, Local 48 American Federation of Grain Millers in Keokuk, Iowa, voted to send \$100 to Machinists on strike against Frank Lorenzo's Eastern Airlines. In June the Lee County Labor Council started a food drive for the Machinists local in Cedar Rapids north of here.

In October, Local 48 voted to send \$50 to the courageous United Mine Workers on strike against Pittston



Coal who have fought long and hard against Pittston's union-busting tactics, and who had just ended a takeover of a coal processing plant.

Also in October, the Lee County Labor Council sent \$25 each to Machinists, construction workers in Minnesota on strike against Boise Cascade, meat-packers fighting against John Morrell's union-busting tactics, and to the United Mine Workers.

Most recently, the county labor council took a food and money caravan of 70 cars, organized by meat-packers in Ft. Madison, to a rally in Burlington, Iowa, where we heard speeches from legislators and local union leaders and sang union songs in support of nurses on strike against the Burlington Medical Center. (Victory at last! The nurses have a contract!)

Now, we at the labor council are sending a petition with hundreds of signatures to legislators stating that they represent us and we want something done about the union-busting monster Frank Lorenzo.

This letter is written for no other purpose than to send positive news and positive thoughts to other locals and caring people to show them the

labor movement is alive and well in Iowa and that we need to realize, no matter how small we are or where we are, if we band together we can be heard.

Kensley Howard
Keokuk, Iowa

Students protest cuts

Most of the 25,000 students at the University of Massachusetts Amherst campus went on strike November 13 to protest state budget cuts in education. Some 2,000 students rallied at noon and picket lines at academic buildings forced the cancellation of many classes. The strike followed a demonstration of 20,000 students and faculty at the State House in Boston.

The budget cuts have resulted in reduced financial aid, teacher shortages, increased class sizes, and cancellation of classes, including those basics needed to graduate. Many students are forced to work two jobs to get by.

The state "budget crisis" is being used as an excuse to slash millions from education, health, and social services, resulting in thousands of layoffs of state workers. It is part of

the recession of the state economy, turning the "Massachusetts Miracle" into a grim nightmare for many. Every week thousands of layoffs and plant closings are announced, many in the high tech and computer industries.

Further student actions are being planned by a council made up of representatives from all the different campuses.

Russell Davis
Boston, Massachusetts

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.

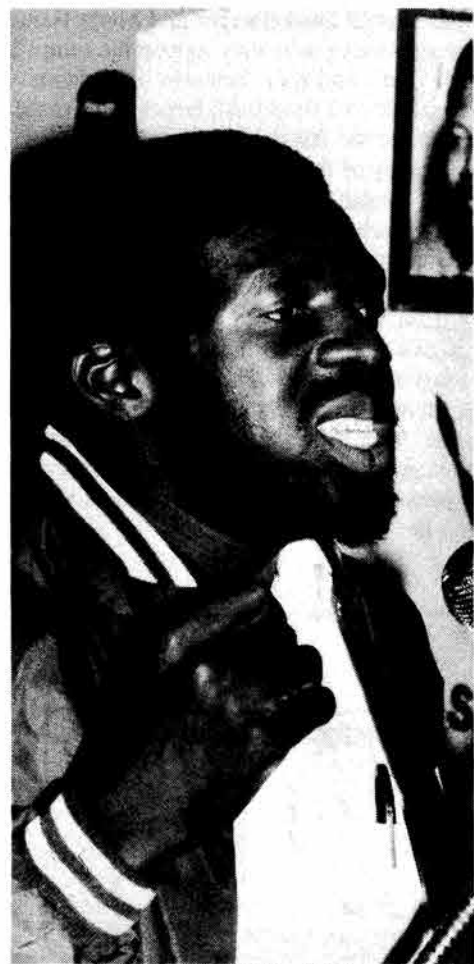
The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Correction

In last week's article on Cuban author Carlos Tablada's tour of Canada, the name of one of the speakers at the Montréal meeting was omitted. Carlos Bernal of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador spoke at the November 5 event.

S. Africa youth tour defies apartheid

Student leader Joseph Nkuna, in U.S., talks of 'unbanning' ANC



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Nkuna speaking at farewell event capping one-week tour in Los Angeles.

BY LISA AHLBERG

LOS ANGELES — The October 29 rally of 80,000 in South Africa "showed the whole world that the African National Congress is living, at home, and public," said Joseph Nkuna, a South African youth leader.

Nkuna, a national executive committee member of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), has just wrapped up a one-week tour here. He was invited by the South African International Student Congress (Saisco), a group that organizes South African students in North America.

"The ANC has been unbanned by the people in South Africa," Nkuna said, "we are going to force the government to officially unban the ANC."

Sayco is the largest youth organization in the country with several million members. Like many of Sayco's leaders, Nkuna is "restricted" by the apartheid regime and has been arrested and detained numerous times. His tour in the United States is part of a campaign to defy apartheid's restrictive laws and state of emergency.

In Los Angeles, Nkuna spoke to students at five high schools and addressed a meeting of the citywide Los Angeles Student Coalition, an anti-apartheid group of students from 50 junior and senior high schools and colleges.

The Sayco leader also spoke at rallies and classes at five Los Angeles-area universities and addressed several churches.

A highlight of the tour was a meeting with members of the International Ladies' Gar-

ment Workers' Union who represent some 300 workers at K-Mart Apparel Distribution Center in the nearby city of Carson. Workers wanted to know how their union could aid in the fight against apartheid. After the meeting, Bertha Piggue, president of ILGWU Local 512, presented Nkuna with a union jacket and took him on a tour of the factory.

On November 4, the eve of the elections in Namibia, Nkuna spoke to more than 200 people at a spirited picket line at the South African consulate, protesting the disruption and violence carried out by the apartheid regime during Namibia's independence process.

"Our struggle is advancing, especially since the defiance campaign began — and we are getting results," Nkuna said in a discussion at the tour's end. Countless rallies have been held throughout the country since the campaign began in August, many uninterrupted by the government, he stated. Unions have organized strikes and boycotts and protesters have mobilized for desegregation actions targeting the transportation system, factory cafeterias, and public facilities. On November 16 all beaches in South Africa were declared desegregated by Pretoria. This followed months of "beach-ins" and other mass protests.

"We've been successful in forcing the enemy to a decisive retreat," said Nkuna, adding that more remains to be done. "This is just a drop in the ocean. We still have some 100 leaders who remain in jail, including the symbol of the struggle, Nelson Mandela."

Nkuna also pointed to the 1988 battle at Cuito Cuanavale, in southern Angola, where South African forces suffered a military defeat at the hands of the Angolan army, combatants of the South West Africa People's Organisation, and thousands of Cuban internationalist volunteers. The defeat has shown all of us that Pretoria is not invincible, he said.

"The whole African continent is hailing the selfless efforts of the Cuban internationalist forces," said Nkuna. "These are the people that made it possible for the apartheid regime to be defeated. For us, it is important that they came from so many miles away willing to sacrifice their lives for the African people."

Nkuna was the guest of honor at a farewell event hosted by a wide array of organizations at the Pathfinder bookstore on November 4. Some 75 people attended.

At the event Saisco launched a campaign to defend Nkuna and Rapu Molekane, Sayco general secretary who toured the United States in August. The apartheid regime has issued warrants for the arrest of both. Since his return to South Africa, Molekane has thus far evaded arrest. Saisco leader Nkululeko Sowazi announced that they would be spearheading the petitioning campaign.

Hundreds of signatures have already been collected. Copies of petitions can be obtained from Saisco, 308 Westwood Plaza, Box 197, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024-1647.

Protest letters can be sent to State President F.W. de Klerk, Union Building, Pretoria 0001, South Africa.

British unions extend strike for 35-hour week

BY BRIAN GROGAN

LONDON — Workers fighting for a 35-hour workweek extended their strike after talks between a union federation and the employers broke down during the week of November 12.

Workers at British Aerospace in nearby Kingston and at Smiths Industries in Cheltenham were called out on strike immediately, bringing the total number of strikers to 9,000.

The strike by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) began October 30 with 7,000 workers at three factories.

Talks between the CSEU and the Engineering Employers Federation began at the unions' initiative. The unions want a national agreement based on a pact recently won at a Rolls Royce subsidiary called NEI-Parsons on November 10. There the company and union stewards agreed to the introduction of the 37-hour, four-day week in stages by 1991, along with other provisions.

When it comes to negotiations, the unions usually conclude a local deal, then use that pact to win a national agreement.

However, instead of agreeing to the unions' demand, the employers upped the stakes. They unilaterally terminated an arrangement that dates back to 1896 whereby working conditions, minimum time rates, hours, and holidays are negotiated nationally. The employers insisted that henceforth all agreements will be local.

Unemployment, profits

In raising the demand for the 35-hour week, the unions note the high unemployment nationally and industry profitability. If that's the case, argue the bosses, then it's individual companies that can pay for such a demand, and agreements will be local. They pointed to the Parsons pact where in exchange for the 37-hour week, there were

job-flexibility and teamwork strings attached. But this pact passed by a narrow margin and at other engineering plants where the union is strong, workers are refusing to emulate the deal. At Laycock's in Sheffield, for example, workers rejected a Parsons-like agreement.

Instead, many unionists are fanning out to

talk with workers around the country. When engineering workers from Stockport visited the British Aerospace picket line in Preston, CSEU district secretary Len Brindle explained the strike was strong and believed the 35-hour week could be won.

Internationally the European Metalwork-

ers Federation has decided to boycott any work sent to continental plants due to the strike, and the 3-million-strong IG Metall union in West Germany has banned work from one British plant on strike. British Aerospace workers at Preston have called a December 2 solidarity rally featuring a speaker from the West German union.

Miami cop on trial for killing of Blacks

BY TONY THOMAS

MIAMI — "William Lozano, without knowing anything about what was going on, took out his gun, took a stance, waited for the motorcycle and fired as it passed on his left."

This November 15 statement by prosecutor Don Horn opened arguments and testi-

mony in the trial here of Miami cop William Lozano on two counts of manslaughter.

Lozano is charged with killing two Black motorcycle riders, Clement Anthony Lloyd and Allan Blanchard, on Jan. 16, 1989. Miami's Black community rose in rebellion for three days following the shooting. Rebelions have shaken the city on two previous

occasions in the 1980s when all-white juries acquitted cops charged with killing Blacks.

Arguments in the trial began after an appeals court backed Judge Joseph Farina's ruling that Lozano's lawyer could not challenge jurors solely because they were Black.

Roy Black, Lozano's attorney, had tried to keep an officer of the Mail Handlers' union off the jury, claiming the unionist represented employees charged with drug use, did not trust postal inspectors, and lived in Liberty City. One of the centers of the January rebellion was Liberty City.

The judge added the postal worker to the jury, ruling that the lawyer's real objection was that the unionist is Black.

The six-member jury has two Black members.

Lozano's lawyer has concentrated on putting Miami's Black community, the victims, and prosecution witnesses on trial.

In his opening statement Black said Lozano had to have "the right to use his weapon," because the people of Overtown, where the shooting took place, were "addicts, armed robbers, murderers, and rapists."

After prosecution witness Eddie William Johnson testified he saw Lozano shoot Lloyd without warning, Black brought up a theft Johnson was charged with 30 years ago.

Black has asked questions referring to Lloyd and Blanchard's drug and traffic records despite a ruling that the records could not be used in the trial.

Washington, D.C., event welcomes new African National Congress office

BY DAVE PAPARELLO

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Congressional Black Caucus hosted a reception here to mark the opening of an office of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Some 200 people attended the event held on November 9 in the foyer of the Rayburn Building, a congressional office building on Capitol Hill.

U.S. Congressman Ronald Dellums welcomed the participants, noting the "historic significance that for the first time in 77 years, the ANC will have a public face in the nation's capital."

Ambassadors from two Frontline States, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, were present, as were representatives from several other African countries.

The ANC's director of international af-

fairs, Thabo Mbeki, who is based in Lusaka, Zambia, spoke along with Lindiwe Mabuza, ANC representative to the United States.

Mbeki said the office was opened to facilitate contact with the U. S. government. The ANC leader also stressed the importance of continuing economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. Washington's position is to give South African President F.W. de Klerk "a chance" to reform apartheid before applying more sanctions. In giving him a chance, said Mbeki, "you're saying 'give him time to consolidate apartheid.'"

Many staff persons from congressional offices and embassies attended the opening, as did ANC members and anti-apartheid activists.

The new office is located at 705 8th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.